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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Julius Goebel, Jus Connatum and the Declaration of the Rights of Man	1
Alwin Thaler, The Players at Court, 1564-1642	19
Jacob Zeitlin, Commonplaces in Elizabethan Life and Letters	49
Cornelia A. Coulter, The Plautine Tradition in Shakespeare	68
W. F. Bryan, Beowulf Notes	86
Samuel Kroesch, Semantic Notes	88
O. F. W. Fernsemer, Daniel Defoe and the Palatine Emigration of 1709	97
O. E. Lessing, August Sauer's Principles of Literary Historiography	151
✓ Gerald E. Se Boyar, Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia	168
✓ P. S. Barto, The Schwanritter-Sceaf Myth in Perceval Le Gallois Ou Le Conte Du Graal	190
Oral Sumner Coad, Stage and Players in Eighteenth Century America	201
✓ Edgar C. Knowlton, The Goddess Nature in Early Periods	224
Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, Max Beerbohm	254
John J. Parry, A Seventeenth Century Gallery of Poets	270
A. Le Roy Andrews, Further Influences upon Ibsen's Peer Gynt	278
Franklin B. Snyder, Notes on Burns and Thomson	305
Archer Taylor, "O du armer Judas"	318
Abbie Findlay Potts, Wordsworth and the Bramble	340
George T. Flom, Semantic Notes on Characterizing Surnames in Old Norse	350
Richard R. Kirk, A Sentence by Walter Pater	365
✓ Mabel A. Stanford, The Sumner's Tale and St. Patrick's Purgatory	377
L. Landau, Some Parallels to Shakespeare's "Seven Ages"	382
Helen I. Hanna, Siegfried-Arminius	439
E. W. Burrill, Heredity as Fate in Greek and Elizabethan Drama	486
W. Kurrelmeyer, Etymological Notes	510
Robert Francis Seybolt, Burkhard Zink	520
Theodor Geissendoerfer, Die Bedeutung der Episode im Hebbels Dramen	529
Alice D. Snyder, Paradox and Antithesis in Stevenson's Essays	540

REVIEWS AND NOTES

L. N. Broughton, Julia Patton's 'The English Village: A Literary Study'	129
John S. P. Tatlock, Florence M. Grim's 'Astronomical Lore in Chaucer'	134
H. W. Nordmeyer, Aaron Schaffer's 'Georg Rudolph Weckherlin'	136
George T. Flom, Vestnorske Maalfore fyre 1350, II Sudvestlandsk, 2. Indre Sudvestlandsk	154
George T. Flom, Axel Olrik's 'The Heroic Legends of Denmark'	284
Josef Wiehr, T. M. Campbell's 'The Life and Works of Friedrich Hebbel'	290
Wilfred P. Mustard, Elizabeth Nitchie's 'Vergil and the English Poets'	298
Lee M. Hollander, Miriam Franc's 'Ibsen in England'	300
Killis Campbell, William B. Cairns's 'British Criticisms of American Writings, 1783-1815. A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-American Literary Relationships'	302
Otto B. Schlutter, F. Kluge's 'Altdeutsches Sprachgut im Mittelatein; Deutsche Namenkunde; and Hildebrandslied, Ludwigslied and Merseburger Zaubersprüche'	397

A/

Lane Cooper, W. A. Oldfather's 'Index Verborum quae in Senecae Fabulis reperuntur'	406
Fr. Klaeber, Ernst A. Kock's 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings'	409
Clark S. Northrup, H. F. Jones's 'Samuel Butler'	413
Howard R. Patch, Albert S. Cook's 'The Old English Elene, Phoenix and Physiologus'	418
Otto B. Schlutter, Eilert Ekwall's 'Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England'	422
Neil C. Brooks, Karl Young's 'Ordo Rachelis'	423
Otto B. Schlutter, W. Uhrstrom's 'Pickpocket, Turnkey, Wrap-Raskal, and Similar Formations in English'	424
Homer E. Woodbridge, 'The Yale Shakespeare'	426
Christian A. Ruckmick, C. F. Jacob's 'The Foundations and Nature of Verse'	430
Lane Cooper, Henry Dwight Sedgwick's 'Dante: An Elementary Book for Those Who Seek in the Great Poet the Teacher of the Spiritual Life' ..	434
Notes	435
Josef Wiehr, Fr. Neumann's 'Geschichte des neuhochdeutschen Reimes von Opitz bis Wieland'	560
Franklyn Bliss Snyder, H. Hecht's 'Robert Burns; Leben und Wirken' ..	566
Henning Larsen, G. Schütte's 'Vor Mytiske Kongeraekke'	571
George O. Curme, H. Paul's 'Deutsche Grammatik'	574
Ernest E. Leisy, W. C. Bronson's 'A Short History of American Literature' and P. H. Boynton's 'A History of American Literature'	577
E. C. Knowlton, Caroline Goad's 'Horace in English Literature of the 18th Century' and M. R. Thayer's 'The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the 19th Century'	579
Robert L. Ramsay, G. Summey, Jr's 'Modern Punctuation: Its Utilities and Conventions'	582
Maximilian J. Rudwin, M. J. Olgin's 'A Guide to Russian Literature'	587

JUS CONNATUM AND THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN

The famous lines in the first part of Goethe's Faust:

Vom Rechte, das mit uns geboren ist,
Von dem ist leider nie die Frage,

in which Mephistopheles sums up his vitriolic invectives against the study of jurisprudence in general and of positive law in particular, have always been interpreted as a reference to the so-called natural law. Since the entire passage in which these lines occur is missing in the *Urfaust* but appears first in the *Fragment* of 1790, it might be inferred that the lines in question originated during the time of the French Revolution when declamations about human rights and natural law were in vogue. We must remember, however, that discussions of the nature, the origin and the merits of the *jus naturale* antedate both the American and the French Revolution and that Goethe, as a student of law, doubtless was familiar with them. It is, therefore, not improbable that the unusual phrase "mit uns geboren" by which Goethe characterizes the natural law as opposed to statute or positive law and which, as we shall see later, appears in the adjective form "mitgeboren" in the poet's early writings, was either coined by him or adopted from current legal terminology. In either case, the very use of the term discloses the poet as a champion of the cause which set the later revolutionary events into motion, and as fully conscious of the significance of the idea of natural law as one of the greatest moving powers of modern history.

It is a fact not infrequently overlooked, that the conception of the *lex naturae* which plays so important a role in the political, social and ethical development of modern times, is a product of Stoicism and, to a certain extent, of Epicureanism, the two philosophies of the senile decline of antiquity which mark the birth of individualism. A manifestation of reason, the great general law which pervades the universe and constitutes the final cause of all existence, the natural law, according to the stoic view, is identical with the ethical law both as

to its origin and its nature. This implies not only that this law which is eternal and independent of human statutes constitutes an absolute moral canon for all men but also that, owing to its divine origin, it has obligatory force because it is a part of human nature and as such is capable of apprehension and recognition by human reason which itself had emanated from the universal divine reason.

Never before in the history of Greek thought had the supremacy of reason and its immanent harmony with nature been emphasized as it was in the philosophy of stoicism. Nor do we find a similar glorification of reason and its immanent harmony with nature except during the period of enlightenment in the eighteenth century.

The influence which the stoic doctrine had upon the development of political ideals seems quite obvious. From the postulated rationality of the universe in which every thinking being participates, naturally follows the assumption of a community of those beings. In fact, the stoics claim that there exists an impulse in all men to form a community, for since all men are subject to reason, they possess but one right and law, and in obedience to this law they work for the interest of all. No man can live for himself without living for others, hence it is a direct command of nature that men establish a community. The latter, therefore, develops from the *lex naturae* according to the stoic view, not vice versa.

Moreover, if the human community has for its sole basis the equality of reason in which each individual shares, there is no cause of limiting the community to a single people or nation, for all peoples are members of one body, since nature has formed all of them from the same material and for the fulfillment of the same purpose. Or, as Epiktetus has it: all men are brothers for all pray in the same manner to the same father. It is the idea of cosmopolitanism which for the first time finds philosophical expression in the stoic doctrine, an idea to which again Epiktetus gives concise utterance in the sentence: "*Patriam meam esse mundum sciam et praesides Deos.*"

That there is in these political conceptions and especially in the idea of a World-State or a universal league comprising all nations a decided Utopian element there can be no ques-

tion. The ideal state which really hovered before the mind of the stoics has best been described by Ed. Zeller in his history of Greek philosophy: "a state without marriage, family, temples, courts, schools, and money, a state, that meets with no antagonism on the part of other states because all national limits have been overcome by the brotherhood of all men."

The similarity of this ideal of state with the political dreams of modern communists need not be emphasized. But although the words liberty, equality, brotherhood of man, cosmopolitanism and rule of reason were the slogan among the stoics, little or nothing was done by them to reform contemporary political and social conditions. Not until the American revolution and the subsequent political upheaval in France was the attempt made to translate the stoic ideals into reality. What the stoics were not able to realize themselves, however, they projected into the past by a clever combination of their doctrines with the popular legends of a golden age. According to their teachings it was during this primitive ideal period of humanity that the *lex naturae* ruled supreme. Positive law owes its origin to the subsequent corruption of social conditions. The *jus naturale*, however, retains its original absolute force, even then, and whenever it comes into conflict with the positive law the latter ceases to be obligatory.

It is generally known that the stoic view of the state and the *lex naturae* together with the political theories of other philosophic systems were reproduced later by Cicero, and through his writings, and through the Roman jurists of the early empire, transmitted to the Middle Ages. However, before we follow the later history of the political ideas of stoicism, a word concerning the political theories of Epicureanism which also undergo a revival in the course of time will be in place.

The atomistic and materialistic character of the Epicurean system of thought is reflected most clearly in its political doctrines. As the universe, according to this philosophy, developed from the accidental collision of atoms¹ so human society originated from an accidental aggregation of indi-

¹ "Nullo cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuitu." Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I. 66.

viduals actuated by selfish or utilitarian motives. States owe their origin to a conscious agreement or contract among individuals for the purpose of mutual advantage and self preservation. Previous to this contract no law existed for there is no absolute and independent law outside of that created by contract. While the stoics teach "naturalem legem divinum esse, eamque vim obtinere recta imperantem, prohibentemque contraria,"² Epicurus defines the natural law as follows: "justum natura est utilitatis pactum ut neque invicem laedamus nos nec laedamur."³

In accordance with these views the Epicurean ideas concerning the primitive state of the human race differ essentially from those of the stoics. There never existed a golden age such as the latter and the popular traditions claim but, on the contrary, at the beginning there were only necessity, poverty, ignorance and coarseness as Lucretius tells us in his poem "De rerum natura." The history of the human race according to him is the history of its gradual rise to a material, moral and intellectual civilization.

It is not difficult to recognize in these views the source of political theories which we meet again in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and of which Gassendi, Spinoza and especially Hobbes and Rousseau are the chief exponents. Before the radical rationalism and the materialism of the Epicurean philosophy of the state was to be revived, however, the political and social theories of stoicism had already attained a paramount influence as an historical factor. The acceptance by the early Church of the *jus naturale* as developed by the stoics and its fusion with essential tenets of Christianity constitutes, in fact, an event of the utmost importance. Christ's message of the kingdom of God, a message of extreme religious individualism and at the same time of universality, contained no definite precepts with regard to the possible social and political structure of the ideal community governed by the spirit of divine love which gradually was to be realized on earth. However, with the formation of the early Christian

² Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 14.

³ M. Voigt, *Das jus naturale*, etc. I, 131.

congregations in which Christ's ideal found expression in a radical religious individualism and socialism, a decided antagonism to the existing social and political organizations developed, followed by long struggles with the Roman state. Although these struggles finally ended in the victory of the Church, i.e., in the nominal Christianization of the state, the inherent contrast between the Christian ideal and the traditional non-Christian institutions of society as well as the exigencies of actual life had not been removed. To bridge it over a compromise which would make allowance for these exigencies and established institutions and at the same time preserve the spirit of strict Christianity seemed necessary. This was accomplished by the adoption and the gradual transformation of the *jus naturale* as developed by the stoics which, moreover, bore strong resemblance to certain Christian views and doctrines

It is impossible here to trace the history of the new Christian conception of the *lex naturae* resulting from the fusion of stoic and Christian ideals which was to play a remarkable role not only in the medieval Church but also in the teachings of Luther and Calvin. Emphasis should be laid upon the fact, however, that while the Church identified the *lex naturae* on the whole with the *lex Mosis*, certain mediaeval sects and later certain protestant denominations, especially the latter, insisted upon the identity of the *jus naturale* as it existed in the *status integritatis* before the fall with the divine law proclaimed by Christ in the sermon on the mount. Freedom, equality, community of property and equal rights of man and woman constitute the original *jus naturale* and demand realization in order to bring about the millenium. The element of political ferment in this conception of the *jus naturale* is obvious, and it is here that modern democracy derives its real origin. The powerful plea for liberty of conscience and religious freedom first uttered by Luther and contained in the Anabaptistic creed as well as in the teachings of mystics such as Valentin Weigel and Jacob Boehme who, moreover, identified the inner light with human reason and the law of nature, worked like a leaven in Germany, in Holland and finally in England, where

during the revolution, their political consequences became apparent.⁴

Although a direct influence of the lofty ideas of religious tolerance upon the rise of the modern, purely rationalistic doctrine of the *jus naturale* cannot be shown, it does not seem to be merely accidental that the latter developed contemporaneously with the claims of religious liberty. It is in times of social unrest and revolutionary convulsions that the law of nature is evoked, and as the violent struggles to attain religious freedom affected the whole of the social body, the attempt at a reconstruction of the *jus naturale* does not seem surprising. That the basis of this reconstruction was found in human reason may be explained from various causes.

The emphasis which the mystic and sectarian circles laid upon the identity of the inner light with human reason and the law of nature has already been pointed out. The emancipation of human reason which lay hidden in this view and, in fact, inaugurated the era of rationalism and "enlightenment" made the revival of stoic doctrines in which, as we have seen, reason played a similar rôle all the more acceptable and plausible. Moreover, it will be remembered that the humanistic movement carried with it not only a new conception and valuation of man and his innate powers, but also a deeper and more intense study of ancient literature and philosophy. This led, of course, also to a renewed interest in the study of Roman law and the conscious attempts of its revival such as we notice among a number of distinguished French jurists during the 16th century.

The greatest impulse of the development of the modern doctrine of the *jus naturale* was given, however, by the social and political conditions of the time. While the sway of the medieval Church and the Empire had practically been broken by the Reformation, the autocratic power of the territorial sovereigns, on the other hand, was constantly increasing, and

⁴ See Valentin Weigel, *Kirchen oder Hauspostill* (1618) II, 134: "Es ist das angeborne Licht in einem Jeden, daraus alle Erkenntniß fleusset." E. D. Colberg, *Das Platonisch-hermetische Christentum* (1710) II, 338: "Gott hat in alle Menschen, auch Jüden und Heyden einen innerlichen lebendigen Glauben gepflanzt, darin offenbaret er sich allen Völkern durch das Gesetz der Natur in der Liebe, die auch Gott selber ist."

with it the antagonism of the state to the rising individualism, nourished by the religious movements and the changed economic and social conditions of the period. As both, the sacerdotium and the imperium, had ceased to be the universal arbiters, a new tribunal was to be found before which the fierce contest between religious freedom and coercion, between democracy and autocratic rule could be decided. It is for this reason that the *jus naturale* of antiquity was evoked which showed the possibility of reconstructing upon the basis of individualistic principles, both society and state by going back to their very origins. How widespread and deep the desire for social and political reconstruction was is evinced, furthermore, by the numerous utopias produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all of which show traces of the stoic ideal of the golden age.

It is, of course, impossible here even to sketch the various theories of natural right as they were developed by such men as Althusius, Hugo Grotius, Pufendorf and others in Holland and Germany, and by Hooker, Hobbes, Locke and their followers in England. That the doctrine of the law of nature should have found its earliest and most ardent champions in these countries seems due in no small measure to the ineradicable love of freedom of which the early Germanic political institutions, as described by Tacitus, give ample evidence. In fact it was the Tacitean picture of old Germanic liberty expressed in the sovereignty of the people, that inspired German poets and patriots in their struggles for political freedom from the sixteenth century down to the wars of liberation.

It is significant, therefore, that the first attempt to construct the state according to the principles of the revived stoic conception of natural law was made by Johannes Althusius upon the basis of the theory of the sovereignty of the people. A professor at the German university of Herborn, which stood in most intimate religious and intellectual relationship to the Netherlands, Althusius, in the preface to his famous book, "*Politica methodice digesta et exemplis sacris et profanis illustrata*," points out in eloquent terms that there was no more glorious an example of the just, wise and strong realization of the sovereignty of the people, the central thought of

his book, than the example which the united Dutch provinces had given to all nations by freeing themselves from Spain. The close connection between the great historical event which inspired Althusius and the origin of his political theories is all the more important since the sovereignty of the people together with his doctrine of the social contract (*contractus socialis*) from now on occupy the foremost place in the constantly increasing discussions of natural law, discussions which finally, as a matter of logical consequence as well as of immediate and pressing practical concern, develop the doctrine of the original rights of the individual. While there is no question that the demand for religious freedom furnished the first impulse to the development of this doctrine, it would be a mistake to trace the declaration of the rights of man directly to religious causes. Religious toleration in the strict sense of the word is, in the last analysis, incompatible with the idea of orthodoxy to which every religious body must adhere as a matter of principle. The demand for religious liberty, therefore, means, within the various sects, in reality the demand for the right of exercising some particular religion and not the recognition of the fact that other religious bodies should have the same right. Tolerance, in the latter sense, is the result of lofty philosophical thought, as is found first in mystics such as Valentin Weigel and Jacob Boehme and later emphasized chiefly by philosophers such as Spinoza, Locke and Thomasius. It is for this reason that religious liberty is listed comparatively late among the rights of man proclaimed by the *jus naturale*. Least of all, however, is there any justification for the claim that religious liberty was one of the prime factors which produced the declaration of human rights by the various American colonies.⁵

⁵The attitude of the New England theocracy toward religious liberty and toleration is well illustrated by the following quotations:

Nathaniel Ward (1645): "God doth nowhere in His word tolerate Christian States to give toleration to adversaries."

"Polypietiy is the greatest impiety in the world."

John Cotton: "It was Toleration that made the world anti-Christian."

Pres. Oakes (1673): "I look upon Toleration as the first-born of all abominations."

There is, in fact, in the various American bills and declarations of rights not a single right which previously had not been evolved theoretically by the leading advocates of the *jus naturale*. Liberty and equality, they had argued, are not the only rights postulated by natural law, but there are others which are retained by man when by an act of free will he enters into the social compact. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the principle of the free will of the individual entering upon this compact, a principle which was first introduced by Althusius, for upon it is based not only the conception of the purpose of the state, which is the common good or welfare, but also the theory of the inalienable rights of man. In conformity with the stoic tradition both Grotius and Pufendorf teach that according to the law of nature all men in their original state are free and equal. Following Pufendorf, who saw in self-preservation a fundamental instinct of man, Locke makes the preservation of property the central idea of his political system, an idea which, in his opinion, includes also the life and liberty of the individual. This utilitarian emphasis upon property was due in all probability to the desire of curbing the communistic tendencies of certain religious sects and of securing for the English middle classes the necessary protection of their liberty and property against possible future government encroachment such as they had experienced under the rule of the Stuarts. That Locke's theories, on the whole a revival of the political doctrines of stoicism and their outspoken individualism, would appeal strongly to the American colonists in their economic struggle against the encroachments of the British government goes without saying.

It is doubtful, however, whether Locke's conception and interpretation of the rights founded in the law of nature would as such have led to the declaration of the rights of man and to the establishment of a new government since Locke, after all, considers the English government as a moderate monarchy and an especially happy embodiment of the constitutional form of the *jus naturale*. He even goes so far as to defend prerogatives and to speak of the "God-like English princes" in a way that smacks strongly of the divine right. If the English form of government had really been the model

state, in which the rights of man were secured, the American colonies would have had little reason to break away from it.

What Locke's system of the *jus naturale* was lacking in particular and what must have seemed of vital importance to the discontented American colonists, was the assertion of the inalienability of freedom. While one or two sections of his "Two Treatises on Government" (II, 23, 95) seem to imply this assertion, there are other passages which state distinctly that "men when they enter society, give up the equality, liberty and executive power that they had in the state of nature into the hands of the society to be so far disposed of by the legislative as the good of the society shall require." (131) The only power which nobody can transfer to another is the power over his own life. Whether the failure of Locke and his immediate followers, Montesquieu and Rousseau, to recognize the inalienableness of freedom was due to the illusion that the democratic form of government as such insured the personal freedom of the individual, an illusion which disregards the tyranny of majority rule, or whether it was caused by Locke's secret reverence for the hereditary prerogatives of the British crown, cannot be decided here.

The champions of the cause of the colonies, all assiduous students of the law of nature, which furnished them with their weapons, had to look elsewhere for the justification of severing their allegiance to a government which, though claiming to be founded on the laws of nature, did not recognize in its laws the rights of the individuals and denied them the fundamental rights of this law. They found this justification in the basic principle of the *jus naturale* laid down for the first time in the system of Chr. Wolff, according to which the right of freedom is *inalienable*. Wolff arrives at this important principle by distinguishing strictly between freedom in the original state of nature and freedom in the state of society, and defines the former as *jus connatum* and as such "homini ita inhaeret, ut ipsi auferri non possit."⁶ This innate and inherent freedom is not given up by man to the majority of the community, as Locke and others teach, but is only restrained: "Imperium civile cum metiendum sit ex fine civitatis, idem non extenditur

⁶ Chr. Wolff: *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* (1750), § 74.

ultra eas civium actiones quae ad bonum publicum consequendum pertinet; consequenter cum nonnisi quoad easdem libertas naturalis singulorum restringatur, quoad ceteras actiones ea illibata manet.”⁷

The extraordinary esteem in which Samuel Pufendorf's great work “*De jure naturae et gentium*” (1673) stood at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries in Europe and America⁸ was second only to the regard in which Christian Wolff's rigorously systematic and philosophical book, “*Institutiones juris naturae et gentium*,” was held since the middle of the eighteenth century. “The academies of Paris and London,” says Hettner, “made Wolff their honorary member, and it was indeed an hitherto almost unheard of event that the scientific writings of a German were translated into nearly all living languages.” Especially strong was his influence in France where Voltaire became an enthusiastic student of his philosophy, and the *Journal des Savants*, the *Histoire litteraire* and the *Journal de Trévoux* published large extracts from his writings.

How soon Wolff's work on the *jus naturale* became known in America cannot be definitely stated, but the fact that Vattel's book on the Law of Nature, a famous popularization of Wolff's system, is often quoted by John Adams, Samuel Adams, Otis, Jefferson, Hamilton, and others, goes to show that Wolff's ideas had taken root in this country even before his work was translated into French by E. Luzac in 1772.

There seems to be no question that as soon as in the political discussions the rights of man are described as inherent and inalienable, as is done by James Otis in his celebrated speech on the writs of assistance delivered in Boston in 1761, the influence of Wolff is evident. Moreover, the fact that in the same speech Otis mentions the rights of mutual defense and security, proves beyond a doubt that he knew Wolff's list of *jura connata*, a catalogue existing in no previous author: “Ex

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 980.

⁸ The most striking example of the influence which Pufendorf, who held the first professorship of International Law at the University of Heidelberg, exerted upon early American political thought is the famous little book, *A Vindication of the Government of New England*, published in 1717 by John Wise, pastor at Ipswich, Mass.

hactenus dictis patet, quatenam sint jura hominum connata, nimirum jus ad ea, sine quibus obligationi naturali satisfieri nequit, sub quo comprehenditur jus petendi officia humanitatis, et alterum sibi obligandi ad ea perfecte, aequalitas, libertas, *jus securitatis* et inde natum *ius defensionis* et jus puniendi.”⁹ It is no wonder that John Adams shuddered, as he relates, to hear these doctrines whose import was so far reaching, and that he considered American independence to have been born then and there.

It is a most significant fact, hitherto overlooked, that Wolff’s *Institutiones Juris Naturae*, in Luzac’s edition of 1772, which prints the Latin text opposite the French translation, was owned by Jefferson and shows a mark, presumably made by him, opposite the Latin paragraph which treats of the right of civil war: “differt a rebellione Bellum civile quo justa arma adversus *Rectorem civitatis* sumunt subditi. Licitum igitur est in omni casu, in quo Rectori civitatis resistere licet.”¹⁰ In the last part of the work numerous passages which treat of war and neutrality are marked by Jefferson. While it is impossible to determine the exact year when he purchased the book his manuscript library catalogue shows that he possessed it previous to March 6, 1783.

In view of these facts it is of great interest to examine the Declaration of Independence with regard to the possible influence which Wolff’s teachings might have had on Jefferson. That the conception of the inalienable rights, especially of the inalienability of the right of freedom, must be traced back to Wolff has already been pointed out. Of the three rights listed by Locke: life, liberty and property, the Declaration of Independence has only life and liberty, adding in place of property the pursuit of happiness. While the latter is not contained in Wolff’s catalogue of rights, it appears among the objects for which, according to Wolff, the State has been constituted: “unde patet, pacto hominum civitates fuisse constituendas et finem civitatis consistere in vitae sufficientia, abundantia eorum ad vitae necessitatem commoditatem et jucunditatem requiruntur ac mediorum felicitatis.”¹¹ The omission of the right of property is all the more significant, since Locke, as has been shown above, based the entire structure of his system upon this conception. Whether Jefferson, with keen logical insight,

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 1233.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, § 972.

considered the inalienability of property as debatable and irrelevant as far as the great issue was concerned, or whether he thought that the Declaration of Independence should be based upon an interpretation of the law of nature different in some essentials from that of Locke and his follower, Blackstone, both of whom were after all loyal Englishmen, is difficult to determine.

To justify the complete political separation from England and the establishment of a new form of government, an exposition of the right of resistance that could furnish the legal basis for these actions was necessary. What Locke had to offer as a last resort in this respect was an appeal to Heaven. Wolff, however, was far more explicit and radical in his teachings. While he concedes to the individual only the right of passive resistance against encroachments on his liberty, he declares that the people as a whole, by whose consent the government exists, are entitled to disobey and give active resistance whenever their constitutional rights are infringed, for with the breach of the social compact the people return to the original state of nature in which each individual protects his own rights and the formation of a new government becomes imperative.

That this train of reasoning is also at the bottom of Jefferson's arguments in support of the contention that "it is the right and the duty of the people to throw off a government designing to reduce them under absolute despotism and to provide new guards for their future security" is quite evident. Nor can the purpose of laying the long list of infractions of the rights of the colonies directly at the door of the British king, the Rector civitatis,¹² and not of the English Parliament which, of course, was equally guilty of these infringements, be misunder-

¹² The original draft of the Declaration of Independence reads, "the present majesty," which Benjamin Franklin changed into "the present King of Great Britain."

As a matter of historical interest it may be mentioned that among "the injuries and usurpations" with which the King of Great Britain is charged there appears in Jefferson's original draft also the following: "he is at this time transporting large armies of *Scotch and other foreign mercenaries* to compleat the works of death," etc. Why the *Scotch*, who were evidently classed as foreigners with the so-called "Hessians" by Jefferson, were afterwards omitted has not yet been explained.

stood. Had Jefferson adhered to the fiction of the democracy of the British government and accused the Parliament, his entire argumentation would have collapsed and what he wished to have considered an uprising against tyranny, justifiable by the law of nature, would have appeared an unwarrantable rebellion.

There is finally one more vital point of contact between Jefferson's Declaration and the system of Wolff. Although Locke had succeeded in reestablishing the *jus naturale* of stoicism, his own system lacked the metaphysical foundation which the stoic doctrine possessed in the principle of the universal reason, of which the *jus naturale* is a manifestation. Without sacrificing the rationalistic character of his method or of returning to the theological explanation of the natural law of previous times, Wolff, following Leibniz, on the other hand, declared that "autor legis naturae ipse Deus est et ad actiones suas eidem confirmandas hominem obligat, sicque obligatio naturalis etiam divina est et lex naturalis divina."¹³ The spirit of Deism which dictated this explanation of the origin of the law of nature would naturally appeal to Jefferson and it is not difficult to see how it is reflected in the phrase: "that they are *endowed* by their *creator* with certain inalienable rights."¹⁴ The *jus connatum* is, therefore, in the last analysis a divine law and its inalienability follows from its divine character.

By this allusion to the divine origin of the law of nature the doctrine of the inalienable rights of man became a message whose inspiring ring acted with irresistible force especially upon the masses. What had been slowly evolved in the quiet workshop of the thinkers and teachers now loomed in historical reality by the establishment of a democracy such as the world had not seen before.

The student who follows the history of natural law from its beginnings among the stoics to its consummation in the declaration of the rights of man, is impressed with the fact that he is face to face with one of the most potent forces at the

¹³ Wolff, *Institutiones*, § 41.

¹⁴ It is most significant that in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson intended to deduct the inalienable rights from the equality of all men: "that from that equal creation they derive in rights inherent and inalienable."

root of the historical process since the decline of antiquity. Determined in its growth by great political and social events, the doctrine of natural law not only accompanies these events but also in many instances furnishes and spreads the ideas which shape them. Its main efforts are directed toward a transformation of existing social and political conditions and toward the establishment of a new and more desirable state of human affairs in the future.

The real motive power behind this progressive tendency, however, was the exalted conception of nature as the original source of truth, goodness and right and, above all, the ideal of man and humanity which had been carefully fostered by thinkers and poets ever since the time of the Renaissance, an ideal which, moreover, acquired a new lustre with the discovery of the inalienability of the rights of man.¹⁵

The victory of man's rights in the political sphere was therefore felt essentially as a triumph of humanity. For this reason Klopstock, the apostle of humanity, hails the American revolution with the lines:

Ein hoher Genius der *Menschlichkeit*
Begeistert dich!
Du bist die Morgenröte
Eines nahenden grossen Tages.¹⁶

In a later ode entitled, "Der Freiheitskrieg," he greets the French Revolution, before its pledges and promises had been broken, in a similar strain:

Weise *Menschlichkeit* hat den *Verein* zu Staaten erschaffen,
*Hat zum Leben das Leben gemacht.*¹⁷

¹⁵ An excellent illustration of the high conception of nature which inspired the advocates of natural law is furnished by the following extract from Wolff's dedication of his *Institutiones*: "Actionum humanarum bonitatem, aequitatem et rectitudinem non facit hominum opinio, quae stabilis non permanet, nec sibi in omnibus consentit, sed ut sint bonae, ut rectae, id ab ipsa hominum natura venit, et in rerum essentia atque natura rationem sufficientem habet. Differt igitur ab opinione veritas, quae aeternitatem et sempiternitatem ab ipsa hominum atque rerum essentia et natura immutabili trahit . . . Haec ratio me permovet, ut castum illud et sanctum jus, quod ipsa natura inter homines singulos atque gentes constituit, inconcussum felicitatis totius generis humani fundamendum, et ipsa natura humana continuo nexu . . . redigerem," etc.

¹⁶ *Der jetzige Krieg* (1781).

¹⁷ *Der Freiheitskrieg* (April, 1792).

There is no question that Goethe, as has already been stated, while a student of law at Leipzig and Strassburg, became intimately acquainted with Wolff's system of natural law and his doctrine of the *jus connatum*. How deeply this doctrine impressed him can be seen from the fact that years before the innate and inherent rights became the political watchword in America and France, he made the idea of congenital origin his own to express the birthright of genius and personality. Hence the epithet "mitgeboren," a direct translation of *connatum*, which he employs to characterize the endowments which nature has given man. Thus he speaks of the innate grace of true womanhood as "mitgeborner Anstand" and calls his own destiny "fatum congenitum." A striking example of the use he makes of Wolff's conception of "connatum" occurs, moreover, in the dramatic fragment, "Prometheus," of the year 1773 in which the young poet draws a remarkable picture of the *communio primaeva*, as Wolff and others before him call the state of nature in which men lived before positive laws were established. The similarity between this picture and Wolff's description of the original state of man, which is essentially that of the stoics, precludes the suggested influence of Rousseau's "Discours sur l'inégalité" (1758), a work based wholly upon Epicurean theories of the *status originarius*.¹⁸ It is characteristic of Goethe's early attitude of indifference toward political questions that his sketch of the primitive state of man suggests the origin of the right of property but in no way alludes to the beginning of government. What at the time interested the poet chiefly was the modern ideal of man as a free and self-responsible being, personified in Prometheus, who defiantly proclaims for himself and the generation created by him, the right of shaking off the yoke of servitude which the gods had placed upon him. His former religious faith has yielded to an unlimited self-confidence that recognizes neither divine origin nor dependency upon the gods. Even the inspirations of the goddess of wisdom, his only friend among the Olympian powers, he declares to be "mitgeborne Harmonien" to which he alone has a right.

¹⁸ See F. Saran, Goethe's *Mohamet und Prometheus*, Halle, 1914.

The intimate relationship existing between the rebellious spirit of the Prometheus fragment and the insurgent temper of the subsequent revolutionary movements was recognized by Goethe himself when, in later years, he called his Prometheus the "gospel for our revolutionary youth" and "the priming of an explosion."

It was at the time when the firsts bursts of thunder announced the approach of the storm of insurrection against tyrannical oppression that Goethe wrote the famous lines in defense of the jus connatum quoted at the beginning of this paper, summing up in a single epigrammatic phrase the fundamental issue of the great revolutionary struggle. How deeply Goethe was affected by the enthusiastic hopes which the declaration of human rights in America and afterwards in France had aroused in Germany may be seen from the well known passage in "Hermann and Dorothea":

Denn wer leugnet es wol, dass hoch sich das Herz ihm erhoben,
Ihm die freiere Brust mit reineren Pulsen schlug,
Als sich der erste Glanz der neuen Sonne erhob,
Als man hörte vom *Rechte der Menschen*, dass allen gemein sei,
Von der begeisterten *Freiheit* und von der löblichen *Gleichheit!*
Damals hoffte jeder, sich selbst zu leben, es schien sich
Aufzulösen das Band, das viele Länder umstrickte,
Das der Müßiggang und der Eigennutz in der Hand hielt.

.....
O, wie froh ist die Zeit, wenn mit der Braut sich der Bräutigam
Schwinget im Tanze, den Tag der gewünschten Verbindung erwartend!
Aber herrlicher war die Zeit in der uns *das Höchste*,
Was der Mensch sich denkt, als nah und erreichbar sich zeigte.
Da war jedem die Zunge gelöst, er sprachen die Greise,
Männer und Jünglinge laut voll hohen Sinns and Gefühles.

Unfortunately this glorious time did not last long and the disillusionment which the subsequent events in France brought to Klopstock and other noble spirits of this period, also seized Goethe. Hence he continues in "Hermann und Dorothea":

Aber der Himmel trübte sich bald. Um den Vorteil der Herrschaft
Stritt ein verderbtes Geschlecht, unwürdig, das Gute zu schaffen.
Sie ermordeten sich und unterdrückten die neuen
Nachbarn und Brüder.

Nevertheless Goethe did not abandon his faith in the message of the rights of man, and for his defense of his mission as a poet

expressed in the famous lines of Faust, I. 135 ff., he knows of no higher appeal than that of his sacred human right.

There has been a tendency both in Europe and in America during the last decades to disregard and to disparage the law of nature upon which the declaration of our independence rests. But no tyranny, whether of autocracy or pseudo-democratic majority rule, will succeed in smothering its immortal spirit,¹⁹ nor will any philosophic or religious doctrine destroy the innate belief of man that he carries the oracle of divine nature in the secret recesses of his soul. Here originate our conceptions of truth and right and here is born the will to avenge nature when it has been desecrated and outraged by man. Whenever the old order of things must be demolished to inaugurate a new day for humanity, the law of nature will again be conjured and the poet's immortal words will come true:

Wenn der Gedrückte nirgends Recht kann finden,
 Wenn unerträglich wird die Last—greift er
 Hinauf getrosten Mutes in den Himmel
 Und holt herunter seine ewigen Rechte,
 Die droben hangen unveräusserlich
 Und unzerbrechlich, wie die Sterne selbst—
 Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder,
 Wo Mensch dem Menschen gegenüber steht—
 Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein andres mehr
 Verfangen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

¹⁹ Cf. Jefferson's opinion expressed in a letter to James Madison (1787): "I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions indeed establish the encroachments on the right of people which have produced them." . . . Again in another letter of the same year he says: "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion [as Shay's] . . . If they [the people] remain quiet . . . it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to the public liberty. . . . What country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance."

THE PLAYERS AT COURT, 1564-1642

When in 1633 Prynne delivered his massive attack upon the stage, he frequently made the Church fathers speak for him. "Saint Crysostome oft complains," he notes, "that men did bestow innumerable, yea unspeakable gifts and consume much money upon stage players: that they cherished them at their own private houses . . . and that they maintained them likewise out of the publicke Treasury."¹ But Prynne had the courage of his convictions, and he was not satisfied with this veiled attack upon the court's financial contributions to the players. He does not hesitate to pay his respects to the memory of Henry VIII, "who spent infinite summes of money upon Stage-playes, Masques, and such-like prodigall Shewes and Pageants,"² and King Charles and his consort fare no better at his hands. "The over-prodigall disbursements upon Playes and Masques of late penurious times," writes Prynne, "have been well-nigh as expensive as the wars."³

It must be admitted that Prynne had much reason for his complaint, and he was by no means the only one to make it. Twenty years before him, John Chamberlain, in describing to Mrs. Carleton the gorgeous masques and revels at court upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, complained that "this extreem cost and riches makes us all poore."⁴ Most of this "extreem cost," however, was devoted to court masques and revels proper—rather than to court performances by the professional companies. In the days of James I an expenditure of 3,000 li. for a single masque was a rather common occurrence,⁵ and in the very year of Prynne's attack the enormous sum of 21,000 li. was spent for a masque given to Charles I by the four Inns of Court.⁵ To consider fully the cost and business manage-

¹ *Histriomastix*, p. 316.

² *Ibid.*, p. 320.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁴ *State Papers Dom.*, *Jas. I*, LXXII, no. 30, quoted in Sullivan's *Court Masques of Jas. I*, p. 81. 9,000 li. was spent for fireworks on this occasion, according to Chamberlain, (*Birch, Court and Times of Jas. I*, 1/225).

⁵ See documents in P. Reyher's *Les Masques Anglais*, p. 71 ff., and Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 144 ff.

ment of the Revels at Court would be to go beyond the limits of this paper,⁶ the purpose of which is, primarily, to study the financial relations between the court and the professional players and playwrights from the beginning of the Shaksperian era to the closing of the theatres in 1642.⁷

The subject is one of no little importance, nor is it without its element of curious interest; but it offers peculiar difficulties. Its importance does not rest solely upon the fact that the players derived substantial sums of money from their association with the court and the nobility, though that is a point worth noting. Court tastes and court favor meant so much in the day of the Tudors and Stuarts, that success at court went far to assure success with the general public. It gave the companies vogue, and the excellence of their plays and acting did the rest. It is worth while, therefore, to trace the growth of court patronage of the regular drama, if only as an index of its growing popularity with the public. Incidentally, of course, the favor of the court protected the players against the onslaughts of the Puritan opposition.

Queen Elizabeth was as fond of the drama as her father had been, though her prudence as well as her necessities led her to keep her outlays upon it within comparatively modest bounds.⁸ Between 1558 and 1585 no less than twenty different

⁶ Much material on the Revels has been collected, but, in part at least, it has yet to be organized. Cunningham's volume of Revels documents (*Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, 1842), has been largely supplanted by M. Feuillerat's massive collections (*Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*—hereafter cited as *Documents*—and *Documents . . . in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, respectively), but Cunningham's entries relating to court performances remain valuable. Feuillerat has promised a volume of commentary upon his documents, but has as yet written only a short introductory essay (*Le Bureau des Menus Plaisirs*), which is not altogether in agreement with E. K. Chambers' equally brief, but valuable *Notes on the History of the Revels Office*. I hope soon to present elsewhere a study of the business management of the Office, based on all the materials available.

⁷ I have studied elsewhere the steady development of royal control over the companies, which kept pace with the increasing financial support granted them. (See the chapter on The Dramatic Companies in my MS dissertation, *Finance and Business Management of the Elizabethan Theatre*, Harvard University, 1918).

⁸ In two days of jousts, disguisings, and plays, Henry VIII spent the huge sum of 4,371 li. 11 s. 2 d.,—which is well over twice the amount of recorded payments made by Elizabeth to the professional companies playing at court

companies were made welcome at her court:⁸ their ladies were permitted to say their minds rather freely, their "humorous" men had full liberty to end their parts in peace, their funny men—if we may trust tradition—were invited to reappear "in love," and their lovers, as we shall see, did not sigh gratis. And Elizabeth's successors not only saw more plays than she, but also took the five leading companies under their personal patronage and made their members grooms of the chamber.⁹ The Master of the Revels, the sovereign's "manager of mirth,"¹⁰ usually selected the company and play to be presented at court, and at times lent new costumes and properties from the resources of the Revels Office for the actors' use.¹¹ Under the Stuarts, ✓ the King's Men—Shakspeare's company—were most frequently called upon as entertainers, and the king occasionally usurped the functions of the Master of the Revels by issuing personal instructions for the presentation of certain plays by companies which enjoyed special favor.¹²

It is not particularly difficult to sketch the outlines of our subject. But to arrive at reliable totals as to the number of

during the forty-seven years of her reign (see Table 1 below, and compare Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, p. 37) and almost equal to the total expenses of her Revels Office between 1559 and 1657. (See Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 109.) It should be noted, in passing, that the purchasing power of Elizabethan money was eight to ten times greater than ours. Revels expenditures during the Queen's reign were decidedly lower than under the Stuarts. In view of her determined effort to eliminate unnecessary expense, it strikes one as a bit of tragic irony to read in Hentzner's *Travels* that "the expences . . . made for" her funeral "are estimated at upwards of 60,000 li." (Dodsley's *Fugitive Pieces*, II/290).

⁸ See below, p. 34 ff.

¹⁰ See *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V/1/35:

"Where is our usual manager of mirth?
What revels are on hand? Is there no play
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?"

¹¹ In 1580 Leicester's Men played at Whitehall "a comodie called delighte . . . whereon was ymployed newe one cittie, one battlement, and XII paire of gloves." (Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 36, and, for similar items, pp. 321, 336, etc.) But not all the trappings for these occasions were so provided. In December, 1601, Henslowe advanced 14 s. for "taffy sasenet . . . to a payer of hosse for bycke to tvmbell in before the quen." (*Hens. Diary*, ed. Greg, I/152; cf. Graves, *The Court and the London Theatres*, p. 85.)

✓¹² Charles I personally "corrected" plays submitted to the Master of the Revels. (Malone's *Shakspear*, ed. Boswell, III/235.)

court performances and the amounts paid therefor, is not an easy task. The difficulty arises from the fact that the documents are scattered, and, in part, either incomplete or not well edited.¹³ Such as they are, however, they have not been fully utilized. It has been thought, for example, that because Charles I paid 20 li. for a court performance under certain conditions, Queen Elizabeth must have done the same, and on the basis of this error incorrect conclusions as to the average receipts of the playhouses in Shakspeare's time have been reached. Again, on the basis of the total of court payments for a limited period, Sir Sidney Lee has probably overestimated Shakspeare's income from the court performances of his company.¹⁴ A more comprehensive study of the whole matter, though it must necessarily be circumscribed by the nature of the testimony, should be worth while for its own sake, and incidentally it may serve to correct such errors as these. I shall proceed, therefore, to present the available evidence concerning the number of court performances and the amounts paid under Elizabeth, James, and Charles. A review of the additional income and privileges of the actors as grooms of the chamber, will be next in order—to be followed by an examination of certain additional royal gifts, and of the profits from private performances before the nobility and gentry. Finally, I shall touch upon the subject of court gifts or pensions to playwrights associated with the professional companies.

Before taking up Queen Elizabeth's patronage of the actors, I must dispose of two or three preliminary matters. It should be noted that payments for court performances always went to the actors themselves, never to the "housekeepers," the proprietors of the playhouses. Formal proof of this statement is hardly necessary. One has only to turn to any or all of the extant warrants of payment,¹⁵ or to such a document as the 1616 letter of the Prince's Men requesting a loan of 40 li. from Edward Alleyn, on security of "a great summe of money" due them from the king,¹⁶ to see that the company was the payee in

¹³ See below, p. 32.

¹⁴ For a full discussion of this point, see my paper on "Shakspeare's Income," in *Studies in Philology*, (University of North Carolina), April, 1918, p. 93.

¹⁵ See pp. 26, 27, below.

¹⁶ Warner, *Catalogue MSS. Dulwich College*, p. 53.

every case. Here I am compelled to call attention to another mistake on the part of Sir Sidney Lee. "Each piece acted before Queen Elizabeth at court," writes Sir Sidney, "was awarded 10 li. . . . The number of actors among whom the money was divided was commonly few. In 1594 a sum of 20 li. was divided by Shakespeare and his two acting colleagues, Burbage and Kemp, each receiving 6 li. 13 s. 4 d. apiece."¹⁷ Though 10 li. was the amount usually paid, we shall see that this rate was not consistently maintained. Lee is clearly wrong, moreover, in inferring that the three payees of the 1594 warrant divided the money among themselves. Scores of extant warrants prove that it was customary to make out the draft in favor of the business manager of the company, but that occasionally—perhaps in his absence—some of the other leading actor-sharers were made payees instead. It is no more reasonable to suppose that these men did not divide the proceeds with the rest of the company than it would be to assume that Hemings was the sole beneficiary of the dozens of warrants made out in his name.

Finally, it is desirable to say a word as to the source of the statistics in the following pages. In Chalmers' *Apology* (1797) appeared the first extensive list of treasury warrants for court performances. These cover the years 1563 to 1601,¹⁸ and 1634 to 1640.¹⁹ Cunningham's Introduction to his *Revels at Court* (1842) supplements Chalmers' documents for the years 1564 to 1618.²⁰ E. K. Chambers, in two articles published in *The Modern Language Review*,²¹ has supplied certain additional warrants through the year 1616. Unfortunately, however, he merely records the dates of the warrants discovered by him, without reproducing the documents or indicating the amounts paid. Mrs. Stopes has printed in two places²² all the documents

¹⁷ *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 299. For facsimile of the warrant see Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines* 1/121.

¹⁸ *Apology*, p. 394 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507 ff.

²⁰ Some of these warrants Cunningham discusses in the *Shakesp. Soc. Papers*, 1845, p. 123.

²¹ October, 1906: "Court Performances Before Queen Elizabeth;" January, 1909: "Court Performances Under James the First."

²² *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* (1913), p. 246 ff., and *Shakesp. Jahrbuch*, XLVI/97 ff.

known to her that have to do with court performances of Shakespere's company between 1560 and 1640, and certain additional materials which cover, in general, the same ground as Chalmers' second series of documents; but her list, like the rest, is incomplete.²³ Wallace, finally, in the appendix to his *Evolution of the English Drama* (1912), prints a valuable collation of all the documents for the years 1558-1585.²⁴ He has promised to complete the series through 1642, but has not yet done so. My figures are the result of a collation of all the material made available by the work of these investigators, and they are necessarily subject to such corrections as would result from a collation of the original documents or the discovery of new materials.²⁵

Queen Elizabeth and her father were by no means the first of England's sovereigns who enjoyed the drama. In 1390 King Richard II presented to the clerks of the parish churches at Skynnerwell the sum of 10 li. "as his gift on account of the play of The Passion of Our Lord and the Creation of the World",²⁶ and Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, was liberal in his rewards to dramatic performers.²⁷ We have seen that Elizabeth cut down the expenses of the Revels Office, but as the number and costliness of the gorgeous court shows and pageants decreased, the number of performances by the professional companies mounted steadily.²⁸ The Queen made the most of the opportunity to replace a part of the costly Revels by less expensive court presentations of the new drama which flourished so splendidly during her reign. The following table summarizes the recorded performances at her court, but the actual number given was probably somewhat larger than the records show.

²³ See p. 23, n. 3. Single warrants appear also in Malone, the *Malone Society Collections*, and Collier. To these I shall refer from time to time below. So far as I know, no attempt has hitherto been made to extract the totals from the available documents.

²⁴ *Evolution*, p. 210 ff.

²⁵ See below, p. 32, n. 76.

²⁶ Kelly, *Notices of the Drama at Leicester*, p. 29.

²⁷ "The Gentlemen of the Kings Chapel that played in the Hall opon twelfth night" received 10 marks (6 li. 13 s. 4 d.) in 1507. "The players with marvels" were paid 4 li. in 1498, and "a litel mayden that daunceth" received the large reward of 12 li. in 1495. (Collier, *Annals*, ed. 1831, I/45 ff.)

²⁸ Compare Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

TABLE I. COURT PERFORMANCES UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

	No. of Performances	Total Sums Paid
Performances by Shakspeare's company before 1594 ²⁹	17	170 li.
Performances by Shakspeare's company, 1594-1603 ³⁰	27	270 li.
Performances by ALL companies 1558-1585 ³¹	144	1,331 li. 16 s. 8 d.
Performances by ALL companies 1585-1603 ³⁰	86	855 li.
Totals, 1558-1603.....	230	2, 186 li. 16 s. 8 d.

The table indicates that throughout her long reign the Queen saw annually at least five plays performed by professional companies. The number of performances by Shakspeare's company is smaller than one might expect. The Queen did not call upon the Chamberlain's Men nearly so frequently as her successors; and in general, she saw fewer plays by more companies than they did.³²

The documents of Chalmers, Cunningham, and Wallace, supply valuable information as to the rates per play allowed to the various companies, and this matter is worth considering in some detail. The Queen's payments range from 5 li. to 20 li., both outer limits occurring only once.³³ King Henry VII in

²⁹ That is, before Shakspeare is known to have been a sharer in his company. He must have held a share by 1594, when his name appears in the warrant discussed on p. 6, above.

³⁰ Amount of payments estimated, in part. I have assumed that 10 li. were paid for the performances mentioned by Chambers, who does not indicate the rate of payment. (Cf. pp. 23, 30.)

³¹ This period is covered by Wallace's collation. See above, p. 24.

³² See documents cited on p. 22f. above, particularly those of Wallace, and compare Tables III and IV below.

³³ 5 li. was the amount paid to Nathaniel Gyles and the Children of the Chapel in 1601 for "a showe wth. musycke and speciall songes prepared for ye purpose on Twelfth day at night" (Cunningham, p. XXXIII). Under date of February 10, 1572 Richard Mulcaster and his boys of the Merchant Tailors' School received "for presentinge of a play before her highnes vpon Shrove Tewsdaie at night 6 li. 13 s. 4 d. and for a more reward by her mates. owne comaundemt. 13 li. 6 s. 8 d. In all 20 li." (Wallace, p. 215).—In reproducing this and other warrants I have ordinarily substituted Arabic for Roman figures.

1507 paid his Gentlemen of the Chapel 10 marks (6 li. 13 s. 4 d.) for a dramatic performance,³⁴ and this remained the usual rate until 1575. Thereafter the queen regularly added a "special rewarde" of 5 marks, and the total, 10 li., became the established rate.³⁵ A typical warrant may serve for illustration:—

"To the Earle of Leycesters Servantes by way of her maties. Rewarde for presentinge A play before her highnes vpon St. Stephens Daye Dicto Anno VI li. XIII s. IIII d. And furdur by way of her highnes speciall Rewardes fyve markes by vertue of the Cownsellis warrant Dated at Hampton Coorte IXno Januarii 1577 in all X li."³⁵

Apparently it has not been noted hitherto that Elizabeth, after all, did not always adhere to the established rates. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that when a play especially pleased her, she occasionally added a sizable bonus to the usual 10 li. Thus Mulcaster and his company received altogether 20 li., "by her mates. owne comaudemt.," for a performance in 1575.³⁶ On eight separate occasions before 1585 the Queen added 5 marks (3 li. 6 s. 8 d.) to the usual 10 li. fee, and five times the additional gratuity amounted to ten marks.³⁷ On the other hand, the fee was sometimes reduced, probably because the performance did not give satisfaction. Thus, the

³⁴ See above, p. 24, n. 27.

³⁵ Wallace, p. 219.—In 1603 Edward Alleyn and the Admiral's Men received "10 li. for ech" of 3 plays, "by way of her highnes rewarde as hath bene accustomed" (Cunningham, p. XXXIV). In view of the fact that among Wallace's reprints there are dozens of warrants calling for 10 li. per play, it is somewhat surprising to read in his text (pp. 171-2) that in November, 1584, "John Lyly himself was paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber for presenting his two plays of *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* . . . the unusual sum of 20 li." There was absolutely nothing unusual in this payment. For this warrant see Wallace, p. 224.

³⁶ See above, p. 25, n. 33.

³⁷ See Wallace, p. 210 ff. Mrs. Stopes, (*Burbage and Shakesp. Stage*, p. 248), on encountering one of the warrants for 16½ li., was astonished at its size and inclined to ascribe it to an error on the part of the clerk. She thinks "it was intended . . . just to involve the treasurer in the usual 10 li." A larger payment "must have given rise to heart-burnings and heart-searchings,"—presumably on the part of the actors who did not get it. But it was by no means uncharacteristic of Elizabeth to inspire "heart-burnings and heart-searchings" in those who served her. In this respect James and Charles were more masculine than the Queen. With but one or two exceptions they did not vary their rewards. See pp. 31, 32, below.

manager of the Children of the Chapel received only 5 li. for a special performance as late as 1601.³⁸ Once before, in 1584, two plays presented by this company appear to have met with less favor than usual, for only 7 li. 10 s. each was allowed for them.³⁹

It has been generally held by writers who have not examined the evidence closely, that throughout our period the usual rate of 10 li. was doubled when the court performance was given at a time and place which interfered with the regular public performance of the company in the afternoon. "As a rule," writes Mantzius,⁴⁰ "the performance at court took place in the evening, so that it did not collide with public performances. In these cases only 10 li. was paid, which thus gave a net profit. But if the company was ordered to play at the usual hours of performance in the theatre,⁴¹ they received 20 li., in order to cover the remuneration which they lost." Similarly, Professor Thorndike states that "if the performance was given at Hampton Court or Richmond instead of one of the city palaces, the amount was doubled."⁴² But all extant warrants of Queen Elizabeth and James I prove that the increased rate was not allowed in their day; for not a single warrant of these reigns makes the extra grant. Payment after payment for plays at Hampton Court and Richmond was made without an advance over the usual rate,⁴³ nor do the warrants make any extra allowance for afternoon performances at court.⁴⁴ The one play known to have won a reward of 20 li. at Elizabeth's court, was given in the evening.⁴⁵ The doubled rate in case of interference with a regular public

³⁸ See above, p. 25, n. 33.

³⁹ Wallace, p. 224.

⁴⁰ *History of Theatrical Art*, III/112.

⁴¹ Ernest Law in the *London Times* (October 31, 1910) speaks of "the fact of all presentations at court taking place at night." Needless to say, this is not a "fact."

⁴² *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 264. Maas, *Auessere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen*, p. 263, the *Camb. Hist.*, VI/274, and Adams, *Shakespn. Playhouses*, p. 400, make the same statement.

⁴³ See Wallace, pp. 213, 216; Cunningham, p. XXXV.

⁴⁴ On February 8, 1603 Hemings received 130 li. for 13 plays given by his company. Of these, 4 plays were given on two days, that is to say, there must have been afternoon as well as evening performances, yet there was no extra allowance. For the warrant, see Cunningham, p. XXXVIII.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 25, n. 33.

performance was not granted until the time of Charles I, and not always even then. Malone, to whom many of the earlier documents were not accessible, had seen a warrant of 1630 which made the extra allowance.⁴⁶ He had not seen the warrant of 1636, under which John Lowin and Joseph Taylor for the King's Men received "the summe of Two hundred and Tenne pounds, (*beeing after the usuall and accustomed rate of Tenn pounds for each play*) for One and Twenty Playes by them acted before his Majesty at Hampton Court and elsewhere."⁴⁷ Not knowing this document, Malone conjectured that the extra allowance was made "probably in Shakspear's time also,"⁴⁸ and this conjecture has been followed ever since, though the documents clearly show it to be erroneous. Elizabeth and James probably thought (if indeed they thought about the matter at all) that any interference on their part with the regular performances brought its own reward in the added prestige it gave the actors. By the time of Charles the general scale of expenditure had gone up, and the extra sum was occasionally granted.⁴⁸

The point would hardly be worth emphasizing merely to show that the court profits of the actors in Shakspeare's day have been somewhat overrated. The acceptance of Malone's conjecture has, however, caused further errors. Mantizius thought, reasonably enough, that the amount paid for a play at court which interfered with a regular performance, might indicate the average daily receipts of the playhouses—the assumption being that the amount paid at court would be at least equal to the receipts lost at the theatre. Presumably on the basis of Malone's conjecture, he therefore argues that the average daily receipts at the Globe, for example, must have been 20 li. when Shakspeare acted there.⁴⁹ I have shown elsewhere that such

⁴⁶ For "four plays acted at Hampton Court . . . in consideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there," the company received 20 li. each, "and the like somme of twenty pounds for one other play which was acted in the day time at Whitehall by means whereof the players lost the benefit of their house for that day" (Malone III/168).

⁴⁷ Cunningham, p. XXIV.

⁴⁸ See below, p. 34, n. 79.

⁴⁹ Mantzius, III/112. Again, reckoning the average rate of admission at a shilling, he concludes that a well-filled Elizabethan playhouse did not hold more than 400 persons.

receipts could not have averaged more than 10 li.⁵⁰ Clearly, Mantzius's figures are based on the incorrect assumption that the sum occasionally paid by King Charles was regularly paid in Shakspeare's time.⁵⁰

In contrasting the payments of Elizabeth and Charles, we have run somewhat ahead of our discussion, and we must return to Elizabeth's immediate successor, James I. The new king had given tangible evidence of his general interest in the drama, and in the English companies in particular, long before he came to rule at London. According to Dibdin's records,⁵¹ an English company headed by Lawrence Fletcher,⁵² which visited Edinburgh in 1593 and 1599, received from the then King of Scotland on each occasion a gift of 333 li. 6 s. 8 d. The actors, furthermore, in spite of the energetic opposition of the Edinburgh clergy, were licensed to play in public, the king allowing them an additional 40 li. "to by tymber for ye preparatioun of ane hous to thair pastyme."⁵³ Finally, on the occasion of a third visit in 1601, the company received from James the sum of 400 li. and Fletcher was made an honorary burgess of Aberdeen. These large sums almost lead one to accept without qualification Gifford's animadversions upon the frugality of Elizabeth and his praise of the liberality of her successor⁵⁴—until one remembers that the pounds in which James paid were "pounds Scots," worth only about 20 pence sterling,⁵⁵ so that the king's gifts to the company averaged only about 30 li. sterling for each visit. The most noteworthy thing about the performances before James as king of England is not the rate he paid—which, as a

⁵⁰ See p. 22, n. 14. Mantzius, moreover, overlooks the fact that even under Charles I the *extra allowance* was only 10 li., and it is this amount, *not the sum total* of 20 li., which may properly be regarded as a check figure for the receipts lost by the omission of the regular performance. The point is that 10 li. of the 20 were paid even when there was no interference.

⁵¹ *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, p. 24 ff.

⁵² Later of the King's Men.

⁵³ And a further allowance of 43 li. 6 s. 8 d. (Scotch).

⁵⁴ "Elizabeth was frugal and paid as grudgingly for her amusements as for her more serious business; little besides honor was therefore derived from her patronage . . . but James . . . was liberal to men of merit." (Gifford-Cunningham, *Jonson*, I/p. LXVI. Gifford is here talking of Jonson's pension, not of the king's payments to Fletcher's company.)

⁵⁵ See *Bartholomew Fair*, Act III, Scene 1: "What a masque shall I furnish out, for forty shillings, twenty pound Scotch and a banquet of Gingerbread,"—and compare N.E.D. on "Pound Scots."

rule, did not exceed Elizabeth's—but the number of plays he saw. Some of the regular warrant books of his reign are missing and the supplementary documents that have been discovered do not altogether fill the gap.⁵⁶ Still, enough evidence is at hand to show a large increase in the royal patronage. The table below summarizes the available records of court performances.

TABLE II. COURT PERFORMANCES UNDER JAMES I, 1603–1625

	No. of Performances	Total Sums Paid
Performances by Shakspeare's Company, 1603–1616 ⁵⁷	175	1,616 li. 13 s. 4 d.
Performances by ALL OTHER Companies, 1603–1616 ⁵⁷	118	981 13 4
Performances by Shakspeare's Company, 1616–1625 ⁵⁸	77	763 6 8
Performances, July 1617, by "certaine players," not named ⁵⁹	3	30
Totals	373	3,391 li. 13 s. 4 d.

The total amount spent by King James for court performances by the companies closes in impressiveness by contrast with his expenditures for court masques,⁶⁰ but a comparison of

⁵⁶ See on this point, *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I/370; Cunningham, p. XIX; Ernest Law, *Shakesp. as a Groom of the Chamber*, p. 26, and Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 138: "Those who attempt to discover the cost of dramatic productions in the court of James I meet two serious difficulties; first, the various items of expense are scattered through nearly every department of state, and second, many of the documents . . . are lost, or have not yet been recovered from unknown places of deposit."

⁵⁷ Shakspeare's death. Chambers did not carry his researches beyond this point. For his additions to Cunningham, which are comparatively few in number, I have again assumed payments of 10 li.

⁵⁸ Based on the reprints of Mrs. Stopes. So far as I know there are no available records of the other companies during this period, except the one mentioned in n. 59. See n. 56 above.

⁵⁹ The warrant for these performances appears only in the *Malone Soc. Col.* I/376. They were given during the king's journey to Scotland, and "such summes of money as is usual" were paid.

⁶⁰ James spent 4,000 li. for Prince Charles's first masque, Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, in 1618 (Sullivan, p. 106).

Tables II and III shows that in a reign less than half as long as that of Elizabeth, James saw⁶¹ and paid for almost twice as many plays. And it should be remembered that there are more gaps in the records of James's reign.

On December 3, 1603, "John Hemings, one of his Matie. players," received "at the Courte at Wilton," (the seat of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain) "for the paynes and expences of himselfe and the rest of his Companye in comynge from Mortelacke in the countie of Surrie unto the Courte aforesaid and there presentinge before his Matie. one play," a fee of 30 li.⁶² But after paying thus generously for the first play he saw as King of England, James returned to the old rate of 10 li. Our table shows, however, that the late Chamberlain's, now the King's, Men, had no reason for complaint, since they were called upon to present at least 175 plays at court before the death of Shakspeare.⁶³ The large majority of the remaining performances were given by the companies under the patronage of Queen Anne, the Princess Elizabeth, and the two princes.

King James was not present at all the plays given at court in his time, and Chambers⁶⁴ and Lee⁶⁵ have pointed out that in his absence the old "special rewarde" of five marks was not paid—the toal fee for performances before other members of the royal family being only $6\frac{2}{3}$ li. It should be noted, however, that this rule was not invariably followed. Occasionally the full sum of 10 li. was paid when only the Queen⁶⁶ or the Prince of Wales⁶⁷ was present. In March and April, 1606, probably because money was short, a total of only 8 li. 6 s. 8 d. was paid even for plays given in the presence,⁶⁸ but the usual rate of 10 li. was

⁶¹ See below, p. 32.

⁶² Cunningham, p. XXXIV.

⁶³ Even so, Lee, in basing his conclusions upon the figures for 1609 to 1614 only, when the company averaged 160 li. a year, and Shakspeare 15 li., puts the poet-actor's income from this source somewhat too high (*Life*, p. 313). Our table gives the company something under 125 li. a year between 1603 and 1616, or about 10 li. a year to Shakspeare. See above, p. 22.

⁶⁴ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, January, 1909, p. 153.

⁶⁵ *Life*, p. 313.

⁶⁶ See warrant of December 10, 1604, Cunningham, p. XXXVII.

⁶⁷ Warrant of January 18, 1603, Cunningham, p. XXXV.

⁶⁸ The regular payment was cut down from 10 marks to 5 (see p. 11), plus the special reward of 5 marks. Three companies were affected. By October of this year the old rate was resumed. See Cunningham, p. XXXVIII.

resumed immediately after. The extravagance of the Stuart régime, however, did not rebound entirely in favor of the players. Whereas under Queen Elizabeth they had usually received their "cort mony" two days after the performance,⁶⁹ they had sometimes to wait two or three years for their money under James and Charles.⁷⁰ But we have seen, that they were able to borrow on the security of these credits.⁷¹

Fleay⁷² regarded the documents for the reign of Charles I as "so scrappy that no useful purpose would be served by tabulating court plays, payments, etc." Since Fleay's time, however, Mrs. Stopes has discovered much new material,⁷³ so that it is

TABLE III
COURT PERFORMANCES UNDER CHARLES I, 1626-1641

	No. of Performances	Total Sums Paid
Performances by the King's Men, 1626-1628 ⁷⁴	21	210 li.
Performances by the King's Men, 1628-1633 ⁷⁵	95	1,040 li.
Performances by ALL other companies, 1628-1633 ⁷⁶	59	640 li.
Performances by the King's Men, 1634-1641 ⁷⁶	157	1,730 li.
Performances by ALL other companies, 1634-1641 ⁷⁶	57	720 li.
Totals, 1626-1641	389	4,340 li.

⁶⁹ See documents in Cunningham and Wallace, and compare Fleay, *Stage*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ The Duke of York's Men were paid in January, 1612 for plays given at court in January, 1610 (Cunningham, p. XLII); and the bills of the King's Men were frequently allowed to run up to two or three hundred pounds before payment was made. See Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 311.

⁷¹ See p. 22, above.

⁷² *Stage*, p. 320.

⁷³ See Table III and notes.

⁷⁴ See Mrs. Stopes's records of the King's Men under Charles I, in *Burbage and Shaks. Stage*, p. 257 ff., and her article in the *Shaks. Jahrbuch*, XLVI/94 ff. The materials do not appear elsewhere. No entries of payments to other companies during these years have been found.

⁷⁵ These warrants are summarized by Mrs. Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI/94 ff. They are not printed elsewhere.

⁷⁶ Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 507) and Mrs. Stopes in the *Jahrbuch* article already referred to, both cover this period. A comparison of the two series

worth while to gather the totals, though the documents are still incomplete.

The totals in our table are interesting, even though a re-examination of the original documents would necessitate some changes or additions. The records show that whereas James I paid some 3,300 li. for 370 plays in 22 years, his son found time and money for 389 plays costing 4,340 li. in the first 15 years of his reign—an average of over 25 plays a year. Between 1634 and 1641 some thirty plays were presented at court each year, and the King's Men gave almost three-fourths of the total number recorded for the period.⁷⁷ Like his father, Charles paid them 30 li. for a single play on one special occasion.⁷⁸ We have already noted that the usual rate was still 10 li., but that an extra allowance of 10 li. for court performances inter-

shows that neither is complete and reveals some obvious errors in Mrs. Stope's figures. See, for example, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI/88, entry of December 16, 1635. Cunningham also has a few entries for this period. A re-examination of the documents should be decidedly worth while. See also p. 37 below, concerning a payment of 100 li. to Prince Charles's Men in 1634, for "attendance" during a progress of the court. This sum is not included in the totals given above.

⁷⁷ Had Shakspeare lived and acted through the period 1628-1641, he would have earned just about the 15 li. per year from his court performances with which Lee credits him. See above, n. 63 p. 31.

⁷⁸ "For their paynes in studying and acting the new Play sent from Oxford called *The Royal Slave*" (Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 509; Mrs. Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI/99; Cunningham, p. XXIV). It is interesting to compare with these special gratuities those paid to English companies travelling abroad by the sovereigns of the countries they visited. The highest recorded fee of this sort is that paid to Spencer's company by Kaiser Matthias at Regensburg in October, 1613. They received a gift of 200 Gulden (ca. 38 li. 6 s.) for a single performance. In addition they were allowed to charge admission to the public at this performance. Gifts of this size, however, were extremely rare. See C. Harris, *The English Comedians in Germany, P. M. L. A.*, September, 1907, p. 462. The English court repaid the hospitality shown to the English players abroad by welcoming and rewarding suitably the numerous foreign companies which visited England. In 1575 Queen Elizabeth paid 10 li. to "Alfruso Ferrabolle and the rest of the Italian players in consideracion of playenge before her highnes" (Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 218). In 1635 and 1636 "Mons. Josias Floridor and the rest of the French players" received 40 li. for 4 plays acted before Charles and his queen, and this company received further favors, Sir Henry Herbert remitting his usual charges and aiding them in other ways. See Malone, III/121. In December, 1635, "John Navarro . . . and the rest of the company of *Spanish* players," likewise received 10 li. for a play at court (Chalmers, p. 509).

fering with the regular activities of the companies was first granted in 1630 and from time to time thereafter.⁷⁹

The earnings of the actors at court were not limited to the rewards they received for playing before the king or the royal family, though these constituted the main item. They enjoyed certain additional fees and privileges by virtue of their places as grooms of the chamber, and the patronage of the Stuarts in particular proved valuable in other ways. In 1583 the Master of the Revels, acting on the orders of Walsingham, had chosen twelve of the best actors from the various companies to form the new organization known as the Queen's Men. These actors were sworn in as grooms of the chamber, and received liveries⁸⁰ and wages of 3 li. 6 s. 8 d.⁸¹ The company, however, acted at court only from 1584 to 1591; thereafter they appeared in the provinces until 1603.⁸² Whether they continued to enjoy their court perquisites during these later years, we do not know. At all events, they did not enjoy nearly so much favor and profit as their successors under the Stuarts.

Not only Shakspeare's company, but Queen Anne's Men, also, were made grooms of the chamber of King James before 1604,⁸³ and probably the companies under the patronage of Prince Henry, Prince Charles, and the Princess Elizabeth received the same appointment soon after.⁸⁴ As groom of the chamber each company sharer drew an annual stipend varying between 2 and 5 li. a year⁸⁵— and for his livery, "allowaunces," every

⁷⁹ About 1 in 10 plays were paid for at the rate of 20 li. (i.e., 42 of the 389 plays recorded). 10 li. were paid regularly, whether or not the king was present at the play. See above, pp. 27, 31.

⁸⁰ See the allusion thereto in *Martins Months Mind*, Grosart's *Nashe*, I/166.

⁸¹ See Malone, III/44, and compare Murray, *Elizabethan Dramatic Companies*, I/6.

⁸² Murray, I/6.

⁸³ See below, p. 35 and notes.

⁸⁴ See Murray, I/207. Mrs. Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI/94, 96, reprints the special orders under which the successors of these companies, the Queen of Bohemia's Men and Prince Charles's Men were sworn in as grooms of the chamber in 1628 and 1632, respectively. The Prince Charles in question here—later King Charles II—was then a babe in arms. Perhaps these early associations help to explain the Merry Monarch's later fondness for the theatre—and the players.

⁸⁵ See documents—unfortunately they are not dated—in Sullivan, p. 254. The exact limits are 2 li. 12 s. 4 d. and 5 li. 9 s. 6 d.

second year, "of ffoure yardes of Bastard Scarlet for a cloake and a quater of a yard of crimson velvet for the capes," together worth 5 li. 13 s. 4 d.⁸⁶ Their official position entitled the players also to a regular "allowance of dyett,"⁸⁷ lights and fuel,⁸⁸ of which, however, they appear to have been cheated sometimes by the attendants in charge.⁸⁹ A more valuable privilege attached to their office was that of exemption from "being impressed, arrested, or otherwise molested."⁹⁰ A passage in the old play, *Histrionastix*,⁹¹ indicates that the players must have appreciated the privilege of being "treated and enterteyned with due respect and curtesie" by "his Majesty's loving and loyal subjects" in London as well as in the provinces.

The actors may have shared also in the regular Christmas gifts and other fees granted by the king to the "ordinary" grooms of the chamber.⁹² It is certain, at all events, that by

⁸⁶ The material on this and the following page or two is based largely on documents and commentary in Ernest Law's *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber*, p. 40 ff. See also Sullivan, p. 251.—An allowance for livery was made to many court officials. Inigo Jones, as Surveyor of his Majesty's Works had a livery fee of 12 li. 15 s. 10 d. a year. See warrant in Sullivan, p. 140. The players further received 4 yards of red cloth each at King James's coronation, and the same allowance of black cloth at his funeral. (*New Shakspeare Soc. Transactions.*, 1877-9, Appendix, p. 16).

⁸⁷ I.e., while they were at court. It consisted of "one cheate loafe, one manchet, and one gallon of ale" daily, plus a "messe of meate" (Law, p. 45).

⁸⁸ "One pound of white lightes and talshides and eight fagotts" (Law, p. 45).

⁸⁹ Law cites the Buttery Hatch scene in Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*, in which mention is made of "a parcel of invisible bread and beer for the Players (for they never see it)," and of torches and "coals . . . that should have warm'd them,"—but which are carried off instead by the kitchen groom for his personal use (Gifford-Cunningham, vol. VII/410).

⁹⁰ *Shakspeare Jahrbuch*, XLVI/103. The document quoted is dated 1640 and refers to the Prince's Men, who are "not to be hindered or diverted in his service" by such interence, "without leave first asked."

⁹¹ Act V, lines 67 and 238. A strolling company in this play is victimized by the recruiting officers' press gang: "Text-bills," he insists, "must now be turned to iron-bills."

⁹² See Sullivan, p. 254. In 1611 "the ordinary groomes & pages of his Maties. chamber" divided a Christmas gift of 100 li., but I doubt whether the players can be counted among the "ordinary" officers. Sullivan also notes that the sum of 1 li. or more was "due to the grooms of the chamber from all persons that are to receive the dignity of the baronet,"—but this fee would have gone only to the regular incumbents, hardly to the players.

virtue of their office they were called upon to render purely ceremonial service—for which they received additional compensation—on certain great occasions of state. Thus, in 1604, “Augustine Phillips and John Hemynges for th’ allowance of themselves and tenne of their fellowes, his Maties. Groomes of the Chamber and Players, for waytinge and attendinge on his Mats. service by commaundemente, upon the Spanish Ambassador at Somersette House, for the space of XVIII dayes,” received the sum of 21 li. 12 s.⁹³ For similar services rendered by Thomas Greene, Thomas Heywood, and the rest of Queen Anne’s Men to other members of the Ambassador’s party, this company received 19 li. 16 s.⁹³ In addition to the 2 s. a day earned by each member of Shakspeare’s company on this occasion, the actors probably received some personal reward from the Ambassador, who, as Ernest Law has shown, came to England with a huge sum of money⁹⁴ to help him and the English commissioners in ratifying a treaty of peace.

Though there were but few occasions of state during our period comparable to this one, the lack of further documentary evidence does not necessarily mean, as Law supposes,⁹⁵ that the actors’ attendance upon the Spanish ambassador in 1604 was the only service of its kind rendered by them. They might conceivably have been called upon again on such gala occasions as the visit of the King of Denmark in 1606, or the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the County Palatine in 1613. At any rate, Prynne, as late as 1633, devoted an entire section of his *Histrionastix* to the rebuttal of the proposition that plays and actors are “not only commendable but necessary in a commonweale. . . . First for the solemne entertainment and recreation of forraigne Embassadors, States and Princes.”⁹⁵

The Stuarts, moreover, used their histrionic grooms of the chamber not only to attend or entertain distinguished foreign visitors, but also “to ease the anguish of a torturing hour” during their own royal progresses. Thus, in 1617, King James saw three plays while journeying to Scotland,⁹⁶ and on August

⁹³ See documents in Law, p. 21 ff.; Sullivan, p. 141; Lee, p. 382.

⁹⁴ 300,000 li., according to Ernest Law (p. 59). Bribes were lavishly distributed.

⁹⁵ *Histrionastix*, p. 733 ff.

⁹⁶ See Table II, and notes.

25, 1634 "the Princes players" received 100 li. "for their attendance abroad during the progress of the Court" of Charles I.⁹⁷ Their close connection with the court brought the actors still further opportunities for profitable employment. In the list of expenditures for Ben Jonson's *Oberon*, written and produced for Prince Henry in 1611, appear two items of 15 li. each for "Players employed in the Barriers," and "Players employed in the Maske,"⁹⁸—and there is every reason to suppose that the men employed were chosen from the actor-grooms of the chamber. Further documents prove that in the preparation of other court masques, "Mr. Taylor in to shordich . . . his Matis. players [at] ye blacke friers . . . and Mr. Confes at ye Redd Bull" were called in for consultation.⁹⁹ In 1610 the City of London itself employed two of the King's Men, John Rice and Richard Burbage, to take part in the city pageant in honor of the installation of the Prince of Wales.¹⁰⁰

✓ We have seen that Queen Elizabeth, frugal as she was forced to be, knew how to show her appreciation of entertainments that pleased her.¹⁰¹ On occasion she was even moved to give special rewards to individual actors whose talents won her favorable notice. In 1566 she gave to a boy actor in Edward's *Palamon and Arcyte* a bounty of 4 li. and a suit of apparel.¹⁰² Two years earlier "o'r Sckoler Thomas Preston," (later KING CAMBYSES Preston) had taken the queen's eye—and won a pension of 20 li. a year—by his acting in the tragedy of *Dido* at Cambridge.¹⁰³ The members of the adult companies may occasionally have won similar rewards.

⁹⁷ Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 507; Mrs. Stopes, *Jahrbuch*, XLVI/97.

⁹⁸ Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais*, p. 511; cf. *Camb. Hist.*, VI/350. An allowance of 3 li. for "3 grooms of ye chamber" in the expense account of *The Lords' Masque*, written by Campion for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth (1613) may again refer to the histrionic grooms of the chamber. See Reyher.

⁹⁹ See documents in Sullivan, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ The two actors received 17 li. 10 s. to pay for "robes and other furniture" bought by them for the occasion. They were permitted to retain their purchases in payment of their services, Mrs. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakesp. Stage*, p. 108).

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 26.

¹⁰² Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, I/213; Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 114.

¹⁰³ Cunningham, pp. XIX-XX. Shakspeare may well have had this or some similar incident in mind when he penned Flute's comment upon Bottom's failure to appear for the performance of *Pyramus and Thisbe*. See *Misdummer-*

King James likewise gave largess both to the university actors¹⁰⁴ and the professionals. In February, 1604, the King's Men, then "prohibited to present anie playes publiquely through the extraordinarie concourse and assemblie of people to a new increase of the plague, till it shall please God to settle the cyttie in a more perfect health," received from their royal patron a subsidy of 30 li.¹⁰⁵ to tide them over their lean days. In April, 1609, Hemings received for his company another 40 li. "by waie of his Mats. rewarde for their private practice in the time of infeccon,"¹⁰⁶ and 30 li. more in March of the next year, when the company was again restrained for six weeks.¹⁰⁷ King Charles was even more generous in this respect. In September, 1630, he sent his company 100 li. "in regard of their great hinderance of late received,"¹⁰⁸ and in the severe plague year 1636-7 he granted them a special allowance of 20 li. weekly "to continue during pleasure," to enable the company "to assemble and keepe themselves together neere our Court for our service."¹⁰⁹

At the very beginning of his reign Charles had shown his favor in still another way. On December 30, 1625 he was "pleased . . . to bestowe upon the Company of our players who are to attend us daily at our Court this Christmas the some of one hundred

Night's Dream, IV/2/20: "Thus hath he lost sixpence a day: an the Duke had not given him sixpence a day for Pyramus, I'll be hanged; he would have deserved it: sixpence a day in Pyramus or nothing" (Steevens).

¹⁰⁴ At Oxford in 1605 the king sent "to the Disputers and Actors 20 li. in money and five brace of bucks" (Nichols, *Progresses of King James I*, I/559).

¹⁰⁵ Cunningham, p. XXXV. There is no evidence to support the old tradition that the Globe Theatre was built "at the great charge of King James and many noblemen and others," though Rendle (*Antiquarian Magazine*, VIII/214) was more or less inclined to accept it. The financial history of that playhouse is clearly traced by a series of contemporary lawsuits (see the 1635 Globe and Blackfriars Share papers, in Halliwell-Phillips's *Outlines*, I/312 ff., and Wallace, documents on *Shakespeare and His London Associates*, Nebr. Univ. Stud., vol. X), and these prove that neither the king nor the nobility, but the actors and certain London business men whom they were able to interest, subscribed the money required to finance this and other playhouses of the time. For further discussion see Chapter 2 of my dissertation.

¹⁰⁶ Cunningham, p. XXXIX.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. XL.

¹⁰⁸ Collier, II/30; Murray, I/165.

¹⁰⁹ Collier, II/77.

marks for the better furnishing them with apparell."¹¹⁰ An entry of Sir Henry Herbert's eight years later¹¹¹ shows that Queen Henrietta on occasion was no less generous. Sir Henry notes that "on . . . the sixthe of January and the Twelwe Night was presented at Denmark House before the King and Queene Fletcher's pastorall called The Faithful Shepheardesse *in the clothes the Queen had given Taylor the year before of her owne pastorall.*" Taylor, who was business manager of the King's Men at this time, won a personal recognition of some value in 1639, when he was made "yeoman of the Revells to his Majesty . . . in place of William Hunt deceased."¹¹²

Throughout this period the actors were able, also, to count more or less on the patronage of the nobility. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the companies, with the exception of the Queen's Men, had been under the direct patronage of the great nobles. A letter, dated about 1574, from Leicester's Men to their patron,¹¹³ throws considerable light upon the financial relations between him and the company. In it the actors call Leicester's attention to "the revivinge of a statue as touchinge retayners," and ask for a formal renewal of their old nominal service. They wish to be retained as "household Servaunts and daylie wayters, not that we meane to crave any further stipend or benefite at your Lordshippes handes but our Liveries as we have had and also your honors License to certifye that we are your Hous-hold servauntes." The document indicates that Leicester's Men in the seventies received from their patron, besides the protection of his name, and their liveries, only such rewards as they might earn by playing before him from time to time. Dutton Cook states that "the companies in the service of any great personage were in the receipt of regular salaries,"¹¹⁴ and possibly the letter just quoted implies that other companies at times received from their patron a regular wage, correspond-

¹¹⁰ Hazlitt, *Engl. Drama and Stage*, p. 61.

¹¹¹ Malone, III/234.

¹¹² For the document, see *Shakesp. Jahrbuch*, XLVI/102. The place carried a regular compensation of 6 d. per diem, plus valuable additional "fees, profits, endowments . . . and advantages," all of which were lost to Taylor at the beginning of the Revolution. It will be remembered that he and Lowin published Fletcher's *Wild Goose Chase* shortly thereafter.

¹¹³ The letter is reproduced in Murray, I/29.

¹¹⁴ *A Book of the Play*, p. 74.

ing to the fee later paid to the actors as grooms of the chamber. Still, in the absence of other proof this interpretation seems somewhat doubtful.¹¹⁵ In any case, the most profitable part of the actors' relationship with the nobility and gentry, both before and after the formal patronage of the leading companies was taken over by the royal family, must have been their fairly frequent and well-rewarded private performances.

Not a few records of private performances by professional companies at the houses of nobles have come down to us, and Lee has called attention to two or three such performances by Shakspeare's company. In 1600 the King's Men presented *Sir John Oldcastle* at Hunsdon House,¹¹⁶ and four years later *Love's Labour's Lost* at the mansion of the earl of Southampton, in the presence of Queen Anne.¹¹⁷ Henslowe, under date of September 27, 1598 records a loan of 5 s. to William Borne of the Admiral's Men, towards the expenses of a trip made by the company to Croydon, "to ther lord when the quene came thether,"—that is to say, to play before Queen Elizabeth while she was Nottingham's guest.¹¹⁸ At Croydon also, in the palace of Archbishop Whitgift, Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* was acted in 1592.¹¹⁹ The residence of another distinguished churchman, John Williams, Bishop of London, was the scene of a private

¹¹⁵ Liveries are mentioned elsewhere, but nothing is said of wages paid by noble patrons. In *Histriomastix* (Act II, Scene 1) Sir Oliver Owlet's Men are recognized by their livery, which bears "the signe of the Owle i' the Ivy bush" (Collier). See also *The Poetaster*, Act III, Sc. 1: "If you lack a service you shall play in my name, rascals, but you shall buy your own cloth and I'll have two shares for my countenance."—Possibly the situation of the actors of Lord Letoy, in Brome's *Antipodes*, might be regarded as having some bearing upon the question. Says Letoy:

"Stage-playes and Masques are nightly my pastime
And all within myselfe. My owne men are
My musique and my Actors. I keepe not
A man or boy but is of Quality.
The worst can sing or play his part o' th' vialls,
And act his part too in a comedy." (Act I, Sc. 4)

But Letoy is a "Phantasticke," and his actors, if they were professionals, were not a public company.

¹¹⁶ *Life*, p. 66.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

¹¹⁸ *H. D.*, I/72; II/242.

¹¹⁹ Mc Kerrow's *Nashe*, IV/419.

performance on September 27, 1631, a Sabbath day. In this case the Bishop had to pay rather heavily for his entertainment, for the affair was noised abroad and he was required to do penance by building a schoolhouse at Eton with an endowment of 20 li. a year to pay the schoolmaster.¹²⁰

Private dramatic performances "for the festyvitie of anie marriage, assemblie of ffrendes or otherlyke cawse", were in some demand by "citizens or gentlemen" as well as by the nobility, and permission for such performances was specifically given in several London ordinances directed against the theatres.¹²¹ These private performances are frequently alluded to in contemporary plays,¹²² and they aroused the particular ire of Prynne.¹²³ Some of them were certainly given by amateurs, but there is good evidence to show that the professional companies were frequently called in. Thus Henslowe notes that the Admiral's Men in March, 1598, lost some of their properties at a private performance given somewhere "in fleatstreet."¹²⁴

While it is not possible to say with certainty what all these performances brought the players, a passage in *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1590) indicates that 3, 5 or even 10 li. was sometimes

¹²⁰ Collier, II/30-36. Murray (II/30-36) has shown that Collier's account of this affair is substantially correct.

¹²¹ The quotations are from the ordinance of 1575. In 1584 the Corporation of London, in answer to the petition of the Queen's Men to the Privy Council for the withdrawal of the restraint upon public playing, insisted that the players should "hold them Content wth. playeing in priuate houses at weddings etc. without publike assemblies" (*Malone Soc. Coll.*, I/174 ff).

¹²² In Brome's *Jovial Crew* the very beggars celebrate the nuptials of two of their number by "a Masque or a Comedie in honor of the old Couple" (Act IV, Sc. 2). The gallants present at the wedding of Sir Terril in *Satiromastix* (ed. Scherer, line 240), are invited to prepare

"For maskes and Reuels to defeate the night."

In Brome's *City Wit*, again, the dénouement is brought about by a play given in honor of the wedding of Toby to the disguised Jeremy (Act V, Sc. 1), and "playes, masques and tilting" make part of a wedding celebration mentioned in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (IV/3/105). See also Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, III/1/145, and *I Antonio and Mellida* IV/2/318, V/2/32; Brome's *Northern Lass*, Act II, Sc. 6.

¹²³ See *Histrionastix*, p. 47: "Why do men send for Stage-Players to their houses; why do they flocke unto their Theaters?"

¹²⁴ *H. D.*, I/85: "P'd carman 3 s. for caryinge & bryngyn of the stufe back agayn when they played in fleatstreet pryuat & ther owr stufe was loste" (Compare n. 121, and n. 123 above).

paid.¹²⁵ On the other hand the Record Book of the Clifford Family,¹²⁶ shows that even the King's Men, as late as 1624, sometimes had to be content with a gratuity of only 1 li. for a private performance given outside of London.¹²⁷ Even small gratuities of this sort must have been gladly received. According to the example set by the court, most private performances were doubtless given in the evening and thus did not interfere with the regular public presentations; others came at times when the plague had driven the companies out of London and earnings of any size were acceptable.

At best we can only estimate roughly how much a company sharer may have drawn each year from court and private performances and from his perquisites as a groom of the chamber. In making the estimate, we must bear in mind that many of the extra gifts and perquisites we have mentioned were entirely casual, and by no means to be counted on as regular income. Again, they usually had to be divided among a dozen men,¹²⁸ and frequently were meant to meet a deficiency in the company's regular earnings rather than to add to its gains.¹²⁹ The extra profits of the members of Shakspeare's company may serve for illustration, since no other company could have had more. We have seen that the recorded court performances of his

¹²⁵ Collier (III/436), who refers to the passage, gives a somewhat inaccurate account of it. "The players," he writes, "suspect that the reward sent by Sir Thomas More [at whose mansion a private performance had been given] was at least 5 li. or perhaps 10 li. or 20 li." In the play, when a servant brings 4 li., one of the actors remarks: "8 anges, ha! my lord wold neuer giues 8 angells more or les for 12 d.; other yt shold be 3 li, 5 l. or tenn li; thers 20 s. wantinge sure" (Act IV/3/325; Tucker-Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 406). It turns out that 5 li. had been sent, and the dishonest servant is dismissed.

¹²⁶ Of Skipton Castle, in the Craven District. See next note.

¹²⁷ The King's Men gave three performances at 1 li. each at Skipton Castle in 1624. In 1635 "a company of roguish players presenting A new Way to Pay Old Debts" likewise received 1 li. there. Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle paid 22 s. for a performance in 1624 and somewhat less on several other occasions. For the documents see Murray, II/255, 334.

¹²⁸ The number of "sharers," that is to say, of senior actors, whose earnings came from their respective shares of the takings—unlike the "hirlings" who drew wages from the company—ranged between five and fourteen. Ten or twelve is a fair average. See *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I/262-268; Halliwell P., I/313, Murray, I/186, etc.

¹²⁹ See above, p. 38.

company brought Shakspeare 10 li. a year between 1603 and 1616.¹³⁰ To this may be added a maximum of 5 li. for his fee as a groom of the chamber and perhaps 5 li. more to allow for gaps in the records. An additional 15 or 20 li. a year would probably cover his earnings from private performances and other incidentals. Altogether he could hardly have counted on more than 35 or 40 li. a year from all these sources—but such an amount was by no means to be despised. Finally, the prestige gained by the actors through their court affiliations was worth a great deal more than their compensation in money.

The most substantial part of the income of Elizabethan playwrights who were not also actors ordinarily came to them from the sale of their plays to the companies. Their place in the regular dramatic budget lies outside the scope of this paper, but a word must be said here concerning their earnings at court. I have already referred to the pension of 20 li. granted by Queen Elizabeth to "Cambyses Preston,"¹³¹ but Preston won this pension by his acting rather than by his plays. Royal rewards to dramatic authors were given, however, long before the days of Preston and Queen Elizabeth. William Cornish, who wrote and staged many dramatic entertainments for Henry VIII, received gifts of 5 li. in 1493 and 20 li. in 1502, and the extraordinary sum of 200 li. in 1516.¹³² John Heywood, his successor, had a pension of 20 li. a year by 1519, and this was advanced to 40 li. in 1552 and finally to 50 li. in 1555.¹³³ These men, of course, did not write for the public stage, but several of the most noted men who did so later, also appear in the list of court pensioners. Thus, "Mr. Drayton, a poett, for one year," (probably the year 1611–1612)¹³⁴ received from Prince Henry the sum of 10 li., and Ben Jonson in January, 1616, was awarded an annuity of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ li. by King James. In 1630 Charles I sent Ben a present of 100 li. and increased the poet's pension to 100 li. "and a tierce of Canary wine . . . in consideration of the good and acceptable service

¹³⁰ See above, p. 31, n. 63.

¹³¹ See p. 37, above.

¹³² Wallace, *Evolution*, pp. 33, 34, 48.

¹³³ *Ibid.* pp. 79, n., 82, n.

¹³⁴ Cunningham, p. XVIII. Prince Henry died in 1612. The entry occurs in the prince's yearly account book. Drayton may well have had this pension in some of the preceding years also.

done unto us and especially to encourage him to proceed in those services of his wit and pen."¹³⁵ Jonson thus "became poet-laureate in fact if not in name." In December, 1638, little more than a year after Jonson's death, D'Avenant fell heir to his place and emoluments.¹³⁶

Meanwhile, Jonson's "good and acceptable service" to the king, that is to say, his many court masques, had brought him further substantial sums. Miss Sheavyn, upon rather unsatisfactory grounds,¹³⁷ concludes that he "probably received not more than 20 li. for each of his court masques." Professor Thorndike, on the other hand, states that "the usual payment for a masque was 50 li.,"¹³⁸ but does not in this case indicate the source of his figures. Among the illustrative documents in M. Reyher's exhaustive study of the English Masque there are two reprints of treasury warrants which throw some light on the question.¹³⁹ The first, dated May, 1613, orders the payment of

¹³⁵ For documents and discussion see Gifford-Cunningham, I/ p. CXXVII and V/412; Sullivan, p. 145; Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 8.—In 1636 Charles paid 40 li. to Thomas Cartwright for his labors in writing *The Royal Slave*, "the new play sent from Oxford," for the presentation of which the King's Men received 30 li. See above, p. 33, n. 78. I do not know of any evidence to support the tradition concerning Southampton's gift of 1,000 li. to Shakspeare. Southampton may well have given Shakspeare a substantial present, which tradition has probably exaggerated.

¹³⁶ Malone, III/280; Fleay, *Stage*, p. 364.

¹³⁷ As part of her evidence Miss Sheavyn (*Literary Profession*, p. 92 ff.) quotes from Cunningham, p. XXXVI, a royal warrant, dated 1604, for the payment of 20 li. to Samuel Daniel and Henry Evans, for "two Enterludes presented by the Quenes Mats. Children of the Revels." This entry clearly has no bearing upon the question of payments for court masques. Again, Miss Sheavyn refers to the following passage in *The Puritan* (1607), Act III, Sc. 3 (*Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 234): "I was going to receive fiue pound of a Gentleman for the Deuice of a Maske here on this paper." The real "device" in question, however, is a trick of Pieboard's (the speaker's) invention to help him escape arrest. The gentleman (a private gentleman, not a nobleman) obligingly agrees to buy a masque he had never ordered and Pieboard had never written. The latter, however, played the part of a potential Inigo Jones rather than of Ben Jonson in this interesting transaction. In the next scene (p. 236) he remarks: "Looke what *maps and pictures and deuices and things*, neatly, delicately . . ." The price he might have received, therefore, has little bearing upon the point at issue.

¹³⁸ *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 354.

¹³⁹ *Les Masques Anglais*, pp. 508-511.

66 $\frac{2}{3}$ li. to "Dr. Campian" and of 50 li. to Inigo Jones, for *The Lords' Masque* of February 14, 1613.¹⁴⁰ The second assigns 40 li. each to "Mr. Benjamin Johnson for his Invention" and "Mr. Inigo Johnes for his paynes and Invention" in writing and producing *The Masque of Christmas* for Queen Anne in 1610.¹⁴¹ If these payments may be regarded as typical, Thorndike's figure of 50 li. would represent a fair average. Probably Jonson did not earn quite so much, however, for each of his thirty masques.¹⁴²

Jonson's fame as a masque writer brought him still further profit. From 1628 to 1631, and again in 1634, he drew a salary of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ li. a year as Chronologer of the City of London and "Inventor" of its "honorable entertainments." To this office he succeeded upon the death of Thomas Middleton, who had held it from 1619 at a salary which rose from 10 li. in 1620 to

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI/353.

¹⁴¹ This entry also carries an item of 5 li. "to Mr. Johnson for setting the songs to the lutes." A third (incomplete) account of the expenses of Jonson's *Oberon*, produced in 1611 (see above, p. 37), also assigns 20 li. "To M. Johnson for making the Daunces. It looks as though Ben Jonson may have been the payee in these cases also, but if so, it is difficult to understand why the warrant for *The Masque of Christmas* should specifically assign 40 li. to "Mr. Benjamin Johnson for his Invention," and 5 li. to "M. Johnson for setting the songs. . ." On the whole, I am inclined to think that the 5 li. and 20 li. went not to the poet but to another man of the same name who was in charge of the music and dances.

¹⁴² In Shirley's *Royal Master* (II/1/15) there is an allusion to Jonson's displacement as a writer of court masques subsequent to the differences between him and Inigo Jones. Bombo remarks that some "pretty impossibilities . . .

A little sense disposed with thrift,
 . . . and now and then a song
 To fill the gap"

will win

"A thousand crowns perhaps
 For him that made it."

This amount, however, as Ward has noted (Gayley's *Repres. Eng. Comedies*, III/584), "has no special application which seems traceable to the date of *The Royal Master*." In any case, Bombo, like Pieboard (see above, p. 44, n. 137), is interested in the producer's earnings rather than the poet's. He thinks he could fill Inigo Jones' place easily enough:

"I do not say I'll write one—
 But I can give, if need be, the design,
 Make work among the deal boards."

16 $\frac{2}{3}$ li. by 1623.¹⁴³ From Jonson's decease to the year 1639, the city pageants were frequently written by Thomas Heywood.¹⁴⁴ We may note finally that in 1620 Jonson's erstwhile antagonists in the War of the Theatres, Anthony Munday and Thomas Dekker, received 5 li. and 4 li. respectively from the Grocers' Company for their "projects" toward its pageant, *The Triumph of Honour and Industry*, which was produced that year under Middleton's direction.¹⁴⁵

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¹⁴³ For documents see Dyce's *Middleton*, I/p. XLI ff.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Ward's ed. of *A Woman Killed With Kindness*, p. VIII.

¹⁴⁵ Dyce's *Middleton*, I/p. XXII.

COMMONPLACES IN ELIZABETHAN
LIFE AND LETTERS

It is at present the fashion to see in the parting advice of Polonius to Laertes an evidence of senile complacency uttering itself in pompous platitudes. A love of simplification leads some readers to color their interpretation of this scene in the light of the ridiculous figure which the old man makes in his encounters with Hamlet. And yet there is no touch of absurdity in the relations of Polonius with his children. Affectionate paternal solicitude finds expression in a speech of perfect dramatic keeping and crystallizes in a series of impressive precepts which without any doubt provoked applause from discerning listeners. We all know that even now a theatre-goer who is not laboring under too heavy a load of Shakespearean commentary will be moved to spontaneous admiration of this passage. In Shakespeare's time the taste for such points was more prevalent. It was in fact a distinctive characteristic of literary style, and this in turn was the result of the extraordinary influence which people then ascribed to a moral sentence over the minds and actions of men.

The evidence of this influence is manifest on every hand in the literature of the Renaissance. The admiration of the classics themselves was largely based on the wealth of practical wisdom which their writings afforded. A glance at the English translations from Greek and Roman literature in the sixteenth century shows the preference of the general reader of that time. Horace's satires and moral essays are translated long before the Odes. It is a striking circumstance that Plato, in spite of the magic attaching to his name, does not get into English at all, for he does not formulate rules of conduct in concise sentences. Aristotle gains admission by his *Ethics* and *Politics*, and nothing else, but even these yield in popularity to a prosaic treatise like Xenophon's *Economics*. The same leaning toward direct moralizing on the plain duties is apparent in the choice for translation of Cicero's *Offices* in preference to any of his other works. But it is not Plato nor Aristotle nor Cicero who enjoy the most general diffusion among unlearned readers.

More popular than any of these are Seneca and Plutarch, the former because his pages bristle with moral observations in pointed form, the latter by virtue of didactic reflections on what might be called affairs of domestic concern. This explanation of the vogue of the didactic literature of antiquity is confirmed by a passage from Erasmus. In vindicating the superior claims of Plutarch to serve as a teacher in practical affairs, he observes that Plato is too elaborate while Aristotle is obscure and writes for men of high learning and great leisure. In Cicero he finds much that is not to the purpose or necessary for a ruler to know, "of which kinde are those things, that he treateth of the consummation of good and ill, with more subtiltee of reasoning and argumentation, than fruit to edify in virtuous living. And such maner things serven well for the purpose of them, who all the days of their life do nothing else but talk and dispute of honestee. But for a man borne to be a prince and a governor, it is necessary that a ready and short way to learn virtue be quickly dispatched, and not at leasure disputed, and reasoned in words." Histories, valuable as they are for this purpose, are too many and too long; busy persons must be provided with sure and ready rules "by which they may be put in remembrance, what is in that present case needful, or expedient to be done, and what not."¹ And so likewise Montaigne in an early essay extols Seneca at the expense of Cicero and the younger Pliny because his letters are "replete and abounding with grave and learned discourses, by which a man may render himself not more eloquent but more wise; and that instruct us not to speak, but to do well."² It is not surprising therefore that in England we find Plutarch's *Apothegms* and *Conjugal Precepts*, his treatises on the preservation of health and the education of children and other moral essays translated into the vernacular even before the *Parallel Lives*. To these examples might be added the vogue enjoyed by compilations like those of Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius.

But the taste was not limited by an admiration for the sententious wisdom of the classics; it extended also to the

¹ *Apothegms*, trs. N. Udall, ed. R. Roberts, Boston, 1877, p. 1.

² *Essays*, I, Chap. 39: "A Consideration upon Cicero."

digests and paraphrases by inferior workmen which were the usual medium for the dissemination of the ancient learning. The writings of the Spanish bishop, Antonio de Guevara, were translated into every civilized European tongue and enjoyed an authority quite as great as the originals which he pilfered and diluted. The editors of the day could find no epithet less intense than "golden" to describe the transcendent wisdom of his counsels. His educational romance is blazoned as the "Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius" and Geffray Fenton gives the title of "Golden Epistles" to a volume of his letters. "There is no Auctor," says Sir Thomas North in dedicating his translation of the "Diall of Princes" to Queen Mary, "(the sacred letters set aparte) that more effectuously setteth out the omnipotencie of God, the frailty of men, the unconstancie of Fortune, the vanity of this worlde, the miserie of this life, and finally that more plainly teacheth the good, which mortal men ought to pursue, and the evil that al men ought to flye: then this present work doth. The whiche is so full of high doctrine, so adourned with ancient histories, so auctorisred with grave sentences, and so beautified with apt simyлитudes: that I know not whose eyes in redyng it can be wried, nor whose eares in hearinge it not satisfied." The beauties described by Sir Thomas North are those which contemporaries generally found in Guevara's writings. Montaigne advances a dissenting opinion with a consciousness that he is of the minority.³ At the present time we readily agree with Montaigne and can see nothing but a string of vapid banalities in the works of the eloquent bishop; we have to make an effort to realize the hold which he maintained over Europe for the greater part of a century. But the attraction was undoubtedly there, in the appeal made by fiction, history, and moral precept, composed in a style which the age found pleasant and called the "alto estilo."

A very similar charm was exercised over English readers by a conspicuous imitation of Guevara, the *Euphues* of John Lyly. Perhaps the novel scintillation of its style made its chief attraction in the eyes of young writers upon whom the possibilities of elegant expression in their native tongue were just beginning to dawn, but its popularity would hardly have

³ *Essays*, I, 47, "Of the Uncertainie of our Judgment."

been so great, had not its substance tolerably suited the taste of the age. And of what does this substance consist? Of maxims on education, of set discourses on nature and nurture, of collections of commonplaces on youth, friendship, woman, and love. The slight fictional framework cannot bear the weight of all the wisdom of which Lyly would unburden himself, and so the *Anatomy of Wit* overflows in a series of edifying sermons and hortatory letters, in which the soundest opinions are borrowed from Guevara, or more directly from Plutarch, against the pleasures of the world, the seductions of the court, and the strokes of adversity. What Lyly did in *Euphues* was done by all the witty writers who came after him, those particularly who wrote for popular applause and an immediate market. It would be tedious to go through the writings of Lodge and Nashe and Dekker and Nicholas Breton to prove a point that perhaps has been sufficiently labored already. In one of his death-bed repentances Robert Greene, forswearing the light fancies of his amorous tales, resolves to devote his pen to moral works which should discover the active course of virtue, or to political axioms and economic precepts that may both generally and particularly profit the commonwealth; for "men that write of morall precepts and philosophicall Aphorisms are more highly esteemed, than such as write Poems of love and conceits of fancy."⁴

Many books of aphorisms were compiled, chiefly from Italian sources, for no other purpose than at easy cost to furnish writers with this needful ornament. Such titles as the *Banquet of Sapience*, *The Nosegay of Moral Philosophy*, the *Forest of Fancy*, advertise their character clearly enough.⁵ Sometimes,

⁴ Greene's *Works*, ed. Grosart, xii, pp. 216 and 273.

⁵ Sir Thomas Elyot: *The Bankett of Sapience*, 1539, etc.

William Baldwin and Thomas Palfreyman: *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy*. For an account of this book and its popularity, see an article by W. F. Trench on "William Baldwin" in *Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, i, pp. 259-267.

Blage, Thomas: *A School of wise conceits set forth by the order of the Alphabet*, 1568.

Thomas Crewe: *The Nosegay of Moral Philosophy, lately dispersed among many Italian authors, and now succinctly drawn together*. 1580.

Giovanni Florio: *His First Fruits: which yield familiar speech, merry proverbs, witty sentences and golden sayings*.

too, their utility is more formally described, as by the compiler who announces that his book will supply matter for students of good literature so that they may be able to discourse fluently and eloquently, whether they wish to cultivate their talents in declamation, in conversation, or in composing of familiar letters.⁶ Another believes that his work "will be of great help and aide to those that be studious, for that I imagine it will enrich the privat discourses and the publicke actions of those that shall chauce at any time to use and handle these conceits in humain actions, which almost have been ever the self-same in all times and amongst all men," and he lets the cat out of the bag in claiming credit for taking away from others "the length and tediousness of reading and toyling themselves."⁷ I must also quote from the preface of Francis Meres to his *Palladis Tamia* because his curious style illustrates the spirit of these compilations.⁸ This book is known to scholars for its chapter on English literature with its important references to Shakespeare and his great contemporaries, and it is distinguished from other compilations of the kind by the amount of original matter it contains and the elaborately sustained Euphuism of its sentences. The preface is made up of ponderous variations on the theme *tria sunt omnia*. "He that would write or speake pithily, perspicuously, and persuasively must use to have at hand in readinesse, three kinds of ornaments and effectual motives, Sentences, Similitudes, and Examples. . . . What can I desire more, then to see the naked Truth arrayed in Sentences fitting the taste of Phylosophers; invested in Similitudes loved of Oratours; and approved by Examples, the rule and levell of the unstayed and raging multitude? . . . I judge him of an happie wit," he concludes, "who is profound and

Politeuphia or Wits Commonwealth, 1597. The first of a series of four.

Nicholas, Breton: *Wit's Private Wealth. Stored with choice of commodities to content the mind*. 1639.

See also Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Chap. 8.

⁶ Conrad Lycosthenes, *Apophtegmata*, ed. Geneva, 1633.

⁷ *The Quintessence of Wit. Translated out of the Italian tung by R. Hitchcock*. London, 1590.

⁸ *Wits Commonwealth. The Second Part. A Treasurie of Divine, morall and phylasophicall similes, and sentences, generally usefull*. (1598).

substantiall in Sentences, eloquent and ingenious in Similitudes; and rich and copious in Examples."

But in describing the esteem in which sentences of approved wisdom flourished, we are concerned with something more serious than their use as literary ornament. Their lessons are being constantly applied by the grave and sober-minded. No practical counsel is complete unless it is enforced by a statement of the general truth on which it is based. Whether the occasion be ordinary or momentous, the relations between the persons concerned the most intimate or distant, whether the one to whom the advice is addressed be of a growth and capacity that is above or below profiting by abstract principles of conduct, the tone remains unvarying. Sir Henry Sidney writing injunctions to the fourteen-year old Philip, and Lady Anne Bacon admonishing a son who has already spent many years in the foreign service of the Queen, employ precisely the same manner. "Give yourself to be merry," says Sir Henry, "but let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is oftentimes harder to be cured than that which is given by the sword. Think upon every word that you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath ramparted up as it were the tongue with the teeth, lips—yea, and hair without the lips, and all betokening reins and bridles for the loose use of that member. . . . Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied. So shall you make such a habit of well doing in you as you shall not know how to do evil though you would."⁹

The Letters of Lady Bacon to her son Anthony are curious in their mixture of formal precept and simple maternal solicitude: "Be not speedy of speech nor talk suddenly, but where discretion requireth, and that soberly then. For the property of our world is to sound out at first coming, and after to contain. Courtesy is necessary, but too common familiarity in talking and words is very unprofitable, and not without hurt-taking, *ut nunc sunt tempora*."¹⁰ The delicate health of both her sons causes her great concern, as do the dangers besetting court

⁹ Of incidental interest is this piece of advice: "If you hear a wise sentence or an apt phrase, commit it to your memory with the respect of the circumstances where you shall speak it."

¹⁰ *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, i, 112.

life, and results in sentences like these: "Extremities be hurtful to whole, more to the sickly. . . . Be wise and godly too, and discern what is good and what not for your health."¹¹ "Be not over credulous nor too open. *Sub omni lapide latet anguis.* Get health to serve God and your country as he shall enable and call you. . . . Be not too forward in state matters. Wise have withdrawn *hisce diebus.*"¹² To Lady Bacon all this was intensely earnest, though it is to be feared that she continued her lessons a little too long after her sons had learned to follow their own counsels. "You have little enough," she complains, "if not too little, regarded your kind and no simple mother's wholesome advice from time to time."¹³

In an equally conventional vein, and yet with an unreserved faith in its human benefits, was the custom of writing consolatory epistles.¹⁴ The models in this kind provided by Plutarch and Seneca appear often enough as lifeless imitations among the rhetoricians of the sixteenth century, and seldom more lifeless than in Lyly and Guevara; but they are also employed in the genuine situations of life with the sincere hope of bringing relief to the afflicted. They try to apply a gentle lenitive to the wound, by degrees to draw off the mind from the too painful obsession of its loss, and to induce a serene and religious resignation to the inexorable processes of nature. Typical in substance but singular for tenderness of sentiment and the beauty of its prose is a letter by the poet Robert Southwell.¹⁵ Though the occasion of the writing is to administer comfort to his uncle on the death of a sister, the letter is composed with a view to consoling "all troubled minds in the affects of dying friends." The beginning is a reproof of excessive mourning; to give way to grief immoderately is to betray our reason to its enemy. "Sorrow once settled is not lightly removed; easily winning,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 114.

¹² *Ibid.*, i, 115.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i, 113.

¹⁴ For a delicate analysis of this form among the ancients, see an essay by Constant Martha, "Les Consolations dans l'antiquité" in his *Études Morales sur l'antiquité*, 1883.

¹⁵ *The Triumphs over Death; or, A Consolatory Epistle for afflicted minds, in the Affects of Dying Friends. First written for the Consolation of one; but now published for the General Good of all*, by R. S. London, 1596. Reprinted in Brydges' *Archaica*, 1814.

but not so easily surrendering possession; and when it is not excluded in time, it challengeth a place by prescription." It is worthy only of the "seeliest women," "who make it their happiness to seem most unhappy, as though they had only been left alive to be a perpetual map of dead folks' misfortunes."¹⁶ He dwells with reverence on the life and virtues of the deceased and on death as the payment of the common debt of mortality, but the reflection is saved from commonplaceness now by a metaphor as fanciful as one of Sir Thomas Browne's, now by a sentence as stately as one of Bacon's. The former is called to mind by a reference to tears as being "water of too high a price to be prodigally poured out in the dust of any graves,"¹⁷ while we seem to hear the large utterance of Bacon pronouncing that "Nobility is an aim for lower degrees to level at marks of higher perfection, and like stately north-east windows in the rooms of politic and civil buildings, to let in such light, and lie open to such prospects, as may afford their inferiors both to find means and motions to heroical virtues."¹⁸ There is a descant in rounded Ciceronian sentences on the theme that death to time is birth to eternity, and that for the survivor the experience is a purifying ordeal which brings home to the mind the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world. "Soft minds, that think only upon delights, admit no other consideration; but in soothing things become so effeminate as they are apt to bleed with every sharp impression. But he that easeth his thoughts with expectation of troubles, making their travel through all hazards, and opposing his resolution against the sharpest encounters, findeth in the proof facility of patience, and easeth the load of most heavy cumbers."¹⁹ In conclusion the spirit of the mourner is brought to a contemplation of eternal life as into a haven of serene peace.

This was the sort of comfort and counsel which men of the world and men of learning administered to their friends in affliction. Being tempered with sympathy and applied with judgment, it becomes more than a form of ceremonial condolence. It is possible to convey a deep personal concern by

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

means of the familiar formulas. Writing as one scholar to another and as one sufferer to another, Hugo Grotius says to Thuanus: "I do not write these things to you, supposing you do not already know them better than myself, or that you cannot draw out for your use these things you know, but because it gives strength to our thoughts, when others say to us the same things that we think."²⁰ And how such letters were received we may infer from a reply by M. Du Maurier, French ambassador at the Hague, to a consolatory letter from Grotius on the death of his wife: "I confess to you ingeniously," he writes, "that after four months time, which hath past since I received this stroke (for since I count the days, and they seem years) my soul hath been more eased by your solid reasons drawn from the source of truth, by so learned and industrious a hand, and proceeding from a heart so good, and a love so free; than any other means whatsoever."²¹ He admits that he was familiar with all the arguments against excessive grief, but his affliction took him by surprise and unmanned him utterly: "When I came to use those rules and maxims, that the experience of all ages have found to be true, I was as it were discomposed and unable to defend myself against the torrent that came upon me unarmed. . . . Therefore I must again own that in this sore trial I have not only needed the counsel and help of my true friends, but particularly yours, who have so kindly lent me your helping hand; and the reasons you have furnished me withal, have the more likelihood to work upon me because that my affliction having by length of time obtained a truce, and my senses, by consequence, less troubled, are become more capable to give audience to any thing that may be for my good. This therefore is to give you my most affectionate thanks, and to assure you, that your succours have had the more effect upon my afflictions, as you have endeavored to comfort me by experience, and with affection."²²

²⁰ *The Mourner Comforted: Or, Epistles Consolatory: Writ by Hugo Grotius to Monsieur Du Maurier the French Ambassador at the Hague. With the Embassadors Answer. As also a Consolatory Epistle to Thuanus. Perused and recommended to the World by John Scott, D.D.* . . . London, 1694. P. 104.-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

In the letters addressed by men of experience in state affairs to younger men whose career is in the making, we have another evidence of the strong influence which classical authority exercised over the life of the Renaissance. The fact that we are here at times concerned with the observations of original and active minds, and that the counsels imparted, by their practical bearings, transcend the commonplace, makes their general tone more significant. Among the scattered literary remains of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's great Lord Treasurer, there survive some striking examples of this epistolary form. Cooper, in his biographical sketch,²³ refers to two MSS., one of "Instructions to his son Thomas going to travell, 1561," and another of "Minutes of Instruction to be observed by the Earl of Rutland in traveling abroad for his improvement, 20 Jan. 1571." We have in published form a letter which he wrote to the Earl of Bedford when that nobleman was made governor of Berwick in 1564.²⁴ This letter is worth summarizing fully, not merely as illustrating the type, but because it offers a touchstone by which to test the genuineness of a much more popular composition attributed to Burghley: There is a mixture of sincere modesty and dignity in the manner in which the writer, at the outset, apologizes for assuming the tone of a wiseacre, his excuse being that the letter is demanded of him. He explains in a labored sentence that a man "should, as his body groweth in age, so see his wit with knowledge, his condition with virtues, should amend; and, as we do live, we grow towards death by moments of time; so should we grow towards heaven, by multiplying of virtues, and good gifts." Here he catches himself with a suggestion of humor: "You see, I am at the first step in divinity; and so might I seem, to many others of your estate, to be of small discretion, to fall in preaching to him, that must be occupied with musters,

²³ *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ii, 255.

²⁴ It is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, v, 168-172, from a pamphlet [*The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's place, with the care and peril thereof, written by the Right Honourable Robert late Earl of Salisbury. With his excellent Instructions to the late Earl of Bedford for the Government of Barwick, A work worthy of memory.* London, 1642.] which ascribes it on the title-page to Burghley's son, the Earl of Salisbury, but it is correctly signed *Will. Cecill*.

with looking to fortifications, and suchlike worldly offices. But my Lord, I know to whom I write; to him, who considereth between things worldly, and heavenly; to him that knoweth the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom; and, therewith, I end." He is honestly puzzled how to formulate the principles of morality, for it is difficult to define the mean in which rightness of conduct consists; the fault on both sides stands so close to the virtues, that unless you keep yourself in your doings very upright, it is easy to err on one side or the other. "Thus," he remarks, "I might spend your Lordship's time, in reading a long and weary letter, if I would continue in that moral advertisement." He has been asked for specific directions about the course to be pursued in the government of Berwick, but not knowing the scope of the Earl's commission, he is unable to give precise advice. However, he consents to inflict upon him "a hotch-potch of sentences," in which he explains the nature of true discretion in the management of one's person and household, in the selection and treatment of officers and servants, in the attitude to be observed toward the gentry, the lawyers, and the people at large, and in matters of smaller consideration, such as the following: "At your table, let no matter of princes affairs, or princes regiments be disputed; nor of religion; for meat and drink requireth meaner talk; to keep men occupied of the common talk of the country, or other honest merry talks." "For your fare (your Lordship must give me leave to be bold) I can very well like that, in respect of your degree, your service be both in order, and service honourable; and in substance plenteous and in art curious; but, considering the proness of this age to excess, I can best allow the first without the last; And in any wise, whatsoever you shall like do in other places, let not your orders, belonging to your estate (especially in common assemblies) at your table be neglected; and, if your table be also plenteous, it is serviceable for the poor; but the last, to have many devices of counterfeit meats, and also spiced, maketh waste in the household, gaineth little, giveth ill example to be followed, and is not wholesome to your guests, and, in the end, serveth small to hospitality." His parting caution is that "nothing is honourable but well-doing; The weal of your country (I mean, the quietness of such, as you have authority to govern) is your mark; shoot

thereat, guiding your purpose with the fear of God, and so shall you gain the love of God and man."

Perhaps this digest fails to produce the impression created by a reading of the entire letter—an impression of the moral and intellectual refinement of the writer, of his sensible moderation, his high breeding and genuine piety as well as his practical sagacity. But let any one who is curious compare it with his alleged letter to his son Robert, often reprinted as one of the interesting documents of the period, and the distinction of its tone cannot possibly escape him.²⁵ In the latter we have a series of commandments set down under ten headings, in imitation of the sacred Decalogue, the substance of which can have little bearing on the education of Robert Cecil at any given period of his life. Some of the opinions are such as no statesman ever entertained, or would be at all likely to utter even if he believed them, and the delivery betrays a mind common, or even coarse, in texture and unused to the weighing and balancing of circumstances. With the delicate hesitations in the letter to the Earl of Bedford, compare the self-satisfied assurance with which the letter to Robert introduces its platitudes: "Next unto Moses's Tables, if thou imprint them in thy mind, thou shalt reap the benefit, and I the contentment,"—a very plain advertisement to the reader of the esteem in which the writer holds his own wisdom. He passes at once to very profitless and hackneyed directions for the choice of a wife, telling him not to pick a base and uncomely creature for her wealth, nor one that is a dwarf or a fool. There is little timeliness in the instructions on how to marry off his daughters, and in the warning against travel in Italy we hear the voice of the formal Puritan rather than the man of scholarly and worldly experience: "And suffer not thy sons to passe the Alpes, for they shall learn nothing there but Pride, Blasphemy, and Atheism; and if by travelling they get a few broken languages, that will profit them no more, than to have the same meat served up in divers dishes." Who can imagine Burghley saying that a man brought up to the profession of arms can hardly be an honest

²⁵ This tract was first published in 1617 as "Certain Precepts or Directions for the well ordering and carriage of a man's life, as also for the Government of his house, left to his sonne at his death." A list of reprintings, by no means complete, is given by Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ii, 255.

man or a good Christian, that every war is of itself unjust unless the cause makes it just, and that it is a science no longer in request than in use (assuming that the last two statements have a meaning). We may question also whether Robert Cecil needed to be cautioned against scurrility in conversation and excessive drunkenness, but in this respect allowance must be made for the time, and the warning is so conventional that it is not omitted by King James in the advice which he bestows upon the heir to his throne. Taking all things into account, however, there can be little doubt as to the spuriousness of this letter.²⁶ It is probably the compilation of some Jacobean prototype of Poor Richard which was fathered upon Burghley to give it prestige. It cannot even be considered a letter like the one to the Earl of Bedford, but belongs to a distinct species of composition, in its substance closely akin to the Baconian essay, in which advice of a conventional worldly nature is addressed ostensibly to an individual, but in reality to general perusal, and nearly always as from the pen of one actively engaged in public life. Of this character is a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh's entitled *Instructions to his Son and to Posterity*, which, while not greatly surpassing the letter to Robert Cecil in moral elevation, has at least a superior internal consistency. Francis Osborne's *Advice to his Son* is also well known, being distinguished by the bold cynicism of its ethics. Perhaps the most distinguished example of this type of composition is King James's *Basilikon Doron* which he wrote for the instruction of his son Henry, to guide him in religion, in governing the state, and in his private conduct. It reveals its author in his well-established character of an unusually learned and pedantic, but not remarkably wise ruler. The copious marginal references point to the classical sources of all his excellent precepts, which are regulated by a thorough honesty of principle and a purer moral standard than was common. What one misses is an addition to the general stock of experience, a

²⁶ The original title-page would make it out to be a kind of dying testament, but at Burghley's death Robert Cecil was not far from forty. Strype, who in his *Annals* (iv, 340) also prints it under 1598, the year of Burghley's death, describes it as "The Lord Burghley's Instructions to his son Robert Cecil, when young"; this is a natural assumption for Strype to make, but it does not explain any of the internal improbabilities.

sagacious application of the wisdom of the ages to the immediate problems of his statecraft, such as might be looked for from a king who prided himself on being a philosopher, and this in spite of the fact that he repeatedly alludes to circumstances in his own reign and in those of his predecessors. It needed no king to convey the profitable but trite lessons of the *Basilikon Doron*; and when he does speak as a king, James is most narrow and most misleading. It is easy to see how with such a father and such an education Charles I. became an exemplary husband and parent and a tragically inadequate ruler.²⁷

All these counsels are evidently inspired by a belief that there is a value in filling the mind at a certain age with general

²⁷ Letters similar in substance and manner to that of Burghley were composed by Bacon, some in his own name and some in the name of Essex, giving advice to the Earl of Rutland, to Fulke Greville, or to the Marquis of Buckingham, how to regulate their studies, how to profit by their travels, and how to conduct themselves in the affairs of state. In these we encounter many of the reflections and sentences which have been made familiar by the essays. Here are some of the sentences with which these letters are seasoned.

"Clearness of judgment makes men liberal, for it teacheth men to esteem the goods of fortune not for themselves, for so they are but jailors to them; and it makes us to know that it is *beatius dare quam accipere*, the one being a badge of sovereignty, the other of subjection. Also it leadeth us to fortitude, for it teacheth us that we should not too much prize the life which we cannot keep, nor fear the death which we cannot shun; that he which dies nobly doth live forever, and he that lives in fear doth die continually; that pain and danger be great only by opinion, and that in truth nothing is fearful but fear itself; that custom makes the thing used natural as it were to the user" (*Life and Letters of Bacon*, ii, 9.)

"In your being in the wars, think it better at the first to do a great deal too much than anything too little; for a young man's, especially a stranger's, first actions are looked upon, and reputation once gotten is easily kept, but an evil impression conceived at the first is quickly removed" (*ibid.*, ii, 11).

"In conference be neither superstitious, nor believing all you hear (what opinion soever you have of the man that delivereth it), nor too desirous to contradict. For of the first grows a facility to be led into all kinds of error; since you shall ever think that he that knows all that you know, and somewhat more, hath infinite knowledge, because you cannot sound or measure it. Of the second grows such a carping humor, as you shall without reason censure all men, and want reason to censure yourself" (*ibid.*, ii, 131).

"The fourth thing your Lordship must seek in all this course is Industry; for as great difference is between an actful sprightly man and a slothful, as betwixt a living man and a dead. The fifth thing your Lordship is to take care of is to direct that industry to good things; for else the more you do, the more ill you do, and the further you go, the further you go out of the way. The last

axioms of conduct abstracted from experience and compressed in a neat literary form for the convenience of memory. They did not undervalue the importance of observing through one's own eyes, but they counted on learning more through the observation of others. They read the historians with avidity, esteeming most highly those ancients who measured passing events by some standard of moral or political theory and who summed up movements and persons with a critical eye. In these they expected to find a clue to guide them in their own course. "All men that live," says Essex in the letter to Rutland, "are drawn either by book or example, and in books your lordship shall find (in what course soever you propound to yourself) rules prescribed by the wisest men and examples left by the wisest men that have lived before us."²⁸ This is in accordance with the principle that "when circumstances agree, and proportion is kept, that which is probable in one case is probable in a thousand, and that which is reason once is reason ever."²⁹

I judge that such letters were not written for form's sake and that they were read by their recipients with something more than perfunctory politeness. This may be inferred in part from the fact that men like Burghley and Essex and Bacon spent pains on them at a time when they were busied with important concerns, and in part from the manner in which the letters were preserved and circulated among friends, or published for the general good. One of the letters of Essex (or Bacon) to the Earl of Rutland reappears, with a new date, a new introductory paragraph and very slight verbal changes, among the *Learned and Elegant Works of Fulke Greville* (1633) as a letter of advice to his cousin Greville Varney, and is unquestioningly accepted as authentic by his editors and biographers.³⁰ This free treatment of good advice probably points to a common practice.

is that you rather be endeavouring to do well, than believing you do well: for besides that all self-conceited young men do grow infinitely lame, when once out of opinion that they are wise and good enough they hold themselves pleased with themselves, they fall more backward in a month than they get forward in a year" (*ibid.*, ii, 20).

²⁸ *Life and Letters of Bacon*, ii, 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 14.

³⁰ See Grosart's edition of the *Works of Fulke Greville*, iv, 301 and *D.N.B.*

Evidently these letters constituted an integral feature in the education of young men. They connect directly with the practice of the schools in which the aphorism or maxim was a very important instrument of mental discipline. The *Adages* of Erasmus was probably the most popular book of the century, a favorite class-room text and the begetter of many imitations. The custom of keeping a commonplace-book for recording the fruits of reading was universal among students. On this point we have some very precise observations by Bacon in a letter to Fulke Greville. They are valuable as showing the attitude of an original thinker toward the general run of such collections and as defining his conception of what they ought to be. Bacon maintains that far more than from epitomes advantage is to be derived by a student from collections under heads and commonplaces, "because they have in them a kind of observation, without the which neither long life breeds experience, nor great reading great knowledge." From an epitome of the life of Alexander we may learn "the number of years he lived, the names of places he conquered, the humours and affections he had, and the variety of accidents he met with in the course of his life." But a profitable analysis should make significant deductions to show, for example, under the title of Conqueror, "that to begin in the strength and flower of his age; to have a way made to greatness by his father; to find an army disciplined, and a council of great captains; and to procure himself to be made head of a league against a common enemy, whereby both his quarrel may be made popular and his assistance great; are necessary helps to great conquests;—Under the title of War, That the invader hath the advantage of the invaded; for he comes resolved, strikes terror, hath all if he win, and if he lose, loseth but his hopes; that it is not the number of soldiers so much as the goodness of them and the conduct of the leaders, that is cause of victory; and that before any man make foreign wars, he must (according to Alexander's example) be sure to settle all near home."

But the trouble is that no proper models are available. "Of the *methods of commonplaces* that I have seen," he says in the *Advancement of Learning*, "there is none of any sufficient worth, all of them carrying merely the face of a *school*, and not of a *world*, and referring to vulgar matters and pedantical divisions—

without all life or respect to action.”³¹ The faults of which he takes notice are fundamental, and of three kinds. They relate to the choice of headings, the books to be read, and the matters to be noted. In the matter of headings, the practice of young students and common book-makers is “to follow an alphabet and fill the index with many idle heads, enough to make him that shall follow their pattern to fill his paper-book as full of idle notes.” The choice of books among university students is generally unsuited to the needs of a man of affairs, because the more sober confine their reading to the three professions, divinity, law, and physic, while the younger students are “better satisfied with a flowing style than with excellent matter in harsh words.” Finally, the most important point of the three. Fulke Greville has asked for advice to enable him to instruct in proper note-making the scholars whom he expects to hire to do his reading for him. “To speak plainly,” is Bacon’s reply, “I think first in general that one man’s notes will little profit another, because one man’s conceit doth so much differ from another’s; and also because the bare note itself is nothing so much worth as the suggestion it gives the reader. Next I think no profit is gotten of his notes that is not judicious in that whereof he makes his notes.” His final counsel therefore is that he should himself discover the most important points for his purpose and use his assistants only for gathering additional illustrations: “For they should like labourers bring stone, timber, mortar, and other necessaries for your building. But you should put them together and be the master-workman yourself; and instruction is easier given and will be better followed in one point than in many.”³²

Sir Robert Dallington composed a book of aphorisms after this fashion for the instruction of his royal pupil, Prince Henry.³³ He made a digest of the first two books of Guicciardini’s Italian history, abstracted a politic precept from each small section of the narrative, and by way of enforcing the moral added a

³¹ *Works*, vi, 281.

³² *Life and Letters*, ii, 23–26. The Fulke Greville addressed in this letter is not the celebrated friend of Sir Philip Sidney, but a near kinsman.

³³ *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie. Amplified with Authorities and exemplified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne of Fr. Guicciardini . . . London . . . 1613.*

group of maxims from the ancients. Of Bacon's own practice we have evidence in an inventory of his manuscripts made in 1608. Among these are four note-books which throw an interesting light on his method of work. In one he jotted down any idea as it occurred to him, in another he copied as many of these reflections as time had shown to have some value, in a third he entered excerpts from his readings without order, and in a fourth excerpts and original ideas were arranged under heads.³⁴

And thus we are brought to the very threshold of the Baconian essay. It was doubtless from a commonplace book like the one last mentioned that the strings of sentences comprising the first group of his essays were drawn. An appreciative copyist had begun to circulate them, and as they were about to be published surreptitiously, Bacon decided to give them an authentic form. A similar process gave rise to Ben Jonson's striking collection of paragraphs, appropriately entitled "Timber or Discoveries" as being the raw material from which a regular structure might be contrived.

While students are still reluctant completely to deny the influence upon Bacon of Montaigne's essays, it is coming to be recognized that the kind of essay introduced into English literature by the former is essentially different in substance and spirit from the type created by Montaigne.³⁵ The essays of the Frenchman also had their origin in a commonplace book, but they blossomed into a growth which betrays no relation to the original seed. The more obvious bond has been suggested with the writers of aphorisms who flourished in the sixteenth century, particularly in Italy, but even these do not stand in the relation of models to the work of the Englishman. The *Politic and Civil Counsels* of Francesco Guicciardini, the most distinguished of their kind but known to the sixteenth century only in a mutilated and fragmentary form, are the product of the same habit which caused Burghley and Bacon to write letters of advice to young noblemen, and they but attest the wide prevalence of the custom. It would not be difficult to show, too, that the features

³⁴ *Life and Letters*, iv, 57-60, 62.

³⁵ See Villey, "Montaigne a-t-il eu quelque influence sur Bacon?" *Revue de la Renaissance*, vols. xii and xiii; Krapp, *Rise of English Literary Prose*, p. 533 ff.; Bryan and Crane, *English Familiar Essay*, pp. xvi-xix.

which contribute to the final development of Bacon's essays belonged to the general literary practice of the time and were specifically of the kind which Bacon would be expected to employ in the process of elaboration, which, in point of fact, he did employ in his regular compositions and which he did not derive from other essayists or aphorists. But the purpose of this paper is not to establish Bacon's entire independence of literary models; it is intended only to indicate the extent of the liking which men in the sixteenth century had for a species of didactic sententiousness and the natural emergence from that taste of the style of essay-writing of which the pointed sentence constitutes the nucleus and prevailing unit and of which the greatest representative was Francis Bacon.

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THE PLAUTINE TRADITION IN SHAKESPEARE

For the student of the history of literature, the plays of Plautus and Terence have a unique value; they are the only complete representatives of the Greek Comedy of Manners, and they serve in turn as the inspiration of dramatists of the Renaissance throughout the whole of Western Europe. Standing midway in the long line, they gather up the most significant traits of their predecessors to hand on to their descendants.

The tradition, to be sure, is not unbroken. Though Saint Jerome confessed that many a time in his unregenerate days, *Plautus sumebatur in manus*, and though the pious nun of Gandersheim lamented the fondness of the clergy for the unchaste dramas of Terence, the elder poet soon ceased to be read at all, and the younger was valued chiefly for his *sapienter dicta*.¹

But with the Revival of Learning, the Latin dramatists regained their prestige. Both Petrarch and Boccaccio copied manuscripts of Terence with their own hands, and both expressed in no measured terms their admiration for the genius of Plautus. Editions, commentaries, and translations into Italian, French, and German followed, together with performances of the plays, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Italy took the lead in these productions: the *Asinaria* was given about 1485 in the University of Rome, the *Menaechmi* in 1488 at a school in Florence, and in 1502 at the Vatican; and the courts of Ferrara and Mantua witnessed eleven different plays of Plautus and three of Terence within this same period (1486-1502). It was a young poet of Ferrara, Lodovico Ariosto, who wove together threads from half a dozen Latin plays to make the first Italian comedy, *La Cassaria* (1498?). Bibbiena's *Calandria* (a variation on the theme of the *Menaechmi*), Machiavelli's *Clizia* (from the *Casina*), and a host of others, carried on the tradition. In these dramas, classical elements gradually combined with philosophic and romantic themes, and with popular improvised material from the *Commedia dell'*

¹ See W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1893-1909), Vol. I, pp. 1-46.

Arte. There resulted a well-defined type of comedy, with plots closely akin to the Latin; stock figures like the Pantaloon (in the garb of a Magnifico of Venice), the Pedant or Doctor, the Spanish Captain, and the Zanni (a servant, half rascal, half clown, who generally spoke Bergamask dialect); and a recognized set of laughter-producing devices called *lazzi*.²

At the same time there was growing up on Italian soil a form of literature destined to exert a powerful influence on the development of comedy. The prose tales of Boccaccio, Bandello, Cinthio, and Straparola, gathered from all quarters of the globe—bits of distorted classical mythology and history, marvelous stories from the East, and the humorous scenes from real life depicted in the French *fabliaux*—dealt with many of the same characters and presented many of the same situations as the classical Comedy of Manners. For some of these similarities, we need no further explanation than the universality of human nature; others may perhaps be ascribed to descent from a common ancestor—the Euripidean *ἀναγνώρισις*, for instance, coming down by one line through Greek New Comedy and its Latin adaptations, and by another through the Greek and the mediaeval romances. To the dramatist of Italy, and of France and Spain as well, the *novelle* offered a wealth of congenial material, of which he was not slow to avail himself. Thus typical figures like the duped parent and the jealous lover attained a double popularity, and the trickery, disguises, and mistaken identity of the *novella* added many a merry incident to the complications of the stage.³

In Germany and Holland, where the interest in Latin comedy was fostered by schoolmasters intent upon improving both the minds and the morals of their young pupils, a different sort of

² Creizenach, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 532, 572–583; Vol. II, pp. 1–22; 217–226; 235–302; 351–359. Cf. J. W. Cunliffe, Ed. Gascoigne's *Supposes* and *Jocasta* (Boston, 1906), *Introd.*, pp. ix–xxiv; R. Warwick Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), *Introd.*, pp. xvii–l; W. Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte* (New York, 1912), pp. 1–102.

³ On the romance and its literary relationships, see J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, Revised Edition, London, 1911; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, Revised Edition, Leipzig, 1914; S. L. Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, New York, 1912; and the introduction by J. E. Edmonds and appendix by S. Gaselee to the edition of Longus in the Loeb Classical Library, London, 1916.

drama arose, the so-called "Christian Terence." This type of play was written in Latin, and aimed to combine the technique and atmosphere of a Roman comedy with an edifying story from Holy Writ. The Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha all furnished material, but by far the most popular theme was the story of the Prodigal Son. The *Asotus* of Macropedius (c. 1510?) and the *Acolastus* of Gnapheus (1529) follow the Biblical narrative with very little change; Macropedius's *Rebelle* (1535) and *Petriscus* (1536), and the *Studentes* of Stymmelius (1549) shift the scene to school or university, but still inculcate the same moral.⁴

England, too, felt the inspiration of the Latin dramatists. At both Oxford and Cambridge, statutes regulating the production of comedies and tragedies point to a custom of acting already well established by the middle of the 16th Century; and of the seventy-odd plays known to have been performed at those universities between 1547 and 1583, twenty-three were by Plautus and Terence.⁵ The *Andria* had been translated into English as early as 1497, and was reprinted at least three times before the end of the year 1588;⁶ while selections from the first three plays of Terence were gathered into Nicholas Udall's *Floures for Latine spekyng* (1534-35). *Jacke Jugeler* (1553-58?) gives the Mercury-Sosia scene of the *Amphitruo* in an English setting, and *Ralph Roister Doister* (1552-54?) is a free adaptation of the *Miles Gloriosus*. Both these early plays, as well as the more popular *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1550-53?), show the beneficent influence of the classics in structure, though the originality of the characterization and the freshness of the English atmosphere raise them far above the level of mere imitations.

Nor did the classical influence cease with direct borrowings from the Latin. German education-drama, carried to England

⁴ G. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century* (Cambridge, 1886), pp. 70-164; M. W. Wallace, Ed. of *The Birthe of Hercules* (Chicago, 1903), Introd., pp. 45-59; Creizenach, *Geschichte*, Vol. III, pp. 246-249, 352-412; Bond, *Early Plays*, Introd., pp. xci-cviii.

⁵ F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 16-18; 386-389. The performance of the *Adelphi* at Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1547-8, which Boas mentions on p. 18, is omitted from the list on p. 386.

⁶ C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama* (Boston, 1911), p. 156.

by the translation of the *Acolastus* in 1540, must have left its mark on the work of the schoolmasters, although the Latin dramas of Udall and Radcliffe of Hitchin have perished, and the only remaining examples of "Schulkomödie" in the manuscripts of Oxford and Cambridge show more Italian than German influence.⁷ The Prodigal appears in two interludes written about 1550—*Nice Wanton*, and *The Disobedient Child* of Thomas Ingelend—and the same theme is handled with greater art by George Gascoigne in *The Glasse of Government*.

Meanwhile, Italian plays like Ariosto's *I Suppositi* had been translated into English, and Italian romances had found their way into England (sometimes through French or Spanish translations) in collections like Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. Troupes of Italian actors, too, had passed from the capitals of the Continent to London, and had given many a splendid production before the court. Striking testimony to the performance, not only of written drama, but of improvised comedy, is to be found in allusions to the stock rôles of Italian drama. The scene-headings and stage directions of the earliest editions of Shakespeare's plays refer to certain characters as "the Braggart," "the Pedant," "a pantaloon" (*Love's Labour's Lost* III.1; IV.2; V.1; V.2; *Taming of the Shrew* I.1). Biron, in *Love's Labour's Lost* V.2. 545, lists "the pedant, the braggart, the hedge-priest, the fool, and the boy"; and Jaques includes the lover, the soldier, "the lean and slippered pantaloon" in the "many parts" of mankind's "seven ages" (*As You Like It* II.7.139-166). "The old pantaloon" is referred to in *The Taming of the Shrew* III.1.37, and "the magnifico" in *Othello* I.2.12 seems to have the same stereotyped meaning. "Zany" is used in the proverbial sense of "fool" in *Love's Labour's Lost* V.2.463 and *Twelfth Night* I.5.96, and it is barely possible that the "Bergomask dance" of *Midsummer Night's Dream* V.1.360 had some connection with the Zanni from Bergamo. Allusions to improvising (*Antony and Cleopatra* V.2.216-17; *Hamlet* II.2.420) and to mountebanks (*Hamlet* IV.7.142; *Othello* I.3.61; *Coriolanus* III.2.132) show familiarity with the Commedia dell'Arte; and the mountebank

⁷ See the synopses of the *Bellum Grammaticale* and *Paedanius* by G. B. Churchill and W. Keller in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 34 (1898), pp. 271-281, and the discussion in Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 148-156, 255-265.

scene in Jonson's *Volpone* (II.1) has all the characteristic traits of the improvised farce.⁸

In English drama of the Elizabethan period we may therefore expect to find the native elements which already existed in the moralities and interludes touched by two new influences, one introduced directly from the Latin, the other filtering through Dutch and German education-drama and Italian drama and romance. Shakespeare, "soul of the age," could hardly have escaped these influences. As to his knowledge of education-drama we have no direct evidence, but his acquaintance with the work of Italian "professionals" is evident from the passages just quoted, and the characterization of the actors for whom "Seneca can not be too heavy, nor Plautus too light" (*Hamlet* II.2. 418-419) testifies to his familiarity with the general types of Latin drama. Whenever a translation was available, Shakespeare seems to have preferred it to the original; but he probably knew enough Latin to extract the plot of a play, had a working knowledge of French, and was not altogether ignorant of Italian.⁹ And in addition to all the suggestions that might reach him in print, he undoubtedly heard much talk on the literary topics of his day, and witnessed the production of a host of plays, of which even the names are lost to us.¹⁰

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the plays of Shakespeare for traces of the Plautine tradition, both direct and indirect. The threads are so interwoven that it is practically impossible to separate the two, and in most cases it is useless to attempt to discover direct borrowings. Even general resemblances must be noted with caution; for horseplay and farcical tricks are common to all climes and ages, and it is even possible that, given similar circumstances, the same comic type might arise independently—as the figure of the braggart soldier

⁸ Cf. Smith, *Comœdia dell' Arte*, pp. 141-199.

⁹ H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 6-73. The results of this study are summarized by W. A. Neilson and A. H. Thorndike in *The Facts about Shakespeare* (New York, 1913), pp. 50-59.

¹⁰ Cf. the famous assertion of Stephen Gosson, in *Playes confuted in five actions* (1582): "I may boldly say it, because I have seene it, that the Palace of pleasure, the Golden Asse, the Æthiopian historie, Amadis of Fraunce, the Rounde table, baudie Comedies in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish, have beene thoroughly ransackt to furnish the Playe houses in London."

actually did in Greece of the 4th Century B.C. and in 16th Century Italy.¹¹

But after all these allowances have been made, certain features remain to prove indisputably Shakespeare's kinship with the Latin comic poets. We may note, first of all, resemblances in the external form of the play. The ancient Roman stage normally represented a street, with three house doors.¹² In the written comedies of Renaissance Italy the scene was regularly a street or square, with houses of three dimensions at the back, and the painted canvas for the improvised plays nearly always showed three main houses, with a balcony on the middle house and perhaps on each of the other two.¹³ The text of the earliest English comedies implies a similar setting—in *Jacke Jugeler*, the house of Maister Boungrace; in *Ralph Roister Doister*, the house of Dame Custance; in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, the houses of Gammer Gurton and Dame Chat.¹⁴ In Shakespeare, aside from the numerous scenes of locality undetermined to which modern editors prefix "A Street," "An Open Place," etc., there are some in which the action unquestionably requires a house as the background. This is the case—to cite only a few instances—when Antipholus of Syracuse is led in to dine with Adriana, whereas the true master of the house, arriving later, finds the door locked (*Comedy of Errors*, II.2; III.1); when Jessica, after Shylock's injunction to go in and shut the doors, opens the casement to her lover and then steals away with him (*Merchant of Venice* II. 5; II.6); and when

¹¹ Gr. Senigaglia, *Capitan Spavento* (Florence, 1899), pp. 24-33. On the general resemblance between these two periods, see also Bond, *Early Plays*, *Introd.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹² The three entrances (a heritage from the royal palace of Greek tragedy) seem to have been represented even when the action of the play required only one house, as in the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, or two houses, as in the *Adelphi* of Terence. See Dziatzko-Hauler, Ed. *Phormio* (Leipzig, 1913), *Introd.*, p. 36. The action of the *Rudens* of Plautus was supposed to take place on the seashore, and that of the *Heauton Timorumenos* of Terence in the country; but we do not know exactly how the scenes of these plays were represented.

¹³ Bond, *Early Plays*, *Introd.*, p. xliii; Smith, *Commedia Dell'Arte*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁴ If we might assume that, at the beginning of Act III, Hodge follows a convention of Latin comedy and speaks back into the house of Sym Glover (Cf. Plaut *Curc.* 223-228; *Mil.* 411-414; Ter. *Adelph.* 511-516; *Phorm.* 51), *Gammer Gurton's Needle* would present an exact parallel to the classical setting.

Iago's cries of "What, ho! Thieves!" rouse Brabantio to the discovery of Desdemona's flight (*Othello* I. 1).

The prologue had been characteristic of classical drama from the time of Euripides. In Plautine comedy, it took the form of a greeting to the audience, with a statement of the setting and a summary of the plot, which was delivered sometimes by a special Prologus (*Captivi*, *Casina*, *Menaechmi*), sometimes by a supernatural being (the Lar Familiaris in the *Aulularia*, Arc-turus in the *Rudens*) or a personified abstraction (Auxilium in the *Cistellaria*, Luxuria in the *Trinummus*), sometimes by one of the characters in the play (Mercury in the *Amphitruo*, Charinus in the *Mercator*). One Leone de Sommi, an actor-manager of 16th Century Italy, gives special commendation to the prologue "in the manner of the ancients," spoken by the poet or his representative, clad in a toga and wearing a crown of laurel.¹⁵ We may picture such a figure appearing to deliver the graceful sonnets at the beginning of Acts I and II of *Romeo and Juliet*, or to herald the splendid deeds of each act of *Henry V*. "Rumour, painted full of tongues," in the Induction to *2 Henry IV*, and "Time, the Chorus," at the beginning of Act IV of *The Winter's Tale*, correspond roughly to Plautus's allegorical figures. And though there is no play in which one of the characters gives the necessary information in a direct address to the audience, the long speeches of Aegeon to the Duke in the first scene of *The Comedy of Errors*, and of Lucentio to Tranio at the opening of *The Taming of the Shrew*, perform exactly the same function.¹⁶ The Epilogues spoken by a dancer in *2 Henry IV* and by the actor who had played Rosalind in *As You Like It* correspond roughly to the dismissal of the audience by the *caterva* in Plautus (*Captivi*, *Cistellaria*, etc.) The last words of the King in *All's Well* and of Prospero in *The Tempest* run directly into the Epilogue, as in the *Mercator* and *Pseudolus*; and "Your gentle hands lend us," "With the help

¹⁵ Cf. *Misogonus*, Prologue, 1.18. De Sommi's dialogue is quoted in Smith, *Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 69-77. On prologue and epilogue in English drama, see W. Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 1916; an English translation, with additions and corrections, of Vol. IV, Books I-VIII, of Professor Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*), pp. 275-277.

¹⁶ In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, the Latin original of *The Comedy of Errors*, the information is given by the Prologue.

of your good hands," are faint echoes of the Plautine *plaudite*.¹⁷ In view of the numerous Latin comedies that close either with a banquet on the stage or with the mention of one behind the scenes, it is perhaps significant that *The Comedy of Errors* ends with an invitation to dinner, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* with the promise of a marriage feast, and *The Taming of the Shrew* with the feast itself.¹⁸

Other resemblances in form are probably accidental. One might draw a neat parallel between Plautus's variation of lyric and simple dialogue meters, and Shakespeare's alternation of verse and prose, especially when the senarius of the Latin poet and the prose of the English bring a distinct lowering of emotional tone.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that letters, which Shakespeare regularly casts in prose,²⁰ are composed in iambic senarii, breaking in upon a lyric scene, in three different passages in Plautus.²¹

The plots of Shakespeare's plays, too, contain Plautine elements—though all these elements are found in the romances as well, and it seems probable that in most cases they reached Shakespeare through the latter channel rather than by direct descent from Plautus and Terence. The Roman dramatists had made much of mistaken identity, whether due to natural resemblance or to the deliberate assumption of another rôle. Italian comedy took up the idea with particular zest, adding

¹⁷ The Prologues and Epilogues of *Troilus and Cressida* and *Henry VIII* also follow the classical model, but are probably not by Shakespeare.

¹⁸ This feature may be a survival from Old Comedy, since the *Lysistrata* and *Pax* of Aristophanes likewise end with a banquet. The feasting takes place on the stage in Plautus's *Asinaria*, *Persa*, and *Stichus*; is anticipated in the *Bacchides*, *Curculio*, *Pseudolus*, and *Rudens* of Plautus and the *Phormio* of Terence. Cf. *Ralph Roister Doister*, V. 4. 16-18; *Gammer Gurton's Needle* V. 2. 326; *Buggbears* V. 9. 69-71.

¹⁹ The contrast is of course more marked in the "innumeris numeris" of Plautus than in the comparatively simple meters of Terence. *Amph.* 463-498, *Most.* 747-782, *Rud.* 1338-1356, and *Trin.* 998-1007 furnish especially good examples.

²⁰ With rare exceptions, such as the sonnets of *Love's Labour's Lost* IV. 3 and *All's Well* III. 4, and the rhymed verse of *All's Well* IV. 3 and *Hamlet* II. 2.

²¹ *Bacch.* 997-1035; *Pers.* 501-527; *Pseud.* 998-1014. The letters of *Asin.* 751-807, *Curc.* 429-436, and *Pseud.* 41-73 occur in the middle of iambic scenes; in *Bacch.* 734-747 the trochaics of the remainder of the scene are used for the letter.

one complication to another until the plots passed even the most remote limits of possibility.²² The comparatively simple theme of the *Menaechmi*, the confusion resulting from the likeness between twin brothers, is taken over by Shakespeare for *The Comedy of Errors*; but the situation is complicated by the addition of a double for the serving-man—a suggestion which, as a German critic pointed out half a century ago, may have come from the *Amphitruo*.²³

The underplot of *The Taming of the Shrew* borrows from Gascoigne's *Supposes* (a translation of Ariosto's *Suppositi*) two disguise motives, one of which is closely paralleled in Plautus. Just as the wandering Sycophant is hired to pose as a messenger from Charmides, and, all unwitting, confronts old Charmides himself (*Trin.* 843-997), so a Pedant from Mantua is induced to play the part of Lucentio's father, Vincentio, and is summoned to the door by the knock of "the right Vincentio" (IV. 2; IV. 4; V. 1). The other motive is a composite of several situations in classical comedy. The *Captivi* represents a noble-minded slave who, when he and his master are prisoners of war, assumes his master's dress and name, so that the latter may escape. In the *Eunuchus*, too, an exchange of clothing takes place, but this time the object is to give Chaerea access to the girl with whom he is in love. Similarly, in the *Amphitruo*, Jupiter and Mercury take the forms of Amphitruo and his slave Sosia, in order that Jupiter may enjoy Amphitruo's wife. The lover in Shakespeare's play first arranges that his servant Tranio shall "keep house and port and servants" in his stead, and then, in the guise of a pedant, presents himself as a tutor for his lady.²⁴ Of the farcical

²² On the whole subject of disguise in drama, see V. O. Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1915). Cf. Creizenach, *English Drama*, pp. 220-223. The theme is of course common in the literature of the East and in mediaeval romances which are quite independent of Latin influence.

²³ M. Rapp, *Geschichte des griechischen Schauspiels* (Tübingen, 1862), p. 342, quoted by K. von Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus: Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 574-575. The similarity of *Comedy of Errors*, I. 2, II. 2, III. 1, III. 2, IV. 1, IV. 4, V. 1, to scenes in the *Amphitruo* was noted by Paul Wislicenus, *Zwei neuentdeckte Shakespeare-Quellen*, in *Die Literatur*, 1874, Nos. 1 and 3 (reviewed in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 9 [1874], p. 330).

²⁴ Ariosto, in the prologue to the prose version of *I Suppositi* (quoted by Bond, *Early Plays*, *Introd.*, p. lii) acknowledges his debt to the *Eunuchus* and the *Captivi*.

developments of this idea, so frequent in Italian comedy, there is a hint in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* IV.2, where Mistress Ford hustles Falstaff into the gown of "my maid's aunt, the fat woman of Brainford," and then stands by to see him "most unpitefully" beaten by Master Ford.

In a variant which is not found in Plautus and occurs in only a few scattering instances in Italian drama, but is repeatedly employed by English playwrights, a character assumes disguise for the purpose of watching unobserved. The Duke in *Measure for Measure* announces his intention of quitting the city, but actually remains, in the garb of a friar, and takes an important part in the action. King Polixenes attends the sheep-shearing in disguise, in order to spy upon the love-affairs of his son (*Winter's Tale* IV.4). And in *Lear*, the banished Kent, returning in humble guise, and the outlawed Edgar, as "poor Tom," still wait upon their king.

Another off-shoot—and by far the most popular—represents a woman "caparisoned like a man." Julia, Portia, Rosalind, Viola, Imogen, all have their prototypes in Italian drama and romance, although the surpassing charm of these heroines is due to Shakespeare alone. The additional complication which gives to Viola a twin brother exactly like her, is found in Italian literature again and again.

The reverse of this figure, the "Boy Bride," comes much more directly from Latin comedy. The story of the old man who married a fair maiden, only to find her a boy in disguise, was handled by Plautus in the *Casina*, enjoyed some popularity on the Italian stage, and received its most notable treatment in Jonson's *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman*. Shakespeare has only two faint reminiscences of this situation—in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* (borrowed from the earlier *Taming of a Shrew*), where a lad plays "madam wife" to Christopher Sly, and in the closing scene of *The Merry Wives*, where Dr. Caius and Slender are duped. Each snatches from the troop of fairies a dancer whom he supposes to be sweet Anne Page, and then each discovers that he has married "oon garsoon," "a great lubberly boy."²⁵

²⁵ Students of folk ritual will notice the resemblance of the disguised dancers of *The Merry Wives* to the "Bessy" or "Maid Marian" of sword play or morris dance, and may be inclined to trace all these figures back to the primitive ceremonial whereby men and women exchanged clothing.

Another constantly recurring motive in New Comedy (especially in Menander) is the restoration of a long-lost son or daughter.²⁶ Sometimes the child has been separated from its parents by an accident;²⁷ sometimes it is a love-child and has been exposed to preserve the mother's good name.²⁸ This motive occurs in three of Shakespeare's plays (*Comedy of Errors*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Cymbeline*), and in the first and last was apparently added by him to the plot as he found it in his sources. *The Comedy of Errors* differs slightly from its original in making a storm at sea responsible for the separation of the family, whereas in the *Menaechmi* one son strays away in a crowd; the kidnapping of the two little princes in *Cymbeline* corresponds to the loss of Hanno's daughters in the *Poenulus*; and the voyage of Antigonus to "the deserts of Bohemia," with the cruelly slandered babe of Leontes (*Winter's Tale* III.3) recalls the mission of Lampadio in the *Cistellaria*. The "most curious mantle, wrought by the hand of his queen mother," which proves the identity of Arvirgus, "a mole, a sanguine star," upon the neck of Guiderius (*Cymbeline* V.5. 360-368), and "the mantle of Queen Hermione's, her jewel about the neck of it, the letters of Antigonus found with it," which proclaim Perdita the king's daughter (*Winter's Tale* V.2. 36-38), are exactly like the "tokens" of classical comedy.²⁹

²⁶ The story of *Pericles*, with its marvelous conglomeration of perils by land and by sea, treasures washed up by the waves, and the reunion of the long-separated father, mother, and daughter, is based on the mediaeval romance of *Apollonius of Tyre*. For the interaction between drama and romance, see p. 67 above.

²⁷ Plautus, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Menaechmi*, *Poenulus*, *Rudens*; Terence, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*. Similarly, in *Supposes*, the five-year-old son of Cleander is lost at the sack of Otranto.

²⁸ Plautus, *Casina*, *Cistellaria*; Terence, *Adelphi*, *Hecyra*. In Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos* the child of a legal marriage is exposed simply because of her undesirable sex. *Misogonus* represents the elder of twin sons as being "sent away" at birth, without adequate reason.

²⁹ A casket of *crepundia* is mentioned in Plautus's *Cistellaria* and Terence's *Eunuchus*, and the tiny trinkets are described in the *Epidicus* and *Rudens* of Plautus. (Cf. the *Ion* of Euripides.) "Privie marks" have a precedent in the scar on the left hand of Agorastocles (Plaut. *Poen.* 1073-1074), and the scar on the brow of Orestes in the *Electra* of Euripides. Similarly, the identity of Eugonus in *Misogonus* is established by a sixth toe, and that of Dulippo in *Supposes* by a mole on the left shoulder.

Perhaps the most common means of identification in Greek and Latin drama is the ring snatched by the mother of the child from the hand of its father on the night of their one meeting. This motive reappears, in a somewhat different setting, in *All's Well* IV.2, V.3, where two rings are brought forth to prove that Bertram, under the impression that he was meeting Diana, has really wedded Helena. The exchange of rings also figures, in connection with disguise, in the plots of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Twelfth Night*.³⁰

Some of the characters in Shakespeare's plays show a remote resemblance to their classical forbears. Beyond an occasional hint of lowly rank (*Winter's Tale*, *Tempest*), which could have come into English quite as readily through the romances as through Italian comedy, the heroine has little in common with the *meretrices* of Plautus. The hero, however, continues to be "a proper stripling and an amorous." Lucentio's undoing (*Taming of the Shrew* I.1) recalls the fate of Antipho in the *Phormio* or Chaerea in the *Eunuchus*, and Romeo's rhapsody on love (*Romeo and Juliet*. I. 1. 167-200) sounds the same note as the soliloquy of Alcesimarchus (Plaut. *Cist.* 203-228). Master and servant are still on familiar terms; witness Lucentio's outpouring of his heart to Tranio (*Taming of the Shrew* I.1. 153-163), and the gibes of Speed at Valentine's doleful plight (*Two Gentlemen* II.1. 18-33).³¹ The balancing of one love-affair by another (*Merchant of Venice*), the portrayal of contrasted characters (*Two Gentlemen*), and the presentation of such problems as the conflict between love and duty or love and friendship (*Two Gentlemen*), all have parallels in Plautus and Terence.³²

³⁰ The ring taken by the girl figures in Terence's *Adelphi*, also in the *Epi- trepontes* of Menander and probably in the lost *Auge* of Euripides, while the plot of the *Hecyra* of Terence turns upon the ring snatched by the young man. Only the first of these motives appears in the story of Boccaccio (Third Day, Ninth Novel) upon which the plot of *All's Well* is based. A ring also brings about the recognition in the *Curculio* of Plautus and the *Heauton Timorumenos* of Terence, although the circumstances are somewhat different.

³¹ Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 616-637; *Curc.* 1-95; *Poen.* 129-197; *Pseud.* 3-128; Ter. *Eun.* 46-80. For some points in the discussion of comic characters, I am indebted to Bond, *Early Plays*, Introd., pp. xxix-xli; Smith, *Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 4-10, 84-87; Creizenach, *English Drama*, pp. 294-312.

³² Two young men in love appear in the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, and *Mostellaria* of Plautus, and in all of Terence's plays except the *Hecyra*. The dutiful Lysiteles

The *pater familias* of Latin comedy was useful chiefly because he furnished (albeit unwillingly) the necessary funds for his son's romance. Sometimes the memory of his own wild oats made him tolerant of the young man's misdemeanors; more often he took an uncompromising stand as censor of morals and *laudator temporis acti*.³³ In four plays of Plautus (*Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Casina*, *Mercator*), the old men cast lustful eyes at their sons' mistresses; in the *Aulularia*, the rich old bachelor Megadorus makes an honorable request for the hand of the miser's daughter, without dowry. Italian dramatists took over these figures, and, by exaggerating their ridiculous aspects, developed the Pantaloon and the Pedant or Doctor, the former, as a rule, the father of hero or heroine, the latter often a suitor for the lady's hand. Both were unattractive figures, stupid, avaricious, amorous, and easily duped by the young people in the play. Shakespeare's treatment is much more kindly, but we can still recognize traits of the classical *senex* in the stern decrees of Antonio (*Two Gentlemen* I.3) and Baptista (*Taming of the Shrew* I.1), in Capulet's reminiscences of by-gone days (*Romeo and Juliet* I.5), and in the "wise saws" of Polonius to Laertes (*Hamlet* I.3). Silvia's father traps Valentine by the story of a coy lady whom his "aged eloquence" has failed to move (*Two Gentlemen* III.1. 76-136), and "old Signior Gremio" offers plate and gold, Tyrian tapestry and arras counterpoints, as dower for the fair Bianca (*Taming of the Shrew* II.1. 347-364). The Pedant of *The Taming of the Shrew* is very faintly outlined, but Holofernes of *Love's Labour's Lost* has the characteristic traits of the Italian Doctor. His speech is a hodge-podge of Latin and English ("scraps" from "a great feast of languages"); he talks pompously of Dictynna and Ovidius Naso, quotes a line from "good old Mantuan" and then caps it with an Italian couplet (IV.2; V.1).³⁴ Sir Hugh Evans, of *The Merry Wives*,

is contrasted with the spendthrift Lesbonicus in the *Trinummus* of Plautus, and the apparent conflict between love and friendship complicates the plot of the *Bacchides* and the *Adelphi*.

³³ Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 279-323; Ter. *Heaut.* 200-210. The father's moralizing tendencies are shared by Lydus, the paedagogus of the *Bacchides*. (Cf. especially 11. 419-448.)

³⁴ W. Keller (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 34[1898,] pp. 278-279) considers Holofernes indebted to the hero of the Cambridge University play *Paedantius*, and Sidney Lee (*The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, pp. 423-427)

is drawn with a gentler hand, but he also airs his own learning when he asks young William Page "some questions in his accidence" (IV.1). Like his Italian predecessors, Sir Hugh talks with an accent, and his mixture of Welsh dialect and Latin must have given very much the same effect as the Bolognese dialect and Latin of Doctor Gratiano.

In the comedies of Plautus the heroine was sometimes accompanied by an aged *lena* (*Asinaria*, *Cistellaria*, *Curculio*, *Mostellaria*); in those of Terence (following the Euripidean tradition), she was usually attended by a nurse or a faithful old slave (*Adelphi*, *Eunuchus*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Phormio*). The latter was a rather shadowy figure, not unkindly portrayed; the former was the personification of cruelty, inebriacy, and greed. These two figures merged in the Italign *ballia*, a garrulous old woman who acted as go-between for the lovers. Such a character survives in Dame Quickly of *The Merry Wives* (especially I.4; III.4) and, most notably, in Juliet's nurse. A trace of the nurse's coarseness lingers, too, in younger maids who act as confidantes for their mistresses—Lucetta in *The Two Gentlemen*, Margaret in *Much Ado*, Emilia in *Othello*.

The slave, who was always the chief fun-maker, and often the most important actor, of classical comedy, passes over into the resourceful servant of Italian drama, and thence into the English clown—a character who retains all the humorous possibilities of the Latin *servus*, although he no longer controls the plot. Like the Plautine slave, he is given to quibbles and retorts (*Two Gentlemen* II.5)³⁵ and to abuse of other servants (*Romeo and Juliet* I. 1);³⁶ he soliloquizes (*Taming of the Shrew* IV.1),³⁷ holds mock-serious debates with himself (*Merchant of Venice* II.2),³⁸ and addresses remarks directly to the audience (*Two Gentlemen* II.3);³⁹ he shows the same pretended stupidity

thinks that he detects in the dialogue of *Love's Labour's Lost* IV. 2, *Merry Wives* IV. 1, and *Taming of the Shrew* III. 1 the influence of French plays on Italian models, especially *Le Fidelle* and *Le Laquais* of Larivey.

³⁵ Cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 1-80; *Pers.* 16-32. In the notes on this paragraph, I have given only a few of the many possible classical parallels.

³⁶ Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 297-307; *Most.* 1-75.

³⁷ Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 587-607; *Merc.* 111-119; Ter. *Heaut.* 668-678.

³⁸ Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 249-264; *Epid.* 81-100; Ter. *And.* 206-225.

³⁹ Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 1072-1074; *Pseud.* 562-573a.

(*Taming of the Shrew* I.2.5-19);⁴⁰ the same burlesque exaggeration of grief (*Two Gentlemen* II.3).⁴¹ These traits are most marked in the early plays, and Launce, Launcelot Gobbo, and Grumio are close kin to the slave of Plautus.

Sometimes a subordinate rôle in Latin comedy fell to a boy, whose pert retorts to questions (Plaut. *Pers.* 183-250; *Stich.* 315-325) and shrewd characterizations of other people in the play (Plaut. *Capt.* 909-921; *Pseud.* 767-789) filled a gap in the action and put the audience in a good humor. Moth in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Biondello in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Falstaff's diminutive page in *2 Henry IV*, and the boy attached to the "three swashers" of *Henry V*, all belong to this category, and slight as are their parts, their relationship to the Plautine *puer* is unmistakable.

But of all the characters who have come down from classical times, the braggart soldier has the longest history. He flourished on the Italian stage for three hundred years, and "Capitan Spavento da Vall' Inferna" was the favorite rôle of that prince of comedians, Francesco Andreini. In English, he furnished the basic features for "the most humorous character in all literature." For underneath his mountain of flesh and the whimsical humor that endears him to every heart, Falstaff is still the *miles gloriosus*, lauded by his associates for his military prowess and his power over feminine hearts, but doomed to disaster both on the field of battle and in the lists of love. Other braggarts, too, tread the stage of Shakespeare: Don Armado, the fantastical Spaniard; Parolles, who displays the most contemptible traits of the Italian *bravo*; Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol; Doctor Caius and Sir Hugh Evans; and Sir Andrew Aguecheek. All these show some characteristics of the classical *miles*—his boastfulness when no peril threatens, and his cowardice in the face of danger, his ambition to be a lady-killer, and his ignominious end.⁴²

⁴⁰ Cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 357-399; *Pseud.* 22-96.

⁴¹ Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 79-82.

⁴² On the figure of the *miles gloriosus* in literature, see J. Thümmel, *Der Miles Gloriosus bei Shakespeare*, in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 13 (1878), pp. 1-12; O. Ribbeck, *Alazon* (Leipzig, 1882); K. von Reinhardtstoettner, *Plautus: Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 595-680; Gr. Senigaglia, *Capitan Spavento* (Florence, 1899). It should be noted that the Falstaff of *The Merry Wives* is much closer to the stock character than the Falstaff of the historical plays.

Not only the plots and the characters, but the stage-tricks of ancient comedy persist in Shakespeare. Characters are very frequently heralded before their entrance (e.g., *As You Like It* I.1.28).⁴³ Proteus completely overlooks Valentine, although the latter must have been in plain sight on the stage (*Two Gentlemen* III.1.188-191);⁴⁴ and Julia, from her hiding-place, listens to her lover's wooing of Silvia, and comments aside on what she hears (*Two Gentlemen* IV.2).⁴⁵ Satirical asides on the speech of another character, a device used by Plautus and Terence, and copied repeatedly by Italian comic writers, occur in the comments of the Second Lord on Cloten's boastful utterances (*Cymbeline* I.2).⁴⁶ The ancient device by which a slave or parasite, in his anxiety to be the bearer of news, knocked down everybody in his way, and then arrived too breathless to deliver his message, is suggested in *The Comedy of Errors* III. 2.71, IV.2.28-30, *Much Ado* V.2.95-102, and, most humorously, in *Romeo and Juliet* II.5.18-66.⁴⁷ The cook, with his spit and basket, still makes confusion worse confounded (*Romeo and Juliet* I.3; I.5; IV.2; IV.4);⁴⁸ and knocking "as he would beat down the gate," occurs again and again with comic effect (*Comedy of Errors* III.1.30 ff.; *Taming of the Shrew* I.2.5 ff.; V.1.14 ff.; *Merry Wives* I.1.74; *2 Henry IV.* II.4.380).⁴⁹ And horseplay, cudgelings, and fisticuffs still call forth a laugh from the groundlings, just as they did in the days of Plautus

⁴³ Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 148; Ter. *And.* 174; *Ralph Roister Doister* IV. 5.5. Comic clichés are discussed in Bond, *Early Plays*, Introd., pp. xlvi-1; Creizenach, *English Drama*, pp. 275, 299-303, 325-326. My notes include only a few of the many classical parallels.

⁴⁴ Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 267-296; Ter. *Phorm.* 841-851; *Ralph Roister Doister* V. 2. 1-4; *Supposes* V. 2. 1-7.

⁴⁵ Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 876-906; Ter. *Phorm.* 231-285; *Misogonus* II. 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 20; Ter. *Eun.* 401 ff.; *Supposes* I. 2.

⁴⁷ Cf. Plaut. *Curc.* 277-328; *Merc.* 109-161; Ter. *Adelph.* 305-327; *Ralph Roister Doister* III. 3. 7 ff.; *Supposes* V. 7. 1 ff.; *Bugbears* V. 4. 22ff.; *Misogonus* IV. 1. 22-24.

⁴⁸ Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 280-459; *Merc.* 741-782; *Disobedient Child* (in Hazlitt's Ed. of Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, Vol. II), pp. 281-286; *Supposes* III. 1; *Misogonus* IV. 2. 17.

⁴⁹ Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 1020-1027; *Most.* 445-454; *Jacke Jugeler* 326-331, 361-362; *Supposes* IV. 3. 68-74; *Bugbears* III, 2. 29-33. The same insistent knocking is introduced without humorous effect in *Troilus and Cressida* IV. 2. 34 ff., and serves to heighten the tragedy in *Macbeth* II. 2. 57 ff.

(*Comedy of Errors* I.2.92 ff.; II.2.23 ff.; IV.4.17 ff.; *Taming of the Shrew* I.2.12 ff.; IV.1.151 ff.).⁵⁰

Even the dialogue of Shakespeare's plays occasionally shows a Plautine coloring, most noticeable in scenes like *All's Well* II.2, where the Clown's reiterated "O Lord, sir! Spare not me!" corresponds to the *Censeo* and *I modo* of Plautine slaves (*Rud.* 1269-1278; *Trin.* 584-590). In view of the widespread use of foreign language and dialect in dramatic literature, too much weight should not be attached to chance resemblances. We may note, however, that the Greek words of Plautus give about the same tone as the sprinkling of French and Italian phrases in Shakespeare, and that the broken English of the Welsh, Scotch, and Irish soldiers in *Henry V*, and of Doctor Caius and Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives*, finds many parallels in Italian comedy. The scene in which the Princess Katherine of France learns English by the "direct method" (*Henry V.* III. 4) bears a faint resemblance to the monologue of the Carthaginian Hanno (Plaut. *Poen.* 930-954), and the Boy's interpretation of the French captive's plea (*Henry V* IV.4) must have made the same humorous appeal as Milphio's attempt to translate Punic greetings into Latin (*Poen.* 995-1028).⁵¹

It is evident, therefore, that Shakespeare typifies the influences which came into English both directly from Latin comedy and indirectly through German education-drama and Italian drama and romance. We see survivals of the tradition in a few externals, such as stage setting and the use of Prologue and Epilogue; in some devices of plot (which are common in the romances as well)—for example, mistaken identity and the restoration of long-lost children; in characters, drawn on conventional lines in Shakespeare's earlier plays, but rounded out

⁵⁰ Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 370-397; *Aul.* 628-660; *Cas.* 404-421; *Jacke Jugeler* 442 ff.; 694; 910; *Misogonus* II. 1. 61-68.

⁵¹ On the use of dialect and foreign language in Italian plays, see Smith, *Commedia dell' Arte* p. 6; Senigaglia, *Capitan Spavento*, pp. 16-17, 78, 84-85. The effect of the foreign language was most humorous when foreign words could be confused with native words of similar sound. So, in *Poen.* 998, 1002-1003, Milphio understands *donni* as *doni*, and *meharbocca* as *misera bucca*; and in *Henry V.* IV. 4, Pistol interprets "Seigneur Dieu!" as "Signieur Dew," the gentleman's name. Latin words are distorted by the Man-Cook in *The Disobedient Child* (Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, Vol. II, pp. 284-285), and by Dame Quickly in *The Merry Wives* IV. 1.

and individualized in his mature work; and in stage-tricks like the perennially humorous beating on the gate.

The plots of Shakespeare show Plautine elements down to the very end of his literary activity, and in one play of the earliest and one of the latest period he has added the stock "recognition-scene" of classical drama to the material which he found in his sources. In general, however, the resemblances are more marked in the early plays, some of which can be traced directly to Latin or Italian sources: *The Comedy of Errors*, borrowed from Plautus; *The Taming of the Shrew*, taken (in part) from Plautus's imitator Ariosto; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, reminiscent of the *miles gloriosus* and of his descendants in Italian comedy; and portions of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *All's Well*.

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BÉOWULF NOTES

- 303 Eofor-lic scionon
 304 ofer hléor-ber[ge]an gehroden golde,
 305 fáh ond fýr-heard ferh-wearde héold,
 306 gúð-mód grummon.

"The boar figures adorned with gold shone over the cheek-guards; bright and hardened in the fire they gave life protection; war-minded they raged."

The renderings of this passage suggested in the various editions of the *Béowulf* all assume the necessity of emendation in the last half-verse. The only suggestion for retaining the MS. reading, so far as I am aware, is Schücking's statement in the ninth and tenth Schücking- Heyne editions that Brandl "(brieflich) will *gúð-mód grummon* in Hinblick auf *grimman* 'roar' beibehalten." Schücking, however, gives no hint as to how Brandl would translate this half-verse or how he would fit it into the context. Chambers in the most recent English edition of the *Béowulf* (Cambridge, 1914) asserts that "the MS. reading, *gúðmód grummon*, hardly admits of interpretation." If, however, *eofor-lic* is construed as the subject of *grummon*, the MS. reading affords not merely a possible interpretation but a spirited and picturesque rendering. The poet of the *Béowulf* concentrated his attention upon the fierce appearance of the boar figures upon the helmets, and by a characteristically vigorous Old English figure represented them as savagely raging or roaring. The only syntactic difficulty in rendering this entire passage without resort to emendation is the singular *héold* interchanging with the plurals *scionon* and *grummon*. The singular verb form may be explained (Klaeber, *Mod. Phil.*, 3, 451) by construing its subject, *eofor-lic*, as a collective in this instance; or it may be merely another example in the *Béowulf* of a singular verb form with a plural subject (see Klaeber, *Mod. Phil.*, 3, 259). A possible motive for the change in verb form in this particular passage is a momentary change in the poet's point of view—from the savage appearance of the boar figures to the protecting service rendered by each.

- 532 S6ð ic talige
533 þæt ic mere-strengo máran áhte,
534 earfeþo on ýþum, ðonne ænig óþer man.

The Chambers-Wyatt *Béowulf* (1914), though retaining the MS. reading, notes to verse 534 that “*earfeþo*, ‘stress,’ is not a good parallel to *mere-strengo*, so that many editors have altered to *eafeþo*, ‘strength.’” As a matter of fact, most of the recent editions retain *earfeþo*, and at least as early as the seventh Socin-Heyne *Béowulf* (1903) this MS. reading was supported by a reference to *earmran mannon* of verse 577. Further support of the MS. reading is found in verse 422, where apparently in speaking of the same exploit Béowulf declares that he “*nearo-þearfe dréah*”—“endured dire distress.”

- 867 Hwílum cyninges þegn,
868 guma gilp-hlæden, gidða gemyndig,
869 sé ðe eal-fela eald-gesegena
870 worn gemunde, word óþer fand
871 s6ðe gebunden.

Klaeber's suggestion (*Mod. Phil.*, 3, 455) that *gilphlæden* means “covered with glory,” “renowned,” has been accepted in most recent editions. A foot-note in Chambers-Wyatt proposes “‘laden with glorious words’ or perhaps simply ‘proud’ or ‘covered with glory.’” *Gilp-hlæden* seems to me merely intended as a variant of *gidða gemyndig* and a close parallel to it in meaning; the singer is not himself “covered with glory” but his memory is stored with glorious deeds, with famous lays of many a hero who, like Béowulf, had made good his *gilp-cwide*. Neither Chamber's “‘laden with glorious words” nor Trautmann's “sangerfüllter Mann” (*Bonner Beit.*, XVI, 51) is quite suitable, but either is less unsatisfactory than the usually accepted renderings.

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SEMANTIC NOTES

NE. *Inveigle*

No satisfactory etymology of this word has ever been given. Skeat, in the first and second editions of his etymological dictionary, gives two explanations, neither of which he accepts, however. The first, that the word comes from the Ital. *invogliare* 'to give a desire to, make one long for,' cf. Ital. *voglio* 'I wish.' This connection is so far-fetched that it has since been dropped altogether by etymologists. The second, that the source of the word is the French *aveugler* 'to blind,' has now been very generally accepted. Even Skeat, in the fourth edition of his dictionary has abandoned his earlier prejudices and regards the word as "altered ignorantly from F. *aveugler* 'to blind.'" The NED. also accepts unquestioningly this connection.

The phonetic difficulties to this explanation are not insuperable. The older forms of the word, the earliest dating from the 16th century, show the following spellings: *envegle*, *invegle*, *-veugle*, *-veigle*, *-veighle*, *-veagle*, the prefix *en-* being found almost as frequently as *in-*. The NED. regards the older *envegle* as "apparently a corruption of an earlier *avegle*, *aveugle* from French *aveugle* < Lat. *ab + oculus*." The stem vowel gives no difficulty since NF. *eu* became regularly ME. *ē*. But the prefix is more difficult to explain. There are two cases of words in which older prefix *a-* changed to *en*, viz., *abraid* to *enbraid* and *aorn* to *enorn*, but neither of these has received any satisfactory explanation. As for the *in-* of *inveigle*, the NED. thinks "it is probable that some analogy suggested the prefix *en-*, whence the latinized *in-*."

Reserving our judgment on the above phonetic explanation for the moment, let us cast a glance at the meanings of the word. I give them as arranged by the NED.:

- (a) 1. to blind in mind or judgment; to beguile, deceive, cajole.
2. to gain over or take captive by deceitful allurements; to entice, allure, seduce.
- (b) to entrap, ensnare, entangle.
- (c) to draw by guile into action, conduct, a place, etc.

(d) to beguile.

(e) to cajole one out of something.

It is here that the inadequacy of the above connection becomes apparent. The French *aveugler* has the following meanings, according to Larousse, *Grande Dict. Univers.* I 1071: 'rendre aveugle, priver de la vue, éblouir, empêcher momentanément de voir distinctment; priver de jugement, ôter l'usage, l'exercice de la raison.' These meanings point to two fundamental ideas, a literal one, viz. 'to blind, dazzle' and a figurative one, 'to deprive of judgment.'

A glance at the quotations under the heading (a) 1. in the NED. reveals only one illustration where *inveigle* has unmistakably the meaning 'to blind,' viz., "1611 Florio, Ciecure, to blinde, to enveagle." In all the others the word has simply the meaning 'to beguile, deceive.' The semantic sequence (a) 1. 'to blind in mind and judgment; to beguile, deceive,' is for the eight other quotations, at least, (there are nine in all) not necessarily applicable, but rather made to suit the etymological connection, for 'to blind' develops the meaning 'deceive' thru the meaning 'to hoodwink' and not thru 'beguile,' as will be seen below. But even accepting this semantic sequence, how are we to explain the other meanings of the word? Of the 45 quotations in the NED. 36 show the meanings: 'to draw, take in, entrap, entangle, entice, seduce, deceive'; in other words, the meaning 'deceive' must here have developed from 'entangle, draw into by guile, entice, allure, etc.,' meanings which predominate in the present usage of the word. Compare the following cases of similar development: ON. *vēla* 'bestriicken, durch List abspenstig machen,' Norw. dial. *vēla* 'Fallen aufstellen, locken,' NE. *wile* 'deceive, entice, beguile, allure.' From the same stem thru the Norman French, E. dial. *guile* 'beguile, deceive,' NE. *beguile* 'delude, elude by craft, trick, bring into error.'

MDu. *betrecken* 'overtrekken; in eene zaak wikkelen; verlokken, verleiden, draw over, involve in a matter; entice, lead astray,' Du. *betrekken* 'iem. in eene zaak moeien, wikkelen in; iem. beetnemen, bedriegen, involve in a matter, entangle; deceive, cheat,' etc.

If we adopt the accepted explanation of the word, then the meanings 'blind, hoodwink' must have developed the meanings

'entrap, entangle' because we have them clearly in the following quotations:

1551 T. Wilson Logike (1567) 806. One may easely be enueigled and brought into an inconuenience before he be ware.

1647 Sanderson Sermon II, 216. To enveigle and entangle his necessitous neighbour . . . till he have got a hank over his estate.

1707 Sloane Jamaica I 235. The branches are inveigled among one another, spreading themselves on every hand. *Ibid.*, II 196. They (webs of a certain spider) are so strong as to give a man inveigled in them trouble for some time. NED. *Op. cit.*

But such a semantic sequence is impossible.

We must, therefore, try to find another explanation for the meanings of the word. I believe we have this in the Du. *inwikkelen* 'in een omslag doen; betrekken, wrap up, draw, involve,' (Van Dale, Groot Woordenboek, p. 857). In being taken over into English the form was confused with E. *aveugle* already borrowed from the French. This confusion was due probably not only to similarity of form, but also to the meaning 'deceive' from 'hoodwink' in the French word. The loanword NE. *aveugle* 'to blind, hoodwink,' now obsolete, but in use in the 16th century (cf. NED. I 585) confirms the above supposition. That the Du. *inwikkelen* was in common use in the 16th century is shown by its being borrowed into the Scandinavian languages. Cf. Dan., Norw. *indvikle*, Swed. *inveckla* with the meanings 'fold up, involve, entangle, embarrass, perplex.' From the meaning 'entangle' to that of 'deceive' is only one step. Cf. Lat. *intricare* 'entangle, perplex, embarrass,' ME. *entriken* 'entangle, deceive,' NE. *intrigue* 'cheat, trick, fill with artifice.'¹

SWED. *Bedraga*, DAN. *Bedrage*

These have been considered loanwords from the Middle Low German, but there seems to be difficulty in explaining the form.

¹ The above explanation makes the NE *inveigle* a blend of two borrowed word forms. Cases of similar confluence of forms for words of Anglo Saxon origin are discussed by Skeat, Principles of Etymology, First Series, §385, §386. Not only does the connection given here account for the previously unexplained prefix *in-*, but it clears up especially the hitherto wholly ignored semantic difficulties in the word. Aside from the fact that *en-* and *in-* were often interchanged in the earlier period, (cf. Lat. *intricare*, ME. *entriken*) *enveigle* for *inveigle* may be due also to analogy with such words as entangle, embrangle. Cf. NED. quotation above from Sanderson, Sermon II 216. "To enveigle and entangle etc."

Scandinavian etymologists regard them as borrowed from *MLG. bedrēgen*, related to *MHG. betriegen*, *NHG. betrügen*, which should, however, have given *Swed. bedräga*, *Dan. bedraege*. To explain this inconsistency of form, recourse is had to analogy, tho even here authorities differ as to what the analogy was.

Falk Torp, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *bedrage*, regards the infinitive stem vowel *a* as coming from the *MLG. pp. bedragen*.²

Tamm, *Etymologisk Svensk Ordbok*, p. 28 gives a different explanation. He thinks that perhaps *bedraga* was written for *bedräga* because of a confusion of the latter with the stem of *OSwed. dragha*, *ON. draga* 'draw,' etc. This influence of *draga* on *bedräga* was made still more likely by the fact that both the loanword and the *Swed. draga* had the same preterite vowel *ō*. The *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok III*, 577 follows Tamm. Of these explanations Tamm's is much the more plausible. That the form *draga*, already existing in the Old Norse and common to all Scandinavian dialects influenced the form of the loanword, there can be no doubt. But this influence was due not only to similarity of the preterite or past participial forms. It was probably due to a much greater extent to the similarity of meaning. In fact, the meaning 'deceive' for *bedraga* could easily have developed in the stem *draga* itself and actually did so in the Swedish dialect.

But *bedraga* is unquestionably a loanword as indicated by the prefix. It is not borrowed from the Middle Low German *bedrēgen*, however, but rather from the Middle Dutch *bedragen* 'bedekken, overtrekken; iem. in het ongeluk storten, bedriegen, cover, draw over; plunge into misfortune, deceive' (*Verdam, Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek* s.v.). Not only does this word correspond in form to the Scandinavian words, but the meanings are almost identical with those for *bedraga* in Söder-

² Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, p. 78 gives only *bedrogen*. While *a* was sometimes written for *o* at the time of the borrowing i.e., around 1500 A.D., it was not until the last half of the 16th century that this shift of *a* to *o* became general (Cf., *op. cit.*, p. 15). At the time of the borrowing it must have been a rather open *o*, in which case, supposing it had been taken over, it is likely that it would have been written *aa* in Danish and *ä* in Swedish. Cf. *MLG. bedrog* 'Betrug,' *Swed. bedråg*. This analogy is, therefore, not very plausible.

wall, *Ordbok öfver svenska Medeltids-Språket* and for *bedrage* in Kalkar, *Ordbog til det aeldre danske Sprog*. But wherever the meaning 'deceive' occurs, e.g., in Söderwall or the *Akademiens Ordbok*, the word is erroneously given as a separate form and its origin referred to MLG. *bedrēgen*. On the other hand, MLG. *bedrēgen* actually appears as MSwed. *bedrāgha*, tho the quotations in the Svenska Akademiens Ordbok III, 577 ff. show only four occurrences and these between 1526 and 1624. Even the earliest records indicate that *bedragha* was used much more frequently than *bedrāgha*, due, no doubt, to its almost immediate identification with words of the related stem *draga*, in which the development of the meaning 'deceive' was only a step, as may be seen from the following examples: OE. *dragan* 'draw,' ON. *draga* 'ziehen, drehen, Ränke spinnen' (Gering, *Wb. zu den Liedern der Edda*); 'drage, traekke, slaebe; indsuge; lokke over til en anden Mening eller Handlemaade, overdrage, betraekke, draw, pull, drag; suck in; entice to another opinion or mode of action, draw over, cover' (Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, I, 253 ff.), Norw. *draga* 'Zugseil,' Icel. *dorg* 'an angler's tackle' (Zupitza, *Germ. Gutturale*, p. 177), NSl. *draga* 'Art Fischnetz,' MSwed. *draga* 'trahere, locka, öfverdraga,' Swed. dial. *draga* 'bedraga, deceive,' MDan. *draga* 'klaede, iføre sig; betraekke, slave, beløbe sig til,' MDu. *dragen* 'dragen, brengen, werpen,' *bedragen* etc. With these compare the loanwords: MSwed. *bedragha* 'öfverdraga, belägga, betäcka; bedraga, überziehen, belegen, bedecken; betrügen,' MDan. *bedrage* 'betraekke, drage hen til, beløbe sig til, beziehen, hinzuziehen, sich belaufen auf.'

The semantic development of 'deceive' in these words is, 'draw, draw into, entangle, ensnare: deceive.' Note how closely the following parallels of the same semantic development correspond to the words under discussion:

MDu. *betrecken* 'overtrekken, bekleeden; betrekken, in eene zaak wikkelen; verlokken, verleiden überziehen, bekleiden; beziehen, in eine Sache wickeln; verlocken, verleiten,' Du. *betrekken* 'zich vestigen in; wikkelen in; iem. beetnemen, bedriegen, sich fest machen; einwickeln; jem. täuschen, betrügen,' Westph. *betrecken* 'überziehen; beziehen; betrügen,' LG. *uprekken*, Dan. *traekke op* (loanword) 'betrügen,' NE. *trick* 'deceive by cunning or artifice,' MLG. *trecken* 'ziehen.'

MHG. *beziehen* 'kommen zu, erreichen, umstricken; überziehen, einziehen, an sich nehmen,' NHG. *beziehen* 'überziehen; anschmieren, betrügen,' MLG. *beten* 'beziehen, bedecken, umstellen, einschliessen; umgarnen, betrügen,' LG. *beteen* 'berücken, betrügen, hintergehen.'

Thus the word *bedraga* displaced the loanword from the MLG. *bedrēgen*, tho other related forms of the latter were borrowed and have persisted to the present time. For example, Kalkar, *op. cit.*, does not record a form of the verb *bedraege* for the early Danish, he does, however, give the adjective *bedraegeelig*, MSwed. *bedrāghlig* 'deceptive.' Cf. further, MSwed. *bedrāgh* < MLG. *bedrēch*, Dan. *bedraegeri*, Swed. *bedrageri* 'deception,' corresponding in form and meaning to NHG. *Betrügerei*. On the other hand Kalkar gives no meaning 'deceive' for MDan. *bedrage*, but we do find MDan. *bedragerē* with the meaning 'seductor,' which seems clearly from the same stem as the Middle Dutch word discussed above.

DAN. *Snyde*, NHG. *Schneuzen*, etc.

Falk Torp, *Etym. Wb.* s.v. *snyde* says of the above words: "Die Bedeutung 'betrügen' hat sich im Deutschen entwickelt, zunächst wohl in Studentenkreisen als Übersetzung des lat. *emungere aliquem argento* mit dem Gedanken an die Redensart *tage ved naesen*. Lat. *emungere* und gr. ἀπομόσσειν 'die Nase putzen' haben die Bedeutung 'betrügen, prellen' durch das Mittelglied 'durch Schaden klug oder vorsichtig machen' bekommen, vgl. lat. *homo emunctae naris* 'schlauer Mensch (eig. mit feiner Nase) und das mit *snyde* verwandte got. *snutrs*, etc."

This explanation seems substantiated by Kluge, (Studentensprache, p. 123) who records NHG. *schneuzen* 'einen um etwas bringen, prellen, betrügen, es ihm gleichsam aus der Nase ziehen' as students' slang.

The words belong to the very prolific Germ. base **smu-* in NE. *snot*, *snout*, NHG. *Schnauze*, LG. *snau* 'Schnauze,' *snuff* 'Nase,' Dan. *snue* 'schnupfen,' etc., etc. Therefore, the primary meaning of *schneuzen* would seem to be 'die Nase von Schleim reinigen.' But is the meaning 'betrügen' in the various forms in which it appears in the Germanic dialects due to the student translation of the Latin or Greek words above mentioned? That this semantic connection should have been so generally

accepted by both German and Scandinavian scholars seems strange, especially in view of the fact that the meaning 'deceive' is already found in the Old Norse word. Gering, *Wb. zu den Liedern der Edda*, records the following meanings for ON. *snýta*: 'betrügen, verraten; vernichten, töten.'

The word appears in the various Germanic dialects as follows: ON. *snýta* 'die Nase schneuzen; betrügen, verraten; vernichten, töten,' OE. *snýtan*, OHG. *snüzen*, MLG. *snüten*, 'die Nase schneuzen,' LG. *snüten* 'schneuzen, verkürzen, betrügen,' MDu. *snuyten* (Kil.) 'emungere, emungere pecuniis; fallere; deplumare, deglubere aliquem,' Du. *snüiten* 'schneuzen od. putzen, die Nase od. das Licht, be- od. verkürzen, benachteiligen, übervorteilen, betrügen,' Du. dial. *besnüiten* 'bedriegen,' EFrís. *snüiten* 'schneuzen, reinigen, putzen, schneiden, scheeren, abschneiden, einschneiden, stutzen, kürzen, ein- od. verkürzen, 'én in sin lön od. inkamen besnüiten 'jem. in seinem Lohn od. Einkommen beschneiden od. beknappen, verkürzen,' *snüter* 'Schnüppe, Schneuze; der abgeschnittene od. abgeschorene Abfall von Bäumen, Sträuchern,' NHG. *schneuzen* 'die Nase putzen; das Licht schneuzen, kneifen; von Sternschuppen, indem man die schiessenden Meteore gewissermassen als abfallende Lichtschuppen betrachtet (Campe) Bäume schneuzen; einen um etwas bringen, prellen, betrügen,' Sax. *schneuzen* 'betrügen,' MDan. *snyde* 'pudse,' *udsnyde* 'bedrage staerkt', Dan. dial. *snyde* 'rense Naesen for Snot; pudse et Lys, at klippe den udbraendte Tande af; tage ved Naesen, die Nase schneuzen, das Licht putzen, den ausgebrannten Docht abschneiden, an der Nase herumführen, betrügen,' Norw., Swed. *snyta* 'snyde, rensa Naesen; pudse; narre, bedrage,' Swed. dial. *sniuta* 'afklippa, pudsa, snyta; narra, bedraga, abschneiden, putzen schneuzen; betrügen.'

A glance at the above words shows a wide development of the meaning 'deceive' in the Low German and Scandinavian dialects with almost no instances in the High German except possibly the above-mentioned student expression. Even leaving out of consideration the occurrence of the meaning in the Old Norse, is it likely that a High German student expression would penetrate so generally into the Low German and Scandinavian without leaving a trace in the High German dialects? There may be a remote possibility, but when it can be shown that the

particular meaning in question is the natural outgrowth of other meanings already common in the word, this possibility becomes negligible.

These words develop the meaning 'deceive' not from the Latin or Greek, but from the meanings 'cut off, curtail, rob' inherent in the words. They come from the Ger. base **snu-*, **snu-* < IE*(s)*knu-* 'schaben, kratzen.' Semantically they belong to the large group of words developing the meaning 'deceive' from 'skin, flay, fleece, curtail, rob, etc.' The meaning 'cut off' in *snyde* develops 'das Licht putzen' as suggested by Falk Torp, *op. cit.*, a similar development being seen in the following words from the same primary base **snu-*: NE. *snu-*, *snu-*, Dan. *snu-* *af* 'abstumpfen, abstutzen, Swed. *snu-* *abscheiden, ein Licht schneuzen,* NHG. *snu-* 'ein Licht schneuzen,' Swed. *snu-* 'kastrieren,' ON. *snu-* schänden (eig. beschneiden), etc. Cf. Falk Torp s.v. *snu-*, Fick, *Idg. Wb.* III 4. p. 524.

For parallel developments of 'deceive' from the meanings 'skin, flay, fleece, curtail, rob' compare:

E^{Fris}. *snu-*, 'verschneiden, kastrieren, schinden; betrügen; die Mutterbrust stark ziehen, ihr viel Milch entziehen,' Du. *snu-* 'castrate; cheat,' Lith. *snu-* 'Baumrinde.'

MHG. *snu-* 'zerschneiden; beschränken, verkürzen, betrügen; beschneiden, kastrieren,' MLG. *snu-* 'betrügen, übervorteilen,' Du. *snu-* 'cut, geld, intersect; cheat,' Sax. *snu-* 'castrieren; betrügen, unerlaubten Gewinn aus etwas ziehen.'

Without regard for the explanation given here, it is still likely that the explanation of the meaning 'betrügen' given by Kluge, *op. cit.*, is correct for High German student circles, but that does not make it the prototype for all the other words having that meaning. In Fris. *snu-* 'bespuiten, besprenkelen, bespuwen, beschijten; bedriegen, spout, sprinkle, bespit, befoul with excrements; deceive' (Dijkstra, *Friesch Woordenboek* s.v.) we have still another development of the meaning, namely that of 'befoul with snot: deceive.' Cf. NHG. *snu-* 'beschmutzen, frech betrügen.'

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DANIEL DEFOE AND THE PALATINE EMIGRATION
OF 1709A NEW VIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF ROBINSON CRUSOE¹

I

The suggestions hitherto offered concerning the origin of Daniel Defoe's masterpiece, *Robinson Crusoe*, have long seemed unsatisfactory to the critical reader, and in no way fully explanatory of the tremendous effect of this piece of literature. There is hardly an introduction to Defoe's works that does not touch upon this point, nor is there a biographer who does not dwell on it to a certain extent; there are even more than half a dozen dissertations and separate articles which attempt to offer a solution. Yet nowhere could I find a conclusive argument to explain the remarkable phenomenon of a busy political journalist, at an age when he might gracefully have retired, turning once more, as in the case of "A true account of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal," to the writing of narrative, and promptly surprising the world with a contribution of classic order.

The most distinguished living authority on Defoe, Professor W. P. Trent of Columbia University, attempts to describe this phase of the author's evolution. He first assigns all that is due to Defoe's own genius and experience as a writer to the popular narratives of the day, which he was supposedly fond of. Leading up to the beginnings of "Robinson Crusoe," however, the biographer says, "Finally when it is remembered, that in 1718, he was contributing to *Mists*, week by week, letters from fictitious correspondents, that his wide reading in geography had given him a knowledge of foreign countries, particularly of Africa and both Americas, and that he had long since shown himself to be a skillful purveyor of instruction and an adept at understanding the character of the average man, we begin to see, that, given an incident like the experiences of Alexander

¹ The subject of this study was suggested to the author by Professor Julius Goebel. To Professor W. P. Trent of Columbia University, who read the manuscript, he is indebted for kind advice and many valuable suggestions.

Selkirk and an increasing desire to make money through his pen in order to portion his daughters, we have a plausible explanation of the evolution of Defoe the novelist out of Defoe the journalist and miscellaneous writer."² Like an echo of this sounds a remark by E. A. Baker in the otherwise excellent introduction to his edition of "Moll Flanders" and "Roxana," when he says "not that Defoe cared a pin for art. In the case of such a man as he, always ready to turn his hand to any lucrative employment, business considerations of course came foremost."³

I should hesitate myself to accept these explanations of the origin of Robinson Crusoe as entirely satisfactory, for however prosaic the initial impulse of the author may have been, the conception of the work shows decided traces of idealism.

A. Kippenberg goes to the other extreme in not allowing that the book has been created from any other motive but free poetic glee. He accuses Defoe of "dealing Crusoe a blow" by telling us that he composed his work with a definite moral tendency.⁴

Before presenting what seem to me the basic elements of Robinson Crusoe, the result of research in Defoe's and other early eighteenth century journals, I will go somewhat deeper into the theories which have hitherto been advanced concerning the origin of this work.

It is a well known fact that Defoe's peculiar manner of presenting a story gave rise to these speculations. Artfully written introductions to the second and third parts of "Robinson Crusoe" enshrouded the whole work in an even thicker veil of mystery, leaving the way open for three entirely different interpretations. Those who believed that "Robinson Crusoe" was pure fiction or, to use Defoe's words, who reproached it with being a romance, were told that this imaginary story had its just allusion to a real story, and chimed part for part and step for step with the inimitable life of Robinson Crusoe.⁵ Now some searched for the real story, others jumped on the

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IX.

³ "Moll Flanders" and "Roxana," with introduction by E. A. Baker, p. XV.

⁴ A. Kippenberg, *Robinson in Deutschland bis zur Insel Felsenburg (1741-43)*, p. 37.

⁵ R.C. III, XI.

word allusion and declared the whole thing an allegory. The real story, however, was soon discovered.

The account of a Scotch sailor, Alexander Selkirk, who experienced adventures very similar to those of Crusoe, is generally supposed to have furnished Defoe not only with the idea but also with the material for his story. Wright supplies a picture of the house in Bristol where Defoe is said to have met the mariner and to have received his papers.⁶ Trent, however, says there is no foundation for such an assumption, as the returned sailor has not been shown to have had any papers at all. Yet he, too, speaks of the Selkirk adventure as the germ of the book. Not only do the earlier English biographers such as Minto, Lee, Chadwick and Wilson agree on this point but also such a German scholar as A. Kippenberg, who calls the Selkirk adventures the seeds "which shot up brilliantly under Defoe's care."⁷ F. Wackwitz likewise points to the return of Alexander Selkirk as the upper limit in Defoe's sources, and vaguely draws attention to the rise of social science, the philosophy of Hobbes and the political turmoil of 1688 as the deeper problems wherewith was drenched the soil from which the Selkirk seed grew.⁸ Hettner, though older than either of these two, seems to have arrived nearer the truth than any of them by the force of his historial and philosophical intuition. He writes: "and yet it was the outer conditions of Defoe's life which became determinative factors in origin and contents of "Robinson Crusoe." The adventure of Selkirk gave the poet only a few scanty outlines."⁹

The other group of interpreters were misled, as I intimated, by Defoe's rather indiscriminate use of terms such as allegorical, just allusion, just reference, scheme, emblem, emblematic history, parable and allegoric history, in reference to his tale of adventure, and therefore we really ought not to be surprised at this "intrepid band of students", as Trent mockingly calls them, for taking "Robinson Crusoe" as an allegorical autobiography of its author. It reveals a certain sort of wit to compare the revolution of 1688 to a shipwreck, the Earl of

⁶ Thomas Wright, *The Life of Daniel Defoe*.

⁷ A. Kippenberg, p. 21

⁸ F. Wackwitz, *Entstehungsgeschichte von Defoe's Robinson Crusoe*, p. 56.

⁹ H. Hettner, *Daniel Defoe und der Robinson Crusoe*, p. 292.

Oxford to a parrot, William III to an umbrella, the Tories to the man-eating Caribbeans and the Reverend Saccheverell to the first savage. Even as late as 1894 Thomas Wright, with great pride in revealing to us the true key to Robinson Crusoe, declares in all sincerity that all we have to do in order to arrive at important dates in the author's life is to add twenty-seven years to dates so carefully registered by the lonely islander. If, for instance, Crusoe was wrecked on the 30th of September, 1659, we, by this simple arithmetical calculation, arrive at the 30th of September, 1686, the day when Defoe's life of silence is supposed to have commenced. He kept quiet until December, 1714, which makes the period of his voluntary retirement from speech twenty-eight years, two months and about one-half, the length of time which Crusoe spent on his island. From all I have read of Defoe I have come to the conclusion that the one thing he could not do was to keep silent. And although this period of silence is supposed to be understood in regard to his family relations, we have no proofs at all for this reflection on his private life, so little of which is unfortunately known.

Wright's allegorical theories are repeated by Wackwitz, who does not seem quite sure whether to believe them or not. "If we remember how many essential points in Robinson were explained by literary models and suggestions these autobiographical traits, even if their truth were apparent, seem scanty and unessential. Experience of general similarity may have helped Defoe to put himself into the mood of the lonely islander and to describe them warmly, but events, characters and thoughts came to him from without."¹⁰ H. P. Geisler comes to a very much clearer and more satisfactory result: "The allegation that Robinson is an allegory of Defoe's life is based on an unlawful specification of a term which neglects the illuminating context."¹¹

As none of these theories, so painstakingly worked out by scholars and generally accepted, seemed wholly satisfactory, it was necessary to go deeper and to ask whether there was anything that happened in Defoe's own life previous to 1719

¹⁰ F. Wackwitz, p. 57.

¹¹ H. P. Geisler: *Is "Robinson Crusoe" an allegory?* P. 18.

which might have led him to the Robinson-idea. This idea being, as I interpret it, the struggle of man for individuality, for development of the self from its own resources, unaided and unhampered by civilization; in short: the producing of a state of spiritual contentment on the basis of a natural existence; the crying wish for ridding oneself or escaping from all negative human forces which drag us down, such as physical needs caused by unfavorable economic conditions, mental and spiritual anguish and serfdom created by conscription of thought and feeling, commonly called political and religious oppression. If, as I said before, we could trace in Defoe's life history—disregarding literary influences of any kind—an event or a movement which in its essence would reveal a sameness of ideas, an identity in principle and purpose with the Crusoe fable, we could justly point to it as a source of inspiration to the author—this notwithstanding the Selkirk report which, in my opinion, is nothing but a vehicle for Defoe's great message, though a most happily chosen one.

Even as great a poet as Goethe did not hesitate to use a legend as a vehicle for his finest thoughts—why, then, should a political economist and social reformer of Defoe's indiscriminate ardor not seize a fascinating adventure, true or fictitious, to make propaganda for his favorite projects? To exhaust the parallel, we might admit that the popularity of the continuation of "Robinson Crusoe," where the fable shrinks to a shadow and the moral rules supreme is today no greater than was that of the second part of "Faust," where also the action is lost in the sand-dunes, and hair-splitting philosophizing reveals the writer's true aim. Goethe is as little a dramatist as Defoe a novelist in these respective parts of their works. Both use their skilled pen for a purpose. In Defoe's case this assumption has frequently been challenged by English and German critics. I hope, however, to confirm it by revealing the hitherto unrecognized or unknown forces which precipitated the conception of Robinson Crusoe.

It is well recognized that "one cannot examine the literary products of the reign of Queen Anne without watching for political allusion. It is often necessary to do so if one is to get a fair understanding of implied meanings."¹² When we apply

¹² Stephens: *Party Politics and English Journalism (1702-1742)*, p. 2.

this principle to Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" it very soon becomes evident that the Selkirk theory does not wholly fit the case. The book is not only quantitatively far more than a circumstantiated tale of adventure; its abundant allusions to places and conditions most significant to the readers of the age show its author to be more than a genius of imagination. His mind seems to be pregnant with political happenings, his fancy dwells on social dreams. The idea of being transported to some spot where existence, based on an equal economic chance for every individual, is ennobled by spiritual freedom, appears to dominate his world of thought. In "Robinson Crusoe" this is very evidently the central idea; and it occurs again and again as a solution in Defoe's novels of crime. As Defoe once expressed it: "The transported felon is a much happier man than the most prosperous untaken thief in the nation."¹³

If it were possible to discover the cradle of this pet-idea, or, in other words, if any material could be produced which would prove Defoe's active interest or participation in the colonization schemes of his day, we should obviously have every reason to give it an even more prominent place in the moulding of the Robinson-idea and story than the previously accepted motives.

It has hitherto been entirely overlooked that Defoe actually did play an important rôle in the most remarkable colonization scheme of the time,¹⁴ a scheme which may well have furnished him with the germ idea of the story. Just ten years before the publication of "Robinson Crusoe," during the months of May and June, 1709, the citizens of the City of London were astonished to find the streets of that metropolis swarming with men and women of an alien race, speaking an unknown tongue and bearing unmistakable indications of poverty, misery and want. It soon became known that about five thousand of these people were sheltered under tents in the suburbs of the city. Addi-

¹³ Col. Tacques, p. 4.

¹⁴ In this connection Professor W. P. Trent points out to me that "although Defoe's interest in the Palatines is plain, and is shown as late as his "Plan of the English Commerce" and in numerous pamphlets, it is also true that he had planned for English settlements in South America as early as King William 3rd's day and that in his tracts about the South Sea Scheme and in "A voyage around the World" this type of colony was in his mind. Defoe's general and practical interest in English colonization was doubtless a continuation of the Elizabethan tradition."

tions were made almost daily during June, July, August and September, and by October from between thirteen to fourteen thousand had come. It was soon found that these people were Germans from the country lying between Landau, Speier and Mannheim, reaching almost to Cologne, commonly called the Palatinate. This sudden invasion of so many thousands of foreigners into a country where but few of them had ever appeared before, and where they were utter strangers, rather than into neighboring countries of like faith and kindred language that would perhaps have been more ready to welcome them, stands forth as one of the most remarkable facts of the time.¹⁵ Historians have endeavored, but failed, to discover some great moving cause, some all powerful impulse to which they might ascribe this monster emigration. Diffenderfer, whose account I am quoting, emphasizes the fact that no one reason or cause was responsible for this remarkable movement but that it was the result of a combination of causes which had long been at work.

Defoe, having just at this time returned from Scotland,¹⁶ had an opportunity of seeing and interviewing these poor people. After waiting a few weeks for the reaction of the public to this "German invasion" he takes up the matter in his "Review." The angle from which he approaches the subject is an excellent specimen of his journalistic skill. He knows his public and how to win those who were largely opposed to the foreign immigrants. He pretends to be talking on trade, a subject on which he was an acknowledged authority.

The essential of commerce, he points out, is people: "The more people, the more trade; the more trade, the more money; the more money, the more strength; and the more strength, the greater a nation. Thus all temporal felicities, I mean national, spring from the numbers of people."¹⁷ As a counterproof Scotland's poverty is quoted, which he thinks is caused by the emigration of its inhabitants. But what he is driving at comes only now: the question of what to do with ten thousand poor

¹⁵ Diffenderfer: *The German Exodus To England in 1709*.

¹⁶ Cf., W. P. Trent: *Defoe, How to Know Him*, p. 93.—His movements for the next seven months (after Christmas 1708) are not clear, but it is on the whole probable that he remained in London.

¹⁷ *Review*, No. 38 (July 2, 1709).

refugee Germans who had come over from the Palatinate. There was a concrete case to deal with, a sudden considerable increase in population, the advantage of which for England, though poor and foreign the newcomers were—it was now up to him to prove. A delicate task if we realize that the “Dutchmen” were not much more popular on the British Isles at that day than they are now.¹⁸ It was Defoe’s peculiar fortune to get himself into difficulties for championing lost causes, and had he not gone thru all the agonies and persecutions of a political and religious non-conformist he would not have found the courage to take up the cause of the persecuted Palatines. His undeniable sympathy for them was not only based on the fact that they were his brethren in faith, but on his extensive and first-hand knowledge of their history and civilization.

It was perfectly natural that the people of London and the vicinity should see nothing but a public nuisance, an imposition on their good will and charity, and a meanace to their own poor and needy in these refugees, with whom they had nothing in common. Although individuals took them in, fed and clothed them, and the government furnished them with tents and inaugurated public collections thruout the country, the murmurings grew louder. Defoe had a hard time arguing down “his countrymen’s ill-natured suggestions of strange and imaginary mischiefs those poor people would bring them, of which not one tittle was otherwise true than in the prejudices of whimsie and ignorance.”¹⁹ He lectures to them most severely on their greed—“But it is our humor, we will wallow in plenty and let nobody partake of it;”²⁰ he ridicules their unnatural pride and barbarity which is all the more unfounded since (here one may perceive the strains of the true-born Englishman)²¹ they were all

¹⁸ Cf., Diffenderfer, p. 305: To many Englishmen, especially among the lower orders, the name of German was synonymous with that of Catholic, and this fact served to intensify the dislike with which these colonists were regarded upon their arrival in England.

¹⁹ *Review*, No. 41 (July 9, 1709).

²⁰ *Ibid*, No. 42 (July 12, 1709).

²¹ Cf., *The True born Englishman*:

“These are the heroes who dispose the Dutch
And rail at new-come foreigners so much!
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived.”

originally refugees in the shadow of Britain's wealth and fertility, yet "we will not because we will not have strangers settle among us because we will not."²²

Having spent himself with little apparent success in showing his public the blackness of the English soul, Defoe abandons moralizing and hopes to seize their interest by an appeal to their business instincts. In going back to his opening argument on the material advantages a trading-nation draws from the increase in number of its population, he shows that in this case quality was added to quantity. If the people only knew who those poor beggars really were, what they really came for, and what they could do, if put in a condition to work, it might finally dawn on their involuntary hosts that a more cordial reception and wise disposition of them might not be a bad investment after all. Besides, he adds, the kindness shown to these poor people would help to wipe out the blots that lie in their characters as Englishmen abroad; if these people were received, kindly harbored, relieved and settled, it would be an unanswerable return upon those that should hereafter reproach the English, at home or abroad, with want of courtesy or want of humanity to strangers.²³ Confident that the public mind would change as soon as it knew the true state of these Palatines, Defoe put forth their whole predicament in the following brilliant editorial:

"The poor people we are now speaking of, to the honor of Britain and to the particular reputation of the present reign, are come over hither for liberty—to say they were beggars, and are come over for bread, is to say nothing. They were a flourishing people, they come not from barren mountains, unhealthy climates, or a poor uncultivated country—the Palatinate is known to be one of the finest, most fruitful, rich, pleasant, and healthful countries in Europe—the land rich, provisions plentiful, full of great cities and trading towns, full of people, full of commerce, and full of manufactures—the Rhine runs thru it, the Main and the Neckar traverse and encompass it; three rivers, the navigation whereof brings great trade, and consequently wealth to the inhabitants; they send yearly great

²² *Review*, No. 45 (July 19, 1709).

²³ *Review*, No. 62 (Aug. 27, 1709).

quantities of corn, wine and cattle into other countries. The plains and dales are filled with corn, the hills covered with vines, and the whole country allowed to be of the most pleasant and most fruitful part of Germany. It is evident they do not come because their country won't keep them or the earth supply their families with necessaries—but they are ravaged by enemies, they are the frontier of this bloody war, the French have frequently plundered their country, burned their cities and towns, and almost every year exacted contributions from them, with the utmost rigor. This has improverished them, and made them unable to pay the heavy taxes their own prince exacts—so that between Papism of the enemy and the imposts and exactions of their own sovereign, the poor people have been ruined, their labor devoured, their properties taken from them by violence, and they oppressed and devoured with unsufferable injuries.

“From these distresses they look abroad for an *asylum*, a *place of rest*, a *land where liberty is established, and property secured*; where what their industry has gained the government will permit them to enjoy; where they may reap what they sow, and eat what they earn—where they may call their souls their own, and may not starve in the midst of plenty.—And this they have been told, is to be obtained in England, above all the nations of the earth.—And to this end they fly hither—this is the true, genuine and only design of their coming.”²⁴

Tempting as it might be, it is beyond the limits of this present paper to exploit this unusual document for anything but what seems to bear upon the Robinson-idea. Defoe was apparently the only one in his country who defended the blind idealism of the Palatines and one of the few who could grasp it. A group of people leave their home and country, hurrying, as Defoe said of Robinson, after a dream and obeying blindly the dictates of fancy rather than their reason. What did the Palatines know of where they were going? Nothing. They believed that there was such a place on earth, an asylum, an island, where there was liberty and freedom of conscience, and they hoped they would get there. No more than ignorant children did they think of the practical difficulties such an exodus would entail. They never for a moment considered the

²⁴ *Review*, No. 61 (Aug. 25, 1709).

embarrassment they caused their own governments; it never entered their minds that at every station of their journey they would be a burden to the local authorities and they would have to depend greatly on foreign kindness and charity. As for the dangers and discomforts of trans-Atlantic voyage to that dream-island they hoped to reach—they could not have had the remotest conception of. "It was liberty they sought, liberty under which to live, to worship and to become happy." Like insects swarming around the light they made for the irresistible phantom.

Their courageous spokesman could have told them a few things about liberty and the price of it in the most liberal country of the day—in England. "In the school of affliction," Defoe says once, "I have learned more philosophy than at the Academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit; in prison I have learned to know that liberty does not consist in open doors."²⁵ Neither in open shores, we might add, for the few who finally reached their destination, the English colonies of America, did so at the price of personal freedom. It proved to be more or less a trap set for them by the big land owners, especially of North Carolina, whose home government unfortunately seems to have supported them. The eagerness of these poor people, who were willing to better their conditions at any price, and their ignorance of conditions abroad, was exploited by unscrupulous trade-organizations. As this is a fact which has remained unexplained for many years, I consider the favorable attitude of England's foremost editorial writer of particular importance. His statements gain almost the value of official documents espousing the cause of the colonization scheme, when one remembers Defoe's relations to his government at that time. Speaking of the "Review," the journal I have been quoting from, Stevens says: "This journal was at first intended as a moderate guide to public opinion but quite naturally its tone become more and more openly favorable to all administration measures."²⁶ And in a letter of July 17 (1704) Defoe himself admits it to be a government organ.²⁷ If this be so, what reasons had the English govern-

²⁵ *Review* VIII, Preface.

²⁶ Stevens, p. 8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

ment to express a sympathetic attitude toward the Palatines when its people had not a good word for them? Did anybody's conscience suddenly feel uncomfortable when they saw numbers of these wretched looking immigrants, who had been lured to England by greedy landowners, backed by the English government, wander from house to house and street to street asking for charity? Whether or not, it certainly touched the hearts of the Lords proprietors of Carolina, who on the arrival of the first thousands published in the "Gazette" an offer to give everyone of these Palatines a thousand acres of land on a peppercorn rent, though they demanded "that the government should pay eight pounds for every adult's transportation and four pounds for every child."²⁸

If the propaganda of the landowners furnished the immediate impulse of that monster exodus of the Palatines in 1709, the popularly accepted reasons, such as the widespread poverty, the religious persecution, and the exceedingly cold winter of 1708, lose considerably in their weight of conviction. Holmes regards "the flattering suggestions made to the Palatines in their own country, by the agents of land companies, who wished to secure settlers for lands in the British colonies in America and thus give value to their lands, as the immediate occasion for the movement."²⁹

The final proof of England's hand in the whole matter has only recently been furnished by Julius Goebel. He collected letters of the German emigrants of the year 1709, and in his "New Documents" to the history of the monster exodus of that year he writes:

"It is now quite certain that the English ambassador in Frankfort on the Main interviewed persons from various places, and advised them, that he furthermore gave them a pamphlet and distributed amongst them the book about Carolina, probably Kocherthal's 'Ausführlicher und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschaft Carolina,' which had appeared in Frankfort."³⁰

²⁸ H. A. Holmes: *The Palatine Emigration to England in 1709*, p. 8.

²⁹ Holmes, p. 5.

³⁰ J. Goebel: *Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Masseneinwanderung im Jahre, 1709, Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 1913, p. 181.

H. V. Todd likewise concludes his exhaustive treatment of the matter with the words: "The truth is, Queen Anne was attempting to continue Cromwell's plan of expansion, and in this program she was in need of increasing her subjects at home and in the colonies by inviting, and even subsidizing people, to settle in English America."³¹

The famous golden book with Queen Anne's picture on the front page did not fail to create in the minds of these suppressed people an exaggerated picture of the free and prosperous life in the plantations, in contrast to the poverty, desolation and oppression of their native land, and where the written word failed to convince, a free ticket to Holland, whence the transports to England were managed, facilitated the decision.³²

It would be for a psychologist to decide which, after all, were the prime motives for immigration in this case, attractive inducements in the form of land or toleration in religious matters. Indeed, most historians credit the latter with being the more powerful of the two.³³ Another inducement used by the colonies to attract settlers was naturalization. In many cases letters of naturalization were even issued to aliens in England, so that they landed in the colonies with all the rights and privileges of British subjects.³⁴ This was hardly the case with the Palatines who, according to a letter of a gentleman to the editor of the "Review," declared that they heard nothing of the "Act of Naturalization" before they left their country. Papers were dispersed among them, however, and fixed on their church doors, stating that if they came over into England, the Queen would send them over to the plantations.³⁵ There was a great discussion in Parliament over the whole affair, especially when it came to ratifying the appropriations for transportation and maintenance of these refugees; not only was the Act of Naturalization suspected to have been inaugurated "ad casum," and anti-immigration laws³⁶ passed, but it was pretended that

³¹ H. V. Todd: *Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures*, p. 8.

³² Cf. Diffenderfer, p. 268.

³³ E. E. Proper: *Colonial Immigration Laws*, p. 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁵ *Review*, No. 49 (July 28, 1709).

³⁶ Cf. Diffenderfer, p. 270. . . . This is shown by a Proclamation or circular issued by the English Government as late as the last day of December,

in the whole affair of Palatine immigration there was a hidden design of the Whigs against the established Church and to increase the number and strength of the dissenters. This view would explain somewhat the wholeheartedness with which Defoe in this case identifies himself with the attitude of the ministry³⁷ and his strange reluctance in letting the Palatines pursue their course to the plantations. It sounds like an expression of affection for them when he confesses that he is not for sending these people to America for other reasons, namely that he is not for parting with them from hence.³⁸ Whether he really thought they would in time become a substantial aid to his party, or whether an unselfish desire to spare them additional misery prompted him to express himself in the following way is doubtful: "I am not to tell you why you cannot do so (send these poor strangers) to our own island colonies, which some people are mighty fond of, regarding rather zeal to be rid of the present burden, as they would have it be thought, of the refugees, now upon our hands, than either the good of the poor people or of the colonies to whom they would send them. But in these islands, what shall these poor people do? The islands consist of merchants, planters, and servants . . . in either of these capacities you ruin them; if you send them to plant, they will starve themselves; if you send them to work they will starve the masters."³⁹

Defoe had said before that he could not see into the inconvenience of sending these poor strangers to the American plantations, but personally he preferred to keep them at home, that is in England. He proved that she was actually in need of people at this time, not only for the increase of trade but for the cultivation of unemployed and waste lands. He proposed to settle them in little colonies of about fifty to a hundred families in places like New Forrest (Hampshire) Sherwood

1709, in which further emigration is alluded to, and all persons are absolutely prohibited from coming over from Holland under pain of being immediately sent back to Germany.

³⁷ Cf. Diffenderfer, p. 268. . . . If after all, the English ministry was covertly at work and instigating this exodus, they operated so secretly that their fine hand was never discovered.

³⁸ *Review*, No. 50 (July 30, 1709).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 51 (Aug. 2, 1709).

(Nottinghamshire), the Forrest of Dean and similar places. If improved by placing people in little colonies, these lands would presently become fertile, maintain vast numbers of people, and these people be a prodigious increase to England's wealth and trade.⁴⁰

Defoe's schemes for home colonization were not adopted, probably because the feeling of the English working classes had grown to a dangerous degree of aversion toward the foreigners,⁴¹ and partly because the Palatines themselves had expressed their disappointment at not being sent to the colonies right away. Neither was the Christian advice of a certain High Churchman, who suggested sending them all to Scotland where they could starve to death, followed.⁴² With the exception of those who had been taken in by private individuals and had found satisfactory employment, they were dispatched in the course of the following months to New York and North Carolina.⁴³

Comparatively few found their way to Ireland,⁴⁴ the government having issued orders to all mayors, justices of the peace, and other magistrates to aid and assist them, so that they might be kindly entertained and civilly used in the several places upon the road. Their numbers had already materially decreased; more than a thousand had died in the encampment at Black Heath, and nearly half that number was to perish on the seas on their way to America.⁴⁵

It is a story of sorrow and suffering, of strange heroism and touching modesty—this story of the Palatine immigration.

⁴⁰ *Review*, No. 47 (July 23, 1709).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 49 (July 28, 1709). "But the humour of the English Working People is at this time so averse to Foreigners, that some of them have declared, that if they come to work among them, they will be occasion of their deaths; and who knows of what consequence such a thing might be to this nation?"

⁴² *Review*, No. 48 (July 28, 1709).

⁴³ Cf. Kapp, p. 92. So wurden etwa 600 nach North Carolina eingeschiff und mehr als 3000 in April 1710 nach New York geschickt.

⁴⁴ Cf. Kapp, p. 91. Zuerst 500 Familien, darunter alle Leinenweber, und dann noch einmal 800 Personen, im ganzen 3800 Seelen wurden nach Irland geschickt um dort die Webereien und zugleich das protestantische Element zu heben. See also Diffenderfer, p. 328.

⁴⁵ Cf. Diffenderfer, p. 319.

"3200 were crowded into 10 small ships and set sail in March, 1710. They arrived at intervals between June 14 and July 24. 470 perished on the voyage."

It could not fail to impress those who witnessed it. As an event of political and economical importance for England it was bound to arrest the attention of such an expert in those lines as Defoe. Therefore he spoke and gave his views on the subject with the force of an authority. He made definite suggestions to his government and people how to face and solve this economic problem, which, in the suddenness of its appearance, looked much like a calamity. When he pleaded for the Palatines, begged his countrymen to receive them hospitably, and defended them against false accusations, he added to his professional interest a note of personal sympathy, which quickly enough was seized by his political opponents as a demonstration of his lack of patriotism.⁴⁶ When he accused his own people of being hard-hearted, proud and hypocritical, his party hatred carried him off his feet and his tongue reveled in abuse of his high-flying brethren. When he finally wanted to keep those stranded foreigners in England he may have had party interests in mind, but his reluctance to see them part, sounds more like straight-forward sympathy for those unfortunate creatures whom he was eager to spare the trials of a long and dangerous voyage and the lot that befell most of them at their destination. Undoubtedly he knew more about conditions in the American colonies than most of his countrymen and, naturally, more than the immigrants themselves. The curious fact that in their imagination North Carolina and Pennsylvania figure as "islands" throws some light on the geographical conceptions of the time. Their picture of the political status of those countries was probably an equally vague and incorrect one. "And even in their religious expecta-

⁴⁶ The *Examiner* of Sept. 21, 1710, brought a sarcastic attack upon those who showed sympathy with the Palatines. The small editorial is entitled 'Friends and Enemies to their Country' and runs as follows: "Those are enemies to their Country who, whether they are uppermost or no, prefer the interest of Great Britain before the interest of any other Nation, who are for strengthening our fleet, improving our trade, securing our constitution both in Church and State, and carefully provide both for the prerogative of the Crown, and for the liberties of the subject. But those are the best friends to their country, who love a Dutchman, a Palatine, or even a Frenchman, better than a Brittain; who if they cannot always rule us will endeavour to ruin us; disparage the success of our arms, labour to sink the public credit, and fairly give us over to the French."

tions the colonists were often seriously disappointed. For altho religious tolerance was one of the prime motives for colonization, it is nevertheless a matter of common knowledge, that the first colonists did not welcome others differing from them in belief."⁴⁷ The province of Penn was really the only one that came near the fulfillment of the hopes and wishes of those religious enthusiasts.⁴⁸ When those who survived the hospitality of the English people finally set out for her Majesty's plantations, Defoe's heart went out to them. Here the direct impression of his experience came to an end. In every capacity in which he tried to steer the course of the Palatines his efforts had been unsuccessful. With their departure to the colonies the whole problem assumed a new character, the possibilities of which Defoe was the first to realize.

II

The only realm left, however, in which Defoe's schemes and hopes for the poor immigrants whom he had befriended might come nearer realization was that of the imagination. Through this medium alone could he send to the dissenters and persecuted Christians of all nations the message of a new life of religious and political freedom, of liberation from the fetters and evils of European over-civilization and of a return to the primitive self-reliant state of nature which his German friends were now working out in the solitude and in the dangers of the primeval forests of the distant colonies. Thus was the poet in Defoe awakened. Several years elapsed, however, before the effect of the stirring picture of the Palatines' trustful idealism and self-inflicted adventure had made upon the artist's mind could take a form both intelligible and instructive and, above all, entertaining to the public. When, therefore, two years later, in 1712, the sober account of the shipwrecked sailor aroused widespread interest and stories of adventure acquired a sudden popularity, the astute newcomer in fiction

⁴⁷ E. E. Proper, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Cf. E. E. Proper, p. 54: "Pennsylvania was especially fortunate in this respect in having as its founder a man of noble character whose tolerant attitude toward all religious faiths and whose generous treatment of settlers from all parts of Europe was continued by his successors and became the settled policy of the colony."

could do nothing better than avail himself of a plot in which he could be sure the public would be interested. With fine understanding he perceived the similarity in the experiences of the shipwrecked sailor and of the emigrants, thrown into the desolate wilderness of the distant colonies, and into the simple story of Selkirk's adventure he wove the message that was destined to be hailed by the poor and heavy laden of all Europe.

The adventure of Robinson Crusoe, unique as it is, might very well be a double of the Selkirk-adventure, written by Defoe, as some scholars believe, but that would never be Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. We must not lose sight of the fact that his work consists of three equally important parts. Moreover, it will not do to dispose of the "Adventures" and the "Serious Reflections" by saying Defoe wrote them because Part I was selling well, and that they are nothing but appendices, more or less boresome. It would be equally foolish to claim for them the qualities which have made Part I famous. For a serious analysis of "Robinson Crusoe" they are, however, by no means a "quantité négligeable."

In saying, "the moral is never written for the fable; the fable is always invented for the moral,"⁴⁹ Defoe himself gave the suggestion that it is to "Serious Reflections," the part so heavily laden with the "moral," we must look if we wish to get at the backbone of the whole book. As he himself said, Part III is "not merely the product of the two first volumes but the two first volumes may rather called the product of this."⁵⁰ Now what Robinson seriously reflects upon is religion. His attitude toward the great forces of the universe has undergone marvelous changes. It is not so much his actual encounters and travels as the big adventure of being alone with himself for a practical eternity that has made a sober thinker out of a restless dreamer. How the happy-go-lucky, godless, young sailor was re-awakened to religious consciousness in the Christian sense will be touched upon later; here it is merely intended to point out at what sublimity of religious conceptions the older Crusoe had arrived. He achieved the only possible standpoint for the enlightened Christian, that of broad tolerance. While his evolution was that

⁴⁹ *R.C.*, III, Pref.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

of the average pietist, the strange course of his life showed those who longed for it a possible way to realize their zeal.

I have already spoken of the man who helped so many of Europe's suppressed idealists and religious enthusiasts by bringing them over to the new world. It was, therefore, very gratifying to find my expectations as to Defoe's personal connections with the leading spirit of English colonization in America verified by a statement of Trent's, proving the existence of an intimate friendship between the two men as early as 1703. At the time of Defoe's imprisonment on account of his "Shortest Way," it was William Penn who tried to save him from the indignity of the pillory.⁵¹ While Penn was a great diplomat, securing the support of all parties and succeeding in putting thru his plans, Defoe antagonized people by his pen and only achieved the same popularity as his friend when he took refuge in fiction. If we take into consideration the fact that many thousands of Germans who sailed to the "Insel Phanien" (as they called Pennsylvania) during the 18th Century, received their first impulse to emigrate from the reading of Robinson Crusoe and its German offspring, the "Insel Felsenburg" (1731),⁵² we may well ask whether the desire to stimulate emigration to Penn's colony was not among the purposes which guided Defoe in the conception of the "Life and Adventures of Robins Crusoe." Great as was the stimulating effect in Germany of such propaganda literature as Pastorius' and Falckner's pamphlets on Pennsylvania and Kocherthal's book on Carolina, their influence upon the extraordinary German exodus to America was far surpassed by Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. With the intuition of the genius its author, a traveller and observer of wide experience, had read deeper in the soul of the common people of Europe, and of Germany in particular, than any of his contemporaries, and the result was a book of world-wide and lasting fame and influence. While the effect of the literary and aesthetic qualities of Defoe's masterpiece, to which critics as a rule assign its popularity, shall not be denied, the essential cause of its world success lay in the appeal to the

⁵¹ Trent, p. 42.

⁵² Sec. A. Kippenberg, *Robinson in Deutschland bis zur Insel Felsenburg*, p. 118.

innermost longing of the time after a regeneration and reconstruction of human life in all its manifestations, a longing which was at the bottom of all religious, political, and economic movements of the period.

There is found one other affiliation of Defoe with a man who took an indirect interest in the Palatine movement. This was Nathaniel Mist, the Jacobite editor, for whose weekly journal Defoe wrote the so-called letters introductory—now termed leading articles—during 1717 to 1720.⁵³ Mist evidently sympathized with the Palatines as he failed to suppress letters from his German correspondents which reflected unfavorably upon the interference of the English king in the affairs of the Palatinate. Mist's correspondents were Papists, Jacobites and enraged High Tories, a class of men whom Defoe abhorred.⁵⁴ Since it was Defoe's business at that time to relieve Mist's weekly of its treasonable character and since his personal leanings as a protestant coincided with those for which he was paid by the Government, he did not hesitate to expose his business-partner who refused to be advised. Mist not only lost Defoe's friendship but also had to go to prison for three months.⁵⁵

This incident serves only as a proof that Defoe's interest in the Palatine problem was still alive in the years during which the "Serious Reflections" are supposed to have been written. On this assumption it is possible to make some sense out of a passage such as the following: "In like manner, when in these reflections I speak of the times and circumstances of particular action done, or incidents which happened in my solitude and island life, an impartial reader will be so just to take it as it is, namely that it is spoken or intended of that part of the real story which the island life is a just allusion to . . . besides all this, here is the just and only good end of all parable or allegoric history brought to pass, namely for moral and religious improvement."⁵⁶ Here the author of "Robinson Crusoe" once more and most emphatically points to the purpose of his work and justifies the form in which he has presented it. Moral and religious

⁵³ Trent, p. 150.

⁵⁴ Lee, p. 271.

⁵⁵ Lee, p. 347.

⁵⁶ R.C., III, Pref.

improvement is the end which justifies the means—a tale of adventure.

Although, after due consideration of the material here offered in the way of contemporary articles, one is convinced of the importance Defoe himself attached to the Palatine movement, and is inclined to believe that it was essential to the conception of "Robinson Crusoe," it yet remains to point to a number of details which, in the light of our theory, lose their accidental character and become univocal means for the interpretation of the story. It would be foolish to claim for the following chapter of strange parallels, as it might be called, the place of infallible proofs. The question at once arises, however, why it was that Defoe made his hero the son of an immigrant and a German one at that.⁵⁷ If, as has been claimed, the charm of the novel lies in the fact that in the hero of the story we recognize those qualities of resourcefulness and practical commonsense that have made Great Britain the greatest colonizing power in the world, Robinson Crusoe ought to be a true-born Englishman. His father's name, however, used to be Kreutznaer, which as Defoe says became by the usual corruption of words in England, Crusoe.⁵⁸

More important, after all, than the man's national descent is the social sphere from which he comes. It forms his tastes and habits or, in other words, his character. "Defoe nowhere endeavors to represent his hero as other than he really is, a rather ignorant adventurer of no high character or exceptional endowments. An ordinary man in a situation that appeals extraordinarily to our sympathy, both man and situation set before us so vividly that we are continually asking ourselves: would I have thought of that expedient, or saying, that is what I should have done?"⁵⁹ Others have been pleased to call him

⁵⁷ R.C., I, 1 . . . my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull.

⁵⁸ In trying to trace this name I found a Johannes Creutz amongst the list of emigrants Goebel gives in his "Letters of German Emigrants," *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 1912, p. 124 ff. This man begs his most serene Highness, the Prince of Nassau Dillenburg to be permitted to travel to the so-called island Carolina.* Whether this name came to Defoe's attention and in what manner, I do not know.

* (Goebel: *Briefe deutscher Auswanderer aus dem Jahre 1709*, p. 39. Brief XXXVI).

⁵⁹ W. P. Trent, p. 188. See also H. Hettner, *Geschichte der engl. Literatur*, p. 309 (1872).

merely a typical English colonist, commonsense and practical, who sets to work with all his ability to make the most he can out of existing conditions.

The emigrants from the Palatinate show many of these same characteristics, as is proved by the various character sketches which contemporary English writers made of them. Of especial interest is the account of an anonymous author in the "Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York" who describes them as "a temperate, modest, courteous, industrious, and honest people, without the least symptoms of immorality, debauchery, or profaneness; cheerful in their calamitous condition, grateful in the sense of what has been done for them, and in all things demeaning themselves without giving offense or injury to anybody."⁶⁰

The note of dash, enterprise and independence which we naturally miss here, does not come in until quite a bit later when they had thrown off the bonds of their first exploiters and could, like Crusoe, develop their pioneer instincts unguarded and unguided. The early settlers of New York, for instance, whose history has so brilliantly been written by Friedrich Kapp, could not show what material they had in them, until they revolted against Governor Hunter and set out for the beautiful Schohary Valley, which the Indians had presented to Queen Anne for the express purpose of settling the Germans there. Kapp speaks of them as of a useless horde of adventurers and rogues as long as Hunter kept them in a state of slavery. Schohary, however, he calls the most interesting of all German settlements in America, because its history can be traced back to its very beginnings, and because "it represents—a *Robinsonade on a large scale*—to us the gradual development of a civilized community in its successive advance from dire need to the satisfaction of the crudest elementary wants of hunger and need to comfort and wealth, to a state of toleration and righteousness, to political independence and freedom."⁶¹

There is one other trait Robinson has in common with the German emigrants and which is probably the doubtful heritage of his German father, his "Wanderlust" or roving passion. He

⁶⁰ *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, III, p. 1792.

⁶¹ Kapp, p. 122.

calls it a "fateful propension of nature" tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall him.⁶² Aside from this evil influence, which he was unable to control and which first carried him away from his father's house, there was also the money-making instinct which many, I suppose, would ascribe to his English blood. We have come to realize, however, that it is a gross prejudice to limit materialistic propensities to the business nations of the world. Robinson shares his wild and undigested notion of raising his fortune with many who came after him to the American shores, whether religion or adventure was their official watchword. After acquainting himself with the sugar trade in the Brazils, seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, Crusoe resolves to settle there, too, and turn planter. For this purpose he needs a "letter of naturalization" such as the Palatines were given before they left for the colonies. Like them he also is supplied with all sorts of tools, ironwork and utensils necessary for his plantation.⁶³

The next point of similarity between the Crusoe and the German colonists is their destination. The fact that the countries they set out for, though figuring in their minds as "islands," were not islands, does not detract from the similarity of their existence on them as compared with Robinson's life on his geographical island. Although it is not probable that Defoe knew of a German settlement at the mouth of the very same river where the Robinson-island is supposed to be situated, it seems a striking coincidence that it was a Palatine who first explored the mouth of the river Orinoco. This man was Georg Hohermuth from Speyer, Governor of Venezuela, who as the leader of six hundred emigrants, left Spain on October 18, 1534, and reached the Venezuelan port of Coro on February 6, 1535.⁶⁴

As to the dangers of the island life which Crusoe had to face in the form of savages and beasts, we need but turn to the history of the Palatine settlers for similar surprises awaiting them. Not only were they originally settled on the Hudson with the express purpose of forming a barrier against the attacks of the French and the Indians, but many an encounter with ferocious beasts is recorded.

⁶² *R.C.*, I, 1.

⁶³ *R.C.*, I, 40.

⁶⁴ Cf. Häberle, p. 28.

The treatment of the German colonists in the State of New York by the English governor puts me in mind of an episode in *Robinson Crusoe* (II) illustrating the intolerant, unkind attitude the three Englishmen bore toward their fellow settlers, an attitude which has its parallel also in the law excluding foreigners from the Massachusetts Bay Colony.⁶⁵ These three Englishmen were part of a mutinous crew, the captain of which was saved by *Crusoe* and who, in turn, undertook to bring him back to England. This opportunity offered itself so suddenly and unexpectedly just after *Robinson* had sent out an expedition under *Friday's* father and the old Spaniard, who had been captured with him, to rescue his countrymen from the Indians and settle them on the *Crusoe-island*, that he did not await their return but left a letter with the three English men carrying instructions and appointing the old Spaniard as governor of the whole colony during his absence. When the expedition returned, the three Englishmen, whose number had in the meantime increased to five by the arrival of two more sailors who escaped *Crusoe's* captain, took a stand wholly indefensible, as they themselves were there merely on *Crusoe's* sufferance. Nothing but the fact that they were there first seemed to count with them and justify their cruelty. Thus they treated not only the Spaniards, who were in the majority, almost as their servants, but denied their own countrymen who had come ashore after *Crusoe* left, almost the right of existence. "When the Spaniards came home at night he took freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless themselves, indefensive fellows, and that they were only putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labors, and that it had cost them a great deal to bring things to such perfection as they had. One of the Englishmen returned very briskly: what had they to do there that they came on shore without leave, and they should not plant or build upon the island, it was none of their ground. Why, says the Spaniard very calmly, *Seignior Inglese*, they must not starve. The Englishman replied like a true, rough-hewn *Tarpaulin*, they might starve and be damned. They should not plant or build. But what must they do then, *Seignior?* said the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned,

⁶⁵ Cf. E. E. Proper, p. 23.

"Do! d—n 'em, they should be servants and work for them. But how could you expect that of them? says the Spaniard, they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants. The Englishman answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and to his comrade he said, "Come, Jack, let us go; we'll demolish their castle, I will warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions."⁶⁶

Whatever may have been Defoe's purpose in recounting this tale of unusual hardheartedness and unreasonable overbearance on the part of the Englishmen,⁶⁷ he could not more effectively or dramatically have exposed one of the great blunders of early colonization. Other authorities have stated the matter no less succinctly. "The English Government failed to recognize the first principle of a healthy colonial policy. It interfered with the independence, the responsibility of its settlers, and consequently had to atone for it."⁶⁸ "Even when the disastrous outcome of their experiment was apparent, the colonial authorities of New York did not make the best of the situation and by liberal grants of land and hospitable treatment aided the German immigrants to establish themselves in the provinces; on the contrary they grudgingly doled out a mere scrap from their vast domain and then refused to protect the settlers in their rights after they had spent years of labor on their lands."⁶⁹

Aside from being a clever allusion to real or similar happenings, the incident about the Spaniard and the Englishmen plays a very important part in the structure of the novel. It is here that the social factor is first introduced on a larger scale, for the life of Crusoe's colonists is vastly different from that of its first settler. It is at this point that the reader begins to wonder whether "Robinson Crusoe" will develop into a Utopian story. The hero takes a sort of inventory of himself and his achievements, which Brüggemann considers a possible basis for an ideal state. "My island," the modest confession begins, "was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection which I frequently made, how like a king

⁶⁶ R.C., II, 46.

⁶⁷ "The brutality of the lawless Englishman is much harped on by Defoe in many writings" (W. P. Trent).

⁶⁸ Kapp, 96.

⁶⁹ Proper, p. 43.

I looked. First of all the whole country was my own mere property so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected. I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they allowed their lives to me and were ready to lay down their lives if there had been occasion of it for me."⁷⁰ Nowadays one would call this an amiable confession of a Junker "par-excellence." Brüggemann warns the reader not to come to a hasty conclusion from this statement, for the ideal which Robinson harbors for his colony is to him, as the practical Englishman, pre-eminently an economic one. The ideal of founding an ideal state in the sense of an Utopia is by no means an impelling factor with him. "It is in accordance with economic considerations that Robinson takes back with him not only ample supplies, but also colonists which are chosen with an eye to their skill as artisans."⁷¹

Furthermore, I should venture to say that even the economic outlook is of secondary importance to Robinson Crusoe. His warmest interests are devoted to the ethical element. More important than the political and economic aspects of his plantation are to him the religious principles by which he wishes the spiritual life of his islanders conducted. So he modifies his autocratic aspirations immediately by announcing the most liberal policy in religious matters. "It was remarkable, too, we had but three subjects and they were of three different religions. My man Friday was a protestant, his father a pagan and a canibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience thruout my dominions."⁷² Thus Crusoe does not attempt the foundations of an ideal state, but only insists on making the island safe for religious equality. This full-fléged religious freedom changes the island from what

⁷⁰ *R.C.*, I, 272.

⁷¹ Brüggemann, p. 102. "I carried two carpenters, a smith and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels and handmills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot maker. He also made anything that was proper to make of earth or of wood; in a word, we called him our jack-of-all-trades. With these I carried a tailor who consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired in many other businesses besides that of his trade; for as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments." *R.C.*, II, p. 12.

⁷² *R.C.*, I, 272.

the exile might have been to Crusoe's colonists into what Defoe calls an asylum, a place of rest, where one may call one's soul one's own.

Here another point of parallel with the Palatines suggested itself; the interdependence of their relation to God in the different phases of their adventure. As with Crusoe there was a long time during which he was indifferent toward God and religion, until sickness one day extorted the first prayer from his lips, so the Palatines—little as they may be blamed for it—were at the beginning of their colony life, while under English rule, anything but exponents of Christian virtue.⁷³ Not until thru the sufferings which the immigrants in both cases had to pay for their self-enfranchisement, was their religious self re-awakened, nor did they come into the blessings of their self-imposed sacrifice. This re-awakening or second conversion to Christianity under the influence of solitude is one of the most beautiful passages of the book.⁷⁴

Solitude thus becomes the means to spiritual happiness and peace. Though eager to make his first fellowman in this new existence a disciple of his own creed, Robinson keeps his Christianity pure but respects the confessors of other convictions for their sincerity. Robinson-Defoe goes so far in spiritual self-denial that he makes even a French Popish priest the spokesman of the highest religious principles. "I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me,"⁷⁵ he says of this man. The sincere young Catholic displays unusual broadmindedness but the arch-dissenter improves on this. "It presently occurred to me that if such a temper was universal we might be all Catholic Christians whatever church or particular profession we joined to or joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles and in a word as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics,

⁷³ Cf. p. 34.

⁷⁴ *R.C.*, I, 108. . . . "It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy this life I now lived was, with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable life I led all the past part of my days . . . from this moment I began to conclude in my mind that it was possible for me to be more happy in this forsaken, solitary condition, than it was probable I should ever have been in any other particular in the world, and with this thought I was going to give thanks to God for bringing me to this place."

⁷⁵ *R.C.*, II, 132.

so I told him I believed had all the members of his church the like moderation they would soon be all protestants."⁷⁶ It is no wonder that Defoe was possessed by the question of religious tolerance for it was not only the fatal crux of his own life but of the century in which he lived.

Although England became by name the acknowledged protector of religious freedom and protagonist of protestantism, it was mostly on German soil that the battle was fought. Not only "Robinson Crusoe" but the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," "Colonel Jack," bristle with allusions to the religious wars on the continent, and the blood-soaked valleys and plains of Germany seem to be ever before the writer's imagination. "What wars and bloodshed molested Europe on the account of religion in Germany."⁷⁷ Since Defoe had displayed such interest in the Palatine immigration of 1709 and 1710, his views, ten years later, on the state of religion in Prussia and Saxony as expounded in his "Serious Reflections," seemed especially interesting and pertinent to our subject. It is another indication that the novelist's historical background was not limited to the accounts of shipwrecked sailors and adventurers, or to the calamities of his own life, when he wrote "Robinson Crusoe," but that his creative mind was burdened with those unspeakable conditions under which so many of his protestant brethren in Germany suffered and which led many of them to desert their fatherland. To the old gentlewoman who asks Robinson Crusoe, "Pray, Sir, is not religion the principal business of mankind in all the parts of the world?", he answers despondently, "Really, Madam, I can not say it is; because what with ignorance on one hand, and hypocrisy on the other, 'tis very hard to know where to find religion in the world."⁷⁸

It is here, where, in my opinion, Defoe's propagandism becomes most effective. His criticism of the deplorable state of religious and political freedom in Europe in contrast to the ideal condition which Robinson had created on his island was bound to arouse the desire to emigrate to the land of promise. Passing review over all the nations of the earth he had visited

⁷⁶ R.C., II, 149.

⁷⁷ R.C., III, 158.

⁷⁸ R.C., III, 143.

on his travels in search for "religion" and those he had read about, making many a brilliant remark and capital characterization of them, he also turns to the Lutherans of Germany, especially among the courts and cities of Brandenburg, Saxony, etc. Here he had opportunity to view a court affecting gallantry, magnificence, and gay things, to such an extent, and with such a passion, as to exceed the whole world in that empty part of human felicity called display. Nor was his notion wrong, for the first thing he found sacrificed to this voluptuous humour was the liberties of the people, who being by constitution or custom rather under absolute government, and at the arbitrary will of the prince, are sure to pay, not all they can spare, but even all they have, to gratify the unbounded appetite of a court given up to pleasure and exorbitance. . . . How far poverty and misery may prompt piety and devotion among the poor inhabitants, he cannot say, but if luxury and gallantry, together with tyranny and oppression to support it, can subsist with true religion in the great men, then the courts of Prussia and Dresden may be the best qualified in the world to produce this thing called religion, which, he has hitherto seen, was hard to be found.⁷⁹ Notwithstanding what he has said, Defoe eulogizes King Frederick William and concludes, "a government may be tyrannical, and yet the King not be a tyrant." But he can not see the religion of it all. "And where pray is the religion of all this? That a whole nation of people should appear miserable, that their governors may appear gay. The people starve, that the prince may be fed, or rather the people be lean, that their sovereign may be fat; the subjects sigh, that he may laugh; be empty that he may be full; and all this for mere luxury, not for the needful defense of the government—resisting enemies, preserving the public peace, and the like, but for mere extravagance, luxury and magnificence as in Prussia; or for ambition and pushing at crowns, and the lust of domination, as in Saxony."⁸⁰ Who would not leave the dearest a human being has, his native soil, and endure the privations of a foreign country rather than stand the humiliation of a tyrant? Whether the emigrants came from Prussia

⁷⁹ *R.C.*, III, 144.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 145.

or Saxony, Suabia⁸¹ or Bavaria matters little; to the Palatinate clings the name of this enormous movement as we are best informed about its political, religious, and economic conditions of that time.

Doubly distressing, however, is the tragedy when the colonist finds conditions in the land to which he emigrated as depressing as, or worse than at home. This had happened in the case of the Protestant Dissenters of North Carolina. The pamphlets which Defoe hurled against that law "so ridiculous, so partial, so calculated for the ruin of the Colony that nothing but bad men that depended upon being superior in power to all human authority, the people should apply to, would have ever brought upon the stage of the world . . . a law that has the impudence to declare war against the Christian religion"⁸² offered an opportunity for sharpening his pen for future attacks on the religious liberties of the Dissenters, in his own as well as in foreign countries.

Tolerance is the center around which Defoe's thoughts move, and tolerance, especially religious tolerance, is the keynote of Robinson Crusoe's reflections. Tolerance, again, both political and religious, but mainly the latter, was one of the bright beacon lights which guided numberless German emigrants on their way across the ocean during the latter part of the Seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries.

That the principle of freedom of thought and conscience, the essence of true Christianity, for which Defoe had fought and suffered so much had not been realized in the early American colonies he was well aware, for he says: "America is thronged with Christians, God wot, such as they are; for I must confess the European inhabitants of some of the colonies there, as well French and English as Spanish and Dutch, very ill merit the name."

It was the great exodus of Palatines which, as we have seen, revealed to Defoe first the power of the ideal impulse for liberty that lived in these people and gave them the courage and

⁸¹ Cf. Kapp, p. 75. In 1709, the first mass emigration from Suabia to America took place, in 1717 the second one; from now on it continued during the whole century. In 1757, 6000 Württembergers emigrated in a body.

⁸² *Party Tyranny, or The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in North Carolina*, p. 25.

strength to face unspeakable hardships, distress and dangers in the hope of finding the realization of their dream. With indelible colors this picture had inscribed itself into Defoe's soul, arousing there the best which life-long struggles and thinking had matured. The "Serious Reflections," above all, bear witness to the heights of wisdom, of political foresight and of serenity of thought to which he had risen with the advance of age. Following the poet to these heights we are able to decipher the picture language of the Robinson story, describing a new commonwealth built by individual and communal effort and pervaded by the spirit of freedom and tolerance, a commonwealth in search of which the Palatines had sailed across the ocean.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE ENGLISH VILLAGE: A LITERARY STUDY, 1750-1850. By Julia Patton. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1919. 8vo, pp. xii, 236. Price \$1.50, net.

The social and economic history of the English village and country from 1750 to 1850 is intensely interesting and profitable reading. One, however, who would peruse it with understanding must turn to remote Celtic and Anglo-Saxon times and faithfully follow the trend of affairs through the centuries up to the present day, reviewing both the origins and results of the particular events of the period in question. In this day of social revolution and shifting standards of life, he will receive from such study a wealth of information too impressive to be ignored. He will learn much about communism as practiced in ancient village life, about independent ownership of small tracts of land, about the advantages and disadvantages of vast farms and land monopolies, about the bitterness and class friction aroused over the game-preserves and pleasure-grounds of the idle rich, about the creation of a proletarian class through land enclosures and the rise of industrialism and commerce, about poor-laws, corn laws, and other attempts more or less vain, to regulate or right a nation's changing life, in fact, about a multitude of circumstances that unmistakably direct the student of England's social life to-day and enlighten him who would know her literature.

The immediate application of all of this to present conditions will not be difficult to make. It is, for instance, perplexing and stimulating of thought to learn in a time of world-wide communistic craze that better and more productive agriculture followed the absorption of communistic village farm lands into vast manors, which were as a rule more thoroughly and intelligently worked, thus adding materially to the nation's wealth in the necessities of life; but that on the other hand this advantage, however great, was largely offset by the creation of a proletarian class dependent for a livelihood solely on wages earned, for the most part, in the centers of industry, and bitter against the capitalistic landowners, who only too often squandered their large holdings of land in selfish pleasure-grounds, thus decreasing, rather than increasing as was necessary, the nation's food supply. Again, the perusal of such history will receive new impetus in England to-day, since, as a result of heavy war-taxes and the uncertainties of possession growing out of the discontent of the laboring classes, the vast English landed estates are coming into the hands of the newly

rich or rapidly disintegrating. We sometimes pause to wonder whether, in the disappearance of the manor and in the reappearance of the small farm, we are beholding old and worthy institutions going to ruin, or merely seeing ancient wrongs and corruption righted at last. Certainly such history, too, may teach us much about the proper proportion of a country's agricultural pursuits and manufactures. Perhaps we may yet realize that a nation's greatness may be better indicated by the thoroughness and scientific skill with which its soil is made to yield its increase than by the amount, however great, of foreign or domestic traffic in the non-essentials of existence.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth a rural and agricultural England gave place to a commercial supremacy. By the sudden and rapid acceleration of land enclosure, vast numbers of people who had been dependent largely on their little communistic plot were driven from the country to the great industrial centers, sent off to the wars, forced to migrate to America or elsewhere, or became paupers in their native parishes. "How far this bitter chapter in the history of England's country people enters into the literature of the time," Dr. Julia Patton undertakes to show in her book, *The English Village*.

In the perusal of this work, we must remember, what the author is not inclined to let us forget, that the village and the country in this case are practically synonymous; and that it is only in the light of a long history that the literature of the English village can be rightly read. Accordingly she occupies about one-half of the book in lifting the torch of history that we may see clearly into the obscure nooks of literature to which she directs our attention. Clear as the light is, it is hardly strong enough to enable us to see distinctly all that we should like, that is, all about which she arouses our interest; but the light is too useful and necessary in revealing and clarifying the broader aspects of the scene to tempt us for a moment to dispense with it.

The hundred years under consideration cover a complete revolution in the literary handling of village and country life. At first the subject was presented by Londoners, indifferent to its vital problems, ignorant of real conditions, and servile in their adherence to idealism and conventionality. *The Deserted Village* of Goldsmith showed a decided advancement in its treatment of the theme, although we are not ready to accept Miss Patton's view that it "contains the essence of all that has been written since 1770 of the village and the villagers of England." Goldsmith knew the country quite as well as the city; his artistic eye was quick to detect its idyllic grace, and his tender heart to protest its social and political wrongs. With surprising swiftness the village found its own voice; at first, in the stern

and gloomy realism of Crabbe, who knew only the country and that narrowly; then, in the equally gloomy realism of Cowper, who loved the country and its hearty wholesome life; in the brighter realism of Burns, who knew human nature thoroughly in its virtues and its vices; and finally, at the culmination of the movement, in the noble strains of Wordsworth, a seer and poet of high order, who enveloped his subject in a light that never was on land or sea, and found among his native dales and hills the finest specimens of manhood—a man of the country who was not ignorant of the city, but saw the country and city in their true relation and in proper perspective.

In the course of her discussion of literature in her work the author presents us with a formidable list of writers, both in poetry and in prose. We need only name Akenside, Swift, Pope, Gay, Johnson, Goldsmith, Thomson, Smart, Gray, Cunningham, Crabbe, John Scott, Langhorne, Cowper, Burns, Beattie, Shenstone, Wordsworth, Elliott, Bloomfield, Henry Kirke White, John Wilson, Tennyson, and William Barnes in verse, and Addison, Richardson, Fielding, Hannah Moore, William Cobbett, Walter Scott, Jane Austen, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot, Henry Duncan, and Washington Irving in prose, to indicate the scope and importance of the field and material. Of these writers and of the multitude of lesser importance, whom Miss Patton has rescued from a well-earned oblivion to complete the count, the discussion becomes, in the half of her modest volume not devoted to expository history, necessarily cursory at best and often merely a bibliographical compilation. We learn little new about the better known authors, even though it may please us to see them in their proper setting and with their less known contemporaries.

On the other hand, the book is an important chapter in the history of romanticism and democracy. It does not need the apology, which the author is half inclined to make, for being composed "in the turmoil and distress of war." It is one of the few books appearing during the period which are really worth while. Based, as it is, on carefully collected, analyzed, and arranged material pertaining to the relations of great literary social and political movements, it certainly has more enduring merit than many another book of the time, based on meagre facts, snap-shot judgments, and thrilling incidents and ideas, written merely to meet the demands of the moment, and rushed through the press as quickly as possible.

Quite naturally we are not inclined to agree with the author in all her conclusions; and now and then as an exception to her usually clear and direct style we find a statement difficult to understand. For instance, we are not ready to believe that "of all the poets who have known and loved the peasantry of

England, none has known them so intimately as Wordsworth." Perhaps she is right, if she means no poet of Wordsworth's rank. Questionable also is the following: "Hetherington has one important difference from Wordsworth aside from the lack of a creative imagination of a high order, and that is in his theory of poetic language. He gives his characters a speech more elevated than that of real life, on the ground that some degree of idealization is necessary to all poetry." Did not Wordsworth do precisely this? His language, he tells us, is "a selection of language really used by men," "purified indeed from what appears to be its real defects, from all lasting and rational causes of dislike or disgust." This statement relative to Gay we do not comprehend: "Though he imitated the ancient pastorals closely, Gay transformed the material of his classic models into something thoroughly English." Can the imitation of classic models be thoroughly English? An English imitation may be meant. What Gay really did was to burlesque his classic models by spattering their canvas with local color. He hardly can be said to treat "English peasant life as it really was." From brief remarks here and there throughout the book it is evident that the author is not altogether favorably impressed with English pastoral poetry, or "pastoral nonsense," as she terms it in one instance. Like the majority of critics she glances askance at pastoral poetry when it is conventional, and fails to recognize it when it is realistic, and apparently, would reluctantly admit that it always has had just as legitimate a place in literature as any other idealistic product of the imagination. Even idealism is true and sincere. We wish that she had more emphasized and courageously insisted on the most significant statement which she makes on the subject: "Beside the strictly classical and un-English strain in the pastoral ran another, marked by nationalization in substance and setting. Beside this latter type of pastoral, and literature dealing with the rustics of an isolated agricultural community, . . . there is evident affiliation." The greater part of all the literature discussed in the book is in a wide and real sense pastoral. Every student and lover of the pastoral will be grateful to Dr. Patton for the reprint in the Appendix of the rare old poem, *Snailth Marsh, a Yorkshire Pastoral*. Surely it must have been an oversight in proof-reading, to attribute (page 224) *A Shepherd of the Hills* to W. H. Hudson. *A Shepherd's Life* evidently is meant, and there is probably no intention to deprive Harold Bell Wright of any of his laurels. The work as a whole is well planned and written, and contains very few typographical errors. It is a delightful, profitable, and opportune book.

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ASTRONOMICAL LORE IN CHAUCER, by Florence M. Grim, A.M., Assistant in the University of Nebraska Library. University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature and Criticism. Lincoln, 1919. 96 pp.

Universities which require a thesis for the A.M. degree have a chance to produce really useful contributions to scholarship. It may be the solution of a small concrete problem—the source of allusions or ideas, the formation of a background for some trait or conviction of an author, or the like. It may be collecting occurrences of a certain idea or usage, significant for the understanding of an author, period or type; at times a careful bibliography might fit in here and be of good service. Many subjects of both kinds can be handled without the independent initiative which a candidate for the doctorate is supposed to have; provided, that is, the professor is willing to take an interest and make the problem or task in some degree his own. Such work can be made to grow out of and contribute to the research of the professor's more advanced students or his own. I would by no means obliterate the distinction between work for the A.M. and that for the Ph.D. degree, nor, most certainly, rule out the purely critical thesis, if its theme is well chosen and suited to the worker. But most students of ability take with eagerness to the idea of finding something new and valuable. The most minute problem may broaden them by opening a vista into a region of stimulating novelty, and strengthen by requiring intelligent selection and decision; even intelligent collecting requires discrimination which removes it far from the mechanical. But my main point here is that such work, stimulating to the student, may also serve scholarship. More or less of it should be publishable, at any rate in a university series. Ways can be contrived of letting two students check each other, and perhaps of letting a third combine results. A volume of notes or short papers can be got together now and then which will be a credit to the university and a great stimulus to later students. But before publication someone should take the editorial trouble to see that the writer removes scaffolding, rash guesses, trite explanations, and digressions not viable enough to extract for footnotes or appendixes, and that he reduces his results to their essentials. A reader cannot be expected to supply his own flail and fan.

Miss Grim's thesis is of the second type mentioned at first. After a chapter on astronomy in the middle ages, she appraises Chaucer's knowledge of the subject and names some of its sources, and then sets forth the passages which illustrate his cosmology and his conception and poetic use of astronomy and

astrology. She shows literary feeling, has formed her background, has read and understands Chaucer well, is usually careful in her statements, and has made some good observations, as when she remarks (p. 28) that Chaucer's astronomical references are almost always either figurative or for definition of times and seasons. Miss Grim's paper, in spite of its needless length, is distinctly creditable to her and to all concerned in it. Professor Pound's students have produced a number of such contributions.

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GEORG RUDOLF WECKHERLIN: The Embodiment of a Transitional Stage in German Metrics. By Aaron Schaffer, Ph.D. [*Hesperia*, No. 10.] Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Pp. vi, 116.

Whatever may and will be said in the following about the monograph before us, it should be understood from the outset that, in the reviewer's humble opinion, we are here dealing with an earnest attempt to solve one of the most baffling problems in the history of German versification. Whether we agree with him or not, the author compels us to think over again, with utmost care, practically every point on which he touches, not only for its own sake but also on account of the far-reaching conclusions which our decision involves. A brief summary of the study will at once reveal to what this is due. We find it in the author's "Conclusion" (p. 112 f.) which we quote in full, inserting a few details and the page numbers in brackets:

"The study proper falls into two main parts. The first of these parts [pp. 1-57] concerns itself with an attempt to trace the development in German metrics from the purely accentuating technique of early Germanic poetry, through the transitional stage seen in the irregularly alternating technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the accentuating-alternating technique laid down by Opitz. The phases in the development of these successive metrical principles are taken up in greater or less detail [Early Germanic Metrics, pp. 3-8; The Metrics of Otfried, pp. 8-9; Middle High German Metrics, pp. 10-14; The Romance Metrical Technique, pp. 15-17; Metrics in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, pp. 18-38; Hans Sachs to Opitz, pp. 38-51; Martin Opitz, pp. 52-57]; considerable emphasis is laid upon the application of the theories of *schwebende Betonung* and 'secondary accent' to the much debated technique of the *kurze Reimpaare* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

"The second part of the study [pp. 58-111] takes up specifically, in the poetry of Weckherlin, the problems referred to in

the first part. After a brief outline of Weckherlin's life [pp. 58-63] and contribution to [and position in] German literature [pp. 63-72], his metrical technique is discussed in detail from two points of view. In the first place, [after a discussion of the opinions of previous scholars, pp. 72-76] the attempt is made to prove statistically that Weckherlin employed the alternating technique characteristic of the transitional stage [pp. 77-81]; and that, despite this fact, his poems show a gradual, yet very noticeable, submission to the Opitzian law [pp. 81-87]. This last theory is put to practical advantage in the dating of several important poems [pp. 87-90]. In the second place, the phenomena of hovering and secondary accent [pp. 90-94, 94-110], in practically all of their various forms, are studied by means of abundant examples. The conclusion is finally reached . . . that Weckherlin's poetry may well bear comparison with that of his contemporaries, not excluding Opitz, in content (to which only a little attention could be devoted in this study) and also in form [pp. 110-111]. The study and true appreciation of Weckherlin, therefore, are indispensable for a real understanding of the beginnings of modern German poetry.'

It is patent, even from this brief outline, that the author's whole argument regarding Weckherlin's verse is focused on his conception of "hovering accent" and "secondary accent." The first of these terms stands, of course, for the good old expression "*schwebende Betonung*" to which Saran objected; the second, as here employed, is taken from the little volume by Bright and Miller, *English Versification* (Ginn & Co., 1910). In the study proper, extensive use is made of a third expression, "crypto-rhythmia," suggested by the distinguished editor of the *Hesperia*, Professor Hermann Collitz. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Collitz also for valuable suggestions in the theory which the three terms are made to serve in his book. Their "precise denotation" (p. 29, footnote) and their relation to each other is our first concern.

The closest approach to a system of definitions is found on p. 36 f. In quoting, we insert the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., in brackets, for convenient argumentation.

" . . . The basic principle of the technique [*a*] of the *kurze Reimpaare*, that of 'crypto-rhythmia' [*a*] . . . has been mentioned above. This phenomenon [*a*], as well as that of 'secondary accent' [*b*], is a subdivision of that of 'hovering accent' in its broadest application [*c*]. In discussing these three various aspects of practically the same phenomenon [*d*], it is of fundamental importance to distinguish between secondary *grammatical* [*b*] and secondary *rhythmical* accent [*e*]. The hovering accent invariably lends to the thesis¹ a 'secondary,' artificial accent

¹ That is, accentual thesis in metrical arsis, with conflict resulting; no hovering accent would impart an *artificial* accent to an accentual arsis in metrical thesis. This has a bearing also on the next sentence.

[*b*, *d*, *e*]. This artificial accent may or may not coincide with a secondary, natural accent [*b*, *e*]. It is the latter of these two that is, in this study, designated simply as 'secondary accent' [*b*]. The former, artificial rhythm, or 'crypto-rhythmia' [*a*], results from the desire on the part of the poet to . . . "introduce " . . . as much variation as possible [*f*]. However, this variation is employed with the strictly alternating technique as its basis [*a*] . . . "

In this statement, two sets of considerations are combined, one giving what may be called the experimental side of the theory (*a-e*), the other giving its psychological interpretation (*f*). Reserving the latter for detailed examination in a later, historical section of this review, it would seem fair to conclude regarding the terms used the following:

1, A. "Hovering accent" may either be a phenomenon, being used "in its broadest application," and then be subdivided into the phenomena of "secondary accent" and "crypto-rhythmia" (*c*); or:

1, B. "Hovering accent" may be one aspect of a phenomenon of which "secondary accent" and "crypto-rhythmia," are two other aspects; in this case it is evidently being used 'in a narrower sense' (*d*).

2. "Secondary accent" is in this study (and review) always the "grammatical, natural secondary accent," but limited to its occurrences in metrical arsis with "conflict" resulting unless otherwise designated (*b*).

3. Secondary rhythmical accent is an artificial *accent* produced by "hovering accent in its broadest application" and in turn producing "crypto-rhythmia," and may or may not, i.e., may, coincide with secondary natural accent (*e*).

4, A. "Crypto-rhythmia" is either a "basic principle," an artificial *rhythm* based on a strictly alternating technique characterizing a whole poem, being in that case co-ordinated as a phenomenon with "secondary accent" (*a*, *c*); or:

4, B. "Crypto-rhythmia" is an "aspect" co-ordinated with "secondary accent" and "hovering accent" in a narrower sense (*d*).

5, A. "Secondary accent" is either an "aspect" co-ordinated with "hovering accent" in a narrower sense and "crypto-rhythmia" (*d*); or:

5, B. "Secondary accent" is co-ordinated with "crypto-rhythmia" as a phenomenon (*e*, *c*).

Analyzing (1, B) more closely, it is obvious that the terms "secondary accent" and "crypto-rhythmia" here employed, are not identical with the same terms in (1, A). In (1, B) we are dealing with three different "aspects" of one phenomenon *x*; in (1, A) with two "phenomena" that are subdivisions of one superior phenomenon, all three being in fact "principles."

Not to encumber the text with too many quotation marks, we shall hereafter use abbreviations, denoting the three *principles* of (1, A) by HA, SA, and CRh; the three *aspects* of (1, B) by *ha*, *sa*, and *crh*. This explains the conclusions (4, B) and (5, A), which evidently refer to *crh* and *sa* as aspects of *x*. It also explains (4, A), which refers to CRh as a subdivision of HA. Conclusion (2) refers directly to *sa*, indirectly also to SA. The crux is in (3) and (5, B), which do not harmonize. In (3) we learn that the artificial accent imparted to the verse by HA may coincide with *sa*, that is, may fall on a syllable already marked by *sa*. But this artificial accent is only an expression for the presence of CRh; it follows that CRh covers *sa*. In that case, CRh and SA are either identical, which is impossible by (2) and (3), or SA is an intruder usurping part of the functions of CRh. We consequently have to eliminate SA as a principle of prosody by the Law of Parsimony, at least as far as removal of conflicts is concerned. We only retain *sa* in the meaning of (5, A). We shall later arrive at the same conclusion over a different route. Of the two sub-principles of HA, therefore only CRh is left; i.e., from an experimental standpoint, HA and CRh are identical. This was already implied in (3). The conclusions (1, A) and (5, B) and what is drawn from (1, A) in (4, A) collapse. One more obscurity is cleared away. If *sa* is covered by CRh, and *ha* and *crh* fall under HA=CRh as a matter of course, it is seen that the phenomenon *x* referred to in (1, B) must likewise be CRh, or, if we prefer the traditional expression, HA. We have, then, only one basic principle of prosody for verses "characterized by frequent conflict between (or reversal of) arsis and thesis" (p. 24), and this principle is CRh. It works out in what is here divided into the three aspects of *ha*, *sa*, and *crh*. This is what the terminology of the author, experimentally speaking, finally comes to mean.

We proceed to analyze the three "aspects," and following the order in which the author takes up the matter, we turn to *ha*, "hovering accent," in a narrower sense, first.

The author starts out from Saran's theory, from whose *Deutsche Verslehre* (pp. 206 f., 208 f.) he quotes extensively on p. 32 f. In his own words he sums up Saran's standpoint thus—in the reviewer's opinion, correctly: ". . . It is possible for almost any syllable of a sentence, no matter how weak, given what Saran calls the proper *Ethos*—character of the whole—to stand in arsis position." The author terms this "[almost] metrical anarchy." Unfortunately, however, he then persuades himself that Saran "does not go so far, in actual application, as the above sentences might seem to indicate" (p. 33), and on p. 34 he finds, indeed, that Saran's theory "takes no account of *versetzte Betonung* in a foot containing a strong and a weak

syllable—a stem-syllable and its inflectional ending, for instance.” This plain contradiction of what had just been said seems unfounded in the face of the incisive discussion Saran gives *op. cit.*, pp. 205 ff., of exactly such cases as the author must have in mind: “Abgèsetzt wurd’ ich . . . ,”² “Panzèr, Schild, Bogen . . . ,” “Nebèl und Nacht . . . ,” “Rächè den Schimpf deinès glorreichen Throns.” All these “feet” are meant to be iambic, and all of them, according to Saran, should be read with *schwebende Betonung*. The author’s error seems to have sprung, in spite of his own correct summary above, from an omission in a quotation from Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 208 f., which is here repeated with the missing words inserted in italics: “[Die schwebende Betonung kommt überhaupt nur vor,] wo zwei Verssilben im Akzent, *selbstverständlich demjenigen der ihnen zukommenden Sprechart*, fast gleich schwer, meist wohl auch fast gleich lang sein müssten . . . ” (p. 33).

This sentence, in its mutilated form, has been made the basis of the whole further treatment of Saran’s theory. We find it restated, for instance, in this form (p. 90, cf. p. 34): “The theory of hovering accent, as Saran tells us [!], applies chiefly to cases of successive syllables possessing equal, or almost equal, duration and stress.” It will be seen that the author’s omission concerning the *Sprechart* invalidates this formulation completely. The *Sprechart*, dependent on the *Ethos*, is the very backbone of Saran’s theory. It enables him, without further detours, to assign hovering accent even to such usually unaccented syllables as here illustrated by *-zer, ge-, -bel, -nes, -che*. In the author’s formulation, his conception of *Akzent* is reduced to pure word-accent, his demand for syllables of “almost equal stress and duration” to the futile discriminations of Karl Philip Moriz or Benedix—the very writers whose absolute *Schwereskala* Saran refuted. And so also in actual application, where we find the theory “as set forth by Saran” (p. 34) limited by the author to verses containing, in succession, two or more “important monosyllabic words,” as, for instance (p. 91 f.):

“Ihrè stirn, mund, hals, wangen, brust,”

or,

“Und mit dem haupt, hut, knü, fuss, hand.”

If Saran’s theory applied only to cases of this type, it might as well be left out of consideration altogether. It should be noted, however, also for the benefit of our further discussions, not only that Saran provides for hovering accent even in habitually unaccented syllables, but also that he neither need nor can make a distinction between suffixes, prefixes, etc., on the one hand, and unaccented stem-syllables on the other, for in syllabication

² The grave accent (˘) is used to designate syllables showing accentual conflict.

there is absolutely no difference between, e.g., *Ne-bel* and *dei-nes*.

We have arrived, then, at a definition of *ha* in a rather narrow sense, indeed, the term being limited to denoting a device by which conflict between two or more accented monosyllables in succession, may be smoothed out. The limitation is perhaps convenient but quite arbitrary; *ha* is not an "aspect" of CRh but a peculiar application. One might call this theory of *ha* the "pseudo-Saran theory." Incidentally, Saran's own standpoint has been outlined, which may be found of value in what follows.

It is now apparent why, in the author's view, the (pseudo-Saran) theory of *ha* "does not cover all eventualities," and "needs a supplement" (p. 34). This supplement is to be supplied by the "theory of secondary (grammatical) accent, strengthened by that of artificial variation, 'crypto-rhythmia'" (p. 37); so we return to the two "aspects" *sa* and *crh*. To illustrate each briefly: 'Ufer' would give an instance of *crh*, 'Rufer' of *sa*. What is the difference?

This leads us to go into a more detailed examination of SA and its status in the theory of verse, if only because the author bases his whole treatment of Weckherlin practically on nothing else. Professor Bright, whose views (as expounded chiefly in the book mentioned and in classroom lectures) he accepts as far as they take him, starts out from a well-known "pitch-doctrine," demanding that, in conflict, accentual arses in metrical thesis position be read in a higher pitch, while accentual theses in metrical arsis position be given the stress. Saran (*op. cit.*, p. 206) remarks that this is also called "*schwebende Betonung*." Given this principle, Professor Bright's design is, chiefly, to show by instances taken from alliterative verse and the great English poets, what otherwise unstressed or more or less weakly stressed syllables may occur in arsis position. His answer is: all those bearing a natural secondary accent, and proceeding systematically, he furnishes a whole set of various types. To illustrate we take Byron, *Childe Harold*:

"When hêr war-sông was heard on Andalusia's shore,"

or Goethe:

"Naht ihr euch wieder, schwankendê³ Gestalten."

It will be seen that "secondary-accent theory" is in fact only a loose expression for "pitch-doctrine limited to, and by, the phenomena of natural secondary accent." SA, then, is a theory of HA with certain restrictions. This is the underlying meaning

³ Secondary accent in a case like this is, of course, not only legitimate but without it modern prosody would be impossible. This phenomenon will no further concern us here.

of our conclusions (1, A) and (5, B) above. But if these restrictions can be shown to be arbitrary in the true light of facts, if—which is really saying the same thing—the theory can be shown not to cover all the conflicts that must and may be smoothed out under the “metrical exigencies,” it collapses.

The all-important question is, What syllables do bear “secondary accent”? For the purpose in view we utilize the author’s treatment of the matter (pp. 34 ff., 94 ff.). Briefly, the following five categories are given: (i) the second element in compounds, chiefly nominal: formations like ‘war-song,’ ‘household,’ ‘earth-born’; (ii) secondary suffixes:⁴ formations like ‘caterer,’ ‘godlike,’ ‘freedom’; (iii) inflectional endings,⁴ as in ‘closeted,’ ‘promises,’ ‘happiest’; (iv) verbal prefixes, as in ‘prefer,’ ‘unwind’; (v) monosyllabic conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, articles, etc. All the types of syllables here itemized are “perfectly available for ictus,” the pitch-doctrine being relied upon to remove all harshness that may result.

It is plain that, in the establishment of these categories, not, rhythmical considerations have provided the criteria but the study of word-formation, at any rate, in (i)-(iv); (v) alone presupposes such a thing as a sentence. One wonders in vain why, if sentence-accent may be varied in this group, variation in all other groups should be confined to pure word-accent. The phenomena of speech-rhythm and their place in poetic production have practically been ignored. We limit ourselves to pointing out two consequences. In the first place, no account is taken of cases illustrated, e.g., by two or more monosyllabic nouns in succession; in the second place, no account is taken of conflicts that may occur in dissyllabic stems, such as in English ‘father,’ ‘brother,’ ‘feather,’ or in German ‘Ufer,’ ‘Winter,’ ‘aber,’ etc. The latter is easily the more serious of the two shortcomings; in fact, it shows at a glance the fundamental inapplicability and artificiality of the criteria used by the originators of the theory. To be sure, in Bright and Miller’s volume (p. 61) “nouns of relationship,” such as ‘father,’ ‘mother,’ ‘brother,’ etc., are quietly listed in the same category that includes formations like ‘lover,’ ‘butcher,’ ‘greater,’ ‘smaller,’ etc. (The case of ‘feather’ is not considered.) But this classification is admissible only from a point of view of rhythm,—it completely ruins the very foundation of the SA theory, which is word-analysis. Rhythmically, of course, there is in present-day pronunciation absolutely no difference between ‘Ufer’ and ‘Rufer,’ for syllabication utterly fails to distinguish between the second stem-syllable and the secondary suffix. The morphological history of the two words is a matter apart and has nothing to do with the question. Nor is it possible

⁴ This should read: “syllables containing . . .”

to explain the case of 'Ufer' by "analogy": this would presuppose the very likeness of the two cases that it is meant to refute. A theory justifying conflict in the one type of word justifies it in the other. If not, it is not a theory. It may work, even to a wide extent, in a language like English, for obvious reasons—for in multisyllabic Romance words the theorist may easily detect a variety of prefixes and suffixes whose separation supplies a monosyllabic "stem." However, a few little words like those instanced invalidate the theory even here, and what significance has a "working principle" if we have a better theory, i.e., explanation of the facts.

Now, the author has noticed these defects of the SA theory as readily as anybody. This is exactly why he tries to amend it by *ha* (in the pseudo-Saran sense) and *crh*. But he fails to realize that, in introducing *crh*—impossible without CRh—, he overturns the whole question of SA. When an automobile has to be dragged by a horse, as far as the moving principle is concerned it ceases to be an automobile, it is merely a vehicle and the horse is its moving principle. In a more technical language, the author in superimposing CRh on SA, automatically eliminates the very principle by which he is trying to prove most of his contentions. What is left is the applications, the individual instances of *sa*; but we see now that they are, all of them, nothing but further illustrations of CRh, with the sole distinction that they might also have been brought to light by another, defective method. Nor is there a difference in the origin of the two types. Are we to assume that a poet, consciously or unconsciously, would allow conflict in 'Ufer' for one reason and in 'Rufer' for another? Even the author seems unwilling to do so (cf. pp. 103, 107).

We come to the conclusion that there are not any three "aspects" of CRh; *ha*, *sa*, and *crh* are merely three arbitrary applications of one principle, limiting each other artificially. To *ha* alone special consideration might possibly be accorded, peculiar liberties being taken with monosyllabic words by poets before and after Weckherlin; but these liberties cannot be credited to any hovering-accent theory simply because they exist. What must be studied and understood is CRh exclusively, that is, the "basic principle." The author's failure to recognize this inevitably leads to further complications in his treatment of Weckherlin which will come up for discussion below.

We now turn to testing the results achieved by the methods analyzed in the foregoing. If any understanding of Weckherlin's versification is to be thought of, the technique of his predecessors must be examined, beginning with the *kurze Reimpaare*. It goes without saying (if anything does in metrics) that the author rejects Goedeke's standpoint who would read the octosyllabic verse of Hans Sachs by pure word-accent, but

with four stresses so distributed that not more than two arses and two theses might immediately follow one another. Goedeke's theory is dead nowadays. So are all natural-accent theories in which it has been restated, even Minor having changed his view (*Nhd Metrik*, 2p. 346). Save for the position of one small group of scholars, the day has been carried by the principle of *Arrhythmie*, first expressed by Höpfner⁵ as early as 1866 and given final form by Karl Helm, in 1895.⁶ It will be understood that the notion of *rhythm* in this concept refers to speech-rhythm, i.e., "arrythmia" signifies the absolute dominance of the (usually) iambic routine scansion over any grammatical accentuation. The author's report on the battle that has been waged over this ground may on the whole be characterized as comprehensive, penetrating, lucid, and fair.⁷ Barring an occasional blunder such as on p. 22, where the *Knittelvers* is unhesitatingly identified with the verse of Hans Sachs, there is only one error of consequence—the misconstruction of Saran's standpoint on which we had occasion to shed some light above. Saran's theory will be seen to be most akin to that advanced by the author himself, and to orient the reader properly, it should have been given most careful attention. Of course, this would probably have resulted in an entirely different book. In the following, we shall try to compare the two positions more fully.

For, now, it is exactly the principle of arrythmia to which the author takes exception, because it gives rise, he claims (p. 30), "to verses which sound exceedingly harsh to modern ears." To remedy the defect he introduces the "crypto-rhythmic" theory. We know from our previous discussion that, from an experimental point of view, the new term is only a synonym of "hovering accent in its broadest application." We now learn why and how it was formed, for asking, What is new in the theory? the answer is prompt that it must be more than the mere application of "hovering accent" to smoothing out conflicts—the author, of course, knows that such theories have been advanced before (cf. p. 30).⁸ The novelty consists in the

⁵ Ernst Höpfner, *Reformbestrebungen auf dem Gebiete der Literatur des xvi. und xvii. Jhs.* Programm. Berlin, 1866.

⁶ Karl Helm, *Zur Rhythmik der kurzen Reimpaare des xvi. Jhs.* Karlsruhe, 1895.

⁷ Except that we cannot approve of the presentation of Höpfner's views in a mere footnote, p. 39 f.

⁸ We observe, however, that the author does not do justice to Witkowski when he claims (p. 40) that the latter "would not scan the *kurze Reimpaare* by the alternating technique" and makes him a *Silbenzähler* pure and simple (p. 55). As a closer scrutiny of his text would have revealed (in his edition of Opitz's *Aristarchus*, etc., Leipsic, 1888, p. 7), Witkowski argued, against Höpfner, in favor of some compromise between routine scansion (as the "basis") and word-accent, to be accomplished by hovering accent. Nor is Scherer correctly interpreted (p. 57), who merely reflects Höpfner's view. We agree, of course, that the term "*Silbenzählung*" was originated by a misconception. When we employ

psychological interpretation, for the author regards cryptorhythmia as resulting from "the desire on the part of the poet to break away from the deadly monotony of 'routine scansion,' to which the *kurze Reimpaare*, in particular, are susceptible, and to which the courtly epics of the later MHG period were a prey, by introducing as much *variation* as possible" (p. 37; cf. p. 17). He ascribes this "desire" to all poets practising the technique of "irregular alternation" (iambic or trochaic alternation with numerous reversed stresses) from about the fifteenth century on (p. 25), to Sebastian Brant as much as to Hans Sachs (p. 29 and *passim*), to Lobwasser as much as to Schede (p. 47 f.), and above all, of course, to Weckherlin (cf., e.g., pp. 37, 103, 107). Since it was, "perhaps, unconscious," we had, perhaps, better speak of a tendency than a desire.

It is the universality of the principle that arouses suspicion. Granting "variation" (i.e., CRh in its psychological aspect) as a fact, two main theories are possible as to its origin. Either the tendency may have sprung up during the sixteenth century as an attempt at improving what Rebhun, for instance, felt to be an unsatisfactory technique; this would constitute a "cryptorhythmic" extension of Paul's assumption (PGr, ²II:2:87) and may be considered exploded, together with its foundation, by the statistical method.⁹ Or, "variation" may have developed in direct modification of the late MHG epic verse. If so, it must have been a spontaneous growth, being re-discovered or re-experienced—in a larger or lesser degree—by each of the successive poets in question. This is about as much as the author claims, when, for instance, he contends (p. 37) that "as Hans Sachs, with his numerous reversed stresses, . . . was merely attempting to remove the monotony . . . of the late MHG period, so Weckherlin, in employing this same technique, was battling against the monotony which he knew must result from consistent adherence to the Opitzian law." Now, barring the reference to Weckherlin, which introduces a new element, this view bears a striking resemblance to that expressed by Saran (*op. cit.*, pp. 300 ff.). The difference is, chiefly, that Saran, confining the proper use of "variation" to didactic, satirical, and humoristic literature, comes to view it as *required by style*, the natural agreement of "content" and "form." Whereas the author, in order to free the poets of two centuries of the "badge of inferiority" (p. 30), seems satisfied to discover a variation of purely formal character. Both views are plausible. Nor do they exclude one another. At first blush, of course, we should feel tempted to

it now, we may do so only in a loose sense, to denote a theory of versification demanding a certain number of syllables and not knowing what to do with alternation. Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 302.

⁹ Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 303; the author reflects the same view, pp. 25 ff.

explain the author's observation through Saran's, but for the age of Hans Sachs this seems not necessary. There is only one sharp distinction which naturally follows, viz., that wherever the use of variation results in "*Barbarei*" as Saran calls it, in the author's opinion it would still be justified.

This applies chiefly to the main problem still before us: Weckherlin's verse. The likeness of the two views is, in this particular instance, based on the author's acceptance of Saran's theory of Romance metrics, the character of which Weckherlin consciously tried to reproduce—as he understood it; the dissimilarity does not go beyond esthetic discriminations. Looked at from a different angle, the author merely tries to improve on Saran, and he proceeds to do so by pointing out phenomena which he, wrongly, claims are not reflected in Saran's theory of hovering accent. So this takes us back to SA. It should be noted that in this connection, in the actual application of terms, the rubric of *crh* has to content itself with being "interpolated" in the category of "abnormal sentence-accent," the fifth of SA (p. 107).

First of all, it would seem that, in regard to the application of SA, the author has become the victim of a patent *hysteron-proteron*. He tacitly assumes that any or all of the cases studied by Professor Bright, may find their counterparts in any verse, nay, in any "foot" whatsoever, with conflicts righting themselves automatically (cf. p. 95), simply because "the metrical exigencies demand it." No wonder he encounters "an almost bewildering abundance of material" (p. 96) when, after formulating his five categories and six sub-categories, he proceeds to excerpt Weckherlin in order to illustrate them! SA is at best a retrospective theory, arguing *ex post facto*, as Professor Bright, gathering his material from the great English poets, whose verse is our verse, amply proves. One cannot write an iambic poem in trochees and pass it off as a demonstration of "pitch-doctrine." But this describes fairly accurately what Weckherlin is accused of having indulged in when we are called upon to appreciate "iambic tetrameters" like the following:

"Weil die Göttin Ewrè inbrünst"
(Fischer, I, 76),

"Pflөгèt in dës hafens aussgàng"
(*ibid.*, I, 208),

"Euch ein Lob ùnd Liebòpfer brennen"
(*ibid.*, I, 97).

Had the author centered his whole research on CRh as such, he could not have fallen into this error. What is here said applies, of course, also to his examples of *ha* and *crh*.

There is only one way in which Professor Bright's doctrine, well amended, to be sure, might have been turned to good use—if Weckherlin's "metrical exigencies" had been better understood. Here the author's not quite critical acceptance of Saran's view of French metrics has wrought havoc with his thinking¹⁰—but how could he help accepting Saran, since, otherwise, the impressive chain from Sebastian Brant and earlier writers to Opitz would have been broken. If Weckherlin was a poet, if he was more, at any rate, than a mere rhymester—and who save a fanatic would deny that both his work, somehow, and his whole personality give him the superior title—then it stands to reason that he had only one basic principle of prosody, for both verses with and without conflict. The verses (Fischer, I, 218),

"Ihr menschen bawet einen Tempel,"

and

"Der aller Söldatèn exempel,"

must, rhythmically speaking, have sounded pretty much alike to him. Now, if SA smoothes out conflicts in the second verse, what functions do similar accents have in the first? There are three of them. It is only a question of the "metrical exigencies." It is here contended and will be demonstrated presently, that, in Weckherlin, if we admit SA or HA or CRh (whatever we call it) at all, it must work in "correct" verses just as well as in "incorrect" verses. As a matter of fact, this is what the author proves when he speaks, for instance, of the tendency the phenomena produce "to retard the verse and to endow it with a [well-adapted] gravity", etc. (p. 92). But misled by Saran and blinded by Bright, he never suspects it. Thus it happens that, through the faulty application of a defective theory, he arrives after all at what is here regarded as the only possible reading of Weckherlin: that is, perhaps he does. Saran does not.

Saran caught himself in his own theories. Stipulating a strictly alternating technique as the basis of Weckherlin's verse, he had only "*metrische Erhebung*" and "*metrische Drückung*" at his disposal to produce a readable verse in case of conflicts, but he had no proviso for a verse *without* conflict. He reduces, against his will one might say, the whole question to the level of that of Hans Sachs, when he says: "Für die neue Renaissance-

¹⁰ On p. 45, after quoting Minor (*Nhd Metrik*, 1p. 38, 2p. 45) at length, the author states that "Weckherlin and other poets of his time apparently looked upon French metrics from this [accentuating] point of view." However, he decides it does not matter much and continues making Saran's strictly opposite theory the sole basis of his study (cf. pp. 13, 15 ff., 77 ff.). It makes all the difference in the world, for one does not have to side with Minor or Goedeke in order to recognize that Weckherlin's *conception* of French versification is the one question vital to an understanding of his own verse. It is only to avoid any *petitio principii* that we take Saran's view here for granted.

poesie, die nicht, wie die des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, satirisch-didaktische Dichtung war, passte der Staccatostil nicht mehr. Weckherlin's Gedichte lesen sich schlecht" (*op. cit.*, p. 311). Of course they do, if treated thusly. But where is it proven that the heavy *staccato* alternation of Hans Sachs—crypto-rhythmically camouflaged or not—is identical with the *glissando* alternation of French verses? And where is it proven, except by a vicious circle like the author's, that Weckherlin scanned his French models, with all the metrical depressions and elevations on *their* side, by alternation? Why should he have opposed Opitz at all if he did?¹¹ Ronsard and Hans Sachs: Weckherlin would have laughed. He was a reformer, trying to kill the *kurze Reimpaare* as much as Opitz ever did, and no device or principle that would fit Sachs would fit him.

To present the matter in a more technical form, Höpfner¹² hit the nail on the head when he penned the words: "Von allen . . . ist es nur der eine Weckherlin gewesen, der die französische Metrik ganz und rücksichtslos der deutschen Poesie aufgedrungen und gegenüber [i.e., to overcome] dem Rhythmus, den sprachwidrige Betonung zuwege brachte, *die Auflösung alles Rhythmus* mit Bewusstsein *angestrebt* hat" (italics ours). That is, Weckherlin's "iambic tetrameter" is no tetrameter at all, but reads:

— — — — —

with hovering accent carried to such an extreme that it becomes futile to try to mark the "feet" of routine scansion—cf. Goedeke's view of French metrics (*not* his application to Weckherlin). His trochees belong under the same principle. This also explains what troubled Minor so much, viz., why "iambic" and "trochaic" rhythms may so easily be mixed within the same poem, within the same verse: neither is distinctly recognizable. The anapæsts are no exception, with the sole distinction that they show a break after every third syllable, instead of after the eighth as in the "tetrameters" above. In this way only may we account for Weckherlin's insistence on a *smooth* language, his opposition to "schlechte, harte und rawe . . . Reden und Arten" (Preface, 1648). In fact, his verse was as different from Opitz's before and after the enunciation of the latter's law as it was from that of Hans Sachs. It certainly was more than mere syllable-counting: it was melody measured only by time. It was organ music, while Opitz preached "the music of the drum."

¹¹ We do not think that the author's "minor bit of argument," p. 79, footnote 41, would hold either. It is based on a comparison between Weckherlin's "Triumpf," etc., and his own English translation of it. But in translating, he simply had to adapt himself to the English law if we desired to be understood. The preface of 1641 is unmistakable in this respect.

¹² G. R. Weckherlins *Oden und Gesänge*, Berlin, 1865, p. 15.

So it is also a misconstruction which neither Saran has escaped (*op. cit.*, p. 311) nor the author (pp. 62, 81 ff.), to speak of an "approach" of Weckherlin's to the Opitzian law in the later editions of his poetry. On paper it looks that way, certainly, but transformed into sound-waves the variants of 1648 would have differed just as widely from the productions of Opitz's metronome as they had before. Otherwise there would be a discrepancy between what the poet advocated (in the Prefaces) and what he practised that could only be explained by a surprising lack of critical judgment.¹³ In this case, we have to accept the poet's own testimony as correct. The only answer left is that there was no change in his reading. The fact that he did introduce emendations can only be attributed to a desire to improve the *melody* of his verses. Going over his poems again, he may have been surprised to note that, with a few alterations, he could suggest the actual sound-form of a verse far more definitely than his French theories had ever led him to suspect. Compare the 1616 version of the "Triumpf" with the same poem thirty-two years later (only the first stanza is here given):

1616

"Gleich wie, wan mit gleichlosem glantz
Die Delische götin gezieret
Der sternen gewöhnlichen dantz
Vor der göter gesicht aufführet,
Sie mit ihrem kräftigen pracht
Die fünsternuss dem tag gleich macht" etc.

1648

"Gleich wie, wan mit gleichlosem glantz
Die Göttin auss Delos gezieret
Der sternen wunderreichen dantz
In aller Götter sahl aufführet,
Sie mit lieb und liechtreichem pracht
Die fünsternuss dem tag gleich macht" etc.

A slight acceleration of movement in the 1648 version, and Weckherlin would not have "approached" Opitz, but he would have gone beyond him—approaching, indeed, the modern, that is, the English, technique, which is about equally as far removed from him as from Opitz. All the effect Opitz's "vermeynte grössere Wissenheit" seems to have had upon his metrical ponderings, is to confirm him in his early prejudices (he was forty years old when the *Poeterey* came out). One cannot help musing that, had he been ten or twenty years younger, that is, had the just observed phenomena had time to work their way up to his consciousness before he died, he might

¹³ Bohm's contention (*Englands Einfluss auf G. R. Weckherlin*, Göttingen, diss. 1893), that Weckherlin's "new" technique was due to the influence of English versification, would seem more acceptable, but it, too, presupposes that his reading of his own verse must have undergone a change too radical to have escaped his attention.

have reversed his entire metrical position, and Spenser's, Shakespeare's, and Milton's verse would have become available—other cultural factors permitting—for German poetic production one hundred years before Klopstock and Goethe. After his death, in a foreign country, everything was lost. His poems were left, but the notation was missing. And even had his theories been understood: save for a "mutation" like the acceleration just suggested, it would have proven sterile, for as it stood it did defy, whatever Saran may say, the laws of Germanic speech-rhythm, and the very break-down of the *Ethos*-criterion in Weckherlin's case proves it. There is no evolution possible beyond organ music, but a symphony may develop out of "the music of the drum," and in time it did develop.

After all, then, the author is right in insisting that Weckherlin's abhorrence of Opitz's law must have sprung from a desire to avoid monotony, though he would have arrived at the goal more quickly had he thrown away his crutches and walked. There are strong indications that, as a matter of fact, he reads Weckherlin's poems very much as here proposed. On p. 90, for instance, discussing the pseudo-Saran hovering accent, he speaks of the "slower movement" which it imparts to the verse. In "iambic" lines like:

"Aber dise süsse gotheit"
(Fischer, I, 11),

or

"Ist mein starker schutz, und zuflucht"
(*ibid.*, I, 14),

he discovers, by means of the secondary accent and crypto-rhythmia, "a slow, almost charming, stateliness" (p. 110). With all this, the reviewer is in full agreement, and it goes without saying that the author's general estimate of Weckherlin, given in the conclusion of his "Conclusion," is likewise deemed substantiated. The radical difference is brought out in the subtitle of the monograph, pronouncing Weckherlin "the embodiment of a transitional stage in German metrics." The transitional stage (between the late MHG epic technique and Opitz) is here confined to the verse of the *kurze Reimpaare*. Weckherlin must be regarded as a stray development—strike him from the list, he leaves no gap. On the other hand, it is true that, had it not been for the technique of Hans Sachs *et al.*, he probably would never have taken refuge with the French. Not only was he urged to his own reform by the very uncouthness of this technique, it also made the step he was taking in one respect appear small to his mind. Others, as, e.g., Schede, had of course prepared the way. This does not alter the fact, however, that his particular technique was fundamentally different from any that preceded it.

There remains the early part of the book. The author gives a lucid summary of the history of German versification, designed to show its consistent development from the purely accentuating technique of the alliterative verse through the successive stages of the Otfrid verse and early and classical MHG technique to the stage from which our investigation took its start. It would hardly pay to go into details now, but it may be mentioned that, of course, the author is an adherent of the four-beat theory as regards alliterative poetry; though he retains Sievers' five types with some qualifications. The most recent discussion of the problem has come from Professor W. E. Leonard in his study "Beowulf and the Nibelungenlied,"¹⁴ who is likewise a champion of the four-beat theory.

In matters of form, a few things have to be pointed out, especially a disturbing lack of accuracy in quotations from German texts. This refers to both typographical errors and omissions of words. The thoughtful reader may correct most of them easily in his own copy, but he is helpless when "Ausprüche" is substituted for "Ansprüche" (p. 39), "Bewegung" for "Erwägungen" (p. 53), and "akzentuiert gemacht" for "akzentuierend gemildert" (*ibid.*). If the title of Weckherlin's "Panegyricke" (Fischer, III, 3 ff.) had to be cited full-length in its own archaic spelling, why should there be four misprints in two lines (p. 60, footnote 4), not counting small letters for capitals, commas, and hyphens? Sievers' retraction of his early views on the *kurze Reimpaare*, was given PBB 28, 458, not 23 as stated on p. 21, footnote 48. Witkowski's edition of Opitz's *Aristarchus* and *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* appeared 1888, not 1883 as stated on p. 39 and in the Bibliography. Adolf Puschmann's *Gründlicher Bericht*, second edition, appeared in 1596, not 1796 as we read on p. 28, footnote 72.

The Bibliography is scholarly, giving all that is necessary, no more no less. It has to be supplemented, though, by numerous references in footnotes, e.g., on pp. 14, 20, 22, 26 ff., 48, 70. The second edition of Minor's *Nhd Metrik* (1902) seems to have escaped the author's attention.

There is no index of names.

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¹⁴ *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 1919, No. 2; cf. especially, pp. 122-149. Professor Leonard informs me that he is going to continue his argument in the same publication.

Vestnorske Maalføre fyre 1350, II. Sudvestlandsk, 2. Indre Sudvestlandsk. Færøyamaal. Islandsk. Fyrste Bolken. Av Marius Hægstad. Med 4 Facsimilia. Kristiania, 1916. Pp. iv+214.

In the present work Professor Hægstad continues his investigations into West Norwegian as represented in the charters down 1350. The author's introductory study in this series dealt with Latin script in the Old Norwegian language; this appeared in 1906; a review of it was published in this *Journal*, Vol. VIII, pp. 602-605. The first volume of Hægstad's investigations gave his results for Northwest Norwegian (1907). Part I of Volume II did the same for the dialects of the extreme southwest of Norway, mainly Ryfylke, Jæderen, and Dalerne.¹ The present one covers the so-called Inner Southwestern dialects.² As the above given title shows, it is the author's purpose to include in the series like investigations for the charters of the Faroe Islands and Iceland. The successive issues are published by the Christiania Scientific Society in the usually attractive form of that series. The accompanying facsimiles are beautiful reproductions of selected charters for the regions under consideration. In the present volume they are three from the Norwegian Governmental Archives, representing Finne, Voss (1383), Bjelland, Sætaldalen (1439), and Bergen (1520), and one from the Arnamaganean Collection in Copenhagen, facs. 23, no. 14 for Austreim, Sogn (year 1344).

The author first gives a list of the charters used followed by a discussion of their trustworthiness as representing true dialect; he points out, e.g., the influence of Northwest Norw. models and he holds that the cathedral chapter at Bergen wrote in that form. He, however, recognizes the possibility that similarities may be in part due to the fact that Bergen Norwegian in that period stood relatively closer to Northw. Norw. than it does today. In the presentation of the material which then follows the author gives first the results for original chapters and copies from before 1350; this is then supplemented by a discussion of Middle Norw. conditions. Finally a rather full account is given of present-day dialects in respect to the phonological or inflexional features under discussion. The last is based upon the limited number of existing special dialectal investigations augmented by private and unprinted notes and dialect texts. The following general facts may first be noted.

1 and 2.³ *U*-umlaut of *ǫ* before retained *u* is complete, but not that of *á*. Original *á* appears as *a* (*gafum*) by the side of *o* (*vorum*).

¹ See review *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, III, pp. 220-223.

² That is the charters for Sogn, Voss, Hardanger, Hordaland, Agder, Sætaldalen, Robyggjelag and Southwestern Telemarken.

³ Author's numbering, pp. 210-211, and in the body of the work.

3 and 4. *I*-umlaut of *a* is *e*, that of *á* prevailingly so.

5. Regularly *þann*, *þat*, and *þar*.

7. The privative particle is usually *ú* as we should expect, but sometimes *ó*.

8. The svarabhakhti vowel (before *r*) is rare. It appears from the close of the XIII C. now and then (as *e*, *i*, *a*, *o*, *u*).

10. The vowels of end syllables are usually *i*, *u*, now and then *e*, *o*, but without regard to the principle of vowel-harmony.

15. Usually *pt* in such words as *aptr* and *eptir*.; in some charters *ft*.

The following comments on special points are here offered; the numbers are to § and number of author's note.

Note 184. The problem of *u*-umlaut is complicated by the fact of traditional writing; the author notes this for *Allum*: the capital *A* appealed more to the eye and so one continued to write it though one pronounced *O*. Now this may to some extent also have favored the writing of *allum* instead of *ollum*; the list of unumlauted forms offered cites a proportionately large number of cases of *allu* and *allum*.

Note 207. ON. *é* is to-day in Inner Sogn a high *e* (*é*) or open *i* (*ɪ*).⁴ With regard to the dialect of Aurland it may be noted, that not all words listed have *é* or *ɪ*. Thus always *fekk* not *fikk*, as in the rest of I S; also for the other words both forms are used in Aurland, as *helt* and *hult*, *jekk* and *jukk*, *grét* and *grét*; *lettá* and *luttá*. The word *brev* may be heard with both *ɛ* and *é*.

Note 213. The modern representatives of ON. *igár*, *igæ* in compounds are given as *i jærkveld* for Sogn, *i jærkveldè* for Voss and Hardanger, etc. For Sogn there is also the form *i jærkveld*, which is the regular Aurland form. As to the writing *brydleup*, 'wedding,' for Sogn, Voss and Hardanger, it seems to me doubtful if the diphthong is ever *eu* in Sogn in this word, rather *brydlaup* and *brydlæup*. I may add that in Aurland the names ON. *Guðleikr* and **Guðveigr* are *Gúllaik* and *Gúðvi*.

Note 219. For ON. *bjarga* may be given, with cited dialectal forms *berga* and *bjerga*, also the form *berja* for South Sogn, i.e., Aurland (as *já eg ská berja meg no^u*) by the side of *bjerga*.

Note 234. It seems to me the diphthongal form *æu* is, in the regions indicated, only heard when in position of strong sentence-stress; the form is usually *eu* or *ou*. See above to Note 213.

Note 267. In the main charters old *pt* is usually written *pt*. See above. But in other charters there is much vacillating, for which the author suggests the explanation that some dialects may have pronounced *ft*, others *pt*. In Middle Norw. charters *ft* decidedly gains the upper hand. One is therefore, it seems to

⁴I have discussed this somewhat fully in my *Phonology of the Dialect of Aurland*, §§7 and 60-61. See also scope of *e* and *ɛ* in §11.

me, brought to the inference that also in the less trustworthy charters of the ON. period the frequent use of *ft* represents merely a growing tendency, coming in from ENw. influence. In the M. Nw. period, then, this was aided further by Danish and Swedish influence. The author instances from Sogn and Voss the very interesting writings *efptir*, *ofpt*, *afptan*, *efptan*, by the side of *after*, *eptir*, etc., and he concludes that the pronunciation with bilabial *f* still existed in a considerable part, (possibly most) of Southwest Norwegian. I am inclined to think this conclusion correct and that the spellings cited tend to prove it for the dialects in question as late as 1340. One must, however, recognize that the proof is not absolute; the forms cited may be hybrid spellings; the old spelling *eptir*, which still prevailed sometimes, gave way entirely to the new spelling *eftir*, but in some cases resulted in a mixed form *efptir*. Of course the hybrid spelling might just as well have taken the form *pf*, *epftir*, but this is apparently nowhere found. I regard this as significant. Had it been merely so many cases of orthographic irregularity we should probably have had some cases of *pf* by the side of *fp*. The bilabial quality of the spirant seems, therefore, to gain added evidence in the consistent writing *fp*. The region where *pt* maintains itself today is mainly within Nordhordland in the north half of Southwest Norw. as shown in Note 269.⁵

Note 299. With regard to that very characteristic thing in West Norw. the diphthongization of old long vowels the author finds that the dialect of Lærdal in Sogn stands nearest to Icelandic, while that of Sættesdalen is closest to Faroese conditions; in the former two there is least of diphthongation, while in the latter it is most far-reaching. It is of course very difficult to ascertain when this change began. Such a writing as *tuau aura*, apl. (<*tuā aura*) for the date 1328 is extremely uncertain evidence; *tuau* would seem to be a case of anticipating the following *au*-. The same charter has the writing *saugdu*, where *au* could only stand for *q* it would seem—hence *tuau*=*tug* probably. Similarly the writing *haolfuo* (1358) probably does not represent *haulfu* but *holfu*, for the modern pronunciation here is *holvo*. Also *ao* occurs for *q* in, e.g., *saoghum* (Voss, 1468). The writing *maothe*, (Sogn 1529), ON. *mátti*, I regard as=*motte*; the modern dialectal *motta* shows early shortening before *tt*. The two cases cited of *au* for old *á* are not to me convincing; *bawdom* (=ON. *báðum*), and *awff* (=ON. *á*), probably stand for the pronunciations *bqðom* and *q*; but the writing *awff* is strange. It is possible that here we may have to assume *au* (*awv*?). While therefore rounding of *á*>*q* is evidenced around 1300, I cannot see that there is much evidence of diphthongation of *q* as early as late ON.

⁵ In the south half West Agder and Sættesdalen have *pt*, so *skapt*, *lopt*, etc.

Note 332. Under loss of vowel in unstressed syllables the ON. *norrænn*, later *norrenn* and *noren* becomes in M. Nw. times the form *norn*, and, by adding -sk, analogy to other adjectives designating nationality), finally the form *normsk*. The author finds this form first late in the XV century. In this connection I shall note the fact of the contraction of *rnsk* to *rsk* in much earlier time as in *Konungs Skuggsjá. Am. 243 B a*, facsimile edition, p. 67 line 19. Cp. Noreen *Allisl. u. altnorw. Gr.* § 281, 8.

Under regressive assimilation it is to be noted that modern dialectal *tt* < *pt*, *ft*, is in evidence as early as 1332 for Voss, e.g., e.g., *ætir* (= *ættir* < *estir*), while the assimilations *nn* < *nd* and *ll* < *ld* (limited in SW. Norw.) is found as early as 1338 and 1340.

I have observed very few misprints: on p. 180, in speaking of the change of gender of the nouns, *haust*, *vár* and *sumar*, the sentence in lines 9-10: *Yvergangen fraa mankyn til inkjekyn tek te aa syna seg i skrift umkr. 1400, should be: Y. fraa inkjekyn til mankyn, etc.*; in Note 285, line 3 *maktigə* should be *mektigə*.

The very great importance of these investigations for Norwegian linguistic history cannot be too strongly stressed. It is hoped that the continuations may follow regularly as planned down to the completion of the whole work.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

AUGUST SAUER'S PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

In 1912 and 1913 appeared the first two volumes of Josef Nadler's *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*. The third and fourth volumes, while, according to reports, completed during the war, have as yet not reached us. This work marks the beginning of a new epoch in literary historiography, carrying out, as it does, successfully, the program outlined by Professor August Sauer in his memorable "Rektorsrede," *Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde*.¹ The histories of national literatures have hitherto been constructed upon plans very similar, if not identical, in principle. The orientation of the great standard works is either purely "literary" in a restricted sense, or more or less philosophical, ethical, esthetic, philological as the case may be. In the average compilations—and these form the vast majority of Histories of Literature—we find about the following method applied. Authors and "schools" are grouped under such headings as "major" or "minor" writers. Biographical data are apportioned according to rank. "Classical" works are discussed at some length, others mentioned "by title only," or "briefly characterized" by one or two epithets. There are periods, transition periods, and movements labelled Queen X, or King Y, or Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, Idealism, and the like. A formidable arsenal of ever-ready designations like epic, lyric, dramatic, poetic, beautiful; prose, fiction, type, genre, psychology, motif, creative genius, plastic power, description, influence, etc., is drawn upon for characterization, interpretation, analysis, criticism.

Thus the general outlines of our popular Histories of Literature show a harmonious uniformity, and it is at best the personal viewpoint of the individual author in details that relieves the monotony of the concert. Even Hippolyte Taine in his *English Literature* did not essentially overcome the convention altho his theory of milieu might have been the means of a radical reform; and so brilliant an achievement as Kuno Francke's *Social Forces in German Literature* remained on the

¹ Calve'sche Buchhandlung, Prague, 1907.

whole philosophical and esthetic so that its author found it expedient to change the original title to "History of German Literature as determined by social forces." It was left to the universality and audacity of Karl Lamprecht's genius to lift historiography out of the ruts of tradition. He, more than any other scholar of our generation, has been instrumental in demonstrating the value of a truly historical conception of human life in the broadest sense of the word "Kulturgeschichte." In the same spirit and, like Taine and Lamprecht, following the example of Herder, August Sauer laid down his principles of literary historiography. Too busy with his many activities as a teacher, investigator, editor, and biographer, to put his theory into practice on a large scale, he was fortunate enough to find in Josef Nadler a disciple who fulfilled his dream.

Nadler's method is genetic, experimental, and inductive; it is extensive in scope, intensive in its conclusions. He set himself the task of investigating the very sources of literary expression. It is not merely a part of the milieu but all of it that he presses into service. By "Stamm und Landschaft" he means political, social, economic history; mythology, folklore, religion, race, nation, tribe, family, heredity, climate, geography, topography, immigration and emigration—in short all the factors that shape and determine the soul of an individual and of a people.

As a result of this method we are not only enabled to correct many errors in judgment, but authors, works, and entire movements, in cases where established opinions were substantiated, appear rejuvenated in their new setting. Thus the portraits of medieval poets like Heinrich von Veldeke, Gottfried von Strassburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Walther von der Vogelweide, so long obscured by the patina of convention, have been restored to their original lustre. "Faust," the prototype of Goethe's hero, is made to play his own vital part in the history and legend of his time, and so on.

It is not the purpose of these lines to give a review of Nadler's work, nor do we claim infallibility for its author. In fact there are very serious problems left open for discussion as we hope to point out in due time. For the present we wish to call the attention of our colleagues who work in non-Germanic fields to August Sauer's *Principles*. We believe that a knowl-

edge of that treatise, which in its original form has become practically inaccessible, will prove very stimulating. It is in this belief that we publish herewith an English version by Professor T. M. Campbell of its most important parts.

A few suggestions will be sufficient to show that an American scholar should and could do for American Literature what Professor Nadler on the basis of August Sauer's *Principles* has done for German Literature. It seems, to begin with, quite evident that Whitman's "terrible query: American National Literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be?" will not be answered by the generalities of our present methods of investigation. "Americanization" is one of the catchwords of the day. But it is doubtful whether our official and officious Americanizers really know what Americanism is. Do they mean the Americanism of Wall Street or of W. J. Bryan; do they mean the Americanism of Emerson or of Billy Sunday? Do they mean the sterile puritanism of a certain New England coterie, or the progressive liberality of the Middle West?—and so forth. To understand the collective soul of America—if there be such a thing—we must first try to understand the individual souls of her constituent parts. In order to attain this end it will be necessary not only to make a complete inventory of present racial conditions and interrelations but also of their causes from the very beginning of our history. One of the most unscientific generalities is, e.g., contained in the word Anglo-Saxon. Is our civilization Anglo-Saxon? Is our literature Anglo-Saxon? What does "Anglo-Saxon" mean?: Scotch, plus Welsh, plus Irish, plus English, plus Saxon? If Hawthorne is an Anglo-Saxon, are Thoreau, Poe, Whitman, Traubel, Untermeyer, Anglo-Saxons, or are all of them Americans in the same sense as Hawthorne is an American? Why is it that Hawthorne, Emerson, and Thoreau, despite their personal friendship, are so fundamentally different from one another? What separated all three of them from Poe? Why is it that Walt Whitman, now celebrated as the greatest American poet, seemed so distasteful to the vast majority of his contemporaries? He once remarked that he was one-fourth a Teuton. Should the Teuton in him be responsible for his cosmopolitanism and for his love of German Metaphysics? Henry Bryan Binns attempted to write a life of Whitman on

the background of "Kulturgeschichte." He succeeded to a certain degree in differentiating the cultural atmospheres of East and South. But so inadequate were the preliminary studies he had to rely upon that romance took the place of science. For the same reason essays like Mabie's *American Ideals*; Macy's *The Spirit of American Literature*, Perry's *The American Mind* fall short of their authors' aims.

The fault lies—not to mention personal prejudices—with the lack of correlation between the science of literature on the one hand and the other historical sciences on the other. We have, for instance, a number of treatises on immigration. However, the problem of the effect of immigration upon American Literature has hardly been touched upon. The possible interrelations between non-English and English Literature in this country, even the very existence of several foreign-language literatures, have been completely ignored. As Professor Julius Goebel in his inspiring address *The New Problems of American Scholarship*² has pointed out there is here a tremendous field for investigation practically unbroken. How can a really scientific History of American Literature be written so long as the influence of a majority of non-Anglo-Saxon races with the innumerable diversities in their cultural character is ignored? We surely cannot build a house without foundations. In philology the study of dialectical variations is considered a natural part of the study of any national language. Archeology, mythology, ethnology, philosophy, art, etc., form the indispensable equipment of Classical as well as of Modern Philology. Only our historians of American Literature seem to be hidebound specialists.

As an extreme contrast to specialization there is to be noticed of late a premature tendency toward expansion beyond the limits of national literatures. We are indulging in "Comparative Literature" as a fad before we have mastered the principles of literary science. Many of us seem to be ignorant of so self-evident a fact that we cannot intelligently compare two or more unknown or half-known quantities. When we have traced the influence of a Spanish novelist on French fiction; when we have accumulated statistical data of performances of Ibsen's

² Cf. Publications of the Modern Language Assoc., 1915, pp. LXXIV ff.

plays in this or that country outside Norway, we call it a contribution to Comparative Literature. We also call Comparative Literature an express-train journey through the world's drama from Aeschylus to Bernard Shaw, or through the world's epic from the Odyssey to Evangeline. Gummere's *Origin of Poetry* has remained in its solitary confinement.

August Sauer's statement of principles should be a warning to us that we cannot hitch our literary wagons to the stars; that we must indeed be "gründlich"; that we must have a *genesis* in literary science, if we ever want a *revelation* of the spirit of national literature.

"The science of literature," says Professor Sauer, "is conditioned upon the philological examination of the sources of tradition, the application of lower and higher textual criticism, the comprehension of the language, the explanation of the words and sense of the documents. All the biographical and psychological conditions for the origin and completion of a literary work, as well as for its influence and reception, must be sought out. The authors and their works can be classified according to internal and external relationships into groups, parties, and schools. These historical relationships are comprehensible only in the light of the entire political, social, and cultural history of a people; and thus the history of literature, together with all its auxiliary sciences and its offshoots, with the history of printing and bookselling, of the theater and of the actor's art, of the newspaper and the periodical, forms, among other things, a subdivision of the history of civilization, and has its share in all the change and progress of the historical disciplines. In so far as literary productions can and must be considered as works of art, they are subject to consideration from an aesthetic point of view, and thus the science of literature is most intimately concerned in the creation of a new system of aesthetics and a new theory of poetry, which the present is engaged upon with passionate zeal. But the history of literature must also occupy itself with many literary productions that cannot stand the test of such an aesthetic criticism, and the days when whole hecatombs of literary works could be sacrificed to a narrow aesthetic doctrine have passed forever.

Every literary production is the outcome and expression of a definite philosophy of life and the world on the part of its

author. To that extent the history of literature is the history of philosophies of life, as presented in artistic guise. And it is not seldom that the ethical or intellectual content is so original or so profound that the works in question may well claim a special place in the history of religion or philosophy.

The subject-matter and motives that are made use of in the work may challenge special attention, whether because of their arrangement, their reciprocal influence, their selection and limitation, or their accretions and modifications. Of greater importance, however, is the method of elaboration and organization, the form, which first transforms the literary production into a work of art. For this reason the history of the evolution of form, style, rhythm, speechmelody, of metrics, will always have to be accorded a higher significance than the mere history of subject-matter and motives.

The different literary *genres* are subject to certain laws which reach out beyond the individual author from one work to another. Therefore the various kinds of literature and poetry (epic, lyric, dramatic, forensic, satirical, didactic, etc.) all have their peculiar evolutionary history, and these may either run parallel or cross and become entwined with one another.

If we disregard the origins of a national literature, which are difficult to comprehend and determine, the literature of a people in all the more highly civilized periods will always develop in a more or less intimate connection with that of another people, and often it can be interpreted only as a partial phenomenon in great cultural transferences, of the kind such as we are able to follow up through tens of centuries. Thus the literatures of single epochs, of national groups, and of continents fuse into a unit. Literatures of the past can exert a powerful influence upon those of succeeding ages, distant literatures can come in contact with one another, and thus the literature of one people takes its position in the totality of the world's literature, and the investigation of individual national literatures is replaced by a new science, which is still in its infancy, the science of general, or comparative, history of literature, and this in turn is compelled to develop new methods for the solution of its more comprehensive tasks. The comparative survey of many or all literatures leads to the recognition of certain regular, typical phenomena which recur under identical or similar conditions in

the evolution of different literatures, and the determination of such norms or laws, under the control of which the literary life of nations runs its course, would facilitate and encourage the scientific presentation of the national literatures—a stage of scientific development from which we still seem to be far removed.

In our existing presentations of the history of German Literature, in so far as they can lay claim to scientific recognition, there is a noticeable shifting of these partially one-sided points of view, according as in certain epochs or certain groups of authors the different aspects stand out with greater force and significance. We lack a great comprehensive work, reaching out in all directions, as well as those that would treat the whole history of German Literature exhaustively from one angle.

It seems to me that we have neglected especially one point of view, which should deserve consideration above all others, the relationship between German Literature and the German nationality as such, in other words the specifically national aspects of our literary history. It is true, the question has been proposed, and an answer to it attempted, as to how far the German national character is reflected in the most important monuments of our literature during the course of the centuries. But the attempt has failed, for the reason that this conception of the national character was much too general and too vague, yes in part it was even inferred from the very documents in which it was supposed to be recognized, so that one moved in a vicious circle. But while the character of such a widely branching nation as the German is indeed very difficult to comprehend with scientific exactness, it would seem much easier to define the character of the individual German peoples, districts, provinces and countries, which, in spite of wide divergencies in matters of details, are connected with one another by uniform traits. Because of unequal fusion with the original population, extending back into the most remote times, or with nomadic peoples thronging after them, or with supplanted or assimilated foreign nations, or with the romance, the slavic, and the less closely related neighbors; because of a better or a worse adaptation to the country and climate of the extensive territory; because of changing political destinies, religious differences, social classifications, professional cleavage, dynastic influences,

and many other things, the great German peoples, whose original grouping and disposition can still be amply observed, have been remoulded and reorganized in numerous ways, so that often in a narrow space formations of a different sort meet together. Thanks to our full and systematic development of the study of land and people, all these relationships and these differences are well known, and, with the aid, let us say, of Alfred Kirchhoff's brilliant treatise, *Die deutschen Landschaften und Stämme*, in Hans Meyer's widely circulated collection, *Das deutsche Volkstum*, one would only need to group the German poets according to their birth and descent in order to recognize with the utmost exactness their fundamental, their very close and intimate homogeneousness. For in the final analysis, no matter to what distant regions his later development may lead him, man is a product of the place where he was born, he is one of the stock that brought him forth, a member of those families from whose union he issued. Without desiring to touch upon all the difficult problems of descent, adaptation and inheritance, which many in this circle know and understand better than I do, and without anticipating further principles of explanation, one is still permitted to refer to those characteristics, which are altogether unmistakable and clearly evident, which everyone has in common with his race, and which unite people of the most divergent conditions and professions, and of all ages, if they spring from the same homeland. These racial traits form the oldest and most solid foundation, upon which are constructed all other influences and impressions, such as may be occasioned by training, education and experience. And if we knew these social traits, if we could comprehend them scientifically, they would also furnish an excellent criterion for a more or less natural classification of the writers and poets of a people.

Now German Literature is not lacking in works that have recognized the importance of considering provincial homogeneousness, and have made use of it for the classification of literature. In the first rank here Karl Goedeke must be named, the creator of a spiritualized bibliography, who, as a faithful disciple of Jacob Grimm, carried out the classification by provinces for considerable portions of his *Grundriss* and thus gave his work a firm popular basis. Likewise there is no lack of

independent works upon the literary history of districts, provinces, and localities. As a matter of course here those German territories have been preferred, in which, on account of temporary or permanent separation from the mother country, the spiritual and literary peculiarities are most plainly defined and are therefore easiest to recognize, such as Alsace, Switzerland, Austria (and here again the individual and very diverse elements of German-Austrian territory, as for example our German Bohemia). While formerly one was content with mere lists of authors and books, which exist for almost all the German provinces, in more recent times one proceeds to systematic presentations for the various parts of the German Empire, such as Swabia and Hessa already possess. Recently the very best results have been obtained in such presentations by the aid of cartographic illustrations, which are especially adapted for introducing this survey of literature by provinces into the schools. The literary wall-maps of Schleussinger and Karl Ludwig have been recently followed by a more comprehensive work, a German Literary Atlas by Siegfried Robert Nagel, which claims to found a new "science of literary geography," and which, notwithstanding important defects in details, brings out on the whole new and correct points of view. How instructive it is, for example, when in the Middle Ages one sees the entire north and east of the present German Empire lying there as a great white spot, and when one can observe how these regions were settled by literary pioneers after the Reformation. And a sharper separation of the important from the unimportant names would strengthen this impression still more. How instructive, when in the seventeenth century, Silesia, at that time still a part of Austria, is dotted with prominent names, and many other territories, as for example the regions of present-day Austria, appear almost without population. Further, how instructive it is to see that in our pre-classical period the strongest influences came from the periphery, from Hamburg, Switzerland, East Prussia; or to study the boundary line that encloses the native countries of the Storm and Stress authors, of the Göttinger group, of the older Romanticists—the fact that the last mentioned were all North Germans has been noticed with discernment and used with discrimination by Ricarda Huch, the historian of Romanticism.

How enlightening it is to trace out the gradual way in which, especially in the nineteenth century, almost all the provinces come into prominence, or revive, forming as it were a chorus; and how particular centers then attract the representatives of these districts, or a new movement, theory, or school gradually conquers all the provinces, even the most distant.

If we now supply in our imagination on these maps those finer provincial distinctions, which Nagel has neglected, as for example between Upper and Lower Silesia, between Tyrol and Vorarlberg, between Sleswig and Holstein, etc.; if we assume the racial boundaries considered, the dialectical variations recorded; if we could perhaps find a way of clearly separating the authors employing dialect from those employing High German, even though they come from the same province; a means of dividing sharply the authors of purely local or provincial importance from those of more general influence; if we should consider such suggestions as Nagel, acting on my hints, adduces in part in his preface, namely that we trace out upon separate maps such things as the distribution of certain literary tendencies, for example, the schools of the Meister singers, the school-drama, the Kantian philosophy, Romanticism; or as the movements of the English, French, and Dutch Comedians; or as the founding of permanent theaters, of the moral weeklies, of the first newspapers in the modern sense, etc. etc.—then the literary atlas could be developed into just as important an aid as the long since recognized *Bilderatlas zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte* by Könnecke.

There is one matter that all presentations of this sort must consider more carefully than has been done hitherto. The birthplace alone does not determine racial membership. We must always enquire, how long the families, from which the poet springs, have been settled in the respective provinces, and whence they came—whether, in short, the poet is indigenous in the province in question or not. . . . If German historians to-day, and properly so, recognize it as their duty to give an account of the destinies of German emigrants in distant lands, then the historians of provincial literature may not pass by the poets who have been active elsewhere than in their native provinces.

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Against the grouping of German poets according to provinces such as I am proposing, three objections may be raised, and these must be answered.

The strong provincial coloring in the case of the lesser poets is conceded. But the higher a poet stands, so much the more do we think we observe him outgrowing the nourishing soil of his home, and in the case of the genius this relationship has often been denied or else declared to be unimportant. Even in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, while the poets of second and third rank are arranged according to provinces and peoples, the chief representatives of our national literature are on the other hand grouped in conformity with different principles. We must, however, most decidedly put an end to this differentiation. It is true that those sociological theories which "pulverized" the hero and dissolved the genius into his elements may now be regarded as exploded. The great man has once more taken his place as leader at the head of the masses, who without him would never have attained the same results as under guidance. The great advances and the important deeds in the realm of poetry especially have always proceeded from individuals and always will do so. Even the so-called folksong goes back to the creative act of an individual, whether he be a cultured poet or an artless one, and only when it comes to the appropriation of such a song, do the people, and even then the individual singers among the people, undertake certain changes in the finished work, in order to make the poem clearer and to adapt it better for their use. The masses as such produce no poetry. And notwithstanding all this, even the greatest poetic genius is anchored by a thousand ties to his native soil, and therefore he has numerous racial characteristics in common with the others of his ethnic group, which alone give him the stamp of a national poet.

What is conceded in the case of the Swiss, Gottfried Keller, of the Silesian, Eichendorff, of the Tyrolese, Pichler, of the Mecklenburger, Reuter, of Theodor Storm of Sleswig, and many others, namely that they are the truest representatives of their people, that in the best and highest creations of their muse they are rooted in their native soil, and are not to be conceived of apart from this home atmosphere and home flavor—this same thing must likewise be conceded without demur for

Kleist, the Prussian, for Hebbel, the Frisian, for Grillparzer, the Mid-Austrian, and for Schiller, the Swabian. Indeed, Weltrich's biography of Schiller, for example, is planned entirely with reference to this provincial and ethnic connection of the poet with his home (in the narrow sense of that word) and Schiller's nature may be characterized as Swabian through and through. And is it an accident that the most virile of our German authors, that Lessing and Fichte are the most closely related fellow-countrymen, both being from Upper Lusatia. Thus there remains at last only the greatest of all, whose gigantic proportions seem to burst the ties of all sectional narrowness or provincial constraint. To be sure in Goethe's case, especially in the times of his absorption in ancient models and classical style, it is more difficult than in any other case to point out with certainty and in detail the elements that are racially German, not to mention the traits of the Frankish people. But in his case likewise the starting-point and the goal are known and admitted. The letters of his mother form a treasure of popular feeling and thought, which is not yet completely drained. In the veins of the man who descended from this woman there flowed such a fountain of popular robustness and raciness, as could never quite run dry. He who, like the young Goethe, listened to the words that fell from the servants' lips and preserved them with almost stenographic exactness; he who, like Goethe, showed sympathy with the lower classes and was glad to have to do with vagabonds and tramps, now and then even bringing some such person to his father's house; he who was so at home in the poetry of our most popular century, as was the author of *Götz* and *Faust*; he who was so familiar with German nick-names and terms of abuse, as the remodeler of the popular farce *Hanswursts Hochzeit*—of such a man it cannot be said that he stands in no relation to German folklore, even if *Hermann und Dorothea* does fail us as a means for answering folklore questionnaires. For every other literary influence we can give the name, but those nameless sources of popular influence we do not know. Further, the clear insight with which he studied the life of the people in Italy cannot possibly furnish any proof that the life of the people at home was a matter of indifference to him. If Goethe, anticipating the founding of the science of folklore, laid down, before his intended

third trip to Italy, a detailed outline for a formal folklore of Italy, in which he intended to record and classify the people's entire life, religion and superstition, games and dances, gestures and dress, proverbs and idiotisms, then it is permissible to conclude that his senses must have been alert likewise for all these things in his own country. Karl Reuschel has successfully examined Goethe's works with this thought in mind. The many jests, anecdotes, comic traits etc., that are set down in Goethe's *Diary* prove the same thing. When the aged Goethe takes such interest in the life and doings of the people in Egerland, and there advances and encourages the recording of popular traditions, then this is important evidence to show that his own mind was racially German, a fact that is apparent likewise in many a forceful expression in his conversations and in many a robust saying in the *Zahme Xenien* of his old age. In general in the aged Goethe, after all that the years of his middle life had done to obscure it and render it indistinct, the racial German disposition breaks through again energetically, as for example in the *Invektiven* and the *Sprüche*. But even in that intervening period we are often surprised by connections with popular German art, as, for example, in the outline of a funeral celebration for Schiller in dramatic form, the conversation he planned between the girl and the figure of death (conceived according to ancient models); or again the use of the popular contrast of swan and goose in the *Helenadrama*, of antique design. Thus Goethe, far from being an exception to the rule, is much rather the highest and finest proof of the fact that the inborn German traits shine through even the heaviest veil of the most comprehensive cosmopolitan culture and cannot be conquered by all the influences of foreign literatures.

A second, if less forceful objection, would be that, while for certain past times this close relationship between literature and race may be admitted, its claims for the literature of the present should be modified decidedly, and for the future entirely denied. There are, to be sure, times and tendencies—and we find this in German literature also—in which the relationship with what is genuinely racial, original and of the soil, is much less marked than at other times; when hyperculture, aestheticism, speculation, affectation, frivolity and virtuosity grow over and smother out that which is simple, primitive and healthy. So far, how-

ever, the repressed popular elements have always been able to struggle to light through the worst of thickets and weeds. The contrast, often exaggerated, between urban and rural or provincial poetry cannot change that. For the large cities draw their vitality likewise from the popular elements of the individual provinces and peoples, and produce at most a new—but not less truly racial character, which then welds into a group the inhabitants of the particular city, and separates them in turn sharply from other groups of urban poets.

The third objection that could be made to my conception is this: Where can we find a sure standard for the measurement of popular character? Whereby do we recognize the connection of the poet, who is known to us, and of his works with the inherited racial character? What means of a scientific nature are at our command for knowing the people, the nameless masses, in their innermost being?

During the course of the last decades, along with the more widely extended sciences of ethnography and ethnology, there has been formed a new national science of folklore, more exactly the science of ethnic folklore, which furnishes us these means of recognizing the racial character and comparing the particular individuality of the poet with it. Here is not the place to trace out the history of this remarkable discipline. It was really already created by the Brothers Grimm, and then, while zealously cultivated in foreign nations, in Germany itself it sank more or less into neglect, until it was rediscovered among us, rescued from the hands of the dilettante, and established anew by Weinhold, and this time on a firmer and securer basis. I should like to mention just one man, who in the eighties of the nineteenth century, in an important essay, demanded and prepared the way for the revival of the science of folklore, and to whose personal influence I am probably indebted for the fact that I have never quite relinquished this science, and that since that time the ethnical basis has always seemed to me to be the test of every genuinely national literature. This was Gustav Meyer's famous essay *Folklore*, in 1885.

Folklore we call the science, which has for its task, to discover and portray the physical appearance, the mode of life, customs and laws, language, poetry and religion of a people, and to pursue all these phenomena in their historical evolution,

as well as in their connections with related and foreign peoples. Whatever belongs peculiarly to the lower, especially the rural, classes of the population, classes kept as free as possible from the elements of international education and civilization, comes within the reach of folklore: the peculiar type-formation of head and body, the dialect, vocabulary and names, house and home, with all the household goods; the dress, means of livelihood, and food; the primitive products of popular art and industry, the customs and usages that are connected with annual, or family celebrations, with the daily life of the peasant and the shepherd; the popular ideas, superstitions, witchcraft, the art of healing, the songs with their melodies, the games and dramatic performances, sayings and proverbs, riddles and jests. Folklore, however, not only undertakes investigations and collections, to be arranged according to races and provinces, it also strives to make use of these popular traditions for a character-science of the individual peoples and provinces, and finally for a characterization of the national spirit. As its ultimate and highest task, as the end and aim of folklore must be considered the discovery of a scientific formulation of the concept race-spirit (*Volksseele*). If this still youthful science of folklore succeeds in reaching this lofty goal, if it can furnish us characteristics that are firmly established and carefully considered, from a scientific point of view, of the nature of the German people, arranged according to provinces and ethnic groups, then the history of literature has a firm basis for a verdict as to whether the individual belongs to this racial type, for our estimate of the ethnic, provincial, popular strain in the nature of the individual poet, and nothing further hinders the attempt to survey the history of German Literature itself according to provinces and peoples. The attempts hitherto made in provincial or ethnic folklore, as well as the comprehensive works on German folklore, have, and in part confessedly so, fallen far short of this high aim. Neither the folklore of Saxony, edited by Wuttke, nor the folklore of Brunswick by Andree, nor that of Baden by Elard Hugo Meyer, however admirably these works have succeeded in some respects, comes to the point where the material, so carefully collected and excellently arranged, could be finally summarized into such a character-science of the region described. These works resign the attempt to penetrate all the

observed phenomena to the ultimate factors of their ethical nature or their spiritual evolution. Yes, the last named scholar expressly says in the preface to his *Deutsche Volkskunde*, a work in all other respect fundamental: "A final chapter, summarizing those results that are especially important for the total character and the ethnic differences of our people, did not yet seem to me feasible."

Likewise the second limitation in the present methods of folklore is expressly emphasized in E. H. Meyer's preface, namely that hitherto it has mainly considered the life of the peasant, but to a smaller extent that of the workman, the soldier, and the townsman. But the spiritual physiognomy of these classes can just as well be investigated by the use of the same method; and in addition to the rural population, which is the most important class for folklore, all the classes must in time be considered.

If the historians of literature will, in this sense, make higher demands of folklore, then it cannot be doubted in the least that this growing science will become ever broader and more profound. I am satisfied with having pointed out that to the numerous disciplines which have experienced or will experience a regeneration from the cultivation of folklore, the history of literature must belong.

Summing up my arguments, I propose the following theses:

1. Family history, also that of the *bourgeois* families, a little cultivated branch of genealogy (which latter has been restored to honor again by Lorenz), must in increased measure be used for research in biographical literary history, and the preparation of reliable family-trees for all the more important poets should be attempted.

2. Especial attention must be given to provincial and local literary history. To the general literary history of Germany must be added ethnical or sectional literary histories of provinces, much in the same way as within the general political history of modern times, as founded by Heeren and Ukert, and carried on by Lamprecht, now a particular department of German provincial histories has been established.

3. To this end literary history must make much greater use than hitherto of the results of researches in folklore, and the latter must go beyond collecting and describing to the ethnical and provincial character-science of the German nation.

4. The attempt must be made to prepare an outline of the history of German literature by starting from the popular foundations, according to ethnical and provincial grouping; by representing the provinces and peoples more than hitherto in their peculiar character and their reciprocal influences; and by determining in the case of every poet, every group of poets, and every work how firmly they are rooted in the German racial character, or how far they are perhaps removed from it. The history of literature, as written from above, would be supplemented by a literary-historical survey from beneath, from the standpoint of the ethnical elements, with especial consideration of dialectical poetry.

To what extent these principles might perhaps also find corresponding application to the thorough investigation of foreign literatures, or to the history of music and art, is a question that must be left for the consideration of those who represent these neighboring sciences."

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BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS AND HIS ENCYCLOPAEDIA

I

In the twenty-eighth volume of the *Études Franciscaines* (1912)¹ M. Matrod discussed the work of two English Franciscans of the thirteenth century—Roger Bacon and Bartholomaeus Anglicus. After quoting the opinion of M. Langlois, that the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* had exercised a profound influence upon European culture for 300 years, M. Matrod gave his own estimate of the importance and influence of Bartholomaeus' work:²

En plein XIII siècle, il modèle, du fond de sa cellule, la pâte dont sera faite la littérature la plus éblouissante de l'Angleterre, et sans son oeuvre, celle de Shakespeare, qui vient immédiatement dans l'ordre des chefs d'oeuvre, après celle du Dante et celle d'Homère, ne peut être comprise.

Many students of the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries have recognized the importance of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* as a source for the scientific knowledge of the Elizabethan writers. Douce called Bartholomaeus "our English Pliny," and referred to his encyclopaedia some eighteen times in explaining doubtful passages from the plays. In a brief note he gave a short account of the book and some rather inaccurate information concerning the author.³ Anders included the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* in *Shakespeare's Books*, referring to it about five times, while Furnivall went further than his predecessors and printed nine chapters from the eighth book of Batman's edition of Trevisa's English translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* to prove that this encyclopaedia was the main source from which Shakespeare derived his knowledge of astronomy.⁴ Furthermore, there was among the Ireland forgeries a copy of Berthelet's edition with 'William Shakespeare, his Booke 1597' inscribed on the title page. These facts show that Shakespeare was at least familiar with the book, whether he owned a copy or not, and that it was an important reference book.

¹ Pp. 468-83.

² Pp. 478-9.

³ Douce, *Illustrations of Shakspeare* (London, 1807), 2:278-9.

⁴ *New Shakspeare Society Transactions* (1877-9), pp. 431-50.

Other students of the natural science and the geography of the Middle Ages have studied the portions of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* in which they were particularly interested, and occasionally printed extracts from the Latin text or one of the six translations. In 1893 Robert Steele edited some extracts from the Berthelet edition.⁵ His purpose in editing these extracts was to give a general notion of the scientific and astronomical knowledge of the Middle Ages. No attempt was made to make a special study of the author or of the importance of the encyclopaedia. Professor Cian devoted one chapter to Bartholomaeus in his study of *Vivaldo Belcalzer e l'Enciclopedia Italiana delle Origini* (1902).⁶ His chief interest centered in Bartholomaeus' relation to the history of the encyclopaedia in Italy and the probability that Belcalzer's work was a translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. The most important study of Bartholomaeus' geographical knowledge has been made by A. E. Schönbach, who printed the results of his investigation concerning Bartholomaeus' description of Germany in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* (1906).⁷ Herr Schönbach printed thirty-three chapters of the Latin text from Book 15. A few other less important studies of Bartholomaeus in his relation to the Franciscan culture or the literature of the Middle Ages have been made, but no one else has made a careful study of the encyclopaedia as a whole, comparing it with the other thirteenth century encyclopaedias or endeavoring to fix its place in the history of the encyclopaedic writings of the Middle Ages. This I have endeavored to do and also to collect as many facts as possible concerning the author of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century the author of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was thought to have been a member of the Glanville family of Suffolk and to have lived about the middle of the fourteenth century. This mistake dates from the sixteenth century, when Leland in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* introduced his brief account of Bartholomaeus with this sentence: 'Bartholomaeus

⁵ Steele, R., *Medieval Lore* (London, 1893).

⁶ *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Sup. 5.

⁷ 27:54-90.

Glannovillanus ex noblissimo, ut ego colligo, genere Comitum Sudovolcarum eiusdem appellationis originem duxit.⁸ Bale, Pits, Wadding, and Fabricius copied from Leland, merely adding a few sentences to the account which they found.

The brief account given by Fabricius may be quoted as typical of the tradition concerning the life and writings of Bartholomaeus before the more modern investigations.⁹

Bartholomaeus Anglicus *de Glanvilla*, sive *Glannovillanus*, ex Comitibus Sudovolgii sive Suffolciensibus, (Lelando Sudovolcaris,) Monachus Ord. Minor. circa A. 1360. auctor Operis in *libros XIX.* distributi *de proprietatibus rerum* Argent. 1488. 1505. Norimb. 1492. Francof. 1601. longe diversum a Thomae Cantipratani opere de natura rerum, de quo infra, atque editum quoque sub titulo *allegoriarum* sive *tropologiarum in utrumque Testamentum*, Paris. 1573. addito libro XX. *de rerum accidentibus*, numeris, mensuris, ponderibus et sonis: et libro *de proprietatibus apum*. Etiam Gallicam hujus operis versionem jussu Caroli V. Galliarum Regis a Joanne Corbichone compositam vidisse se Lelandus cap. 348. testatur, et partem illius esse puto quem Baleus singillatim nominat librum *de Mundo ac coelestibus. Sermonum liber*, editus Argentor. 1491. Inedita apud Baleum VI. 15. memorantur: *Chronicon de Sanctis. Postillae Scripturarum*. Quibus librum *contra Laurentium Vallam*, et *Practicam* adjungit Pitseus pag. 495. quae *Practica Juris* vocatur apud Waddingum pag. 50. *De Postilla in Matthaem et Marcum* adeundus Warthonus ad Caveum. At de libro contra Vallam merito dubitat Vossius & cum Bartholomaeo altero, Facio nempe nostrum confusum a Pitseo suspicatur, neque enim fert aliud temporum ratio, cum Valla quinquagenarius obierit A. 1457.

Leland, it appears, confused the author of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* with a Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla of Suffolk, who died about 1360. Although the Glanville family was prominent in Suffolk and Norfolk as early as 1170, none of its members can be identified with the English Franciscan. The date 1360 seems to have originated from the belief that the Latin text was written only a short time before the translations were made. The French translation is dated 1372 and the English 1398.

The first author to question these traditional facts was Quetif, who contradicted the earlier writers in his *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*.¹⁰ By a careful study of the manuscripts of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, he proved that Leland's Bartholomaeus could not have been the author of the encyclo-

⁸ Ed. Oxonii, 1709, p. 336.

⁹ *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (Hamburg, 1734). 1:479-80.

¹⁰ 1:468.

paedia and that this work must have been written before the end of the thirteenth century. Jourdain proved in his *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote* (1843)¹¹ that the author of the encyclopaedia must have flourished in the thirteenth century rather than the fourteenth, for the work must have been completed before 1260. Jourdain was led to this conclusion from the fact that Bartholomaeus used the translations of Aristotle which were made from the Arabic. These translations were not discarded until after 1260, when a direct translation from the Greek text was completed. Furthermore, it is probable that Bartholomaeus would have used the compilations of Thomas of Cantimprè and St. Thomas Aquinas if he had written after 1260. Bartholomaeus did not pretend to be an original author and was always careful to give his authorities, frequently citing contemporaries. Robert Grossetete (d. 1253) is the latest author mentioned in the list of authorities. Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) is cited twice in Book 17 (chs. 2 and 137) of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, although he is not mentioned in the list of authorities. Albertus was an old man when he died, and it is possible that Bartholomaeus may have been acquainted with his theories when they were both in Paris about 1230.

Delisle devoted a short section to Bartholomaeus in an article, *Sur les Propriétés des Choses*, in the *Histoire Littéraire* (1888).¹² He showed that the Bartholomaeus Anglicus mentioned in a letter written by the Franciscan General in 1230 must have been the author of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Wadding had mentioned this letter in his *Annales Minorum*,¹³ but had failed to recognize that this Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla, whom he mentioned later as the author of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, were the same. Delisle was also the first to question the tradition that Bartholomaeus was an Englishman. He endeavored to prove by numerous quotations from the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* that Bartholomaeus was a Frenchman. His main argument is based upon a comparison of the descriptions of France and England. Bar-

¹¹ Pp. 358-60.

¹² 30:353-65.

¹³ 2:248.

tholomaeus seems to have loved France and Paris particularly, for he says of that city:¹⁴

Nam sicut quondam Athenarum Ciuitas mater liberalium artium et literarum, philosophorum nutrix, et fons omnium scientiarum Greciam decorauit, sic Parisius nostris temporibus non solum Franciam immo totius Europe partem residuam in scientia et in moribus sublimauit. Nam velut sapientie mater de omnibus mundi partibus aduenientes recolligit, omnibus in necessariis subuenit; pacifice omnes regit, et tanquam veritatis cultrix debitricem sapientibus et insipientibus se ostendit.

On the other hand, it seemed to Delisle that the description of England failed to show a similar appreciation. France, he implied, is praised and given special prominence, while England is almost neglected. Bartholomaeus' description of England is summarized in six lines of poetry at the end of the chapter, *De Anglia*:¹⁵

Anglia terra ferox [ferax?] et fertilis angulus orbis,
 Insula predives, que toto vix eget orbe
 Et cuius totus indiget orbis ope.
 Anglia plena iocis gens libera apta iocari,
 Libera gens cui libera mens et libera lingua,
 Sed lingua melior liberiorque manus.

Cian suggested that these verses may have been written by Bartholomaeus himself, since the author simply says they were written by 'someone describing the English Island.' They show, according to Cian, a certain notable pride in the author's native land, while the chapters on France show gratitude for the kindness which had been shown Bartholomaeus during his sojourn in that country as a student and professor.¹⁶ Moreover, it was customary for the students of the thirteenth century to consider Paris a second Athens. At this period the schools of Paris had surpassed the once famous schools of Chartres and were drawing students from every part of Europe. Hardly a hundred years had passed since Abelard had defied his teacher, William of Champeaux, and had emphasized the importance of dialectic, and consequently of the works of Aristotle.

Delisle felt that his theory received additional support from the statement by Bartholomew of Pisa that Bartholomaeus

¹⁴ Book 15, ch. 57. All quotations from the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* are taken from the edition published in Nürnberg in 1483.

¹⁵ Book 15, ch. 14.

¹⁶ Cian, p. 38.

was 'de provinca Franciae.' This phrase may simply mean the territory of the Franciscans, as Cian thought. But such an interpretation is not necessary to prove that Bartholomaeus was not a Frenchman. Bartholomaeus of Pisa would naturally refer to him as 'de provinca Franciae,' because he had spent his earlier years as a student and teacher in France and consequently was considered a citizen¹⁷ of France, though born in England.

From a sentence in a French manuscript it appears that Bartholomaeus was once thought to have been a Scotchman.¹⁷ This statement is denied by the translator:

Il apparait clairement en ce chapitre que l'auteur de ce livre ne fut pas escot mais fut énglois, et pour ce, il le croira qui voudra en ce partie.

Bartholomaeus' attitude toward the Scotch is typically English. In fact, he was almost a thirteenth century Samuel Johnson in his treatment of his northern neighbors, for he thus described them:¹⁸

Nam gens est leuis, animo ferox, seuiens in hostes, tantum fere mortem diligens quantum seruitutem, in lecto mori reputans segniciem, in campo autem contra hostem interfici ut interficiantur gloriam arbitrans et virtutem. Gens parci victus, famem diutius sustinens, et raro ante occasum super cibum se effundens, carnibus lacticiiniis, piscibus, et fructibus magis vtens, panis usus Britannicis minus habens, et cum populus sit satis, elegantis figure et faciei pulcre generaliter a natura, multum tamen eos deformat proprius habitus siue scotica vestitura; . . . mentiri non verentur . . . in propriis gaudent, pacem non diligunt.

Wackernagel's suggestion that the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was of north Italian origin requires no more than passing notice, since he did not know that Bartholomaeus was the author of the sections which he found in a manuscript with the title, *De Orbe et eius Divisione ac Universis Regionibus Tocius Mundi*. His suggestion is based upon the theory that the author must have been better acquainted with Italy than with any other country, because in the chapter *De Tuscia* all the chief cities are mentioned by name, while in the other geographical chapters only a very few of the cities are given.¹⁹

¹⁷ Maxwell, H., "An Englishman's Opinion of Scotland in 1360," *Notes and Queries*, VIII, 11, 224-5.

¹⁸ Book 15, ch. 152.

¹⁹ Wackernagel, W., "Geographie des Mittelalters," Haupt's *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Allerthum*, 4 (1844), 479-95.

In spite of these attempts to prove the contrary, it is certain that Bartholomaeus was an Englishman. Not only the early manuscripts but also the Franciscan chroniclers of the thirteenth century refer to him as Bartholomaeus Anglicus. All doubt as to the exact meaning of the adjective is removed by a note on the last leaf of a thirteenth century manuscript of St. Paul's *Epistles* in the Library of Chartres:²⁰

Iste liber est Fratrum Predicatorum Carnotensium, quem habuerunt a Fratre Bartholomaeo, qui fuit Anglicus.

The earliest reference to Bartholomaeus Anglicus is found in a letter from the Minister General of the Franciscan Order to the minister in France. The General wrote to France to inform the head of that province that Johannes Anglicus had been appointed Minister of Saxony at the death of Simon Anglicus, the first Minister of Saxony and 'primus lector Magdeburgensis,' and that Bartholomaeus was to be the new lector at Magdeburg.²¹ In 1231 Jordanus sent Brother Joannes de Penna and Brother Deodatus to France to accompany the newly appointed officers to Saxony.²²

At this time Bartholomaeus was a professor at the Franciscan school in Paris, where he had given a course of lectures on the whole Bible. We are told this by Salimbene, who refers to Bartholomaeus' chapter on elephants:²³

Item in historia Alexandri filii Philippi regis Macedonie legitur, quod ipse rex Alexander habuit in exercitu suo centum elephantas, qui aurum suum portabant. Horum animalium in Etyhopia magna copia est, quorum naturam et proprietates frater Bartholomaeus Anglicus ex ordine Minorum in libro, quem de proprietatibus rerum fecit, sufficienter posuit; quem etiam tractatum in xix libellos divisit. Magnus clericus fuit et totam Bibliam cursorie Parisiis legit.

²⁰ *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, 11:177.

²¹ '1230. Scripsit ergo Minister Generalis ad Franciae Ministrum, ut fratrem Joannem Anglicum Saxoniae Administrationi, fratrem Bartholomaeum Anglicum lecturae praeficiendum, dimitteret' (Wadding, 2:248).

²² '1231. Missi hoc anno a fratre Jordano Custode Thuringiae, in virtute potestatis sibi factae a Generali Ministro, frater Joannes de Penna et frater Deodatus Lutetiam ad Franciae Ministrum pro conducendis Fratribus Joanne Anglico Generali jam constituto Saxoniae Ministro, et Bartholomaeo item Anglico, ut in eadem Provincia Fratribus sacrum legeret Theologiam; qui statim concessi a Franciae Ministro, Provinciam Saxoniam egregie decorarunt' (Wadding 2:274).

²³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Scriptores*, 32:94.

Bartholomaeus must have been middle aged at the time of his appointment, because it is not probable that a young man would have held this position in Paris, or would have been chosen to carry on the educational work at Magdeburg.

Schönbach thinks that Bartholomaeus probably received his education at Oxford.²⁴ This, he says, would account for his being so well acquainted with contemporary English authors, such as Michael Scotus, Robert of Lincoln, Alfredus Anglicus, and Alexander Neckam. We have no records of Bartholomaeus as an Oxford student, and it seems hardly necessary to advance this theory to account for his acquaintance with the works of English authors. It would have been natural for an Englishman who was studying in France to have been especially interested in the works of his own countrymen. Moreover, Paris was at this time the intellectual center of Europe, and the works of English scholars were well known in the schools and university. General works, such as Bartholomaeus would need for his compilation, were in special demand in this age of scientific and philosophical inquiry. If Bartholomaeus had been a Frenchman, these works would have been known to him, even tho he had never visited England or Oxford.

It seems more probable that Bartholomaeus received his early education at Chartres, which was frequented by English students in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the fame of an Englishman John of Salisbury (d. 1180), who had taught at Chartres and had been made bishop in 1176, was at its height. This alone would tend to attract students from England. Furthermore, Chartres was becoming at this time a preparatory school for the University of Paris and offered courses which would tempt the student whose ultimate goal was Paris. It appears that Bartholomaeus was specially interested in the school at Chartres, for he gave the Dominican Brothers there a copy of St. Paul's *Epistles*. It is not likely that a Franciscan would have given such a valuable book to the Dominicans unless there was some special tie to connect him with their school. Two famous lecturers at Chartres in the twelfth century—Gilbert de la Porée and William of Conches—are given in the list of authorities at

²⁴ Schönbach, p. 64.

the beginning of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. At the close of the twelfth century or during the opening years of the thirteenth, the teaching of these men would still have been remembered and their books studied as authorities.

If Bartholomaeus studied at Chartres during the early years of the thirteenth century, he would not have considered that his education could be completed there. Since the days of Fulbert, when the schools of Chartres gained a place of prominence rivaled by no other episcopal or monastic school, changes had taken place. About the middle of the twelfth century they began to neglect the study of the quadrivium and were eclipsed by the schools of Paris.²⁵ In the thirteenth century the schools of Chartres became a stepping stone to the higher education at Paris. It is probable, therefore, that Bartholomaeus, if he had studied at Chartres, went to Paris to complete his studies. At Paris he must have become acquainted with some of the members of the newly founded Franciscan Order, which he soon joined. At least by 1230, about twenty years after Saint Francis had founded the order, Bartholomaeus had gained a reputation as a scholar and teacher among the Franciscans.

Nothing is definitely known about the life of Bartholomaeus after he left Paris in 1231. His name does not appear again in the annals or chronicles of the Franciscans, until Salimbene and Bartholomaeus of Pisa refer to his encyclopaedia at the end of the thirteenth century. These references show that Bartholomaeus' great work was well known by 1280 and used as an authority. His life at Magdeburg was probably spent in teaching and reorganizing the Franciscan school there. He may have revised part of his encyclopaedia or added short sections, but it does not seem likely that he had the leisure or the facilities to rewrite any large portion.

From the few facts which may be definitely ascertained concerning the life of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, we are justified in assuming that he was probably born in England about 1190; that he spent the first thirty years of his life in study at Chartres and Paris; that the next ten years were spent in teaching in the Franciscan school at Paris and in compiling the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; and that during the last years of his life he taught at Magdeburg and helped to direct the work of the Franciscans

²⁵ See Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres*, p. 320.

in Saxony. It is probable that Bartholomaeus died shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century.

II

The *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was the most popular encyclopaedia of the thirteenth century, which has been called the age of Encyclopaedias. The intellectual renaissance of the preceding century had stimulated a desire for learning, which was scarcely to be surpassed by that of the humanists themselves. This renaissance was due largely to the teaching of Abelard, whose new attitude toward secular knowledge was instrumental in replacing the *credo ut intelligam* of Anselm by the *intelligo ut credam* of the later thinkers. Abelard wrote concerning knowledge:²⁶

If therefore it is not wrong to know, but to do, the evil is to be referred to the act and not to the knowledge. Hence we are convinced that all knowledge, which indeed comes from God alone and from His bounty, is good. Wherefore the study of every science should be conceded to be good, because that which is good comes from it; and especially one must insist upon the study of that *doctrina* by which the greater truth is known. This is dialectic, whose function is to distinguish between every truth and falsity: as leader in all knowledge it holds the primacy and rule of all philosophy. The same also is shown to be needful to the Catholic Faith, which cannot without its aid resist the sophistries of schismatics.

It was impossible for the great number of students to acquire at first hand a knowledge of every science. The universities could not accommodate all those who desired to learn, and most students could not collect a library large enough to meet their needs. Even the clergy, whom the popes of the first half of the thirteenth century desired to raise to a higher intellectual level, did not have the leisure nor the inclination required to read the voluminous works of the Fathers and of the secular authors. For these an easier method of instruction had to be provided. The burden of popularizing and spreading secular and religious knowledge fell upon the shoulders of the Friars.

The Dominicans and Franciscans had not been founded for this purpose, but they were forced to assume the duty, because their work was organized in all the countries of Europe. Even the education of their own numbers, which increased with amazing rapidity, required the leaders of the orders to find

²⁶ Taylor, H. O., *The Mediaeval Mind*, 2:349.

some means of spreading knowledge. They solved the problem by writing encyclopaedias, in which they collected the opinions of the best known authorities. These encyclopaedias varied in comprehensiveness and arrangement, but the educational aim was never forgotten nor subordinated to any other. These works were to be the textbooks and reference books for the preachers and scholars, who did not have access to a library and who could not afford to collect one of their own. Through their intellectual activity in this field the scholars of these two great orders won for the thirteenth century the title of the Age of Encyclopaedias.

Bartholomaeus' work surpassed in popularity the earlier encyclopaedias, such as the *Institutiones Divinarum et Humanarum Litterarum* by Cassiodorus and Isidore's *Etymologies*, because it was primarily a scientific encyclopaedia and not a handbook of the arts. The compilations of the contemporaries and successors of Bartholomaeus were too large and discursive to be used as textbooks and consequently were not so widely known as the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. The largest of these is Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Magnum* in three volumes, which is compared with the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Cian. He concludes that Bartholomaeus was surpassed by Vincent in design and vastness but is superior to Vincent in method.²⁷ Alexander Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum* is similar to Bartholomaeus' work but is too brief and illustrated by too many stories for the use of the student.

The *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was probably written before the author went to Saxony. After the investigations by Jourdain and Delisle were published, it was generally assigned to the first half of the thirteenth century. Schönbach tried to prove that the work must have been written before 1240, because Berthold of Regensburg, who wrote between 1240 and 1250, used it as a source.²⁸ On a leaf (305 v.) toward the end of a fifteenth century manuscript of the French translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, the transcriber has written:²⁹

²⁷ Pp. 47-8.

²⁸ Pp. 56-62.

²⁹ This manuscript is dated 1472.

L'acteur de ce livre des proprietiez des choses ne s'est point voulu nommer pour son humilite, afin qu'il ne semblast aux lisans qu'il en eust voulu avoir gloire, mais il appert par le langage d'aucuns des chapitres de ce livre qu'il estoit natif du royaume d'Angleterre et fest ledit livre en latin environ l'an mil cciiii.

This date is undoubtedly too early, but it shows that only about 250 years after the time of Bartholomaeus there was a tradition at least that the work had been written early in the thirteenth century. A careful study of the numerous manuscripts would perhaps result in showing that Bartholomaeus finished his work before going to Saxony. If the superiors of his order had known that he had written this great textbook during his professorship at Paris, they would have had an additional reason for desiring to have him direct the work in the newly organized province of Saxony. One is not justified in assuming that Bartholomaeus described from personal observation any part of Europe, when he failed to cite an authority. Undoubtedly he learned much about Flanders, Holland, and Germany from the students at Paris, before he visited these countries. It is possible that Bartholomaeus rewrote a portion of his encyclopaedia after leaving Paris, but probably the work was finished before 1230 and contributed largely to his fame as a scholar and teacher.

Bartholomaeus wrote his compilation primarily for the student of theology and for the preacher. In the *Prohemium* he says that his purpose is to explain the allegories of the Scriptures 'ad edificationem domus Domini.' I do not agree with Cian, who considers these words conventional and believes that Bartholomaeus' purpose was primarily scientific and secondarily moral. As Schönbach has pointed out,³⁰ Bartholomaeus stressed the relationship to Scriptural interpretation in the introductions to books which contain the greatest amount of scientific material. It is as though he were answering the objection that he had forgotten his aim and was dealing with science for its own sake. The Middle Ages could not so soon break away from the old idea that secular knowledge was the handmaid of theology. The arrangement of the material is somewhat modified by this purpose. The earlier books are devoted to theology, while the last part of the encyclopaedia

³⁰ Pp. 59-60.

deals with science in its relation to theology. In the books on birds, animals, stones, etc., Bartholomaeus emphasizes the fact that he has treated these subjects because a knowledge of them is needed to interpret the Scriptures.

Schönbach divided the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* into two parts, the second part beginning at Book 8.³¹ This division was suggested to him by the fact that the Innsbruck manuscript (no. 256), which he studied primarily, began with the eighth book. This is not conclusive proof, for students often excerpted sections of the encyclopaedias to use as textbooks for special subjects. In this case the sections dealing with theology and physiology were omitted. Manuscript No. 2287 in the University Library at Prague contains Books 1-9, while short excerpts from various parts of the work are to be found in other manuscripts. The argument that Bartholomaeus had the relationship to the Scriptures continually in mind in the last part (Books 8-19), while in the first part a knowledge of this relationship was presupposed, is not based upon facts. Bartholomaeus frequently mentioned that his work was written merely that the spiritual things might be known through the material. For example he concluded the nineteenth chapter of the third book thus:

In his ergo et in aliis operationis nature conditionibus admiranda est diuina sapientia, que per ista et talia similia dat nobis quammmodo intelligere qualiter per ista sensata materialia ad intellectum eorum que sunt supra sensum, sint paulatim cordis interiora ad intelligentiam spiritualium promouenda, et propter hoc ista simpliciter est in hoc opusculo mea intentio et finis meus.

Schönbach also felt that the nature of the introductions to the different books justified his division. But they are too similar in nature to be of much value in determining such a division. In many cases they are merely transitional paragraphs, such as the introduction to Book 3:

Aduuante Iesu Christo in precedentibus aliquas proprietates de substantia penitus incorporea diuina, scilicet natura et angelica, quantum ad hoc spectat opusculum, breuiter introduximus; nunc cum eiusdem interueniente auxilio ad creaturam corpoream stilum conuertamus, a dignissima creaturarum, scilicet homine, qui naturam et proprietatem sapit, tam corporum quam spirituum, inchoantes.

A comparison of this introduction with that to Book 15, which is typical of those in Schönbach's second part, will show the

³¹ Pp. 58-61.

futility of the attempt to divide the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by the statements at the beginning or end of the various books:

De terre autem partibus et diuersis prouinciis per quas orbis generaliter est diuisus pauca huic operi sunt adiuuante Domino breuiter inferenda. Non tamen de singulis dicendem, sed solummodo de his de quibus Sacra Scriptura sepius inuenitur facere mentionem.

If the work is to be divided at all, it must be divided according to subject matter. The first three books form the first section, treating incorporeal substances (God, the angels, and the soul). The second part (4-7) is devoted primarily to man (the humours and elemental qualities, the parts of the body, the ages of man, and medicine). The third section (8-18), which treats of the universe, may be divided into two parts. The first (8-13) has for its subject the world in general (the world and the heavens, the divisions of time, matter and form, air, birds, water and fishes), and the second the earth in particular (the earth and its parts, geography, stones, trees and plants, and animals). The fourth section is composed of the nineteenth book, in which everything, not previously discussed, finds a place (colors, odors, savors, liquids, weights, measures, music, etc.).

The possibility of dividing the work into four distinct sections and the nature of the nineteenth book suggest that it was carefully planned. The books may or may not have been composed in the order in which we find them, but it is evident that Bartholomaeus wrote with a definite order in mind. The nature of the *Prohemium* and the references throughout the work to following or preceding books indicate that the books were composed in their present order. In the introduction to the first book, for example, the preference which is given to the spiritual is stressed:

De proprietatibus itaque et naturis rerum, tam spiritualium quam corporalium, elucidare aliqua cupientes, ab illo sumamus exordium, qui est Alpha et O, principium et finis omnium bonorum.

Schönbach suggested that Bartholomaeus took notes on his reading, arranged these in groups, and then compiled his encyclopaedia.³² This suggestion was due to his desire to show that Bartholomaeus could have written the *De Proprietatibus*

³² P. 65.

Rerum in Saxony, even if a good library had not been accessible to him. Schönbach's conclusion concerning the method is that:

Die Sammlung des Stoffes aber wird dann wahrscheinlich noch vor seine Wirksamkeit in Paris fallen, die Bücher wird er bei den Oxforder Gelehrten gefunden haben, in Paris mag das Werk fortgesetzt, in Magdeburg abgeschlossen worden sein.

It is impossible to prove or disprove this statement, since all opinions concerning Bartholomaeus' method of composition must necessarily be mere conjectures. But, as already intimated, it seems probable that Bartholomaeus completed his work while he was still in Paris, where the works of the best authorities were to be had.

Bartholomaeus used three methods in referring to his sources. Sometimes he cited an author or work by name without quoting directly, such as the reference to Boethius' *De Trinitate* in the third chapter of the first book. This method is used most frequently when Bartholomaeus has given an explanation of his own and then has added 'as says Augustine,' or some other author, meaning that the ideas of that author are essentially the same as his own. More frequently he adapts the words of his authority to his own use by means of an elaborate paraphrase. An interesting use of this method is to be found in the twentieth chapter of the first book, the discussion of the names of God. The chief source for this chapter is the *De Fide Orthodoxa* (Book 1, chap. 12) by John of Damascus. John gives a rather free adaptation of part of the first chapter of the Dionysian *De Divinis Nominibus*, and Bartholomaeus in turn paraphrases this version. At other times Bartholomaeus quotes directly from his sources. The correctness of quotation depends, of course, upon the correctness of the manuscript or translation that Bartholomaeus could obtain. He does not always give a reference to book and chapter, for he is very fond of using the phrase 'ut dicit' at the beginning or end of a quotation without reference even to the work.

Bartholomaeus' chief source is Isidore's *Etymologies*, which he cites in approximately 660 chapters. Many of the quotations from the Bible or the ancient poets were taken from Isidore's work. In fact, the great encyclopaedist of the seventh century seems to have been his guide both for subject matter and arrangement. After the *Etymologies* and the Bible, Aristotle's

works are most frequently cited. Bartholomaeus knew all the works of Aristotle in translation from the Arabic. When he refers to the new translation as in Book 8, chapter 2: 'De istius celi natura dicitur in Libro de Celo et Mundo secundum nouam translationem,' he does not mean the translation from the Greek but the second translation from the Arabic. Bartholomaeus was also well acquainted with the Arabian commentaries upon Aristotle's works. In many of the 275 chapters in which the works of Aristotle are cited the Commentator is mentioned. In some cases it is difficult to identify the treatise to which Bartholomaeus is referring. For instance, in the seventeenth chapter of Book 3 there is the following reference: 'Dicit enim Aristotelis in xix. Libro de Animalibus.' According to the modern division no treatise has nineteen books. After diligently searching, I discovered that Bartholomaeus was here referring to the fifth book of the *De Generatione Animalium*. Likewise, by 'Libro .xii.' he means the second book of the *De Partibus Animalium*. It therefore appears that the scribes of the Middle Ages combined under one title all the Aristotelian treatises upon a single subject. The treatises upon animals were evidently combined in this order: *Historia Animalium* (1-9), *De Motu Animalium* and *De Incessu Animalium* (10), *De Partibus Animalium* (11-14), and *De Generatione Animalium* (15-19). The *De Motu Animalium* and the *De Incessu Animalium* may have been considered separate books, one being the tenth and the other the twentieth book of the collection.

Although Bartholomaeus used Isidore's *Etymologies* and the works of Aristotle as the principal sources for his encyclopaedia, he cited numerous minor authors in the different sections of the work. In the list of authorities at the beginning of the printed editions, there are one hundred and five names, but this list is neither complete nor accurate. The chief authorities for the theological portions (Books 1-3) are the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and the *De Fide Orthodoxa* by John of Damascus. The medical part (4-7) is based upon the works of Constantinus Africanus, Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna, while the sources for the scientific section are Pliny, Dioscorides, Platerius, Isaac Judaeus, Bede, Jerome, and Ptolemy. Bartholomaeus appears to have been acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, but the scientific

nature of his work prevented him from quoting from them extensively. Virgil is mentioned about fifteen times, Cicero twice, Ovid seven times, Horace twice, Lucan eight times, Homer ten times, Plato seven times, and Herodotus and Orosius sixteen times each.

Schönbach was the first to call attention to the fact that 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus schreibt nämlich in Kursus, und zwar in einer ziemlich streng ausgebildeten Art dieser Kunstprosa. . . . Wo dieser Kursus ganz unbeengt waltet, da wird man wohl annehmen dürfen, dass Bartholomaeus selber spricht.'³³ It is not necessary to resort to this method to identify Bartholomaeus' own work, since he is always careful to cite the authorities when he has quoted directly. Schönbach's theory that the frequency of the use of the Cursus may be a test of the time of composition is hardly plausible, for Bartholomaeus uses the Cursus throughout the work in nearly the same proportion. The use in passages directly quoted or paraphrased naturally depends upon the practice of the author quoted. The short introduction to the first book is an excellent example of Bartholomaeus' use of the Cursus:

De proprietatibus itaque et naturis rerum, tam spiritualium quam, corporalium, elucidare aliqua cupientes, ab illo sumamus exordium, qui est Alpha et O, principium et finem omnium bonorum; in principio, patris luminum, a quo, procedit omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, implorantes auxilium, ut ille, qui illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et reuelat profunda de tenebris, et abscondita producit in lucem, huic opusculo, quod ad ipsius laudem et legentium utilitatem de diuersis et sanctorum philosophorum dictis non sine labore recolligere iam incepti, felicem dignetur impendere consummationem.

Occasionally a regular Cursus is wanting where we should expect it, as in the phrase 'recolligere iam incepti.' It is evident, however, that Bartholomaeus tried to give a rhythmic quality to his prose by the use of this rather popular mediaeval device.

Bartholomaeus' style is in general remarkably clear. He paid more attention to grammar than many of the mediaeval authors and seldom used the wrong case or number. The use of long and involved sentences, which in some cases result from his writing in Cursus, offers the greatest difficulty to the reader. An example of this tendency is the passage just quoted. Here *implorantes auxilium* is separated from *patris luminum* for

³³ P. 67.

this reason. If we consider the nature of his work, Bartholomaeus used few uncommon or difficult words. He seems continually to have remembered that he was not writing for scholars, but for students and members of the clergy, who had not had the opportunities of an university education. The *De Proprietatibus Rerum* is a typical example of mediaeval Latin. Bartholomaeus' Latinity is not as polished and accurate as that of John of Salisbury, nor as bad as that of many minor authors, who neglected every rule of grammar and rhetoric.

The popularity which the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* attained before the close of the thirteenth century was not diminished in the following century. The manuscript copies multiplied rapidly and found their way to all the countries of western Europe. Many of the university and public libraries of Europe possess a copy of the Latin text or of one of the six translations. At present there are over one hundred copies of the Latin text in the libraries of Europe. The oldest manuscripts date from the thirteenth century, but the largest number belongs to the fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century a few manuscript copies were made, but in this century the printed editions began to take the place of these copies.

Before the end of the thirteenth century Bartholomaeus' work had become a source for moral works, such as the *Proprietates Rerum Moralizatae*. Part of the ninth book of the *Roman d'Alexandre*—Proprietez des beses qui ont magnitude, force, et pouvoir en leur brutalitez—is almost entirely copied from the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.³⁴ Furthermore, this encyclopaedia was recognized as one of the principal works of reference at the University of Paris in 1286, for it is entered in a list of books to be lent to students:³⁵

Librorum theologiae et philosophiae et juris pretium ab Universitate Parisiensi taxatum quod debent habere librarii pro exemplari commodato scholaribus.

Item, liber de Proprietatibus rerum continet c et ii pecias.iiii sol.

A copy was also chained to a desk in the chapel of the Sorbonne. In 1297 Benedict XI considered this book a fitting gift to be offered to a convent of Dominicans, and in 1329 another Pope, John XXII, paid nine florins of gold for a copy. In a

³⁴ Pouchet, *Historie des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age*, p. 486.

³⁵ Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:644.

safe conduct, given by Charles VI to a minorite who wished to return to England with four books, which he had purchased in Paris, the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* is the only one mentioned by name:³⁶

Nous voulons et nous mandons que Frère Robert Chambrilen, religieux de l'Ordre des Frères-Mineurs du couvent de Londres en Angleterre, lequel a acheté dans notre ville de Paris quatre volumes, dont l'un est intitulé, *De la Propriété des Choses*, livres avec lesquels ledit Frère veut s'en retourner a son couvent, vous le laissez passer avec les dits livres.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was translated into six of the European languages—French, English, Spanish, Dutch, Provençal, and Italian. The French translation was made at the command of Charles V by an Augustinian monk, Jean Corbechon, about whom nothing further is known. This translation was finished and presented to the King in 1372. There are about thirty-five manuscript copies of this translation extant. Corbechon followed his original closely but added some comments of his own.

The English translation was made by John Trevisa, who has been called the 'father of English Prose.'³⁷ Trevisa finished his work on the sixth of February, 1398 at Berkeley, where he was chaplain to Sir Thomas Berkeley, at whose command he had undertaken the work. There are six manuscripts of the complete work and three of portions still extant in England. Trevisa, like Corbechon, added to the original. These additions were usually annotations of a difficult passage. The translator was always careful to distinguish his own work from that of the author by prefacing the annotations with his name. For example, in the eighteenth chapter of the second book there is a long explanation of horizon, beginning: '*Trevisa*. Oryson is a straunge terme and moche used in astronomye.' This translation is not only valuable on account of its importance as a scientific text for the English authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but also because it would furnish much material to the student of language, if a definitive edition were undertaken. Babington's statement concerning the value of

³⁶ Matrod, p. 477.

³⁷ The fullest account of Trevisa is given by the Rev. H. J. Wilkins, *John Wycliffe*. Also *John de Trevisa*, London, 1915.

Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* may be equally applied to the translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.³⁸

As one of the earliest specimens of English prose, containing many rare words and curious expressions, the version of Trevisa will be gladly welcomed by philologists, who will not be over severe upon his errors.

Vincent de Burgos, the translator of the Spanish version, was also an unknown monk, who probably finished his translation during the last quarter of the fourteenth century or early in the fifteenth. I have been able to find record of only two manuscripts of this version, one in Brussels and the other in the British Museum. The name of the author and the date of the Dutch⁹ translation are not known. It is probable that this translation was undertaken for the printer of the 1485 edition, as there are no manuscripts in existence.

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century these four translations were thought to be the only ones that had been made. In 1889 Appel³⁹ showed that the Provençal *Elucidari de las Proprietatz de totas Res Naturals*, which Bartsch had thought was based upon the Latin *Lucidarius* and other encyclopaedias, especially the *Etymologies* by Isidore, was in reality a translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Appel's discussion concerning the date of the translation and the count for whom it was made is of little value because he believed that Bartholomaeus lived about 1360. It was probably translated at the command of Gaston Phébus, Comte de Foix, who died in 1391. The unique manuscript of this translation is to be found in Paris.

In 1902 Cian proved that Vivaldo Belcalzer's *Trattato di Scienza Universal* was an Italian translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Belcalzer must have translated the work early in the fourteenth century, for the last references to him in official documents are under the years 1307 and 1308. He was a lawyer by profession and had held government positions at various times. Belcalzer probably undertook the translation of a Latin manuscript in the possession of the Bonacolsi and at their desire, for he dedicated his work to Guido Bonacolsi. Cian gives a full account of three manuscripts of the Italian

³⁸ Babington, C., *Higden's Polychronicon*, 1, xli.

³⁹ "Der Provenzalische Lucidarius," *Zeit. für Rom. Phil.*, 13:225-52.

translation.⁴⁰ The most perfect of these is in the British Museum. It is possible that Dante may have seen a Latin manuscript of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. At least the resemblances between passages from the *Divina Commedia* and Belcalzer's translation show that Dante gave life to scientific material which Bartholomaeus had made popular.⁴¹

After 1470 the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was frequently printed until the early years of the seventeenth century. Herr E. Voigt has made a study of the various editions,⁴² reviewing the opinions of previous bibliographers. The first edition was probably printed at Cologne about 1470. This edition has been attributed to Caxton on the basis of Wynkyn de Worde's statement in the poem printed at the end of his edition of Trevisa's translation:

And also of your charyte call to remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton, first prynter of
this boke
In Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymself to auaunce,
That euery well disposyd man may theron loke.

Whether we read the second and third lines 'first prynter of this boke in Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymself to auaunce,' or 'first prynter of this boke, in Laten tonge at Coleyn hymself to auaunce,' it seems reasonably certain that Wynkyn de Worde meant that Caxton printed the book in Latin and not in English. Various bibliographers have discussed both interpretations but in general have failed to reach a definite conclusion. The current opinion is that Caxton did not print the first, or any other, edition of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, but may have aided Koelhof with a Latin edition about 1470.

After a thorough and careful study Herr Voigt reached the conclusion that many of the editions which had been mentioned by his predecessors were supposititious. Often-times a bibliographer had made two editions out of one by mistaking the dates. As a result of his study Herr Voigt found that sixteen editions of the Latin text, twenty-four of the French translation, three of the English translation, two of the Spanish translation, and one of the Dutch translation were extant.

⁴⁰ Cian, pp. 74-84.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-34.

⁴² *Eng. Stud.*, 41:337-59.

Copies of one or more of these editions are to be found in the more important libraries of Europe and America.

Undoubtedly M. Matrod's estimate of the importance of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* is greatly exaggerated. Its importance to Shakespeare and the writers of the Elizabethan Age was great, but not so great that its place could not have been taken by some of the other compilations of the time. Bartholomaeus' encyclopaedia did not owe its popularity, which it enjoyed until the seventeenth century, to originality of material, but to its being essentially a text-book of theology and the sciences. It met the special need of the increasing number of students without exhausting their patience. The order in which the material was presented was so arranged that extracts could easily be made. At the same time the work was valuable as a bibliographical manual, for Bartholomaeus seldom failed to give an authority for his statements or to suggest to the reader the book which would give him a fuller account than a short chapter could conveniently contain.

Such was the value of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* to the student of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What is its chief value to the scholar of the present day? In the first place, it is important as an historical document, which will help us to understand the thoughts of the students of the Middle Ages concerning theology, medicine, and natural science. But even more important to the scholar are the translations of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, for they are among the earliest prose works written in the vernacular.

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THE *SCHWANRITTER-SCEAF* MYTH IN *PERCEVAL
LE GALLOIS OU LE CONTE DU GRAAL*

The *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal*¹ is assigned to the first of the sixteenth century, although an earlier manuscript from the opening of the thirteenth century is assumed to have been its source.² As the older manuscript exists only in very fragmentary form it is, of course, impossible to control its content, or to determine in what respects or in how far the later romance differs from its earlier prototype, except as concerns certain bits common to both. The older manuscript does not, however, offer anything bearing on that part of the later story which forms the basis of this discussion.³

The *Perceval le Gallois* is the conventional French romance of the holy grail, lacking on the one hand the freshness of Chrestien de Troyes, and on the other, the poetic grace of Wolfram von Eschenbach. There are, however, within the prosaic account certain unmistakable traces of beautiful and ancient Germanic conceptions of the *Gralparadies* and the *Schwanritter-Sceaf* hero said to have issued therefrom. Whether these features appeared in the original thirteenth-century version⁴ is, indeed, not material, since by the opening of that century the legend of the Swan Knight had secured firm root, although it had not yet been developed into the extended form in which it is told a century later.

In 1190 Johannis de Alta Silva in his *Dolopathos*⁴ tells us: "Hic est cygnus, de quo fama in eternum perseverat, quod cathena aurea militem in navicula trahat armatum." Wolfram writes in 1210:⁵

von Munsalvaesche wart gesant,
der den der swane brähte.

Helinandus is reported by Gert van der Schuren to have told

¹ *The High History of the Holy Grail, translated from the Old French by Sebastian Evans, Everyman's Library, London and New York, 1913.*

² *Ibid.*, p. xii.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. vi, vii.

⁴ Ed. Oesterley, p. 79.

⁵ *Parzival*, ed. Ernst Martin, vol. I, p. 292.

the story (1220) of how the knight Elyas came up the Rhine in a little boat drawn by a swan.⁶ It must also be borne in mind that Chrestien de Troyes, whose poem served as the background for French grail romance, knows nothing of the story of the Swan Knight as connected with the Grail, whereas Wolfram, otherwise leaning heavily on his illustrious predecessor for ideas, introduces the *Schwanritter* Lohengrin, as the *Gralritter*, beyond doubt from the background of his knowledge of Germanic tradition.⁷

The first of the striking passages in *Perceval le Gallois* occurs in Branch XII,⁸ where may be read: "He (King Arthur) rose and did on a great grey cape and issueth forth of the chamber and cometh to the windows of the hall that opened toward the sea, calm and untroubled, so that much pleasure had he of looking thereat and leaning at the windows. When he had been there a long space, he looked out to sea and saw coming afar off as it were the shining of a candle in the midst of the sea. Much he marvelled what it might be. He looked at it until he espied what seemed him to be a ship wherein was the light, and he was minded not to move until such time as he should know whether a ship it were or something other. The longer he looketh at it, the better he perceiveth that is a ship, and that it was coming with great rushing toward the castle as fast as it might. The King espieth it nigh at hand, but none seeth he within nor without save one old man, ancient and bald, of right passing seemliness that held the rudder of the ship. The ship was covered of a right rich cloth in the midst and the sail was lowered, for the sea was calm and quiet. The ship arrived under the palace and was quite still. When the ship had taken ground, the King looketh thereat with much marvelling, and knoweth not who is there within, for not a soul heareth he speak. Him thinketh that he will go see what is within the ship, and he issueth forth of the hall and cometh thither where the ship was arrived, but he might not come anigh for the flowing of the sea. 'Sir,' saith he that held the rudder, 'Allow me a little!' He launcheth forth of the ship a little boat

⁶ Cf. Blöte, "Der Clevische Schwanritter," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XLII, p. 5.

⁷ Cf. W. Golther, *Die Gralsage bei Wolfram von Eschenbach*, p. 23.

⁸ Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff.

and the King entereth therinto, and so cometh into the great ship, and findeth a knight, that lay all armed upon a table of ivory, and had set his shield at his head. At the head of his bed had he two tall twisted links of wax in two candlesticks of gold, and the like at his feet, and his hands were crossed upon his breast. The King draweth nigh toward him and so looketh at him, and seemed him that never had he seen so comely a knight. 'Sir,' saith the master of the ship, 'For God's sake draw you back and let the knight rest, for thereof hath he sore need.' 'Sir,' saith the King, 'Who is the knight?' 'Sir, this would he well tell you were he willing, but of me may you know it not.' 'Will he depart forthwith from hence?' saith the King. 'Sir,' saith the master, 'Not before he hath been in this hall, but he hath sore travail and therefore taketh rest,' . . . Thereupon behold you, the knight that cometh all armed and the master of the ship before him bearing the twisted link of wax in the candlestick of gold in front of him, and the knight held his sword all naked. . . . The King seeth that he beareth the red shield with the white hart whereof he had heard tell. The brachet that was in the hall heareth the knight. He cometh racing toward him and leapeth about his legs and maketh great joy of him. And the knight playeth with him, then taketh the shield that hung on the column, and hangeth the other there, and cometh back toward the door of the hall. 'Lady,' saith the King, 'Pray the knight that he go not so hastily!' 'Sir,' saith the Knight, 'No leisure have I to abide' . . . the King and Queen are right heavy of his departure, but they durst not press him beyond his will. He entered into the ship. . . . The master draweth the boat within, and so they depart and leave the castle behind. . . . Lancelot seeth the shield that he had left on the column, and knoweth it well, and saith, 'Now know I well that Perceval hath been here.' "

The significant points in the legend of the Knight of the Swan are, first, the waiting and watching person of royalty at the castle-window overlooking the water; second, the approaching boat, propelled by a strange and unusual force; third, the armed and sleeping knight with his shield at his head; fourth, the concealed identity of the knight; fifth, the leaving of certain of his knightly possessions behind; and, sixth, the knight's strange departure to the borne whence he had earlier come.

Nowhere is the story more beautifully told than by Konrad von Würzburg. After picturing the waiting maiden princess he writes:⁹

. ein wizer swan
 flouc uf dēm wazzer dort hēr dan
 und nâch im zôch ein schiffelin
 an einer ketene silberin.
 diu lûter unde schône gleiz . . .
 ein ritter in dēm schiffe slief,
 dēr hēte sich dar in geleit,
 dar über ein spalier was bekleit,
 daz liechten schîn dën ougen bar
 von palmâtsiden rôsenvar,
 in dēm diu sunne spilte,
 dēr helt ûz sime schilte
 gemachet hēt ein küssin
 uf dēm sô lac daz houbet sîn
 durch ruowe dâ besunder . . .
 sîn hēlm, sîn halsbērc unde hosen
 diu wāren nēben in geleit,
 ēr hēte sīniu wāfenkleit
 mit im gefüeret uf dën sē.
 dēr swane wīz alsam dēr snē
 fuorte an ime dën swaeren soum . . .
 ‘Hērrē, ich mac wol trûrec sīn,’
 sprach diu wērde herzogin,
 ‘ich hân von iu zwei schoeniu kint,
 diu beidiu wol gerâten sint,
 und ist verborgen mir dâ bī,
 von waz geburt ēr komen sī,
 dēr in ze vater ist gezelt’ . . .
 beliben wolde ēr dô niht mē,
 wan ēr flte schiere dan.
 dēr selbe minnecliche swan,
 dēr in hēte dar gezogen,
 dēr quam aber dô geflogen . . .
 ēr fuorte in balde uf sine vart
 in eime schiffelīne kluoc.
 daz sēlbe, daz in ē dar truoc,
 daz wart in tragend aber sīt . . .
 dēr ritter edel unde hēr
 fuor sīne strâze bī dēr zīt,
 noch quam ēr wider nimmer sīt
 ze kinde noch ze wībe.

⁹ Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Schwanritter*, ed. Roth, ll. 107-11, 116-125, 128-133, 1129-1135, 1280-84, 1286-89, 1306-09.

To which Wolfram's account adds:¹⁰

sins kleinoetes er dâ liez
ein swert, ein horn, ein vingerlin.
hin fuor Logengrin.

With the story thus before us obvious and striking points of similarity between the *Schwanritter* myth and the quotation just given from *Perceval le Gallois* at once present themselves. The first point of similarity between the two accounts is the picture of the royal personage gazing from the window of a castle situated at the water's edge. The maiden princess of Nimaye sits looking out upon the Rhine:¹¹ "Also sat se to Nymeghe uppe der Borch, unde sach uth dem Venster in den Ryn." So Arthur finds "pleasure . . . of looking . . . and leaning at the windows as he gazed out over the sea." In both cases the significance is plain—a mortal looks expectantly across the unknown whence occasionally come strange visitants from the great beyond. If the likeness stopped here it might well be argued that this similarity was purely accidental, but step by step the parallel in the two accounts is maintained.

In the *Perceval le Gallois* we are told that the sea was "calm and untroubled" and that "the sail was lowered, for the sea was calm and quiet" and further that "none seeth he within nor without save one old man, ancient and bald . . . that held the rudder of the ship." But at the same time we are informed that the ship "was coming with great rushing . . . as fast as it might." What then is the strange means of propulsion? Like Coleridge's phantom bark,

Without a breeze, without a tide,
She steadies with upright keel!¹²

Of Scaef we read:¹³ "This Scaef, as they say, was brought to a certain Germanic island, called Scandea, when but a little boy. He was lying in a tiny boat *without oars*."¹⁴ The analogy is here plain. Some strange, supernatural power drives on the

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 293.

¹¹ Caspar Abel, *Sammlung Etlicher noch nicht gedruckten Alten Chronicken*, Braunschweig, 1732, p. 55.

¹² Coleridge, *The rime of the Ancient Mariner*, XL.

¹³ J. M. Kemble, *A Translation of the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf*, London, 1837, p. iv.

¹⁴ Tennyson has made a striking adaptation of this idea in his account of the coming of Arthur, apparently desiring to introduce the logical complement to

boat bearing its burden from a transcendental other-world. And it is all one whether this power be unseen, as in the Sceaf myth and *Perceval le Gallois*, or romantically visualized as a beautiful swan, in the legend of the Low Countries. Konrad writes:¹⁵

. ein wizer swan
flouc uf dēm wazzer dort hēr dan
und nāch im zōch ein schiffelīn
an einer ketene silberin.

So indeed Venus Aphrodite was pictured by the ancients as drawn by swans in her passage from Olympus to the habitations of earth.

Within the ship "a knight lay . . . all armed . . . and had set his shield at his head." Konrad narrates that:¹⁶

ein ritter in dēm schiffe slief,
dēr hēte sich dar in geleit . . .
dēr helt ūz sīme schilte
gemachet hēt ein küssīn
uf dēm sō lac daz houbet sīn
durch ruowe dā besunder.

As has already been established,¹⁷ this sleep in which the newly arriving knight finds himself is but a symbol of death or the transcendental world from which he is come. In still another the well-known story of the passing of Arthur. In *The Coming of Arthur* we read:

Beheld, so high upon the dreary deeps
It seem'd in heaven, a ship, the shape thereof
A dragon wing'd, and all from stem to stern
Bright with a shining people on the deck,
And gone as soon as seen . . .
And down the wave and in the flame was borne
A naked babe . . .

Also in *Guinevere*:

For there was no man knew from whence he came;
But after tempest, when the long wave broke
All down the thundering shores of Bude and Bos,
There came a day as still as heaven, and then
They found a naked child upon the sands
Of dark Tintagil by the Cornish sea;
And that was Arthur.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Cf. W. Müller, *Germania*, vol. 1; P. S. Barto, *Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus*, p. 64 f.

account we read indeed:¹⁸ "Hie furet ein swan ein schiffelin uber mer zu kunic artus hofe und einen *toten* ritter drinne." We are told of Scaef that "he was discovered by the people asleep with his head resting upon a sheaf of wheat."¹⁹ To this day it is still customary in certain German localities to lay on the coffin of the dead a tiny *Weizengarbe* or sheaf of wheat, as a symbol of the place to which the departed has returned. The fact that the sleep of the knight in the *Perceval le Gallois* symbolizes this transcendental origin and that the picture is a borrowing from the ancient Germanic myth finds added confirmation from the circumstance that "at the head of his bed had he two tall twisted links of wax in two candlesticks of gold, and the like at his feet, and his hands were crossed upon his breast" and that he "lay . . . upon a table of ivory." The knight is here laid out after the fashion of a corpse, although he is but sleeping. In both the *Perceval le Gallois* and the account of the Swan Knight emphasis is laid on the fact that the knight comes all armed²⁰ and particularly on the fact that the knight has his shield at his head. So Konrad:²¹

dër helt ûz sime schilte
gemachet hêt ein küssin.

The identity of the knight in *Perceval le Gallois* is concealed, although, to be sure, we are later told that he is Perceval: " 'Sir,' saith the King, 'who is the knight?' 'Sir, this would he tell you *were he willing*, but of me may you not know it.' " Nor is the identity disclosed until the knight has come and gone. This is a parallel of the Swan Knight legend, where, too, an unknown knight appears and expressly forbids any inquiry as to his name or origin. In *Parzival*:²²

dô sprach er 'frouwe herzogin, . . .
nu hoeret wes i' uch biten wil.
gevråget nimmer wer ich si:
sô mag ich iu belîben bî.
bin ich ziwerr vråge erkorn,
sô habt ir minne an mir verlorn.

¹⁸ H. A. Keller, *Romvart; beitråge zur Kunde mittelalterlicher dichtung aus italienischen Bibliotheken*, Mannheim, 1844, p. 670.

¹⁹ Kemble, *op. cit.* p. iv.

²⁰ "militem armatum," Johannis de Alta Silva, *loc. cit.*

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

²² *Loc. cit.*

In *Lohengrin*:²³

er sprach 'Juncvrouwe, mac iuwer munt
vermiden des des ich iuch wise hie zo stunt,
sô muget ir mich mit freuden haben lange,
Tuot ir des niht, ir vliedet mich.

The *Schwanritter*, furthermore, departs immediately, in some accounts with a magical suddenness, when questioned as to his origin:

Beliben wolde er do niht me,
wan er ilte schiere dan.²⁴

In *Parzival*:²⁵

daz in ir vrâge dan vertreip . . .
nu brâht im aber sîn friunt der swan
ein kleine gefüege seitiez.

Abel's *Chronik*:²⁶ "So fro also se dusse Worde sede, da vorloss se one uth dem Bedde, dat se nicht en wuste, wur dat he bleff." In the *Perceval le Gallois* the same idea of impending recognition and consequent departure seems to lie, for we read that the king recognizes the shield which Perceval carries, and that the brachet is overjoyed at seeing him, and that the knight forthwith departs, despite the importunities of the king and the queen that he remain. "The King seeth that he beareth the red shield with the white hart whereof he had heard tell. The brachet that was in the hall heareth the knight. He cometh racing toward him and leapeth about his legs and maketh great joy of him. And the knight playeth with him, then taketh the shield that hung on the column, and hangeth the other there, and cometh back toward the door of the hall. 'Lady', saith the King, 'Pray the knight that he go not so hastily!' 'Sir,' saith the knight, 'No leisure have I to abide.'" In both accounts, therefore, the knight comes and goes unrecognized.

As the knight in *Perceval le Gallois* leaves behind his shield, so in the *Schwanritter* story *Lohengrin*:²⁷

. dâ liez
ein swert, ein horn, ein vingerlîn.

²³ Ed. Rückert, ll. 2268-71.

²⁴ Konrad von Würzburg, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁷ *Parzival*, *loc. cit.*

The knight of whom the story is here told is Perceval, not Lohengrin, but it is still a knight of the grail who comes in this strange way—another evidence of Germanic origin, since Wolfram is the first one to connect *Grail* and *Schwanritter*. In *Lohengrin* we are told:²⁸

. hoch ein gebirge lit
in der innern Indlâ, daz ist niht wîr.
den grâl mit al den helden ez besliuzet
die Artûs prâht mit im dar.

And one the Minnesinger:²⁹

Wa kam hin Parcivale,
ris' Sigenot unt der wild' man?
Sic kerte (n) ze dem Grale,
der tot hat si erstichen . . .
man vûnde noch wol Parcival
und alle herren in dem Gral.

The *Wartburgkrieg* pictures Arthur as living a transcendental life in a hollow mountain, with his heroes of the Round Table, and adds:³⁰

Artûs hât kempfen ûz gesant,
sît er von diser welte schiet, in Kristen lant.

Abel's *Chronik* states that "Helias (the Swan Knight) sy gekomen uthe dem Berghe, dar Venus in den Grale iss."³¹

The solitary helmsman in the *Perceval le Gallois* would seem to correspond in part to the swan of the Germanic tale and is no doubt the same as *der treue Eckart* of the Tannhäuser legend, and Othinn of the Norse. In the Edda we read of the boatman and his skiff awaiting the dead body of Sigmund's son,³² and of the golden ship in which Odin carries those fallen in battle from Bravalla to Valhall.³³ As the swan skillfully guides the little boat to the landing, serving all the journey through as the pilot, so the old man in the *Perceval le Gallois* is the sole guide and guard of the sleeping Perceval.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, lines 7141-45.

²⁹ von der Hagen, *Minnesinger*, vol. III, pp. 376, 150, 151.

³⁰ Ed. Simrock, stanza 89.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² Cf. Grimm, *Mythologie*, 4th ed., Vol. II, p. 693.

³³ Grimm, *loc. cit.*

Perceval le Gallois contains another important passage which is likewise a patent borrowing from the same source as the one earlier cited. "Perceval heard one day a bell sound loud and high without the manor toward the sea. He came to the windows of the hall and saw the ship come with the white sail and the Red Cross thereon, and within were the fairest folk that ever he might behold, and they were all robed in such manner as though they would sing mass. When the ship was anchored under the hall they went to pray in the most holy chapel. . . . The ship wherein Perceval was drew far away, and a Voice that issued from the manor as she departed commended them to God and to His sweet Mother. Josephus recordeth us that Perceval departed in such wise, nor never thereafter did no earthly man know what became of him, nor doth history speak of him more."³⁴ What we have here is again simply the departure of the *Sceaf-Schwanritter* hero. Sceaf's departure is thus described:³⁵ "At the appointed time he died . . . and then his comrades bore him out to the shore of the sea. . . . There upon the beach stood the ring-prowed ship . . . ready to set out. . . . They laid down their dear prince . . . furnished . . . not less with mighty wealth than he had been by those who in the beginning had sent him forth. . . . Men know not in sooth to say . . . who received the freight." So Arthur, in a later account, is said to have been carried off to the paradisial Avalon in a boat filled with beautiful women, and of the Swan Knight it is told us repeatedly that after the asking of the fatal question he was borne away in the same boat in which he had come, and was never seen nor heard of more.³⁶

. Nû quam mit ile
 Uf einem schif sin vriunt der swan . . .
 hin mit dem swan sus vuor der Antschouvine.

As the final point of striking similarity between the *Perceval le Gallois* account and the legend of the Knight of the Swan from the grail paradise must be mentioned the reference to the bell which sounded "loud and high without the manor toward

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, Branch XXXV, Title XXVII.

³⁵ Kemble, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

³⁶ Maynardier, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, p. 57; *Lohengrin*, lines 7220-21, 7230.

the sea." This mysterious bell is a frequent symbol of the transcendental grail paradise, being the means whereby the heroes of that spot are called to and from the place. It is the bell of the *Gralburg*, the bell which the knights of the grail in *Parzival* hear ringing far off on Munsalvaesche. So in the *Wariburgkrieg*.³⁷

Hört, wie die selben botschaft eine glocke
 Wol über tüsent raste warp
 dá von ein höher grêve sit in kampfê starp . . .
 Hört, wie es umbe die glocke stât; Artûses klingsaere,
 die muosten lân ir kûnste schal
 die selbe glocke in allen durch ôren hal.

And Perceval, the great knight of the grail, is, like the rest who are said to have their abode in the grail paradise, summoned thither by this strange messenger, first introduced into the literature of the grail by Wolfram von Eschenbach.

In view of the points of striking similarity between the passages cited from the *Perceval le Gallois* and the myth of the Swan Knight and that of Scaef, as well as in view of the fact that the French romance is so late in the form in which we know it, whereas notable literary monuments of Germanic origin, dating even back of the lost manuscript on which the later romance is said to be based, contain the legend, we are forced to conclude that in an attempt to furnish what might be termed an eclectic version of the grail romance the author of *Perceval le Gallois* has not been averse to borrowing from the abundant storehouse of Germanic mythology one of its most beautiful gems.

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³⁷ *Op. cit.*, stanza 91.

STAGE AND PLAYERS IN EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY AMERICA

The popular impression of the early American colonists is that they were solemn, straight-laced intolerants, whose strenuous life of pioneering and piety left little time and less inclination for profane relaxations. If such were a true impression, the American theatre would have been forced to postpone its birth until well after the Revolution; but the fact that play-acting was practiced in various colonies south of New England almost from the beginning of the eighteenth century is evidence that our forbears were human persons with an entire willingness to be amused and diverted, even by an institution which their puritanic brethren assured them was an agency of the Evil One. True it is that these puritans made relentless warfare against the stage until the end of the century. But such antagonism may have done as much good as harm, since it tended to rally the pleasure-seekers more staunchly to the support of the theatre.

Some semblance of professional acting was offered in America as early as 1703 by an English soldier of fortune, and during the first half of the century several sporadic attempts were made. Of the methods and equipment employed we know almost nothing. But we learn that there was sometimes trouble with badly memorized parts. The questionable quality of the acting is further suggested by the fact that the best known of these early companies in 1751 advertised a benefit for an actor who had just got out of prison, and another for an actress to enable her to buy off her time, she no doubt being a poor immigrant who had sold herself for a limited period, as the custom was, to meet the expense of the voyage.¹ From such evidence we may conclude that the early Thespians were adventurers rather than trained artists.

But 1752 marks the inauguration of more dignified drama in America. In that year William Hallam, a bankrupt London manager, sent a band of a dozen players under the charge of his brother Lewis to these shores in an effort to retrieve

¹ G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre*, Philadelphia, 1888, Vol. I, p. 10. J. N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, New York, 1866, Vol. I, p. 8.

his fortunes. With their first performance on September 15, 1752, at Williamsburg, Virginia, the continuous history of the American theatre begins.

The company brought with it, according to Charles Durang's *History of the Philadelphia Stage*,² the theatrical property from Hallam's London theatre, which included a good wardrobe. But the costumes were in the main contemporary, and the scenery, while better than it would otherwise have been, was very meagre judged by present standards, the same set doing duty for various plays. That the equipment was slight is apparent from the fact that nine years later the scenery and costumes of the company were valued at only \$1,000.³

At first the function of the orchestra was entrusted to a lone harpsichord. Before long this department had grown to perhaps a half dozen musicians, but probably some of these were "gentlemen performers," who contributed their services for pleasure.⁴

Obviously the drawing power of the theatre depended almost wholly upon the actors. A detailed description of their manner of acting would be interesting in the extreme, but the records are not illuminating on that point. Dunlap, the first chronicler of our theatre, merely says that the company was "good and efficient."⁵ If it was otherwise, it was not for lack of great models on the English stage. Quin, a powerful representative of the old, ponderous, declamatory school, had just left the boards, while the rising genius was Garrick, the founder of a new school of natural acting, which numbered also Barry and Peg Woffington among its distinguished exponents. To which school the Hallam troupe belonged, it would be difficult to say with certainty, but we may assume that they followed the older tradition, for a prominent member was described as a heavy speaker of much propriety, and the youngest of the group developed into an actor of the declamatory type.⁶

² Chapter I. This work appeared serially in *The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* between 1854 and 1860.

³ Ireland, Vol. I, p. 32.

⁴ O. G. Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*, 1915, p. 23.

⁵ William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, New York, 1832, p. 4.

⁶ Durang, Chapter II.

The conditions under which this pioneer band worked must have been often a sad handicap to the effective interpretation of Shakespeare and Farquhar and Addison. In their itinerary during the first few years, they found not over three or four theatres built expressly for dramatic purposes, and these were small, ill-equipped, and of course dimly lighted. In less fortunate towns the players utilized an empty store, an upper room, or perhaps the court-house, sometimes dispensing with scenery altogether.⁷ Owing to the smallness of the company, one actor was occasionally compelled to take two parts in the same play. Furthermore the scanty numbers frequently made appropriate casting impossible; Mrs. Hallam once played Juliet to her son Lewis's Romeo.⁸

Nor were their handicaps entirely those of equipment. The audience itself was wont to make playing a hardship. The beaux insisted on the ancient privilege, exercised since Elizabethan days by their honorable confraternity, of sitting on the stage. Behind the scenes these gentlemen mingled freely with the performers, and no doubt even on the stage ogled the actresses shamelessly. Indeed, according to one chronicler, an actress, having finished a speech, did not hesitate to chat with a gallant until her next cue.⁹ The opposite portion of the audience, the gallery gods, likewise were given to thrusting themselves unpleasantly upon the notice of the players by the immemorial practice of throwing eggs.¹⁰

When one considers that, in addition to such annoyances, the actors were regarded as moral pariahs in nearly all communities, and had the legal status of vagrants, one can realize that any efforts they made at worthy acting must have been prompted by love of the art.

Some notion of the scenery and stage effects employed before the Revolution may be gained from three American plays composed in this period. *The Prince of Parthia*, written in 1759 by Thomas Godfrey, and acted eight years later, contains a few brief scene descriptions, such as "The Palace" or "A Prison," and the ensuing dialogue and action have but

⁷ Seilhamer, Vol. I, p. 124.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 137 and Ireland, Vol. I, p. 37.

⁹ John Esten Cooke, *The Virginia Comedians*, Chapter X.

¹⁰ Seilhamer, Vol. I, p. 135.

little to do with the location. From this one gathers that the sets were simple, consisting chiefly of a back scene suggesting a palace or what not, and equally usable in any other play requiring a similar background. The stage, it appears, was allied to the Elizabethan in that it was regarded as a platform, only vaguely localized, from which the characters could speak.

The Conquest of Canada by George Cockings, printed in 1766 and acted in 1773, contains a scene (Act III, Scene 2) which reveals the poverty of the colonial theatre in the matter of mechanics. The nocturnal expedition of the French fire-ships against the British fleet is to be depicted. The stage is darkened; a ship appears—no doubt on rollers. Men with speaking trumpets behind the scenes roar orders and bawl incoherently, while others on the boat run fore and aft, making a great clatter of oars. Twice a light appears, to indicate the approach of fire-ships, which, we are informed by the shouters, are successfully staved off. A direction in the middle of Scene 2 of Act IV further illustrates this point of simple stage effects. The curtain falls, and for some moments the discharge of artillery and other sounds of battle are heard. Then the curtain rises upon the dead and wounded, and thus is obviated the necessity of enacting the conflict.

At the end of the dark scene just mentioned, there is a significant direction: "Scene closes; Lights descend." The problem of producing dim-stage effects when candles were the sole means of illumination was met in various ways; but here we have what looks to be a simple solution of the difficulty. If the present writer interprets this hint aright, the mode of operation in this instance was as follows: In preparation for the dark scene, the overhead lights, consisting of hoops of candles were raised by some device into the upper region above the stage; then when the scene ended the lights were lowered to their proper place. Whether our early theatres were equipped with footlights is a matter of doubt. The above direction ignores them, and in fact some authorities maintain that they were not introduced on the English stage until about 1765. If there were footlights at this time, they were probably operated by the apparatus which we know to have been in use toward the end of the century, when the lamps were placed in a long tin trough capable of being lowered beneath the level of the

stage by means of counterweights.¹¹ With the whole auditorium lighted (albeit dimly) by candles, which obviously could not be extinguished until the audience had departed, a completely dark stage would be impossible, but the devices above described would be sufficient to produce a creditable gloom that might be considered to represent darkness.

Another bit of evidence as to stage mechanics is found in *The Conquest of Canada* at the end of Scene I of Act V. The French are retreating. "As they run across the stage, scene draws and discovers a larger view of the Heights of Abraham," on which spot the action is continued. The same artifice is employed in *The Disappointment; or, the Force of Credulity*, an indecorous comedy written in 1767 by "Andrew Barton" (Col. Thomas Forrest?). The play, to be sure, was never acted, but it was put in rehearsal only to be withdrawn four days before its performance, owing to personal allusions which it contained. In the middle of Act II, Scene 4, the location being "A Room in Moll Placket's House," an amorous couple propose retiring to the bed-chamber; whereupon we encounter this direction: "As they walk towards the upper part of the stage, a scene opens, and discovers a bed, table, and two bottles on it, with a broken glass over one, and a candle stuck in the other." Both these directions suggest that a sort of outer and inner stage division was observed at times. During the first part of the scene a pair of flats, representing in one case the French camp and in the other the wall of a room, shut off the rear of the stage; at the proper moment the flats were drawn apart, disclosing the appropriate setting for the remainder of the scene. All of which, if our conjecture be correct, is strikingly reminiscent of Elizabethan technique.

During the last few years of the colonial period, the American company, as it was now called, stood on a plane considerably superior to that of the original band. The leading actor was Lewis Hallam the Younger, described by a contemporary as a pleasing performer, remarkable for his ease. He was competent in both tragedy and comedy, though in the latter his declamation was mouthing and rant. But he excelled in comedy, and while his manner was formal and prim like his

¹¹ W. J. Lawrence, "Early American Playgoing," *The Theatre*, December, 1916.

costumes, he surpassed all competitors in numerous rôles as long as he remained on the stage, and gave the fullest satisfaction to his audiences.¹² The second man in the company was John Henry, who joined the ranks in 1767. He was uncommonly handsome and developed into a player who was hardly outdone until the last decade of the century. Mrs. Douglass (formerly Mrs. Hallam) was the leading actress. She was a woman of striking beauty and elegance, who is said to have been esteemed in England before coming to these shores.¹³ Ann Storer was a young and beautiful player, talented in singing as well as acting. She did both comedy and tragedy with spirit and propriety, and was a great favorite with the public. The company as a whole possessed much animation and glee.

In the matter of equipment there had been some advance. What was described as a most excellent set of scenes, done by the principal scene-painter of Covent Garden, was purchased, and special scenery was occasionally obtained and advertised as an attraction. The dresses were pronounced elegant, but of course little attempt was yet made at historical accuracy.¹⁴

When the break with England became imminent, Congress recommended that horse-racing, gaming, cock-fighting and play-acting be discouraged. Accordingly the American Company departed for the West Indies to await more peaceful times. The hiatus was partially filled by the English soldiers, who established military theatres in Boston, Philadelphia and New York during the period of their occupation. At Boston, Burgoyne was master of the revels. At Philadelphia, John André was scene-painter. In this department he did meritorious work, but his acting was indifferent. At New York the soldiers improved at least one branch, the orchestra, which they expanded to fourteen instruments. In general their scenery was reported to be wretched and their costumes sumptuous.¹⁵

The latter point is borne out by an examination of the receipt book of the New York "Theatre Royal",¹⁶ in which

¹² Seilhamer, Vol. I, pp. 202-3n.; Durang, Chapter XII.

¹³ Durang, Chapter II.

¹⁴ Sonneck, p. 33; Seilhamer, Vol. I, p. 279n.

¹⁵ Dunlap, p. 54.

¹⁶ To be found in the library of the New York Historical Society.

such items as the following appear: "Recd . . . nine pounds in full for Sundry Millinery for Cupids dress for the Theatre." (Apparently the Cupid of the colonies was a heavier dresser than the Cupid of the classics.) "Recd . . . nine pound fifteen shillings 3d/ in full account for Ribbands, Gloves, &c. for the Theatre." "Recd . . . thirty seven pounds six shillings 8d/ on account for Wigs &c., and attendance on the Theatre." Two weeks later nearly seventeen pounds more was paid out for "Wigs &c." Four pounds was expended for ten masks; a pair of earrings cost one pound, seventeen shillings, four pence; a feather came to the same figure; and every two or three weeks sums ranging from nine to twenty-nine pounds were paid for dresses.

Generally the female parts in these exhibitions were taken by men, but in New York at least, women frequently assisted, the queen of the footlights being the mistress of one of the officers.

Even before peace was declared the sock and buskin were donned by an upstart company, partly professional and partly amateur, which began operations in Baltimore. Probably their standard of acting was not high; nor did the audiences always lend serious encouragement to the performers, judging from a prologue of the period which comments on the habits prevalent among the "bucks" of drinking, tossing oranges and talking noisily.¹⁷

When the Old American Company returned from the West Indies, it was opposed on moral and patriotic grounds; however an opening was finally effected about 1785. The company was not large, but it had some able players, to whose ranks the leading recruit was Thomas Wignell, a comedian from England. His humor was luxuriant, but it was that of a comedy-actor and not of a buffoon. He was praised by the critics for confining himself to the lines of the dramatist; for in those days the comedians were prone to overlook Hamlet's injunction: "And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them."

The managers, it appears, found it wise to encourage rising talent outside the theatre, because in this way an actor might be procured at more moderate terms than if he were hired from

¹⁷ Seilhamer, Vol. II, p. 61.

England. Occasionally we encounter an announcement to the effect that George Barnwell or perhaps Desdemona will be played by a young gentleman or a young lady of the city, this being the performer's first appearance on any stage. It would be difficult to imagine Mr. Belasco advertising that the leading rôle in one of his current plays would be taken for a few nights by a green amateur, but such an arrangement was once considered no detriment to the receipts.

The scarcity of actors is further attested by the appearance now and then of the Old American Company's tailor as a player of small parts. Still better evidence is the necessity one of the minor strolling companies was under of casting women in male rôles. We read that Mrs. Bradshaw represented Sir Walter Raleigh in *The Earl of Essex*, that Miss Kenna played Carlos in *Isabella*, and that Mrs. Kenna impersonated Patrick in *The Poor Soldier*.¹⁸

But in spite of insufficient resources and of moral opposition, the theatre prospered so that the managers ere long felt justified in augmenting their forces with experienced players from England. In 1792 Wignell withdrew from the Old American Company to form an independent organization at Philadelphia, made up largely of new actors from across the Atlantic—and a complete and able body they seem to have been. This rivalry forced Hallam and Henry to bestir themselves to the extent of bringing over eight Britishers, chief among whom were John Hodgkinson and his wife.

Hodgkinson was strongly built and in his make-up appeared handsome; he possessed unbounded animal spirits and an astonishing memory. Equally capable in comic, tragic and singing parts, he soon became the favorite of the public and was chiefly relied on to fill the house. His admirers dubbed him "the provincial Garrick" and "the American Kemble," all agreeing that he surpassed anyone yet seen in this country. Durang sings his praises in these superlatives: "It is conceded, by all faithful accounts of this great stage genius, that he combined more versatility of first rate power than ever fell to any mortal of the profession. . . . The history of the stage does not offer to our contemplation (not excepting Garrick), so

¹⁸ Durang, Chapters XII and XVI; Seilhamer, Vol. II, p. 310.

various a histrion, endowed with so much equal excellence, as Hodgkinson."¹⁹ But he had his detractors, who probably told the truth when they declared that his tragic style was ranting and turgid, and that he was expert at tearing a passion to tatters; Washington Irving, in his *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* (1802), ingeniously satirized his breast-slapping, his grinning, his blinking, his skipping, jumping and general showiness, faults which no doubt arose from the exuberance of his temperament.

Hodgkinson's great popularity naturally gained him several disciples among his co-workers, with the result that the prevailing style of acting at this time, at least in the New York theatre, was more or less theatrical and unrestrained.

Mrs. Hodgkinson was almost as valuable as her husband. Though opera was her forte, she was excellent in brisk comedy as well as in tragedy. "In Ophelia," says Dunlap (page 100), "she was touching in a powerful degree, as her singing gave her advantages in this character which tragic actresses do not usually possess." She was capable of adapting herself admirably to any rôle she took, from the dignity of tragic heroines to the archness and girlish simplicity of juvenile parts. In a rôle of sharp contrasts, however, she experienced difficulty in shifting her key to meet sudden changes of emotion.²⁰

The most famous name on the roster of American actors during the last years of the eighteenth century is that of Joseph Jefferson, who came to these shores as a very young man about 1796. He was no doubt the most gifted and artistic comedy-actor of his generation. His mobile face was capable of exciting mirth by the power of feature alone.

In 1796 two other players of genuine merit established themselves here. One was Mrs. Robert Merry, said to be the most perfect artist yet seen in our theatre. Though without great pretensions to beauty, she possessed a highly expressive countenance, fine clear articulation and a sweetness of voice that charmed her hearers. Her manner was entirely devoid of rant, and she read with complete ease and freedom as well as critical correctness. Ireland (Vol. I, p. 155) as late as 1866 asserted that with the exception of Mrs. Duff and Fanny

¹⁹ *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, Chapter XVII.

²⁰ *Commercial Advertiser*, New York, Jan. 29, 1800.

Kemble every tragic actress America had yet beheld would suffer in comparison with Mrs. Merry.

The second actor was Thomas A. Cooper. His handsome face, noble person, fine mellow voice, the unusual dignity of his manner and grace of his action, and his eloquent declamation made him for thirty years one of the paramount favorites of the public. In tragedy he was unrivaled.

The above discussion of some of the principal actors during the last decade of the century may serve to indicate that the art had long since outgrown the amateur period and had become dignified and thoroughly effective. The companies being of the stock nature, there was not complete opportunity for division of labor, since the average player must be able to take a tragic or a comic part as well as to sing passably in the then popular ballad-operas. Of course an actor-of-all-work could not be a specialist in each department. But there were specialists, such as Jefferson and Cooper, and each player had his particular forte, which was respected so far as possible. Thus one actor made a feature of comic old men, another of serious fathers, a third of romantic heroes; one actress was excellent in old women, another in young girls, etc. Moreover the various rôles became in a manner the property of those actors who had shown their ability to handle them. This allowed special study, but it also had its disadvantage, for it was no uncommon thing to see an elderly man playing the youthful character assigned him years before, or a woman of distinct maturity and embonpoint essaying the part of a coy damsel.

Plays were sometimes curiously miscast. When Miller's *Mahomet* was given at New York in 1795, the part of the father was taken by a new actor much younger than his children, Hodgkinson and Mrs. Melmoth. The former was five feet ten and corpulent; the latter was the largest and most matronly figure on the stage. Fennell, six feet six, played Romeo to the Juliet of Mrs. Marshall, who barely measured five feet. Twaits, five feet one, tried to play Prince Hal in *Henry IV*, much to the disgust of the critics.²¹

But on the whole the performances were well balanced. Each actor was retained because of his proved ability in one or

²¹ *New York Magazine*; or, *Literary Repository*, Jan., 1795; W. B. Wood, *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 96; Dunlap, p. 346.

several lines. The comparative evenness of the result may be gauged by the salaries, which ranged from about thirty to ten dollars a week. This scale contrasts sharply with that of the subsequent starring system, under which the company consisted of one or two highly-paid and very popular players and a dozen or so nonentities who worked for a pittance. Durang declares that at the close of the eighteenth century there were a half-dozen leading ladies in the Philadelphia theatre, while at the time in which he wrote (about 1854) there was only one. This large and well trained personnel produced a variety and quality of acting that caused the writer to look back on this period as a golden age in the American theatre.²²

The companies included not only the speaking performers, but also a few walking ladies and gentlemen, perhaps a pair of dancers for pantomimes or pauses in the program, and an acrobat to display his dexterity on the tight-rope or in some other edifying manner.

The programs presented by these versatile troupes always consisted of at least two parts: a drama and an afterpiece; and often several extra numbers were added. A typical bill of the more elaborate sort is the following:

1. A tragedy, *Bunker Hill*.
2. "The Song of the Hobbies."
3. A comic song.
4. A one-act piece, *New Hay at the Old Market*.
5. A eulogy of the New York Volunteers.
6. A Grand Pantomimical Ball, *The Siege of Quebec, or the Death of General Wolfe*.

The evening's entertainment began with the appearance of the orchestra from beneath the stage—in these later years composed of perhaps twenty respectable musicians, led by a conductor of some note. After two or three selections, a bell was rung by the prompter and up came the footlights. Another bell and the curtain ascended. As a rule the rising of the curtain at the opening of each act disclosed an empty stage, upon which certain of the characters immediately entered engaged in conversation. The end of an act was indicated, in some houses at least, by the lowering of an act-drop. But there is no reason to

²² *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, Chapters XVI and XXXV.

believe that a curtain was lowered at the shifts of scene within the act. When a change of setting was called for, the stage hands laid down grooves or tracks which met in the middle of the stage. On these, scenes composed of painted flats were pushed out in halves. If a change of the few properties used was necessary, or if a candle required snuffing, an attendant came on in full view of the audience and made the needed adjustments. The great majority of scenes ended with the withdrawal of all the actors so that the stage might be left clear for the shift. In those cases in which an exit was impossible, the flats were pushed out down-stage so as to cut off the actor from the spectators. Often the intervals between the acts were filled with songs or orchestral numbers. Seemingly there were no curtain calls, but as the play closed the actors acknowledged the audience by "polite bows."²³

There was an easy informality about the performances that is unknown to-day. The companies frequently gave as many as seventy dramas a season with about as many afterpieces. This prodigious total made it improbable that the actors would be letter-perfect. The prompter's voice was frequently heard in the land and apparently was accepted by the audience as a matter of course unless it tended to drown out the players. Cooper, with all his powers, was often a sorry offender in this regard, whether from a poor memory or from lack of study. On one occasion he completely forgot his lines in the most pathetic part of Dunlap's tragedy *André*, whereupon, according to the distressed author of the piece, the actor "after repeating 'Oh, André!—oh, André!' . . . approached the unfortunate André, who in vain waited for *his* cue, and falling in a burst of sorrow on his neck, cried, loud enough to be heard at the side scene, 'Oh, Andre!—damn the prompter!—Oh André! What's next, Hodgkinson,' and sunk in unutterable sorrow on the breast of his overwhelmed friend."²⁴ At another time as Ford in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Cooper read the entire scene with Falstaff, placing the written part on the table at which they were seated. His misreadings of Shakespeare sometimes caused a titter through the audience.

²³ William Dunlap, *Memoirs of a Water Drinker*, New York, 1837, Vol. I, p. 76; Durang, Chapters XVIII and XIX; *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle*; stage directions in American plays of the period.

²⁴ Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, p. 223.

It is said that a female singer never pretended to learn the words of a song, but wrote the first words of each line in the palm of her glove.²⁵

Informal also was the method of substituting in an emergency: When one actor was suddenly indisposed another went on and read the part from the open book, with what effect on the illusion one may well imagine. Apparently the understudy had not yet been invented.²⁶

An intimacy between actors and audience prevailed in those times impossible in our day of the picture-frame stage and the banished "aside." For this the construction of the interiors was partly responsible. In the Chestnut Street Theatre of Philadelphia (1794), of which we have an engraving, for instance, the stage projected beyond the curtain ten or fifteen feet and ran past the first section of boxes.²⁷ No doubt this part of the platform was much used by the players, and this of course would bring them into close contact with a portion of the spectators. Perhaps it was in a measure a result of this arrangement that the actors played more directly to the onlookers, not giving the latter reason to think they were overlooked. For example, when Hodgkinson made his first appearance in America he was greeted with loud applause, which he acknowledged by going to the footlights and making a very low bow, holding up the play the while.²⁸

Moreover the program was frequently interrupted by the interpolation of very personal features unannounced in the bills of the day. One evening in 1793 Hodgkinson arrived late. One or two hissed. The actor in a haughty manner demanded the reason and proceeded to tell a long tale of a drunkard who had insulted Mrs. Hodgkinson in the street, for which he had received a beating from the valiant husband.

Shortly thereafter Hodgkinson assumed a rôle that required the wearing of an English uniform. The French in the house hissed. Hodgkinson, always ready to make an address, explained that his part was that of a coward and bully. Immediately the English arose and threatened vengeance.

²⁵ Wood, p. 76.

²⁶ Dunlap, p. 95.

²⁷ See Sonneck opposite p. 113.

²⁸ Durang, Chapter XVII.

The ever-ready hiss was once directed at Mrs. Henry by a single man. She stopped the play, asked in what she had offended and left the stage; but her friends recalled her. There followed a spirited discussion in the papers as to whether or not an audience had the right to hiss.

Apparently the decision was in favor of the hissers, for when not long afterwards Vaughan came on the stage drunk, he was met with vigorous hisses. Clenching his fist, the Thespian cried: "Damn you, ye blackguards, I wish I had you here—I'd soon settle you."

But the most extraordinary passage-at-arms occurred in 1797. Mrs. Hallam had developed the lamentable habit of inebriety, which sometimes rendered her irresponsible when before the public. Consequently Hodgkinson, now one of the partners, forced her to withdraw from the theatre. But the Hallams, having resolved to reinstate her, one night scattered their supporters through the house, and when Hodgkinson came on he was astounded to hear a chorus of hisses. Mrs. Hallam then entered, dressed in black. Loud plaudits greeted her, while clubs were brandished at the speechless Hodgkinson. At this point Hallam, also dressed in black, stalked in and requested that his wife be given a hearing. She thereupon read a statement of her grievances and retired. Both men now tried to speak, but Hodgkinson prevailed. After silencing Hallam and quelling the rioters, he continued the play amid constant applause.²⁹ Such family quarrels on the stage are almost inconceivable to us, but seemingly our ancestors went to the theatre prepared to enjoy anything.

At times the play was interrupted by more corporeal missiles than hisses. In 1798 the New York manager advertised a reward of fifty dollars for information leading to the prosecution of those who for some nights past had made a practice of throwing at the orchestra and actors.³⁰

With such obstacles to meet, the art of the theatre might excusably have been somewhat ragged now and again.

²⁹ My authorities for the five above episodes are respectively: Dunlap, p. 107; *ibid.*, p. 111; Seilhamer, Vol. II, p. 334; *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 3; Dunlap, p. 165.

³⁰ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 30, 1798.

On this early stage of ours Shakespeare held a much more distinguished place than he does to-day, and there is no reason to doubt that in general he was adequately presented. But some of the customs and devices then in vogue appear to us unusual and perhaps ineffective. For instance, *The Tempest*, given as adapted by Dryden, introduced a "grand Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, drawn in a Shell Chariot by Sea Horses." (One would like to have seen the latter creatures.) A dance of foresters was advertised to occur in Act V of *As You Like It*; apparently these figures served much the same function as the chorus of modern comic-opera. The fifth act of *Romeo and Juliet* was amplified by an elaborately decorated funeral procession of Juliet to the tomb of the Capulets, accompanied by a solemn dirge. In *Henry VIII* stress was placed on "the Grand Coronation of Anne Bullen, with the mode and manner of delivering the usual challenge given by the Champion of England, on Horseback"—the challenge being an addition to Shakespeare. The horse on the small stage of the time must have seemed somewhat out of proportion.³¹

Other Shakespearean practices impress us as incongruous. The hero's triumphal entry in *Coriolanus* was attended by a chorus singing "See the Conquering Hero Comes." Shylock was sometimes acted by a comedian as a humorous part, and was provided with a shaggy red beard and an enormous hooked nose of wax. *Macbeth* was grotesquely mistreated. The witches were played by low comedians, who looked like old, tattered beggar women. Even ridiculous grimaces and gestures were added, which the critics were loud in condemning. These arbiters further objected that in the banquet scene, while Macbeth in a frenzy addressed the ghost of Banquo, the guests quietly and unconcernedly went on with the repast, munching apples, smirking and drinking healths. Another curious sight, more in keeping with Elizabethan methods than with our own, was witnessed in Act III when, according to the advertisements, "the little Spirit descends for, and ascends with Hecate, in a grand aerial car."³²

³¹ The four items of this paragraph are taken from *American Minerva*, New York, April 11, 1796; *ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1797; *ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1797; *Commercial Advertiser*, May 13, 1799.

³² References for these five points are as follows: *Commercial Advertiser*, June 3, 1799; Wood, p. 96; *New York Magazine*, Jan., 1795; *Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 28, 1799; *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1800.

In the costuming of Shakespeare's plays other incongruities resulted. Little attempt at appropriate or historically accurate dressing was made in the eighteenth century, even in England, and our theatres were still more careless. Before Cooper, Hamlet was equipped with neckcloth and wig like a contemporary gentleman. John Henry played Othello in the uniform of a British officer, with black face and woolly hair. Duncan in *Macbeth* wore kilt and plaid, with half boots and black breeches, looking, according to Washington Irving, "half king, half cobbler." Probably Macbeth himself followed Garrick's custom of dressing in gold-laced, scarlet breeches, gray coat and bob-wig, which established, so it was said, a close resemblance between the actor and "the Lord Mayor's coachman."³³

Such inappropriate costumes were not confined to Shakespeare. The usual dress of the actresses was of the hoop-skirt fashion of the period. So wide were the hoops of Mrs. Henry, who always arrayed herself at home and ceremoniously rolled up to the theatre in a crazy looking carriage, that her husband had to slide her out of the vehicle sidewise and carry her in his arms to the stage-door.³⁴ Undoubtedly the actresses in heroic parts imitated the convention of their British sisters of wearing conspicuous plumes of feathers in their hair. Sometimes there was a swing to classic garb, which was as blandly misused as any other. When Burk's *Female Patriotism* was brought out in 1798, Joan of Arc marched at the head of the French army "habited in the Grecian dress and armed *Cap a pè*, like the figure of Minerva."³⁵

Indeed the ill-dressing at the New York theatre during the closing years of the century was notorious. The allowance made by the manager for costumes was only fifteen dollars a week, and although the actors were required to furnish a part of their equipment, they naturally would economize on this item. A new play was not always provided with new dresses, but from the apparel on hand it might be fitted out in all varieties of period without regard to propriety. In 1802 Jonathan

³³ The four references are as follows: Dunlap, p. 61; *ibid.*, p. 81; *Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle*; Percy Fitzgerald, *A New History of the English Stage*, London, 1882, Vol. II, p. 155.

³⁴ Wood, p. 25.

³⁵ *Commercial Advertiser*, April 28, 1798.

Oldstyle asserted that "while one actor is strutting about the stage in the cuirass and helmet of Alexander, another, dressed up in gold-laced coat and bagwig, with a *chapeau de bras* under his arm, is taking snuff in a fashion of one or two centuries back, and perhaps a third figures in Suwarrow boots, in the true style of modern buckism."

Durang (Chapter XXXI) says that at this time the Philadelphia theatre possessed a large wardrobe, containing some fine silk dresses, and that it was capable of equipping any comedy in the English language. In addition the actors were given a small costume allowance. But though the dresses may have been rich, they were equally lacking in historical congruity.

The theatre-goers of those days, uneducated by musical comedies and Winter Gardens, took indignant exception to abbreviated female apparel. Mrs. Marshall was censured for wearing a dress which was "before midleg high and displeasing alike to males and females." To be sure, actresses sometimes played male parts, such as Fidele in *Cymbeline*, in distinctly and unbecomingly masculine attire, but a skirt that missed the floor was not to be tolerated. When Mrs. Byrne attempted to do some graceful dances at Philadelphia in a skirt unwieldy in length and bulk for a dancer but shorter than street dress, she met the most violent disapproval. After withdrawing for a few nights she reappeared with the addition of pantalettes tied at the ankle, but this apology failed to appease the prudes.³⁶

Perhaps the most significant advance of the post-Revolutionary stage was in the matter of scenery and effects. In the preceding epoch this department was still in its rudimentary state. But after the war the progress was continuous.

When the Old American Company reestablished itself after the conflict it began making a considerable feature of pantomimes, and since in these the element of acting was slight, the stress was put on machinery.

Spectacles and processions were also elaborately got up. In 1786 the John Street Theatre, New York, offered as a part of Lee's *Alexander the Great*, a "Triumphal entry of Alexander into Babylon, with a display of Armorial Trophies, Spoils, Ensigns,

³⁶ The two references are: Seilhamer, Vol. III, p. 191; Wood, p. 69.

&c, descriptive of his conquest." The procession closed with a "Grand Triumphal Car after the manner of the ancient Macedonians." The next year saw the delightful novelty of a "Grand DANCE of SHEPHERDS, COWS, SHEEP, GOATS, TREES, &c, &c." A few seasons later the papers announced a "Grand Procession of knights of the different orders of chivalry, shepherds and shepherdesses of Arcadia, Cymon and Sylvia in a Triumphal Car."³⁷

Of the numerous examples of such a nature, the most impressive was a pageant in *Coriolanus*, staged in 1799:

"In act 2d, a Grand TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

The order of the procession as follows:

Two Boys bearing Incense,
An Officer with a Roman Eagle,
Eight Senators, Four Trumpets,
Two Boys bearing Incense,
Four Priests with Torches,
Two Officers,
Six Lictors with Fasces,
Two Officers with Standards,
Six Soldiers bearing a Bier laden with Spoils.

A CHOIR consisting of

Four Boys, Six Virgins,
Four Priests with Torches, Six Lictors with Fasces.
*Senators—Soldiers—Standard Bearers—Fifes—Drums—
Trumpets—Priests, &c, &c.*

A CAPTIVE GENERAL IN CHAINS.

Volumnia, Virgilia, Valeria.

Six Virgins strewing Flowers, before a *Triumphal Car*,
bearing CORIOLANUS, drawn by

TWO WHITE HORSES,

Accompanied with a full band of Instrumental Music,
and a Grand Chorus,

"See the Conquering Hero Comes."³⁸

In scenery and stage mechanics the tendency was toward realism, and realism of an increasingly elaborate kind. In 1788 a John Street program ended with "a view of the Battery in New York, and the vessels passing and saluting." A few days later an entertainment was advertised to conclude with "an attack upon a Spanish Fort by the Algerine fleet; the arrival of

³⁷ The three references are: *Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1786; *ibid.*, May 14, 1787; *ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1789.

³⁸ *Commercial Advertiser*, June 3, 1799.

the fleet of Spain, and a general engagement, in which the Algerines are totally defeated by fireships, bombs from the Fort, and blowing up their vessels.³⁹ As these examples indicate, marine scenery became very popular; "grand sea engagements" were repeated again and again.

That a considerable effort at pictorial accuracy was being made is clearly indicated by the announcement in 1789 of a pantomime, *Robinson Crusoe*, with new scenery and machinery, "the former (save a view of the *Falls of Passaick*) taken from Capt. Cook's Voyages to Otaheite, New Zealand, &c."⁴⁰

But these scenic attempts must have suffered from the smallness of the stages in America. The first stage of commodious proportions was that in the Chestnut Street Theatre of Philadelphia, erected in 1794. It was thirty-six feet wide and about seventy-one feet deep.⁴¹

The scene-painter for the new house was Charles Milbourne, an English artist of ability, who was brought over in 1792. He decorated the new stage in a manner far surpassing anything yet known in this country; contemporaries pronounced the result "both beautiful and sublime."⁴² The New York Theatre had obtained in 1793 Charles Ciceri, a scenic artist of experience in Paris and London. In large measure by the work of these two men, who appear to have been the first expert scene-painters America had possessed, from about 1794 scenery became more and more elaborate and rich.

Realism continued to be the general note of the decorations; the newspapers frequently announced scenery consisting of such views as Mount Vernon, the Arch Street Wharf at Philadelphia, the Boston State House, Beacon Hill, and even the launching of the Constitution with boats passing on the water.⁴³

The most complete description we have of eighteenth century stage mechanics has to do with Burk's *Bunker Hill*, given first at Boston in 1797 and afterwards presented at various cities. While the methods are cruder than the best employed

³⁹ *Daily Advertiser*, New York, May 5 and 10, 1788.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1789.

⁴¹ Durang, Chapter XIX.

⁴² Sonneck, p. 114.

⁴³ Seilhamer, Vol. III, p. 342; *American Minerva*, New York, May 21, 1796; Durang, Chapter XXIV.

at New York and Philadelphia, yet the explanation is unquestionably typical of many exhibitions. This complicated attempt at verisimilitude, which met the vociferous approval of thousands, was thus detailed by Burk in a letter to the John Street manager:

“The hill is raised gradually by boards extended from the stage to a bench. Three men should walk abreast on it, and the side where the English march up, should for the most part be turned toward the wings; on our hill there was room for eighteen or twenty men, and they were concealed by a board painted mud colour, and having two cannon painted on it—which board was three feet and a half high. The English marched in two divisions from one extremity of the stage, where they ranged, after coming from the wings, when they come to the foot of the hill. The Americans fire—the English fire—six or seven of your men should be taught to fall—the fire should be frequent for some minutes. The English retire to the front of the stage—second line of English advance from the wing near the hill—firing commences—they are again beaten back—windows on the stage should be open to let out the smoak. All the English make the attack and mount the hill. After a brisk fire, the Americans leave works and meet them. Here is room for effect, if the scuffle be nicely managed. Sometimes the English falling back, sometimes the Americans—two or three Englishmen rolling down the hill. A square piece about nine feet high and five wide, having some houses and a meeting-house painted on fire, with flame and smoak issuing from it, should be raised two feet distance from the horizon scene at the back of your stage, the windows and doors cut out for transparencies—in a word, it should have the appearance of a town on fire. We had painted smoak suspended—it is raised at the back wing, and is intended to represent Charlestown, and is on a line with the hill, and where it is lowest. The fire should be played skilfully behind this burning town, and the smoak to evaporate. When the curtain rises in the fifth, the appearance of the whole is good—Charlestown on fire, the breastwork of wood, the Americans appearing over the works and the muzzles of their guns, the English and the American music, the attack of the hill, the falling of the English troops, Warren’s half descending the hill and animating the Americans, the smoak and confusion, all

together produce an effect scarce credible. We had a scene of State-street—if you had one it would not be amiss—we used it instead of the scene of Boston Neck—it appears to me you need not be particular, but the hill and Charlestown on fire. We had English uniforms for men and officers. You can procure the coats of some company at New-York which dresses in red. Small cannon should be fired during the battle, which continued with us for twelve or fifteen minutes. I am thus prolix that you may find the less difficulty in getting it up—it is not expensive, and will always be a valuable stock piece. I should not wonder if every person in New-York, and some miles round it, should go to see it represented.”⁴⁴

In 1798 the Park Theatre in New York was opened to supplant the old and cramped John Street house. The new stage was large in comparison with others then known. The scenery was declared to exceed everything that had preceded it. The ample stage gave room for displays of a more extensive nature than had been possible hitherto. One of the early exhibitions prepared for the Park included a distant view of Belgrade, the burning of the camp, and a representation of the fortifications, on which an attack was made by storm with red hot balls. Another play of 1799 had a scene depicting the explosion of a volcano; and the evening’s bill, which numbered among its attractions the ascent of Harlequin amid a tremendous shower of fire, ended with a “Grand Display of Chinese fire-works.” Unusually ambitious was a spectacle of the same season in *The Shipwreck*: “Rocky Sea-Coast, on the English Channel—Sea in a violent Storm—A Ship appears tossing on the Waves, and is dash’d to pieces on the Rocks.”⁴⁵ A comparison of this description with the dark-stage naval scene in *The Conquest of Canada* convincingly reveals the advance the thirty-three intervening years had brought about.

Philadelphia was not outdone by her northern rival. In 1798 *Daranzel* called forth a “Grand Spectacle, Representing the battle of two Persian Armies—The storming of the King’s citadel—by the *Explosion* of a MINE—And the destruction of the whole PERSIAN FLEET, In the Bay of Ormus, by the

⁴⁴ Dunlap, p. 162.

⁴⁵ The three references are: *Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 23, 1799; *ibid.*, May 15, 1799; *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1799.

Cannon of the captured Fortress."⁴⁶ Colman's *Blue Beard* was seen in 1799. Durang (Chapter XXXI) says it was "produced in a style of scenic splendor and richness of costume never before equalled in this country, and, perhaps, with very few exceptions not surpassed since."

One of the most remarkable achievements of our period (though it actually occurred on the ninth day of the new century) was the "grand heroic spectacle" of *The Siege of Oxydrace*, a Philadelphia venture. An antique battering ram was to be seen in full use. Alexander and his officers scaled the enemy walls by clambering over a bridge formed by the shields of their followers. Reaching the wall, they threw rope ladders over the coping of the turrets and jumped into the city, fighting at every step. Then Alexander appeared on a bridge at the back of the stage, battling against overwhelming numbers, receiving their darts in his shield and plucking them out. Real horses in full armor were an original feature, and eighty marines were borrowed from the Navy Yard to execute the troop movements.⁴⁷

We see, then, from the inception of the American stage a steady movement toward spectacular but realistic scenic effects, the motive of the producers apparently being to arouse the the beholder's wonder by the splendor and also the lifelikeness of the display. As important a development was this as any in our early theatre. It issued in some astonishing results in the first years of the nineteenth century, but it may be said to have reached its culmination in the first years of the twentieth.

The conclusion is indisputable that in the last decade of the eighteenth century the American theatre was far from being a primitive institution. Its stages were adequate, its scenery was elaborate and tasteful, its better actors were trained artists, some of whom must still be named among the most distinguished players of our country. If a modern theatre-goer detects certain absurdities and incongruities in the staging of this bygone era, he should not assume that a contemporary spectator would have been similarly impressed. Theatrical illusion is largely a matter of growing accustomed to the prevailing method—witness the Greek theatre and the Chinese. To our

⁴⁶ *Russell's Commercial Gazette*, Philadelphia, April 12, 1798.

⁴⁷ Durang, Chapter XXXIV.

ancestors the methods and devices then in vogue were no doubt as satisfactory and convincing (barring interruptions and accidents) as those of to-day are to us. In the candle-lighted age as in the electric-lighted a sincerely and artistically acted drama would move its audience with sympathetic laughter or with pity and terror; and the admirers of the Hodgkinsons or of Cooper were no more disturbingly conscious of the artificial theatre about them than are the admirers of the Barrymores or of Mrs. Fiske.

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THE GODDESS NATURE IN EARLY PERIODS

No general study has been made of the goddess or allegorical figure Nature. Yet an examination into its origin and its development is of much significance to those interested in many diverse aspects of modern literature. To the philosopher it presents a notable case of the influence of Plato, even to the nineteenth century. It throws a strong light on the application of ethical principles to moral practices in classic times and in the Middle Ages, as well as later. The deistic doctrine that Nature is good had a far-reaching effect on life in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth. To those interested in the treatment and the appreciation of Nature in literature and art, a survey offers a substantial background. To those who would trace the history of literary forms and genres, it presents a figure conspicuous in allegory. To the various critics who hold important the hypotheses and opinions of Hooker, Hobbes, Cudworth, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Mill, Huxley, and Spencer, or of Rousseau, Wordsworth, Shelley, Goethe, Emerson, Thoreau, Tennyson, and Arnold, a knowledge of the earlier position of the figure Nature should be of no little value.

The present study¹ is an introduction to the problem. It shows the origin of the figure among the Greeks and representative conceptions of it among the Hellenes and the Romans. It then traces the history with the chief Latin writers up to the Renaissance. But the employment of Nature in the vernaculars of the Middle Ages and the literature of modern times can be treated only in other papers.

I

The personification Nature is so familiar to-day that a definition of it is unnecessary. Sufficient explanations are accessible in the large dictionaries. Nevertheless I should point out that the Greek word for nature is *φύσις*, signifying growth; the Latin, *natura*.

The conception that *Physis* represented, arose long before its actual personification in literature or theological deifications under the specific name. It was gradually defined by the pre-

¹ It is based on a portion of a doctoral dissertation, *Natura as an Allegorical Figure*, presented at Harvard University, 1918.

Socratic philosophers.² The general idea existed in the myths of the poets. The work of the philosophers, therefore, was a critical reaction against mythology. Their tendency was to contract the theory of the universe to something that appeared more certain than an attribution of events to benevolent or malevolent gods. The principle of causation was their resultant hypothesis. They dropped the personal element, and confined the cause of phenomena to a few material elements such as water, earth, air, and fire, or even to water alone. These causative elements were not always so obviously material as is earth, for some of the thinkers believed that they could avoid difficulties in their theories by naming as the causes of things principles more abstract than earth, namely, change or rest or mind. In the last they approached a shift in point of view. Whereas their other explanations faced toward the cause, without considering to what end the cause led, that explanation wherein mind appeared entailed the notion of a plan or design in the universe and led to the finding of a purposive attitude in it, similar to a common state of the human mind.³

The time had come for a reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory attitudes of the myth-makers and the scientists. Such in part was the contribution of Plato. His views on this problem came down to the Middle Ages most directly in the Chalcidius translation and commentary on the fragment of the *Timaeus*.⁴ If Plato's conceptions of Nature are not quite the most important ethically, they are the most important in the tradition of Natura as an allegorical figure. They dominated the philosophic Latin poets of the twelfth century, and hence

² Cf. the valuable monograph, "Περὶ φύσεως, A Study of the Conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics," W. A. Heidel, *Proceedings of the Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLV, no. 4, pp. 73-133. Heidel cites Hippocrates and others. See H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin, 1913, for related passages: Epicharmos, I, p. 121; Heraclitus, I, p. 101; quotation, Arist. *de mundo*, 5.396b7 (p. 79); Parmenides, pp. 149, 160-2; Empedocles, pp. 229-39, 248-50, 256-7, 270.—An excellent work for consultation on the history of philosophy is *History of Medieval Philosophy*, M. de Wolf., trans. P. Coffey, New York, 1909.

³ Cf. Aristotle's account in *Metaphysica*, A 3-10.

⁴ Cf. *Platonis Timaeus Interprete Chalcidio cum ejusdem commentario*, ed. J. Wrobel, Leipsic, 1876; *The Timaeus of Plato*, R. D. Archer-Hind, London, 1888, with a good introduction.

influenced celebrated works in French, such as the *Roman de la Rose*, in Italian, such as Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto*, and in English, such as poems by Chaucer, his contemporaries, and his successors.

Because of Plato's position, therefore, I shall outline his obscure and somewhat inconsistent theory of the universe. The world about us shows evidence of a colossal plan; hence there must have been a designer. The architect was God, who, that he might bring order into the universe, conceived in image of himself the immaterial world-soul (34-5), τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννοον (30b). To us it is apparent through its body of corporeal material, which physically embodies the divine idea and is composed of the four elements. The functions of the great animal are the motions of the heavens, which envisage time, the image of eternity. The celestial bodies are gods, to whom God has assigned the task of making the imperfect man from the elements, as He himself had made them. In sum, there are four divisions in Plato's cosmological theory:

- I. A God creative and employing agencies to perform his plan.
- II. Agents performing the details of His plan.
- III. An obscure, pre-orderly universe out of which order came.
- IV. Man, one product of God's agents.

A similar division occurred with Aristotle. Matter,⁵ which is Plato's pre-orderly universe, is an indeterminate potentiality of order. When acted upon, it becomes form; that is, it is determinate and individualized; it may appear as man. It takes shape of actuality under the operation of an agent, the efficient cause. Its development is directed toward the final cause, the great design or the source of the design, God, who is neither form nor matter.

To each of these four divisions—primal matter, form, the efficient causal agent, and God the final cause, the one word *physis* may be applied. If we take a pantheistic view, and regard the four divisions as limitations in the way of regarding the pantheos, we may call the whole *physis*. On the other hand, we may approach the attitudes of Plato and Aristotle, and consider the aspects as actually separate entities. But the diversity in the meaning of *Physis*, or Nature, indicates how the word may signify a personification, an agent, a passive

⁵ Cf. *Metaphys.*, Z 3 ff., H 1-3, D22, A1-4.

recipient of action, a divinity.⁶ We have the idea of *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*.

The successors to Plato and Aristotle often treated eclectically the theories of their masters. Thus the Peripatetic school moved toward naturalism, to a denial of final cause and to a representing of God as the principle of growth in the universe. The Epicureans held the world to be one which appeals to the senses, which was made by the motion of atoms, and which was the object of no final purpose or divine interference. Even the soul was corporeal. The Stoics, in contrast, though considering the universe to be wholly corporeal, believed it to be a great unit having a two-fold aspect of action. These correspond to *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*. Since the development of matter is fixed, the Stoic ethical doctrine is a cosmic determinism. Nevertheless they believed that man should live in accord with the laws of Nature. In fact Roman law held that there is a natural law of goodness to which people should conform.

⁶ Aristotle's definitions are in *Metaphys.* D 4; cf. A6-10. Here he influenced the later Middle Ages, as Albert the Great. Other notable sets of definitions occurred in *Liber de Persona et Duabus Naturis*, formerly attributed to Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, R. Peiper, Lipsiae, 1871—*Contra Etytychen et Nestorium*, cap. I; *Isidori . . . Etymologiarum*, W. M. Lindsay, Oxonii, 1911, XI, i; the spurious *Liber de definitionibus* of Athanasius, Migne, *Patrologica Graeca*, XXVIII; Anastatius, Migne, *P. G.* LXXXIX, *Viae Dux*, cols. 55, 57; Rhaban Maur, *De Universo*, Migne, *P. Latina*, CXI, Lib. VI, col. 137; Alanus de Insulis, Migne, *P. L.*, CCX, *Liber in Distinctionibus Dictionum Theologicalium*, col. 871; also, *Sermo de Spiritu Sancto*, col. 221D; cf. *Contra Haereticos*, I, xl, col. 345D; (see M. Baumgartner, *Die Philosophie des Alanus de Insulis*, Münster, 1896); Hugo de St. Victor, Migne CLXXVI, *De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, III, lix (col. 119); Migne CLXXVII, *Erudition didasculi*, I, xi (cols. 748-9); Albert the Great (1206-1280), *Opera omnia*, A. Borgnet, Parisiis, IV, 1890, paraphrases of Aristotle, *Physica*, II, i-iii, VIII, i, 8; *De Generatione et Corruptione*, II, iii, 6; cf. *Alberts des Grossen Verhältnis zu Plato*, P. L. Gaul, Münster, 1913, pp. 63-73, 92-96; his pupil Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, ed. prepared for Leo XIII, 12 vols., Rome, 1882-1903; *Scriptores*, G. Estii, 2 vols., Parisiis, 1838,—*Summa Theologiae*, I, ii, 10, 1c; *Script. in 4 lbr. a Sententiarum Magis. P. Lombardi*, II, 37, 1c; *Quaest. Disputae de Veritate*, 22, 5c; again, *Script.* III, 5, 1, 2c; *Summa Theol.* III, 2, 1c; *Liber Dionysii De Divinibus Nominibus*, 4, 21 (cf., however, *Sum. Theol.*, *Quaest.* XIII, xiii, art. 8); *S.T.*, I, *Quaest.* XLIV, art. 3, and cf. *Quaest.* XLV; G. Boccaccio, *Ἐπι γενεαλογίας θεῶν*, Basileae, 1802, pp. 2, 3, 4. There is little in Vincent of Beauvais: Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Naturale*, 2 vols., Strassburg, Johann Mentellin?, 1473, II, xviii.

In two other schools, the four-fold Platonic division of the aspects and labors was more clearly maintained,—that of Philo the Jew,⁷ who lived at the beginning of the Christian era, and that influenced by him and associated with Plotinus, a Neo-Platonist of the third century. Both were products of the Alexandrian civilization. To Philo God was perfect, but matter was imperfect. He acted on the world through the agency of emanating forces. The primary force was Logos, which was the Wisdom of God, even if not God himself. Philo is significant not only for his doctrine but for his allegorical method, and for the reason that he affected the early Christian writers. The school of Neo-Platonism also influenced the Fathers, as in the works of Plotinus⁸ and of Dionysius the Areopagite,⁹ who was once thought to be an authentic, speculative disciple of the Apostle Paul and whose *Divine Names* was familiar to medieval philosophers. The four-fold division of their philosophy appeared as a God remote and emanating though a descending scale of agent forces (in Dionysius, the famous angels' hierarchy) and through matter to the sensible world and individuals. The Intelligence, or World-soul, arose from God knowing self; from Intelligence came ideas; when it contemplated ideas, the sensible world in turn arose, and the particular souls. At the same time it made matter, and by combining matter with souls made corporeal beings.

Such is the encyclopedic and philosophical basis for Nature during the Greek and Latin period. I now turn to other aspects of her in the Greek time, such as the literary, artistic, and religious representations. One of the earliest employments of Physis as a figure of personal qualities was in a Hellenic bas-relief, Archelaos' *Apotheosis of Homer* (ca. 150 B.C.).¹⁰ Physis is a child among mature figures like Zeus, Homer, Apollo, Chronos, Sophia, Mneme, and others. In literature occurred

⁷ *Philonis Alexandrini Opera*, L. Cohn, P. Wendland, S. Reiter, Berolini, 1896-1915, 6 vols.; cf. *Philo-Judaeus*, J. Drummond, London, 1888.

⁸ *Enneades*, R. Volkman, Lipsiae, 1883-4.

⁹ Migne, P. G., III.

¹⁰ Now in the British Museum. Cf. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen u. römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 3266; article on Archelaos, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, A. Baumeister, München und Leipzig, I, 1885; *Gazette archéologique*, 1887, S. Reinach, pp. 132-7.

a number of interesting epigrams,¹¹ several of which apply to the celebrated Cow of the statuary Myron, wherein Techne (Art) and Physis vied. Equally representative of the use of Physis is the tenth Orphic hymn,¹² which strings together many epithets of the goddess mother of all. A combination of literary decoration and religious mysticism appeared in the allegorical epic, *Dionysiaca* (ca. 400 A.D.) by Nonnus of Panopolis.¹³

II

Meanwhile the Romans had made use of the figure, *Natura*. For the present study, the significance of their philosophy is not originality, but its function as a vehicle for Greek methods and thought. My treatment of the philosophers will therefore be brief, with a view to indicating merely typical opinions of leading schools.

Seneca supported the Stoic doctrine. From his writings may be pieced together his explanation of *Natura* so as to give the two phases, the physical and the moral. The principal passage¹⁴ finds that the terms universe, Jupiter, *Natura*, Fate,

¹¹ *Anthologica Graeca* (Palatine), F. Jacobs, 4 vols., Leipsic, 1813-7, II, 9.738, 793, etc.; *Anthologia Planudéa*, nos. 116, 302, 373; cf. *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, F. Dübner, II, Paris, 1872. Cf. *The Greek Anthology*, W. R. Paton, London and New York, 1916, I, pp. 10, 328.

¹² *Orphica*, ed. E. Abel, Lipsiae, 1885.

¹³ *Nonnus Panopolitanus*, ed. A. Ludwich, 2 vols., Lipsiae, 1909; *Les Dionysiaques*, de Marcellus, Paris, 1856. The passages are II, 650 ff., XLI, 51 ff., 97 ff. See Preisendanz, *Philologus*, LXVII, pp. 474-5, on Georgios Pisides (640), *Hexaemeron*, V., 257 ff., and on a reference to Leo Sternbach, *Wien. Stud.* 13; Pis. IV, 64. Preisendanz adds citations in supplementing M. Gothein, "der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid," *Archivf. Rel. wiss.*, IX, pp. 337 ff. He refers to C. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London, Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Wien* (Phil.-Hist. Classe 36) 1888, V. 2831 ff. 2917 ff. 3231; also Wessely's *Neue griechische Papyri* (D. A. W. W., 42, 1893) V. 519; G. Parthey, *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums*, Berlin, 1866, I, 310. Other citations to add are: Philodemus (Epicurean ca. 58 B.C.), *Herkulanische Studien*, vol. 2, I, p. 79, T. Gomperz, Leipsic, 1866; Artemidorus (time of Hadrian), *Onirocriticon*, R. Hercher, Leipsic, 1864, Lib. I, 6, 34; II, 39; III, 41; *Papyri Graeci e Latini* (Pub. d. Soc. Ital. per la Ricerca d. Papyri G. e L. in Egitto) Firenze, 1912-, 41.10, 21; 157.39; 236.32; 252.27.

¹⁴ *L. A. Senecae Naturales Quaestiones*, A. Gercke, Lipsiae, 1907, II, 45; *De Beneficiis*, C. Hosius, 2d ed., Lipsiae, 1914, IV, vii. 1; cf. V, viii, 5, 6; *N.Q.* III, 27.2; 30.1.

Providence, are interchangeable. Natura's law in the physical world is paralleled in the moral world; hence man, who only of creatures can do wrong, should live according to Nature.¹⁵ Natura perforce is good, and the law of conduct requires us to abide by her injunctions. Despite teachings of the initial or early depravity of man, the doctrine has survived to the present day. It was approved even by some of the Christian Fathers, though they were inclined to emphasize the fall in the Garden of Eden. It appeared frequently in the Middle Ages and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The disposition of the Academic Cicero was eclectic, but he stood nearest to the Stoics. His service lay chiefly in his exposition of the different schools of philosophy. He pointed out the educative functions of the benignant Natura.¹⁶

Such a dogma was opposed by the Epicurean Lucretius. Natura was by no means perfect in results. He found little evidence of a plan in the universe.¹⁷

The Elder Pliny in his *Natural History*¹⁸ stood between the Stoic and the Epicurean views. Natura, as with our modern Huxley, is sometimes benevolent, sometimes malevolent. Moreover, she indicates the subtlest intelligence. Though man tries occasionally to rival her, he can not succeed and attempts unwisely what no other creature would.

Meanwhile the writings of the Christians began to appear. They did not in general employ the figure of Nature in their speculations. I shall, therefore, speak of but a few of the men of influence. It was barely employed by Tertullian, Basil the Great, Chrysostom, and Augustine. In Ambrose's *Hexameron*, an encyclopedic commentary on Scripture, the references

¹⁵ "Secundum naturam vivere." See *Epist. Morales*, O. Hense, Lipsiae, 1898, V.4; XLI, 9, and so on; *Dialogi*, E. Hermes, Lipsiae, 1905, "De Otio," v. 1; "De Ira," I, iii ff.; *Epist.* LXVI, 32 ff. Cf. Juvenal, XIV, 321.

¹⁶ *De Natura Deorum*, J. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1883, vol. II, xxxiv. Many passages personify Natura. For her and Fortune in C. and Lucretius, see W. W. Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, London, 1914, pp. 47 ff., 73-4.

¹⁷ *De Rerum Natura*, W. A. Merrill, New York, 1907, II, 167 ff., V, 181 ff., I, 1021 ff. Cf. I, 6 ff., 328; III, 931 ff., V, 1361 ff. Merrill, p. 575, narrows the personification too closely. L. is like the Pre-Socratics.

¹⁸ C. Mayhoff, Leipsic, 5 vols. 1897-1906, VII, 1; I, 316; II, 1, 5; XI, 1-3; XVII, 14, 26; XVIII, 60-8; XIX, 20; XXII, 56; end of XXXVII.

indicate that she is against evil.¹⁹ In other writers, however, appeared objections to the attitude that God is Natura or Logos, terms which were used as equivalent by Philo and many philosophers. Most vigorous opposition to the equation came from the author of the *Clementines*, or *Recognitions*, attributed to Clement of Rome, and from Lactantius. The former insisted that God be not confused with either Nature or Reason.²⁰ A similar position was held by Lactantius in *The Divine Institutes*.²¹

Though these men were unusual theologians, they were hardly great philosophers. Later a great philosopher did appear, but his influence was confined mostly to his own time. This was John the Scot, or Erigena, who lived in the time of Charles the Bald. Though he translated into Latin Dionysius' noted work, he drew up his own system in *De Divisione Naturae, περι φύσεως μερισμοῦ*.²² It is an attempt to reconcile philosophy and theology, but the attitude is primarily philosophic. It shows the four Platonic divisions:

- I. Natura uncreated and creating—God the unknowable Father
- II. Natura created and creating—God the Son, the Logos, knowing self
- III. Natura created and uncreating—Being realized in time, through the Holy Spirit
- IV. Natura uncreated and uncreating—God the ultimate term of the universe (Aristotle's final cause)

One may discern in detail the creative God and His agents, a group of elements, and man.

Over two hundred years later, the Platonic cosmology again became prominent partly because of Abelard (1079-1142)²³

¹⁹ Migne, *P.L.*, XIV, cols. 171A, 206C, 215C, 220A, 236C, 252A.

²⁰ Migne, *P.G.*, I, col. 1388 B-C, or Bk. VIII, ch. 34, p. 174, *The Antenicene Fathers*, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Buffalo, 1887-96, VIII.

²¹ Migne, *P.L.*, VI, 436 B-C, 437A, 441A; or *A-N.F.*, work cited, VII, pp. 97-9. Cf. Migne, 740C, 741A-B, 742A, or *A-N.F.*, p. 196.—I shall not here show how the doctrines of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* reflect under other names than Natura the four-fold division of Plato.

²² Migne, CXXII, cols. 439 ff.

²³ Cf. *P.A. Opera*, V, Cousin, Parisiis, II, 1859, *Theologica Christiana*, i. pp. 379-89; *Introductio ad Theologiam*, pp. 32-40, 48; also *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, V, Cousin, Paris, 1836, *Dialectica*, pp. 475-6.

and particularly because of the famous school at Chartres. William of Conches (died 1154) and Gilbert de la Porrée (1070-1154) were humanistic Platonists who had studied under the great teacher Bernard of Chartres (died about 1130) and who were interested in cosmology. Their master, the chief of the school, was far more important than they were or was his younger brother Thierry of Chartres.²⁴ Bernard's relation to Plato appears from the account by a pupil, John of Salisbury, in his celebrated *Metalogicus*. With him, God was the supreme, eternal reality. Ideas were the prototypes or forms present to Him, the infinite Intelligence. When combined with that matter which He had made out of the primal matter, they composed the world of sense about us. Somehow there had been once a chaotic mass, *materia primordialis*. Natura Bernard personified after the Platonic conception of a world-soul, including within it inferior beings like man. Thus again came the four-fold division,—God, agents, primal matter, and man. The philosophic material was ready for the great allegorical impulse of the twelfth century. Bernardus Silvester of Tours, who studied at the school of Chartres, was about to turn humanism, encyclopedism, and philosophy into prose and verse after the manner of Boethius.²⁵

III

By the time of Seneca and Pliny, Natura had become a common personification to adorn literature. An important case is Statius's²⁶ use of it in epic, because thus the poet presumably stimulated the writers of the Middle Ages. On one occasion, Pietas addresses Natura; on another, Capaneus' wife apostrophizes her. A peculiarity of Statius was the frequency with which he said that Natura adapted the ground for military operations or other purposes, for instance, in the famous descrip-

²⁴ See A. Clerval, *Les Écoles des Chartres au Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 1895, pp. 248-61.

²⁵ For those who prefer to continue at once with Bernardus Silvester, the intervening section (III) on earlier literary treatment in Latin is not absolutely necessary. The discussion is resumed in section IV.

²⁶ *P.P. Stati Thebais*, H. W. Garrod, Oxonii, 1906; II, 501; VII, 447; VIII, 330; X, 88; XI, 466, 607; XII, 561, 645. Cf. *P.P. Stati Silvae*, A. Klotz, Lipsiae, 1911, I, 2.156, 271; 3.17; 6.58; II, 1.34, 83; 2. 15, 52; 4.17; III, 4.76; IV, 3.135; V, 3.71; 5.22.

tion of the house of Somnus. But perhaps the chief employment was in the exaggerative passage in which the poet wrote that Natura had never before given such strength and courage to so small a man.²⁷ Specimens of this type had appeared among the Greeks, but here we have a direct impetus to the Old French and other medieval writers who exalted the beauty of women.

In the same tradition followed the notable contemporary of Nonnus of Panopolis, Claudianus,²⁸ who like Nonnus had an Alexandrian training. Besides employing Natura in the simplest personifications, Claudianus endowed her with more of the attributes familiar to us in the plastic conceptions of the Greeks regarding their divinities. Natura of course gave her physical or mental presents to her creatures. She was associated with some of the interests of love. In two passages, she appeared as an agent of Zeus. Both tell us something of her surroundings as well as her relation to the rest of the universe and especially to the Olympic pantheon. According to the *Gigantomachia*,²⁹ Terra, out of jealousy at the position of her sons the Titans, plotted against the gods of Olympus. In return Jupiter summoned the other divinities to plan against her efforts. Then Natura opposed Terra, and feared lest her master Jupiter fare the worse for the struggle. In the other passage, in *De Raptu Proserpinae*,³⁰ she took part in an emergency. After Pluto had carried off Proserpina, Ceres abandoned her devotion to agriculture and sought for her daughter, with the result that plants and other life for the support of people grew no longer and the world was becoming a waste. Accordingly Natura went to Jupiter, and persuaded him to interfere in the affair between Pluto and Ceres. Claudianus in another passage gave a more definite impression of Natura and of her surroundings. This case, which is in the *Second*

²⁷ *Thebais*, VI, 845-6.

²⁸ *Claudii Claudiani Carmina*, T. Birt, Berolini, 1892 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, A.A., X): *De Bello Pollentino sive Gothico*, 221; 525-6; *In Rufinum*, I, 215 f. II, 156; *Phoenix*, 62 ff.; *Nilus*, 31; *Aponus*, 33 f.; *De Torpedine*, 5-8; *Magnes*, 38-9; *Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, 183; *Panegyry. de Tert. Cons. Hon.*, 106; *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Hon. Augusti*, 323.

²⁹ Birt, work cited, p. 344, ll. 61 ff.

³⁰ Birt, work cited, III, 33 ff. Cf. Guillaume de Machaut's *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* (ca. 1349), *Oeuvres*, ed. E. Hoepfner, Paris, 1903-11, I, pp. 137 ff.

Panegyric on the Consulship of Stilicho, seems to have exercised a strong influence on the writings of Bernardus Silvester and other writers of the twelfth century, such as those of Alanus de Insulis and Jean de Hauteville. I quote a portion:

Est ignota procul nostraeque impervia menti,
 Vix adeunda deis, annorum squalida mater,
 Immensi spelunca aevi, quae tempora vasto
 Suppeditat revocatque sinu. Complectitur antrum,
 Omnia qui placido consumit numine, serpens
 Perpetuumque viret squamis caudamque reductam
 Ore vocat tacito relegens exordia lapsu.
 Vestibuli custos vultu longaeva decoro
 Ante fores Natura sedet, cunctisque volantes
 Dependent membris animae . . . ³¹

To be sure, these details about Natura and her home are vague and meagre, when compared with those of Alanus in *De Planctu Naturae*, but they probably spurred on the satirist of the twelfth century. Moreover, they show the allegorical method which had been used for eight hundred years and was still to triumph in Boethius' *Consolatio* and in the works of the later Middle Ages.

In the early medieval period appeared less important uses of Natura. Thus the answer to a riddle attributed to Aldhelm (about 639-709) is Natura.³² Another instance occurred in a pretty elegy by Alcuin (735-804)³³ on the loss of his nightin-

³¹ *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, II, 424 ff.

³² T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, London, 1872, 2 vols., II, p. 538; cf. incidentally *Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, J. A. Giles, Oxonii, 1844, *Etymologiae*, V, iv, "jus naturale"; VIII, vi, *φύσις* = natura.

I have not attempted to collect all cases in earlier Latin. It is a commonplace. Typical cases are: Horace (see *A Concordance of the Works of Horace*, L. Cooper, Washington, D.C.) *Ser.* I. l. 50, 88, 2.74, 111, 124; 3.36, 113-7 (Reason, not Nature, distinguishes between wrongs); 5.102; *Epist.* I, 10.24; 18, 100. Ovid, *Metam.* I, 21; III, 159; IX, 758; X, 245, 304, 330; XI, 235; XV, 63, 68, 253. C.S.A. Sidonius (ca. 431-489), P. Mohr, Lipsiae, 1895, *Carmina*, I, 1 (Natura placed young Jove above the stars); II, 12, 115; XXII, 223; *Epist.* I, ii, 1, 2, 3; V, vii, 6; VII, xiv, 3. *D.M. Ausonii Mosella*, H. de LaVille de Miromont, Bordeaux, 1889, 11. 384-5; *D.M.A. Opuscula*, R. Peiper, Lipsiae, 1886, De Rosis Nascentibus, p. 411. Boethius, *Cons. Philos.*, work cited, II, prose 2, prose 6; III, meter II.

³³ *Alcuini Carmina* in *Monumenta Ger. Histor., Poetae Latini*, I, E. Dümmler, 1881, no. XLI, pp. 274-5.

gale. The author reproached man for being of the creatures of Natura the least in accord with her.

Centuries later, the collection *Carmina Burana*³⁴ offered examples of the personification often like those in Old French, when Natura gave gifts, taught, flowered, ordered, blessed, judged, created. The longest case, however, was a sensuous song with a cosmological introduction quite in the spirit of the wandering clerk. It has a touch of learning, a play of fancy, knowledge of a woman's contrary qualities, and an Horatian appreciation of humor.³⁵ The poem expressed the obverse of the seriousness of Bernardus Silvester and the morality of Alanus.

Closer to the solemn tradition of Natura, perhaps influenced by the school of Chartres or Alanus and certainly by Claudianus is a passage in Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis*. This portion of the poem shows Natura interested in the career of a great man.

The tenth and last book begins with her grieving over the power and ambition of Alexander. She is discovered at work upon the hyle, forming figures. Then, veiled, she goes to the lower world. The elements yield her a path and rise before their own artificer, and other similar phenomena occur. She directs everything not to exceed bounds. After passing the Vices, she finds in a fiery region for criminal souls Leviathan, mixer of fires of perpetual death. She informs him that Alexander aspires to go to the sources of the Nile and to Paradise, and unless Leviathan shall look out, to Chaos. Straightway he promises aid to the uttermost and calls a council. There he speaks against such an audacious man, fearful lest he come to dominate hell. Proditio (ll. 140 ff.) goes off in his service, to procure Alexander's death by poison.

Thus Gautier, like Alanus and Jean de Hauteville, portrayed Natura as opposed to the excesses of man. He reflected also the literature current on cosmology, as is shown by his history of the world from the state of hyle³⁶ and the reference here.

³⁴ J. A. Schmeller, 3d. ed., Breslau, 1894, pp. 22, 69, 74, 121, 157, 164, 185, 205, 213.

³⁵ Work cited, no. 40, pp. 129 ff.; also in *Early Mysteries*, T. Wright, London, 1838, pp. 111-2. *M.P. Gualtheri ab Insulis di Castellione Alexandreis*, F.A.W. Müldener, Lipsiae, 1863; cf. A. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied* Walthers von Châtillon, Halle, 1905, pp. 89-90; ch. I, he dates poem ca. 1178-82.

³⁶ IV, 180 ff.

The suggestion for the allegorical passage has been a subject for discussion. Ivančić³⁷ thought that the journey was taken from the Alecto-Juno scene in the *Aeneid*, VII, 324 ff. Christensen, however, held that since Gautier knew Lucan, and since Natura only could stop Alexander's terrible career (*Pharsalia*, X, 39), the hint came from the writer on the civil war. The source is probable, but confirmatory influences may surely have been Claudianus and the great literary allegorists of the twelfth century from Bernardus Silvester on. The force of their authority will be apparent from the following sections.³⁸

IV

About 1145-1153 Bernardus Silvester wrote *De Mundi Universitate*,³⁹ a work long in vogue as a text treating in two books respectively the Megacosmos, or world, and the Microcosmos, or man. Here we have for the first time more than an address of Natura to man, more than activity as a creator, more than her brief participation in narrative as a complainant. With other allegorical figures she takes part in a considerable action. I give a brief summary of the plot:

³⁷ Citation by Christensen, pp. 88-9 from J. Ivancic, *Wie hat Walther von Castiglione Vergil nachgeahmt?*, Mitterburg, 1878, p. 11.

³⁸ I have assembled a few of the instances of personification in Latin of this general period. Nearly all the examples in the *Carmina Burana* are cited also in *Über d. poetische Verwertung d. Natur u. ihrer Erscheinungen in d. Vagantliedern u. im deutschen Minnesang*, K. Marold, *Z. f. deut. Philol.*, XXIII, pp. 3-5. See in addition *Beiträge z. Kunde d. lateinischen Literatur d. Mittelalters*, J. Werner, 2d ed., Aarau, 1905: *Versus de Geminis Languentibus*, 137, pp. 56 ff.; *Passio s. Agnetis virginis*, 155, pp. 65 ff., 11.10-11; p. 203. *De Carminibus Latinis*, A. Zingerle, Oeniponti, 1880, 84, p. 118, 11.9-10. *Poésies inédits du moyen âge*, E. duMeril, Paris, 1854, pp. 253, 264, 410; 429-30 (describing Alda's beauty); *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, duMeril, Paris, 1847, pp. 233, 425. *Dicta Catonis*, G. Némethy, Budapestini, 1895, pp. 20, 25, 40. Alexander Neckham, *De Naturis Rerum*, ed. T. Wright, London, 1863, pp. 72, 112, 119, 121, 210; in same vol., his *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, pp. 382, 386, 387, 398, 400, 407, 422, 423, 428, 429, 456, 465, 466, 473, 480, 484, 486, 488, 489, 494, 496, 499. Migne, 171, Hildebert of Tours, *de ornatu mundi*, cols. 1235-8, 119-10; Marbod, col. 1718. F. Petrarch, *Opere Latini*, ed. L. M. Capelli and R. Bessone, Torino, 1904, *Africa*, VII, 530. *P. Abelardi Opera*, work cited, I, 1849, p. 302. *Thomas-Lexikon*, L. Schütz, 2d ed., Paderborn, 1895, pp. 514-5. John of Salisbury, *Opera Omnia*, J. A. Giles, Oxonii, 1848, V, *Entheticus*, 601 ff., 625-6.

³⁹ Ed. C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel, Innsbruck, 1876. Bernardus Silvester should not be confused with Bernard of Chartres.

At the very beginning of the narrative, Natura complains to Nous, the Providence of God, about the confusion of the primal matter with its four formless elements. She desires that a fairer world may exist. Nous approves of the initiative toward order, and proceeds to create the universe by combining the elements. Angels are made, the stars set in the heavens, the winds and living creatures formed, the earth is placed in the midst. Then the poem recites an encyclopedic catalog of the famous mountains, rivers, animals, and plants.

Book II begins with Nous's promise to Natura to make man. Therefore Natura has to seek Urania, queen of the stars, and Physis, who is experienced in all things. Natura, after passing the circles of the heavens, according to the Pythagorean system, comes to the last circle where the aged Pantomorphos presides over all things about to be created. Pantomorphos points out Urania to Natura. Before Natura can declare her errand, Urania prevents her and promises to go with her in search of Physis. Thither they go, bearing the human mind to Physis to give it a body with her aid, and meanwhile permitting it to learn celestial knowledge by its travels. At last they come to a land of paradise, which is suggestive of the garden of Eden, the traditional abode of the first man. There, with her two daughters, they find Physis meditating on the causes of things and the Aristotelian category. Suddenly then Nous appears and the four make man.

The creation of the world and man, Bernardus thus related under the guise of allegory, which represented the philosophical concepts of the Greeks so shaped as to include the brief account in *Genesis*. Likewise he showed the encyclopedic tendency to describe the heavens and the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air in his didactic medieval work, his poetic *Hexaameron*. But the diffusiveness is not wholly to be condemned. For instance, the study of celestial phenomena by the soul as it is borne to Physis' garden is essentially the Platonic doctrine of recollection.

Not only in such a matter does the poem go back to Platonism, but it retains the four-fold division: God removed, His agents, primeval chaos, and man. Nous represents the divine Intelligence, Providence, or conception of an ordered universe; Natura, the principle of life presiding over matter and awaiting the application of order before it proceeds with material processes; Urania, the principle of divinity for finite application to souls; and Physis, the principle of study of cause and effect, exercised in concrete cases.

The remoteness of God, or Tugaton,⁴⁰ the supreme divinity, who radiates light, everlasting and infinite, is symbolically

⁴⁰ II, v, p. 41.

indicated by the distance which Natura traverses to His heavenly mansion. The long description of natural phenomena which fills the account of her journey does but enhance the impression as to the vastness of the universe and the immense space between earth and Him. From him shines the three-fold light of the Trinity commingling forever.

Most closely related to God is Nous, who is defined in several passages and acts in general as director of affairs over Natura, Urania, and Physis. Unlike Natura she is untroubled by space; as the divine mind wishes, it can appear anywhere without lapse of time,—a capacity symbolized by the sudden appearance of Nous when the others are ready to make man. Natura defines her:

“Vitae viventis imago
Prima noys Deus orta Deo substantia veri,
Consilii tenor aeterni, mihi vera Minerva.”⁴¹

In Nous's response to Natura's plea, she defines herself as the science and arbiter of divine will for the definition of things. More symbolically she says that she is God's reason, to whom the first essence gave birth as to another self, not in time, but in eternity.⁴² According to the poet's formal exposition of her, she is the intellect of God in which the images of the living, the eternal ideas, the intelligible world, the cognition of things end as they begin (*prae finita*). It is as if one viewed in a mirror the genera, species, and individuals of the universe produced from the hyle, or primal matter. Therein are the tearful plights of the poor and the fortunes of kings; the force of arms and the happier discipline of philosophers; in short, whatever angelic or human reason comprehends. The process as a whole is a flow and emanation.⁴³

If Nous represents divine thought or providence, Natura stands for the principle which, presiding over matter, is desirous of bringing order out of chaos, of substituting harmony for strife. Nous addresses her as daughter, blessed fecundity of her own womb.⁴⁴ It is Nature's petition that causes Nous to set about the creation of the world by a union of immaterial soul

⁴¹ I, i, p. 7, 4 ff.

⁴² I, ii, p. 9, 6 ff.

⁴³ I, ii, p. 13, 152 ff.

⁴⁴ I, ii, p. 9, 3 ff.

and of matter. On the other hand, the fact that she makes a plea and afterward follows Nous' directions and receives from her a Table of Fate for guidance in her offices demonstrates that she occupies the position of agent or subordinate, here marked by a cordial filial relation. In one respect Natura is the finite in contrast with the infinity of Nous, or that which is bound in time and space as against that which is eternal and unconfined; in another respect, she is organic or organized life in opposition to the primal chaos of matter.

In comparing the Table of Fate with the Mirror of Providence assigned to Urania, we get more light as to the differences among Urania, Natura, and Nous. We should realize that phraseology overlaps where function does not and that a sharp line of demarcation is impossible. Yet the fields of the personified concepts can be distinguished. Though of great size, the Table of Fate is finite; its non-luminous body is of a gross woody material. In it are visible in colors the appearance of all things as in the Mirror; but in it are imaged especially temporal events which are not to be seen in the Mirror. There may be traced the causes whence peace came to the original chaos, the origin of species, and the influence of the heavens. There is every animal, every kind of thing. Hence Natura, the mother of generation, has difficulty in finding man. Concerning him can be discerned the varying fortunes of plebs and monarchs, and all the descent from the Golden Age.⁴⁵ The finiteness of the Table of Fate indicates that though its laws are fixed, something lies beyond it, is superior to it. Since it exhibits the limitations of time and space, it is appropriate to the permanence of natural law and the concreteness of the visible world, and is justly the aid for Natura.

The Mirror of Providence, which defines by contrast the limitations of Natura, is given to Urania. With breadth but without end, its size is more inclusive than that of the Table of Fate. The ideas and examples which exist beyond time have life in it. There are the stars, the life-giving sun, the increase-giving moon, and the genera of all creatures. Accordingly Urania has trouble in finding the image of man.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ II, xi, pp. 57-8, 45 ff.

⁴⁶ II, xi, p. 57, 20 ff.

The celestial bodies, it will be recalled, were in the Platonic system divinities associated as agents with the divine ideas. Consequently, they can be fitly assigned to the region under Urania's control. Her function is to study the divine thoughts, the ideas,—a study comprising in part the offices of theology, philosophy, and celestial science. Since she has charge of the human soul and bears it with her in the journey to Physis, she has control over the spiritual world, and wishes to instruct the soul in celestial relations to the affairs of earth.⁴⁷ Therefore she corresponds somewhat to *Philosophia* in Boethius' *Consolatio*, who instructs man in regard to the differences between Fate and Providence. Yet her association here with Providence precludes her being the equivalent. She is limited by space unlike *Nous*. Moreover, she is not the same as *Philosophia*, who treats from the outside Providence and Fate. Urania however, is most intimate with Providence, and leaves Fate to *Natura*.⁴⁸

Urania and *Natura* are sisters. The former is said by *Nous* to be "sedium mearum adstrictrix."⁴⁹ Pantomorphos calls her "adsistricem indigetemque caeli,"⁵⁰ saying that *Natura* will see her "adsistere sideribus inhiantem reditusque stellarum et anfractus temporarios sub numerum et certas observationis regulas colligentem." Urania herself declares to *Natura* the difficulty she will have in descending from high places.⁵¹

A theological or moral function is given Urania in *Nous*'s discussion of the offices of the three goddesses when they come to the making of the complete man. If the soul is composed from the entelechy and the "edification" of the virtues,⁵² it would seem that *Natura* is more closely associated with the former since it was formed before we hear of Urania. It is the product of *Natura*'s plea to *Nous*. On the other hand, the preparation of the body of man out of matter lies closest to Physis.

⁴⁷ II, iv, p. 39, 31 ff.

⁴⁸ The prayers to the Trinity set off these characters from any precise identification with Boethius' *Philosophia*.

⁴⁹ II, iii, p. 36, 24.

⁵⁰ II, iii, p. 38, 103 ff.

⁵¹ II, iv, p. 39, 15 ff.

⁵² II, xi, p. 56.

Physis⁵³ is nearest to natural science which deals with problems that at the present day concern physics, chemistry, and biology, and which has the attitude of studying cause and effect, as distinguished from purpose. The resemblance to the modern scientist and to the pre-Socratic philosophers is at once apparent. When Natura and Urania arrive at her residence, they find her peacefully meditating on the causes of things and the Aristotelian category of knowledge. She is associated with medical investigations.⁵⁴ Nous gives her the Book of Record, in which are noted the matters of Providence and Fate, not foreseen but at most conjectured on the basis of past experience. Therein are set forth the reason why love is enabled to join diversities; the qualitative distinction of species; and the cause for the different properties and efficacies of vegetables. Amid the many items in the record, Physis finally succeeds in locating man.⁵⁵ Perhaps Physis corresponds to practical science, and Natura and Urania—the latter more closely—correspond to normative science. Her daughters, Theoria and Practica, accord well with the solution I present, despite their derivation from Boethius, who associated them with Philosophia: science combines theory and practice.

From the materials assembled by Urania and Natura, Physis proceeds to make man after the model of the greater world. She places his mind, heart, and liver in conformity with the grander example and endows him with humors and senses. When done, he is both of the earth earthy and of the heaven heavenly.

The detailed discussion above, which supplements the summary of the plot, shows the interest of the allegorical narrative. The ingenious inventions and adaptations of the poet add to the pedagogic palatableness of the information, encyclopedic and philosophic, that the author wished to convey. Small wonder, therefore, that *De Mundi Universitate* was extensively read and studied for a long time and in addition to the more colorful and dramatic narratives of Alanus de Insulis. Chaucer refers to the works of Bernardus as if they were familiar works of learning in his day, over two hundred years later.

⁵³ Compare the old term "physik" for "medicine."

⁵⁴ II, ix, p. 54, 67 ff.

⁵⁵ II, xi, pp. 58-9.

V

Among the minor allegorical devices in *De Mundi Universitate* is the reception of Natura⁵⁶ at the paradise. The shrubs and flowers feel her approach and sympathetically perform their functions of exuding gums and emitting perfumes more profusely than ever,—an appropriate turn to the old method of indicating divine presence. The same phenomenon, described at greater length, occurs on the arrival of Natura as it is related in the allegorical *De Planctu Naturae* by Alanus de Insulis (about 1128-1203).⁵⁷ This cante-fable differs in temper from the preceding. Whereas the former shows humanism by weaving somewhat gracefully into its web phrases or turns of thought reminiscent of classical Latin writers, the *Complaint* exhibits a more independent and vigorous spirit, which is often of great brilliance, though sometimes far too crowded in detail and occasionally grotesque.

The work begins with the author Alanus lamenting the way that man has disobeyed the law of Natura through lust. To him descends a beautiful woman, Natura, at whose approach the natural world increases in vigor and joy and splendor. She is clothed in an extraordinary manner. Her crown depicts the revolution of the heavenly bodies; her garment is an atmosphere that bears all sorts of birds; her mantle is the dwelling-place of fish and denizens of the deep, and her tunic, that of animals; her shoes are adorned with fair flowers. Despite the welcome given her by the natural world, Natura is much grieved. She first comforts Alanus, and then asks him why he has forgotten her benefits, the gifts of the Vicar of God, such as reason and memory. Man, she says, is like the universe in organization; like God, his mind commands; like the agent angels, other qualities of his carry out the orders; like the creatures, members of his body obey. Some things Natura keeps secret from man. On the other hand, man by familiarity with nature loses respect for Natura's law. She herself is the lowly disciple of the Supreme Ruler. He is the maker; she, the made. By his nod alone he orders a thing to exist and it is so. Man is first born by Natura, and is reborn by the might of God. She is ignorant of the mystery of the second birth, because it can be comprehended only through Faith. Natura attains faith through reason, Theologia attains reason by faith. At the close of Natura's long oration, Alanus has courage to address her, in language which recalls that of the Orphic prayer to Physis.

⁵⁶ II, ix, p. 53, 31 ff.

⁵⁷ Migne, CCX, col. 431-482; T. Wright, *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, (Rolls Series), London, 1872, II, pp. 429-522; translated by D. M. Moffat, New York, 1908. See Baumgartner, work cited. Cf. in general, K. Francke, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Schulpoesie des XII. u. XIII. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1879, and W. Ganzenmüller, *Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914.

Then they converse on the manner evil arose when Venus had become weary of the monotony of Hymen's law and accordingly sinned with Antigamus. Next Natura describes the power of the vices: Intemperance, Pride, Envy, Flattery. During the discourse on lawful love, Alanus receives a mild rebuke from Natura when he displays undue eagerness to hear about Cupid. Finally Hymen comes, followed by Chastity, Temperance, Generosity, and Humility. All express grief at the course affairs have taken, at the fact that man has forsaken them. They decide to call upon Genius to excommunicate the guilty, and Hymen bears the message to him. After an interval passed agreeably with music and further speech, aged Genius arrives in the company of his daughter Truth. This designer of divine plans and images, which falsehood tries constantly to spoil, pronounces anathema on evil and excess. And the figures fade as Alanus becomes aware of waking.

I now take up in detail, following mostly the order of narrative itself, the exposition of Natura: the physical description of her and her garments, her relation to God, differences between her and Theologia, her nature from Alanus' point of view, her attitude toward him, her duties, and her relations to Venus.

Natura came to the elegiac poet from the inner palace of the impassable world. Hereupon occurs the chief physical description of Natura in literature. Like many medieval descriptions of women, it treats her personal beauties at great length, and in the present case it is followed by an extended allegorical account of her garments and adornments.⁵⁸ The symbolism is most elaborate. But its meaning is usually so plain that I need not explain it. Occasionally Alanus enlivens the portrayal with humor,—an element to which Chaucer could not have been averse while writing his love-poem, *The Parlement of Foules*, and in omitting the description of Nature therein for the reason that Alain had performed the task once for all. And the account of the stones in the crown is nearly an early *Ethics of the Dust*.

After her reception,⁵⁹ Natura arouses the stupefied poet, and reproves him for not recognizing her,⁶⁰ "Dei auctoris vicaria," who had created him from primordial matter and given him a noble countenance, the guardian senses, intellectual curiosity and understanding, and reason which formed him, a microcosm,

⁵⁸ Migne, cols. 432-39; Wright, pp. 431-444.

⁵⁹ Migne, 440A-D, Wright, pp. 445-7. The charioteer who conducts Natura to Alanus is of divine nature (col. 439D; p. 445).

⁶⁰ 442C; p. 450.

after the pattern of the universe.⁶¹ As Natura elaborates the idea, she reveals how she has established in man the same government as in the universe. In the cosmical state,⁶² God reigns. Everything is written in his book of Providence. Under Him the angels hold delegated power extended even to man. In this realm, God commands, the angel administers, and man serves. From the exposition, it is plain that Natura belongs to the host of angels. The view is confirmed by a comparison which she makes between her powers and God's.⁶³ She insists that she is His lowly disciple. Even from her He is aloof. His operation is simple, hers multiplex; His sufficient and wonderful, hers deficient and changeable; He could not be born, but she could be and was; He is the maker, she the made. A primal distinction between God and her lies in the mysterious rebirth of man. The matter is beyond her power, beyond reach of intellect. It can be comprehended only by Theologia.

The distinction recalls the distinction between Natura and Urania in *De Mundi Universitate*. Natura is there aloof from God, but serves him through Nous. Her control over man is physical; over the universe, it is confined to the lower spheres. Beyond and above her Urania has charge of souls and the celestial regions. The two supplement each other as Natura and Theologia do in *De Planctu Naturae*.⁶⁴

If Natura is of a lower order than God, she is above man, Genius, and Venus. Her attitude toward man is regretful. Her purpose in coming down to Alanus is to complain to him of human conduct and to have him teach man the penalty which she will invoke through Genius, her other self. In man is a conflict between reason and sensuality, a conflict in fact to be illustrated in later allegories from *Les Échecs Amoureux* in Old French and *Reason and Sensuality* in Lydgate to the English moralities *Nature*⁶⁵ and *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, four hundred years later. Alanus, by his long description of Natura and her powers, emphasizes the necessity of both the

⁶¹443B; p. 451.

⁶² 444A, B, C; pp. 452-3.

⁶³ 445, C, D; p. 455.

⁶⁴ See further for her power 447B-448A; p. 458.

⁶⁵ Cf. W. R. Mackenzie's *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory*, Boston, 1914.

physical and the intellectual sides of the universe and of man, emphasizes the balance that should exist between the two.

Likewise he holds to the view that Natura is good, whereas man alone of the creatures does wrong. The symbolism of this apostasy is the rent⁶⁶ in that portion of Natura's garment which represents man,—a device taken from the similarly significant description of Philosophia's garment in Boethius' *Consolatio*.

Alanus, instead of relating the fall of man in Eden, employed classical figures⁶⁷ to explain how man had sinned. When Natura had taken up the work of shaping creatures on her anvils, she had to have assistants. Hence she placed at a distance from the peaceful palace of the eternal region, Venus with her husband Hymen and her son Cupid.⁶⁸ To her she gave hammers, forges, and a designer's pen, which should always write grammatically. But Venus wearied of regular life, and as a result led the way for the sensual sin of man. In these respects she is the Venus of the two traditions, the good and the evil. Furthermore, she represents the combination of reason and sensuality again; but in the long run, instead of being virtuous and reasonable like Natura, she stands for the vicious and lascivious.

Therefore for the punishment of man, it is necessary for the poet to introduce the character of Genius, who stands for the experienced morality of Natura.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ 452B, C; p. 467.

⁶⁷ The fact that Alanus used so many humanistic examples instead of Christian examples leads one to believe that his intentions were the same as Boethius. Acquainted though he was with church doctrines and literature and engaged in ecclesiastical affairs, nevertheless he preferred to state the same truths, the same principles, through the arguments of reason, as well as he was able. He held that reason would lead to the same goal. Moreover, he evidently delighted to take examples from classical story. The peculiarity of his so doing appears best by contrast with the writings of another wide reader, Jean de Meun. When he came to treat identical matters, Jean dropped many of the illustrations from Ovidian lore and substituted one or two from the Bible. Perhaps to modern taste, Alanus' choice is the more artificial; Scriptural stories have less the atmosphere of fiction. Moreover, classical myths were scarcely convincing examples to effect reform.

⁶⁸ 453D, 454A, B; p. 469; the figure of the forge is employed also in 456D, 457A, p. 475; 459C, p. 480.

⁶⁹ The discussion will occur elsewhere.

The same theme that dominates *De Planctu Naturae* is the starting-point of Alanus' other notable humanistic poem, *Anticlaudianus*,⁷⁰ namely, that man has fallen away from virtue and causes Natura to grieve over his disobedience to her laws. The title refers to Claudianus' satirical poem *In Rufinum*, which is about Rufinus, a villain whom the Vices made a monster and who endeavored to eject virtue from the world. Natura in *Anticlaudianus*, however, seeks the making of a good or perfect man who will be secure against the conspiracy of the Vices. In the prologue, Alanus said that there are four artificers: God, whose works are in mind, materia, form, and government; Natura, whose works admitted no corruption before Adam, but have been marred by corruption after him; Vice, whose work is depravation; and Fortune, whose works are prosperity and adversity. These four he calls the actors in the poem, or the active principles represented by the allegory.

Natura, sorrowing at the corruption of man, wishes that a perfect man might be created, and to forward the idea, calls the Virtues to council. Her beautiful home is surrounded without by woods and fountains, and within is adorned by pictures of worthies like Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Cicero, and Virgil. After characteristic debate, the council decide to send Prudentia, or Phronesis, to God with their petition. To bear her, a chariot has to be built, and the Seven Arts employ themselves in the process, their several functions being explained at length. Finally the chariot sets off with Ratio (Reason) as charioteer driving the steeds of the Five Senses. What they see while traveling through the spheres is amply described in encyclopedic fashion. When they reach the firmament, the Senses cannot penetrate the secrets of heaven. But Theology consents to lead Prudence and Hearing to the place where a soul endowed with all the virtues can be obtained for the perfect man. Prudence is dazzled by the glory of the empyrean where the saints dwell, and accordingly the aid of Faith is secured. At last they reach the citadel of God. He grants Prudence's petition, for Mercy is above Justice. Upon receiving the perfect soul, Prudence returns to Natura. The Virtues and the Arts then assist Natura in making the perfect man of body and soul. Meanwhile Alecto and the Vices have plotted against the man, and they enter now into a great battle with the Virtues to gain their ends. But they are routed. The perfect man remains safe.⁷¹

In structure the poem has a better climax than has *De Planctu Naturae*. In turns of thought, however, there is less

⁷⁰ Migne, cols. 481-576; Wright, work cited, II, pp. 268-428. Cf. the Old French version discussed in *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes*, 1895.

⁷¹ The resemblance of part of the plot to that of the Four Daughters of God is plain.

to please readers to-day. Though one thinks naturally that the perfect man may signify Christ, evidence indicates that he is an idealization, a Utopian character. In fact the presence of the Virgin and the saints in the empyrean precludes us from interpreting the perfect man as allegorically equivalent to the person of Christ.

Yet this Christian background which appears at times indicates a falling in with Bernardus Silvester rather than with Boethius; that is, the poet has no intention absolutely to exclude Christian elements, to confine his moral reasoning to classical ethics and philosophy. Nevertheless, the subjects of the activity of the Seven Arts and the conflict between Sins and Virtues are as humanistic as Christian; the method of allegory was common to profane and Christian writers.

The poem, though it adopts the celestial journey before the creation of a man from *De Mundi Universitate*, contrasts with the cante-fable in being less philosophic, less intermittently allegorical narrative in pattern. The situations are much more vivid and frequent, the symbolism is oftener evoked. Instead of complaining about Chaos, Natura sorrows over man's disobedience to her laws,—the same theme at the beginning as the whole argument of *De Planctu Naturae* embodies. She is associated in council with Virtues who supplement one another's functions. She is not described at length, but is provided with a pictorial background in that we have a considerable description of her "estate" and mansion.⁷²

Within her castle Natura is employed⁷³ in maintaining her laws and in providently devising statutes to be promulgated over the world. She tests the causes of things and the seeds of the universe. She redeems ancient chaos⁷⁴ from civil strife and by the principle of number unites its elements in bonds of peace. She looks upon the earthquakes, thunderbolts, storms. She observes the differences in the seasons and in the fixed

⁷² Cols. 489-90, I, iii-iv, p. 275 ff. Other descriptions are in Claudianus, Jean de Hauteville, Chaucer, Hawes. The usual devices do not dwell upon her abode, because she descends from above, as in *De Planctu* and *The Boke of the Howlat*, or meets the person or otherwise appears to him as in *Il Tesoretto* and the English moralities.

⁷³ Col. 492; I, v., pp. 278 ff.

⁷⁴ This passage should be compared with that on Natura's activities in *De Mundi Universitate*.

stations and properties of earth, water, air, and fire. Thus she resembles in her interests Physis in *De Mundi Universitate*. But Natura does not study medicinals, and she is further distinguished in the creative function; she acts like the principle of growth in the universe.

She has, moreover, the moral attitude of Natura in *De Planctu Naturae*. In language that recalls the description in Bernardus Silvester, she states man's proper office, and then deplores his conduct against her.⁷⁵ In accord with the Hebraic solution of evil in the world, she desires one man to redeem by his virtue the many.⁷⁶

Natura's relation to God is not brought out so clearly as in *De Planctu Naturae*. But she is evidently remote from him and subordinate to him. On the other hand, His powers and nature are quite as well defined in the prayer which the poet addresses to him, before he dares to describe Prudence's experiences in the empyrean.⁷⁷ This invocation is another of those abounding in terms for God like "highest parent, eternal God, living power, unique form of good," and so on. He is the efficient, formal, and final cause,—the last a touch of Aristotle.

To other characters of the allegory, that is, those with whom she has to do, Natura is superior, yet she requires much aid in making the perfect man. Her circle of associates has greatly increased, with the result that later allegories derived many suggestions.

When Prudence returns from heaven with the soul⁷⁸ prepared by Nous under God's approval, Natura furnishes the material for the body. In the joining of the two together, she is assisted by Concordica, Arithmetica, and Musica. Upon this new man the Arts and the Virtues bestow gifts. Those from Puditia and Modestia make him moderate in the enjoyment of the senses, restrained in speech, and chaste in conduct. Those from Ratio, as in cases from Horace on, enable him to distinguish between the true and the false, the honorable and the base; so that he is not to be swayed by popular report or hypocritical flattery. Those from Honestas cause him to

⁷⁵ Col. 943B; I, vi, pp. 280 ff.

⁷⁶ Col. 493B.

⁷⁷ Col. 534C, D, 535A; V, v, pp. 354 ff.

⁷⁸ Col. 548 B, C; VI, viii, pp. 379 ff.

avoid crime and vicious associations, and to be generous, but not prodigal. Sophia and Grammatica instruct him in their arts, as do Logica, Theologia, Pietas, Fides, and the rest.⁷⁹

Nobilitas, Fortuna's daughter, likewise wishes to contribute to the man's endowment, and goes to her mother to urge her. Fortuna, realizing that she is inferior to Natura, declares that the acts of Natura require no aid of hers; in the province of law chance has no part.⁸⁰ Nevertheless she will render what assistance she may. When she arrives she is helped by Ratio in the bestowal, lest one injury should vitiate the glory of many things. Her gifts are of small value in comparison with those of the virtues.⁸¹

Hence it will be observed that Alanus' emphasis is constantly on the virtuous quality of Natura's office. The end of the poem puts further stress on the point. After the fight following the desperate conspiracy of Alecto and the Vices,

. . . cedit juveni victoria, surgit
Virtus, succumbit Vitium, Natura triumphat.
Regnat Amor, nusquam Discordia, Foedus ubique.⁸²

VI

Whether Jean de Hauteville's partly realistic *Archithrenius* (1185)⁸³ was written after Alanus' allegories, I am uncertain. Its title gives the name of the hero, the "arch-weeper."

As the account proper begins, the young hero is introduced weeping over the weakness given him by Natura. Manfully he soon decides to seek her. On the way he passes the golden palace of Venus. Despite the admiration he conceives for the goddess's fair attendants and his interest in Cupid, who is clad in the contemporary gallant costume, Archithrenius moves on to a tavern where some young bloods are rioting. Gluttony does not long detain him, however, and with praise for sobriety in his heart, he goes to Paris to take up the life of a poor student at the university. Though the people are jolly and the situation of the city is fair, penury in an attic shortly induces him to attempt the Mount of Ambition, in the midst of fragrant gardens. But the court life does not satisfy him, nor does the presumption of ecclesiastics or their cupidity. Finally

⁷⁹ The influence of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is obvious.

⁸⁰ Col. 560C; VIII, ii, pp. 401 ff.

⁸¹ Col. 561D; VIII, ii.

⁸² 574A; IX, viii, p. 425.

⁸³ Wright, work cited, I, *Johannis de Altavilla Archithrenius*, pp. 240-392; cf. *De Archithrenio*, J. Simler, Paris, 1871.

Archithrenius arrives at Thule, a country of eternal spring and happiness. There he finds about twenty Greek philosophers discussing the sins of wrath, envy, and so on. As Solon ceases speaking, the unhappy young man looks up, and beholds a beautiful lady in a flowery plain, surrounded by saintly old men as attendants. On learning that she is Natura, he casts himself at her feet. She, however, before listening to his plaint, discourses on natural philosophy—the world obedient to man, the heavens above with their planetary laws and the like. But at last she permits him to utter his woe. He wonders why, if she is so powerful, she has no remedy for him. Promising help, she indicates the evil of lust, and recommends his marriage with Moderantia. The wedding is pleasantly celebrated amid the accompaniment of music and the discourse of talking birds. (The poem closes with Jean de Hauteville's wish that his work should give him fame.)

The allegorical situation in the poem is different in some respects from that in *De Planctu Naturae*, where a man listens to a discourse by Natura. In this case, the man, mistaken though he is about Natura and unable to recognize her just as Alanus is, makes the journey for the purpose of complaint. As in *Consolatio Philosophiae*, he receives instruction and comfort. As in Alanus' poems, man in general is given up to vices of all sorts; and as they do, *Archithrenius* preaches the moral life through Natura. The allegory on the whole is a curious mixture of contemporary realism and picturesque, fantastic symbolism. It has the same preceptive and encyclopedic character as the works of Alanus and Bernardus Silvester.

Concerning Natura herself, her person and power, Jean de Hauteville is briefer than was Alanus. Philosophically, Natura is whatever is visible.⁸⁴ Her appearance when Archithrenius first sees her is treated by the poet in a generalizing manner, but at fair length.⁸⁵ Stately of gesture, she sits on her throne, a radiant and dignified figure, with the rosy countenance of a maid. At forges she constructs her work. She can alter the established course of things. As a teacher, she begins a long encyclopedic account of the heavens, not unlike that of what in *De Mundi Universitate*, Natura, Urania, and the soul saw, or that of what Prudence in *Anticlaudianus* saw. These celestial wonders so excited the admiration of Archithrenius that he asks why Natura can not aid him in his despondency over the wickedness of the world.⁸⁶ She promises help, and

⁸⁴ Wright, I, p. 248.

⁸⁵ Wright, pp. 369-70.

⁸⁶ Wright, pp. 382 ff.

like Natura in Alanus inveighs against man's conduct. Then she urges upon him marriage with Moderantia, the upshot of her lesson being that a man should be temperate, should observe the golden mean,⁸⁷ in fact the very moral, of Alanus when he correlated reason and sensuality in *De Planctu Naturae*.

These four great works of the twelfth century all have characteristics in common: a fondness for allegory and philosophy; respect for the ancient philosophers; an avidity for old mythology, understood presumably as allegorical; a humanistic interest in the classics, especially in works of a writer like Claudianus; and marked subordination of Biblical material or references, as if the authors treated virtue as independent of Christian revelation, and imitated the philosophy of Boethius. With the exception of *De Mundi Universitate*, the theme of all revolves round the evil conduct of man and the desire for a change therefrom. Man's sin is against Natura.⁸⁸

VII

With the opening of the thirteenth century subsided the allegorical use of Natura in Latin.⁸⁹ There was of course always some personification, but the exuberance of the Latin literary enthusiasm over the device had passed and only the regular philosophical definitions or the brief conventional formulae were used, even in the humanistic revival in Latin. The reasons for the change are not far to seek. At this time vernaculars were sufficiently stable for unlearned treatments, and even on occasion for more learned works. The thirteenth century saw the *Roman de la Rose* and a great number of Old

⁸⁷ Wright, pp. 385 ff.

⁸⁸ It should not be forgotten that at this time Bernard of Cluny wrote *De Contemptu Mundi*, a fiery book of reform, and Bernard of Clairvaux urged on the Crusaders.

⁸⁹ Two other poems belong to the preceding group. In the witty *Elegia de Diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae Consolatione* (1191-2) by Henry of Settignano are references to Natura's power and law. The poet complains of his fortune and wonders why he is not in worse places where Natura might have put him (col. 846, ll. 103-4; p. 7). Later Phrenesis declares that he is unreasonable in his attitude toward Natura (col. 857, ll. 33 ff.; p. 23). The references are to Migne 204 and the Latin text with Italian translation, Firenze, 1730; those of the reprint of the Italian, Prato, 1841, pp. 27 and 57. The second poem is Henry of Milan's *De Controversia Hominis et Fortunae* (1259-1268); for information about this poem, I find in this country only Francke, work cited.

French poems, *Il Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini and the poetry of the early Italians including some of Dante's, the German romance and Minne-songs, and the rise of Middle English into a competent literary vehicle. The fourteenth century completely established English. Accordingly, there remained so much the less occasion for the employment of Natura as an allegorical figure in Latin.

Moreover, a shift in emphasis came. The twelfth century was not only strongly moral, as I have pointed out, but it saw the range of possible efforts for reform by means of Latin. In the thirteenth century the vernacular could reach the public more directly, and it had sufficient fluidity and substance for the purpose. While then Old French could supplant Latin in its own admonitory office, it furnished a more intimate opportunity for the expanding interest in the phases of love. Though the relation of Natura to love and Venus had already been emphasized, the rather formal author usually shrank from too close sympathy with the emotions. Something was wanted nearer to the temper of the *Carmen Buranum*. The romantic poets of the thirteenth century did not fear to explore the psychological intricacies of love, and they assembled therefore a large body of allegorical figures to represent associated attitudes of mind. No squeamishness was felt in dwelling upon the vagaries of the passion. Hence it is that Natura at once retained her position as God's agent and became more intimate with the articles of Venus and Cupid.

In saying that Natura no longer appeared as a notable character in Latin literature, I do not imply that the allegories of Bernardus Silvester and Alanus ceased to exert influence. Quite the contrary; Bernardus and especially Alanus were *loci classici* for the tradition. Up to the sixteenth century, one never gets away from the use of Natura by Alanus in *De Planctu Naturae*, largely to be sure because of the variety of its literary appeal, but partly because of its substantial philosophical background in Platonism and its moral distinction between reason and sensuality.

The various encyclopedic accounts of the universe and the attempts to formulate philosophic systems to explain it, such as those of John the Scot and Thomas Aquinas, show that the reading public was interested in such matters and that its

curiosity was maintained throughout the period. Accordingly, when the school of Chartres arose, it grasped the literary device of allegory and the models Claudianus and Boethius in order to elaborate allegories of its own upon the four-fold aspect of the Chalcidian *Timaeus* of Plato. It began with the more closely scientific philosophy of *De Mundi Universitate*, and in almost no time had produced the highly literary and moral poems of Alanus, *De Planctu Naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*, and Jean de Hauteville's *Archithrenius*.

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In these hard-fighting and hard-thinking days, when the world of literature has the pugnacity of the world of affairs, the lot of the peaceable artist who looks on life without suffering a mental shock is scarcely a happy one. It is expected that everyone who uses the pen shall have registered with one or another belligerent; else he is looked at askance or not at all. He must be able to show his ticket on demand. If he does not easily fall into one of the accepted classes—if he is not a radical in poetry, or a socialist in prose, a realist, a naturalist, a romantic, an earnest prophet of the second coming of Plato—if he is none of these and is not the bearer of new tidings, he is, alas, merely an artist. Oblivion reaches out for him.

In such plight is Max Beerbohm, the most completely artistic of all the English literati, the inheritor in prose of the crown of Oscar Wilde. As yet he has failed to catch the ear of the historian even in his own land: A scattering of reviews is the sole reward in this kind of his labor. I doubt if he himself is much annoyed that the *Encyclopedia Britannica* dismisses him in half a line, but it should be a source of embarrassment to the *Encyclopedia*. In England he is at least read and admired. But I am informed that an edition of one of his books was burned by his American publisher to save storage room. Such a holocaust may well give us pause, for he is an artist famed among his own people for his debonnaire wit and his mastery in two domains of art. But I presume we are too busy with important things. What chance has the flaneur and parodist, who paints a little, writes a little, gaily, satirically, aloof from the maelstrom and somewhat contemptuous of it, among a nation which, having been adjured to believe that life is real and earnest, devotes to that belief an unflagging energy? Yet for the visitor who will pause to chat in his studio over a cigarette, there are rewards not less precious because they make no pretention to the Nobel prize. I mean elegance and beauty of style, proportion in composition, and particularly such virtuosity of ironic and elfin wit as is not to be found in any living writer who speaks the English tongue. We Americans are usually a generous host to the guest who

comes to our shores; but we owe an apology to Mr. Beerbohm for having so long neglected his charming, if somewhat diabolic, Muse.

I

On May 7, 1898, George Bernard Shaw printed his last dramatic criticism for the *Saturday Review*, and closed therewith a brilliant chapter in his life. Shortly afterward, having sustained an injury to his foot which laid him in bed for an indefinite period, he determined to resign his post of dramatic critic in favor of a younger aspirant who had been lurking in the pages of the *Review* for some time. His "Valedictory" in the issue of May 24 closes with a cordial greeting to his successor: "The younger generation is knocking at the door; and as I open it there steps spritely in the incomparable Max." The moment is rich in dramatic irony. For four years Shaw had played the harlequin in the theatrical world, laying about him on all sides with his stick, splitting with laughter at what sober Philistines revered, and demanding admiration for a great deal that was new and suspect. He had railed at the school of Tom Robertson and Sidney Grundy, and extolled the school of Ibsen and Bernard Shaw. To him succeeded a critic no less fantastic, thought in a different way, a professed Philistine with regard to the theatre, who scolded Shaw for neglecting the fundamental rules of playwriting, found his best example of the natural dramatist in Pinero, preferred Pinero when he was closest to Tom Robertson and Labiche, and thought *Sweet Lavender* "quite perfect!" Whereas Shaw adored the theatre with the lust of a fanatic, the incomparable Max professed a complaisant indifference. He tells us over and again that he is "not fond of the theatre," that he is "innocent of any theories on the subject," that his "familiarity with the theatre has been a matter of circumstance rather than of choice." He remembers having been really bored with a play on the evening of his tenth birthday. There is a long step from Shaw, who regarded the theatre as an Institution, to Beerbohm, who never regarded it as "much more than the conclusion to a dinner or the prelude to a supper." And it is a commentary on British phlegm that this astonishing reversal took place without creating a ripple on the placid waters of the *Saturday Review*.

We should be careful, however, not to take these cynical protestations of Max too seriously; they are part of his paradoxical stock-in-trade. Undoubtedly the theatre was not to him so fascinating as his painting and his literature, but it had its manifold attractions. I suspect that a large part of his professed indifference comes from the fact that he was born into the life of the stage, and has the habitué's contempt for that which is to him a commonplace. "Out of my very cradle I stepped upon the fringe of the theatrical world," he relates, and we recall that his brother was Beerbohm Tree. "I could find my way blindfold about every theatre in the metropolis, and could recite backwards most of the successful plays that have been produced in the last ten years." The too constant society of Thalia and Melpomene will eventually tire all but the most devout, and to visit these ladies through the stage-door is a notorious disillusionment. Your dramatic critic is usually pretty careful to keep to the painted side of the stage drop. By this means he cherishes a few shreds of illusion. So it is not surprising that Max, who was bored by a play at the age of ten, should be bored by many plays at the age of twenty-six; nor that a man who believes that the whole business of life is *pas grand' chose* should conceive a similar opinion of one of the manifestations of life. Rather is it remarkable that he should bring to the task of dramatic criticism so much energy, vivacity, and earnest intention.

For underlying the surface sparkle and the shifting mood there runs through these ten years of labor for the *Review* a vein of seriousness which betrays a genuine idealism. He could write of a play: "Briefly, I thought it bosh. I must admit, however, that I am no expert in dramaturgy." But this is his wilful mood. In more judicial temper he thus expounds his critique: "I am not hostile to any department of dramatic art. I am hostile merely to such bad works as I find in those several departments." This program is in fact the only one the critic observes, and it serves him well. The long line of his reviews is mainly constituted (when he is not gossiping about himself) of lively attacks on the "bad" in art and warm proclamations of the "good." And after all, such a program is sufficient when its arbitrary character is checked by a wise regard for the ancient source of all knowledge. "To the majority of plays

that I criticize," continues the apologist, "the test of actual life is the test that I apply." The soundness of such test who will dispute? The reader inquisitive enough to plunge into the formidable corpus of Beerbohm's reviews (and endure, it must be admitted, a good deal of ephemeral chatter), will be rewarded by much critical commonsense and by much plain humanity. Beerbohm knows how to glow with generous praise, as he understands the far more difficult art of that censure which is kinder than praise. Indeed I know of no other place where the truly human aspect of the man is so well expressed. The philosophical detachment, the superhuman laughter of *The Happy Hypocrite* is matched by the homely pathos of the essay on Coquelin's death.

II

But it is not the figure of Beerbohm as a capable if not greatly distinguished critic that will attract admirers to the pages of the *Saturday Review*, so much as the figure of the man himself which one finds there. For he is an inveterate gossip about himself, an unflagging exponent of his mind, his art, his enthusiasms, his antipathies, his hopes, his fears, his literary politics. He interlards his commentaries on other men with a stream of reflection upon himself, quite as frankly, keenly, and wittily. I am impressed by the fact that when at the age of twenty-six he assumed the toga of Shaw his personality was already complete. One may trace the perfection of his literary style through the course of years, but in the man himself there seems to be no development; he was the same in 1898 as in 1918, and he knew himself well even then. The personal pronoun, scattered so thickly in the columns of his reviews, like the jaunty sobriquet "Max," is the symbol of a man who was a figure in the London world and was aware of it. From the rich store of these commentaries I have plundered the following brief summary of his philosophy of literary art.

The interpretation of an artist nearly always devolves into a hunt for first principles, and these are rightly judged to be the conception the artist has of the meaning of life, because upon his understanding of the relation of the individual to the infinite will depend his portraiture of man. One could not undertake to pronounce upon the work of such men as Mere-

dith, Gissing, Bennett, George Moore, Anatole France, or Maeterlinck without taking into account their positive but greatly differing perceptions of this eternal problem. One might at first thought smile at applying so awful a test to the literary pranks of Beerbohm, and indeed to examine *Zuleika Dobson* for its criticism of life would be a profound absurdity; but none the less there is a moving cause in his works, taken in the gross, which is to be explained only by a philosophical bias of this kind, and which must be understood if we are rightly to judge the man. For, be it said, with all the ironic detachment and seeming skepticism of his essays in the comic spirit, the artist himself is prolific in theories, formulae, and dogmas. And the greatest of his dogmas—the first principle of all his movements—is his belief that the universe is hopelessly unfathomable.

This not uncommon kind of skepticism may lead to indifference, to uncertainty, to impatience, to despair according to temperament; in Beerbohm it induces a contentment with things as they are and an impatience of the popular longing to improve them. One has the feeling that to him life is not much—*pas grand' chose*; the expression is one of which he is fond. In the hurly-burly of life not much is of importance, and most of it is the stuff that dreams are made of, but it is none the less amusing, even fascinating, while it is being acted before us. The wise inhabitant of this planet will play the interested spectator at life's theatre, but he will not be deceived into crediting too seriously the ephemeral tragi-comedies he sees there. He will prize what seems to him good—music, poetry, the graphic and plastic arts, love, friendship, wit, grace, and above all beauty; but the rest he will hold in philosophical contempt. Writing at one time of Maeterlinck (whom he then adored), Beerbohm exalted him because he refused to answer the question, "What means life?" "He more clearly than any other thinker is conscious of the absurdity of attempting to fashion out of the vast and impenetrable mysteries of life any adequate explanation—any philosophy." Denying that Maeterlinck could be called an Optimist or even a Meliorist, the reverent disciple concludes: "So far as any one crude label can be affixed to him, he is just a Bonist." And this "crude label" is the one I would select as fitting most aptly the philos-

ophy of Max Beerbohm. He is a Bonist, who, as I conceive, finds things sufficiently good and has little interest in ameliorative theories.

One immediately perceptible influence of such a prejudice on his philosophy of art is that not only has he no high ambitions, no dreams of great conquest, but he resents the weakness when it occurs in other people. Scattered through his works are protests against the ambition to do or become "something big." An example is his comment on Pinero, whose imitation of Ibsen the critic deplored as a malign influence: "It came of the desire to do something great (?something serious) which, in England especially, overtakes and spoils so many of the most delightful writers." I am unwilling to venture an opinion as to the exact proportion of sincerity and paradox in this favorite prejudice of Beerbohm's. Aside from his impatience at the stupidity of cobblers who are not content with their lasts, he undoubtedly has little natural sympathy with the huge in art, his own art being of the miniature kind and possessing the delicate proportions of miniatures. The colossal in art—the Shakespeares, Goethes, and Dantes—he seems not to thrill to, or if he does, it is with the consciousness that they breathe the air of a world foreign to his own. At any rate he does not talk much about them, and when he envisages the gigantic Balzac, it is to burst into a peal of elfish laughter, so characteristic of him that I cannot forbear quoting it: "For Balzac I have an intense cult. My veneration for his Titanic genius is not this side idolatry. I believe him to be by far the greatest of the many great men that France has given to the world. I deem him, next to Shakespeare, the greatest creative genius that the world has ever known. The mere sound of his name, or sight of it written, stirs my heart as being a symbol of vast things nobly achieved by concentration of genius against awful odds. Any little carping criticism of him, such as one hears from people who lack sense of proportion and capacity for reverence, irritates me unspeakably. To any rhapsody in his honor my whole soul thrills. No ecstasy of praise has seemed to me more than his due. Several times, even, I have tried to read one or another of his books. But I have never been able to wade further than the second chapter. It would not be true to say that I am one of the mere lip-worshippers of

Balzac. My whole being, as I have protested, bows down to him. Only, I can't read him!" And finally, Beerbohm's finical shrinking from the association with the taint of bigness is well expressed in that singularly egoistical story, *James Pethel*, where he represents himself as talking with an admirer: "He asked me what I was writing now, and said that he looked to me to 'do something big one of these days,' and that he was sure I had it in me. This remark, though of course I pretended to be pleased by it, irritated me very much." Here is a touch of the most exquisite self-revelation!

The next dogma in Beerbohm's philosophy of art which I shall speak of is no less open to contention than the last, and is no less characteristic of the man and his work. It is that art must be thoroughly and always subjective. The creator must not lose himself in his creation; he must be at all times the master of it, and to retain this mastery he must stand a little aside from the subject he is working on. Only thereby can he maintain the detachment which allows perspective and keeps the brain judicious. To mingle one's own life in his art is to blind his eyes with passions, prejudices, glamor, and false proportions. "Actual experience," he has written, "is fatal to the creative artist. No man can create a fine work of art if he chooses for his subject matter the things which he himself has done, or the things which he himself has suffered. Art is the complement of life, and one has no genuine impulse to write of the life which one has lived—to have lived it is enough. Nor, on the other hand, can a man create a fine work of art, if he choose for his subject matter things of which he himself knows nothing. 'Passionate observation' is as necessary as actual experience is fatal. It is only from the outside that an artist can see and know things as they are." Here is a pregnant utterance, for it lays bare all Beerbohm's literary affinities. Not for him the school of sweat and blood; not for him the *roman experimental*. Rather he declares allegiance to that fair troupe of poets who in their towers of ivory have sat before their magic mirrors watching the procession of life and weaving into their magically beautiful webs the vision of the deeds of men—Pater in his Oxford cell, the Pre-Raphaelites, dripping with antiquity, Maeterlinck wrapped in Breton mists, and especially Wilde with his jeweled pen and subtle smile. For it

is Wilde who comes first to mind in this passage of his disciple, and one recalls the words of the master clothing the same thought: "The only beautiful things, as somebody once said, are the things that do not concern us. As long as a thing is useful or necessary to us, or affects us in any way, either for pain or pleasure, or appeals strongly to our sympathies, or is a vital part of the environment in which we live, it is outside the proper sphere of art. To art's subject matter we should be more or less indifferent. We should at any rate, have no preferences, no prejudices, no partisan feeling of any kind. It is exactly because Hecuba is nothing to us that her sorrows are such an admirable motive for tragedy." The kinship between Wilde and Beerbohm is marked by many sympathies—by none more strongly than in this conception of art withdrawing her unsullied robes from the sweat and mire of experience. Hence comes the cool perfection of both, the absence of passion, the ironic mood, the well-thought paradox, the deliberate pains, the elaborate concealment of art. Once in a review of one of Robertson's plays Beerbohm complained that "not one of his characters has the strength that belongs to a faithful copy from life, or to a *fantasy founded on facts*." In the italicised phrase I find the descriptive tag which fits all the works of Beerbohm; they are all "fantasies founded on fact," parodies, romances, essays, reviews. The fact is there—one feels that it has been keenly, even "passionately" observed, as Oxford in *Zuleika Dobson* has been observed—but it has been refined by meditation, shaped, polished, and set in old silver, for an example of the power of craftsmanship over the raw materials of life.

The art of Beerbohm is a "little" art, and his masters are the "little" masters, whose style like his own is cool, translucent, and glistening. The flaming Balzac and all that he stands for is opposite to his genius. But aside from Wilde, whose prose, less human indeed and more coruscating, is nevertheless the father of *The Happy Hypocrite* and *Zuleika* Beerbohm has avowed his admiration for Maeterlinck of the early tragedies, for Whistler of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* and for Rostand of *Cyrano*. The pleasure he derives from Rostand is twofold; it comes from the romantic imagination, and from the jewelled style. "Personally I like the Byzantine manner in

literature," he confesses, "better than any other, and M. Rostand is nothing if not Byzantine: his lines are loaded and encrusted with elaborate phrases and curious conceits, which are most fascinating to anyone who, like me, cares for such things." The pleasure he derives from Whistler, although he does not expound it, is not hard to understand, for who more than he would relish the tart epigram and the malicious wit of that remarkable artist's remarkable book? His passion for Maeterlinck puzzles me to some extent, for I find nothing of the mystic in Beerbohm; so I am driven to suppose that, passionate lover of beauty, he has been enchanted by the exquisite whispered melodies the Belgian philosopher played upon his lute of one string. But Wilde is his master; and of all the works of Wilde the one which comes nearest the demure harliquinades of his parodies is *The Importance of being Earnest*. Indeed it is in a review of this play that he lays bare the goal of his own heart: "Part of the play's fun, doubtless, is in the unerring sense of beauty which informs the actual writing of it. The absurdity of the situations is made doubly absurd by the contrasted grace and dignity of everyone's utterance." Here in truth is the recipe of *Zuleika Dobson*. The infinitely varied flavor which lies in the contrast between the absurd fact and the beautiful phrase holds and unsated attraction for Beerbohm's palate. In both phases of the problem—in the creation of the beautiful and the creation of the absurd—he is a master of resource, as, for example, in that classic and truly poetic passage which tells in perfect rhythms how Zuleika poured a pitcher of water on the head of her beloved.

III

Beerbohm's contributions to the gayety of nations are charged with the subtlest manifestation of the comic spirit—irony. There is a spice of deviltry in it, as there should be in all good irony, but it is on the whole benevolent, and the malice just serves to take off the flatness from the benevolence. His cleverness is always astonishing, yet without the hardness which often goes along. For Beerbohm, viewing the times with Bonistic eyes and finding them more good than bad, is unmoved by wrath or envy to "print wounding lashes in their

iron ribs." He wields no whip of steel, even where he distrusts. On the contrary he is liberally endowed with the *urbana, salsa, venusta* which Dryden said was necessary to the finest wit. In his parodies on the styles of contemporary authors, with which he has amused himself and delighted the republic of letters for several years, the clear ironic gaze which he turns upon his victims is almost always tempered by a friendly smile. With him parody is the process of separating the human from the divine; it is the demonstration that even those who speak with the mouth of inspiration are humanly and lovably subject to error. In this magnification of the personal and ephemeral in the work of a writer there is no intention to belittle that which is eternal. And in the accomplishment of this end Beerbohm knows thoroughly the first law of parody, which is to *understand*. "Mere derision," says Chesterton in his essay on Bret Harte, "never produced or could produce parody. A man who simply despises Paderewski for having long hair is not necessarily fitted to give an admirable imitation of his particular touch on the piano. If a man wishes to parody Paderewski's style of execution he must emphatically go through one process first; he must admire and even reverence it." This dictum probably goes too far, because it proposes that one cannot write a parody about something he dislikes, but the essential idea is right. To parody well one must understand; the worst possible basis is ignorance. Beerbohm once touched the vital spot in analyzing the figure of Euripides in *The Frogs*: "But you cannot make a man ridiculous unless you take him seriously. It is no good to hit out blindly; you must envisage your man." It is just this quality of intentness that distinguishes his work from that of his most notable rival in the same field, Bret Harte. Admirable as are many of Harte's parodies (in the two volumes of *Candensed Novels*), they are so rather through flashes of inspiration than through a constant application of the primary law of parody. They are full of dash and verve, amusing, in places unexpectedly subtle, but they suffer from an exuberance too little under control. Harte seldom can resist a fling of broad farce on his own part; he magnifies foibles out of resemblance; his method is indeed rather that of burlesque. The cheaply comical clench of naming his *Soldiers Three Mulledwiney, Otherwise, and*

Bleareyed is in his own vein, but it is far below Beerbohm. To the latter parody is, in Chesterton's happy phrase, "a worshipper's holiday," but the merrymaking never becomes clownish.

The best of Beerbohm's literary parodies were gathered up in 1912 and published with the title of *A Christmas Garland*. In the conceit of having each imitation treat of Christmas, so that the volume appears to offer the reactions of a score of literati to the most popular of feast days, there is an intellectual virtuosity which bears the characteristic stamp of the author. Not all indeed of the subjects have been envisaged "with admiration and reverence," but all have been intently studied, and they are all understood. To the artistry with which Beerbohm has accomplished his purposes too much praise cannot be given. In the most successful of the imitations, as of Henry James, A. C. Benson, H. G. Wells, George Moore, Edmund Gosse, and Arnold Bennett, he has diabolically clothed himself in the very flesh and blood of his victims, speaks with their mouths, and thinks with their brains. It is as if these men were themselves writing, but troubled by a Midsummer Madness which urges them to reveal and accentuate their most secret traits—"I had often wondered why when people talked to me of Tintoretto I always found myself thinking of Turgeneff. It seemed to me strange that I should think of Turgeneff instead of thinking of Tintoretto; for at first sight nothing can be more far apart than the Slav mind and the Flemish. But one morning, some years ago, while I was musing by my fireplace in Victoria Street, Dolmetsch came to see me"—It is George Moore himself purring over a sea-coal fire, just as surely as it is the creator of Hilda Lessways who speaks in the following passage: "She would not try to explain, to reconcile. She abandoned herself to the exquisite mysteries of life. And yet in her abandonment she kept a sharp, look-out on herself, trying fiercely to make head or tail of her nature." And no one else but Kipling could have written: "There is a thing called Dignity. Small boys sometimes stand on it. Then they have to be kicked. Then they get down, weeping. I don't stand on Dignity."

In all of Beerbohm's fantasies the ingenuity is a little diabolic, and none of them, to my thinking, possesses more

diablerie than *The Happy Hypocrite*. This Fairy Tale for Tired Men, written some fifteen years before *Zuleika Dobson* but quite as finished a work of art, is as soulless as Robin Goodfellow. A piece of literary Wedgewood, only a little more rococo, perfect in design and delicately etched, it has the grave sweetness of a saintly legend of regeneration. It tells of the wicked Lord George Hell, in the days of Beau Brummel and the Regent, who was like "Caligula with a dash of Sir John Falstaff," and "whose fondness for fine clothes was such that he used to dress on week days quite as gorgeously as good people dress on Sundays." Smitten by sudden love for a maiden of pastoral innocence whom he sees at a theatre, he is spurned because she can give her true love only to a man "whose face is wonderful as the faces of the saints." Painfully conscious that his face is deficient in such qualities, the noble lord purchases from a cunning artisan a mask which is that of a saint who loves dearly; and we are told how under its complete disguise he woos and wins the sentimental Jenny, how he, who once boasted that he had not seen a buttercup for twenty years, retires to an Arcadian cottage in Kensington, how his cast-off mistress traces the happy pair and tears the mask from his face, and how—oh, miraculous! the face is seen to have taken on the saintly contours of the mask. The bare summary gives no idea of the artistic resource, the genius for details, with which this essay in sophistication is wrought. It is a gem of rare workmanship, done in the crystalline, cool, artificial style which Beerbohm has so carefully perfected. It is at times merely beautiful, as in the graceful fable of the mask-maker to the sun. But the striking feature of it is that everywhere, under the serene surface, there is lurking a soulless ironic chuckle, as if the mask of Lord George Hell covered the face of Robin Goodfellow. I do not so much refer to the witty commentaries on men and manners which no one handles better than Beerbohm and which make a good deal of the joy of his satires, although there are some fine examples of these in *The Happy Hypocrite*. "It is pleasant to record that many persons were unobnoxious to the magic of his title and disapproved of him so strongly that, whenever he entered a room where they happened to be, they would make straight for the door and watch him severely through the key-hole." Such a

point is not beyond the abilities of any capable satirist. But Lord George Hell, ponderously middle-aged, in his mask which was "even as a mirror of true love," eating buns on the grass with Jenny on the mensiversary of his wedding day—that is a picture to delight the soul of Puck and bring to his impish mind memories of bully Bottom in the arms of Titania. It is because this moral legend is so completely without a moral, so drenched in the skepticism of fairy-land, at once so innocent and so malicious, that we may call it—for once without hyperbole—devilishly clever.

Francis Hackett has wittily said: "Only one thing *Zuleika Dobson* lacks that a regular novel has, and that is dullness." This extraordinary yarn ranks at present as Beerbohm's masterpiece. It is the most considerable of his works, and his warmest admirer, interpreting the limitations of his genius from that perfect cameo, *The Happy Hypocrite*, might well have doubted, on hearing that the master contemplated a novel, whether his genius had breath enough to inspire the larger task. Yet he rebuked all such doubters triumphantly, and he was able to do so exactly because his novel has everything a regular novel has except dullness. The ingenuity with which the plot is kept going, the invention of new incidents, the skillful management of cause and effect, the unfolding of the action in new and unexpected lines, are of the highest order of technique. The narrative has to a degree achieved by only the great novelists a rhythm of movement which is classical. And it has great beauty, the beauty of the nice phrase, the well-oiled sentence, the studiously chosen image, beauty which is mostly so bound up with the comic plot as to serve the purpose of that heightening of absurdity which Beerbohm has praised, but which occasionally stands alone, as in the admired passage on the bells of Oxford.

The charm of a story so deftly woven cannot be conveyed in a synopsis; nevertheless I cannot forbear giving the main outlines of the narrative. It tells of the arrival in Oxford one spring day of a rarely beautiful girl, the granddaughter of the Warden of Judas College. This radiant creature, from small beginnings and though practicing the art of conjuring without talent, has risen through her magnetic beauty to be the toast of both hemispheres. Her influence is especially exerted over

young men. "She was of that high stepping and flamboyant type," says her historian, "that captivates youth most surely." To her Oxford, the "city of youths," is a fascinating toy. The city of youths goes down at the first shot from her eyes—all but one, the Duke of Dorset, a super-dandy of godlike perfections. The dandy, we are told, is like one dedicated to an exalted mission. "He must not dilute his soul's essence. He must not surrender to any passion his dandihood. The dandy must be celibate, cloistral; is, indeed, but a monk with a mirror for beads and breviary—an anchorite, mortifying his soul that his body may be perfect." The inevitable struggle quickly engages between these two. "Si tu ne m'aimes pas, je t'aime," sings Carmen, and Zuleika, a Carmen of opera bouffe, madly adores the Duke as long as he is indifferent to her, but when he too lies prostrate at her feet her love turns to vexation and contempt. How the Duke pledges himself to suicide, how the youth of Oxford is fired with the zeal of emulation and solemnly resolves to drown itself at the Eights Week boat races, how this absurd tragedy progresses inexorably to the climax, how the Duke drowns himself in the panoply of the Order of the Garter, how all Oxford follows suit, and how Zuleika, purged by the grand catastrophe, orders a special train for Cambridge—for a true appreciation of these and a score of lesser events one must read the book.

Zuleika Dobson is of the family of parody, and the subject of the parody in this case is Oxford. All reviewers have commented on the love of Oxford which permeates the book and shines through all the absurdities. There is, however, no paradox in this union of love and laughter, which as I have shown is of the true nature of parody. The subject has indeed been envisaged "with admiration and reverence." If her history, her castes, her undergraduates, her societies, her athletics, her seclusion are made the theme of laughter, it is gay and affectionate laughter. It fills the whole book, but it shows especially in the antiquarian gossip of Judas College and its Salt Cellar, and in the episode of the Junta. The Junta was the holiest of Oxford societies. It was so holy that for two seasons the Duke, who had become sole member, had found no one worthy of election. Each year he had proposed candidates and voted upon them, and in every case he found that they had

been blackballed, until at length, moved by the necessity of maintaining the ancient society, he elected "not without reluctance but unanimously" two more. The dinner of the Junta, with the ghost of its 18th century founder hovering in the background, is one of the particular delights of the book. There we meet Abimelech V. Oover, the American Rhodes scholar, upon whom American readers will be inclined to dwell thoughtfully. He is an excellent piece of caricature, but like so much English delineation of Americanism, he is a caricature of something that does not wholly exist. One is moved to wonder that the English tradition in this case has not changed since the days of Dickens, for Oover is a lineal descendent of Elija Pogrom, only a little less crude after the passage of years, and quite resigned to British institutions. "Mr. Oover, during his year of residence, had been sorely tried by the quaint old English custom of not making public speeches after private dinners. It was with a deep sigh of satisfaction that he now arose to his feet." And the speech which comes from his lips is every whit as strange to American ears as any that were uttered to Martin Chuzzlewit. The satire of Rhodes scholars has not the wisdom or the subtlety of most of Beerbohm's caricatures because it is traditional rather than true. Nevertheless it is shrewd. "The Duke was not one of those Englishmen who fling, or care to hear flung, cheap sneers at America. Whenever any one in his presence said that America was not large in area, he would firmly maintain that it was. He held, too, in his enlightened way, that Americans have a perfect right to exist. But he did often find himself wishing Mr. Rhodes had not enabled them to exercise that right in Oxford. They were so awfully afraid of having their strenuous native characters undermined by their delight in the place."

Finally, that I may not leave the book without giving at least one sample of the "unerring sense of beauty" which informs the absurdities of Beerbohm and is his special magic, I shall quote from the Duke's heroic declaration of love to Zuleika the following delicious fancy:

Not every forefather of mine rests quiet beneath his escutcheoned marble. There are they who revisit, in their wrath or their remorse, the places where erst they suffered or wrought evil. There is one who, every Halloween, flits into the dining-hall, and hovers beneath the portrait which Hans Holbein made of him, and flings his diaphanous grey form against the canvas, hoping, maybe, to catch from it the fiery flesh tints and the solid limbs that were his, and so

to be reincarnate. He flies against the painting, only to find himself t'other side of the wall it hangs on. There are five ghosts permanently residing in the right wing of the house, two in the left, and eleven in the park. But all are quite noiseless and quite harmless. My servants, when they meet them in the corridors or on the stairs, stand aside to let them pass, thus paying them the respect due to guests of mine; but not even the rawest housemaid ever screams or flees at sight of them. I, their host, often waylay them and try to commune with them; but always they glide past me. And how gracefully they glide, these ghosts! It is a pleasure to watch them. It is a lesson in deportment.

IV

To find the "mots justes" which will describe the art of Beerbohm one must go outside the popular vocabulary of our modern reviewers back to the manners of a more leisurely civilization. The crowded critic who has rapidly estimated *The Divine Fire*, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, and *The Autobiography of Henry Adams* will hardly tune his speech to the key of *Zuleika Dobson*; but the critic of the Gentleman's Magazine could have done it. "We acclaim with especial pleasure the appearance of a new novel from the pen of Mr. Max Beerbohm, and we hasten to assure our readers that it in no respect falls short of that elegance of diction, spirituality of wit, and liveliness of fancy which we have learned to expect in the work of this *bel esprit*." Elegant diction, spirited wit, and lively fancy are in truth the trinity of Beerbohm's art, and if I were to put all his qualities into one word, I should choose to call him elegant in the primal meaning of the word. For it is the faculty of *choice* which impresses me most in his writings—essays, stories, novels, burlettas—the fine discrimination which works surely and slowly, rejecting and choosing until the right word, the right scene, the right touch of character, is found. So wise and so conscientious a craftsman is rare in these days. True, the recent cataclysm has had no trace of effect on him. The intense wars of literature move him only to a satiric grin. He "represents" a school which is as young as history. He is not "modern." But the passage of a true wit through this darkling world should be celebrated with songs and dances, for about his feet spring flowers and sunshine is upon his head. Like Shaw on his bed of pain we ought heartily to extend the hand of welcome when the door of our sick-rooms opens and "there steps spritely in the incomparable Max."

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A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GALLERY OF POETS

When in 1876 J. Woodfall Ebsworth published a reprint of the rare seventeenth century edition of *Choyce Drollery* (1656), he singled out for especial comment the poem entitled "On the Time Poets." In spite of the fact that he knew nothing of its authorship or the date of composition he found it noteworthy for the glimpses of certain literary figures of the early seventeenth century which he found in it. The data which Ebsworth lacked I am now able to supply through the recent discovery of another copy of this poem, one much more full than that which formed the basis of his reprint.

This new copy of the poem is to be found in MS. Ashmole 38 in the Bodleian at Oxford. This manuscript volume, a miscellaneous collection without either date or scribe's name, is in places carelessly written and inaccurate, but it contains a number of poems which can be definitely assigned to the first half of the seventeenth century. There is no reason, then, why we should question its attribution of this poem to the same period provided that internal evidence supports this statement.

In the manuscript the poem bears the heading "Mr. Thomas Randolph the poet, his finger being cut off by a riotous gentleman, his friend Mr. William Hemming made this elegy on the same." The quarrel in which Randolph lost his little finger took place, in all probability, in the latter half of the year 1632, and I am inclined to refer this poem to the same period.¹ Its author, who was a son of the John Hemming associated with Shakespeare in the ownership of the Globe and Blackfriars Theaters, was born about 1602 and was educated with Randolph at Westminster School, whence in 1621 he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. He had literary tastes, and was the author of several plays composed, as he says, by "a worthy gentleman at hours of his recess from happier employments." He must have known, either as a boy about his father's theater, or during his later life in Oxford and London, nearly all of the persons whom he mentions here. All things considered, it

¹ The reference in the poem to Ford's *The Broken Heart*, which was not published until 1633 need cause us no trouble here, since the play had been acted before 1632.

would be hard to find any person more likely to write a poem of this kind than this same William Hemming.

This poem is wholly lacking in literary merit, but nevertheless it is interesting. The characterizations of the various authors, even if they offer us nothing very profound or unusual, are at least those of a contemporary, and as such are worthy of notice. Langbaine quoted frequently from the poem—but only from the parts found in the *Drollery*—and in later times not only Ebsworth and J. P. Collier but a number of other writers have seen fit to make use of it. For this reason, if for no other, it seems to me worth while to publish the poem in full. Aside from the data as to the authorship and date of composition, the chief things which this text gives us are: a number of references to persons not mentioned in the shorter version, the additional lines on Jonson, the passage on John Taylor the “Water Poet”—evidently a rather conspicuous figure in his day—and the picture of the Puritans, which might have been acceptable in 1632, but which in 1656 would probably have been considered out of place even in a droll-book.

The complete copy of the poem is about five times as long as that printed by Ebsworth, but the whole thing hangs together so well (while the printed version leaves much to be desired on the score of clearness) that we may safely assume that the longer text is the correct one. Except for its many omissions the printed version follows this rather closely. The text which I reproduce here is that found in MS. Ashmole 38, except that I have corrected and modernized the spelling and punctuation.

Howl, howl, my sadder Muse, and weep a strain
 All elegiac, hence thou softer vein
 Of Venus' penning, or of writing toys
 To slave the vulgar ears of captive boys.
 Th'art now embarked upon a Red Sea theme,
 Where every word should bleed, and cause a stream
 Of sanguine passion, such as wafted o'er
 Pentheus' torn limbs to the Elysian shore—
 High lines of blood and fire; but these are fled;
 Our finger's loss hath struck all poets dead.
 Else why do they now thus so dully stand,
 Writing no satire 'gainst his bloody hand?
 Invention, sharper than a two-edge sword,
 Should run him through, and kill him with a word—
 With well-digested lies at safer ward

Than Turner o'er the strength of all the guard.
 Give him a cruel cut, but carry it so
 That he take no advantage of the blow.
 Nor kill nor libel him, but let thy brain
 Keep him in awe lest he transgress again,
 And in thrasonic boldness chance to come,
 Having cut all thy fingers from thy thumb.
 Whilest I, thy friend, in a full measure sing
 Thy finger's transportation to that king
 That rules the under world, and the sad state
 Attending on it, to the infernal gate.

Stay here, grieved readers, and a while behold
 This finger's pomp in death, that ne'er wore gold
 Embossed with diamond, or had ever been
 The index to salt lust to point out sin;
 But the sole marginal finger, that did guide
 All eyes to look on learning in her pride.
 That which so oft has tumbled o'er a verse
 Is tumbled now itself into a hearse
 Borne to its grave; by Art, Invention,
 Thrice blessed Nature, Imitation,
 It had been drawn, and we in state approach;
 But Webster's brother would not lend a coach.
 He swore they were all were hired to convey
 The Malfy Duchess sadly on her way.
 And witty Fortune, it seemed, thought it more meet
 To have our poets quaintly use their feet.
 Instead of verse upon his coffin sits
 Our neoterical, refined, wits,
 Whose magnitude of brain has had the force
 To cry a play down to hold up discourse—
 Our classic pates, and such as had the brain
 To make a Caesar speak in Caesar's strain,
 Sejanus like Sejanus, he whose line
 Revives a Catiline in Catiline;
 (And might the great Apollo, pleased with Ben,
 Make the odd number of the Muses ten).
 The fluent Fletcher, Beaumont rich in sense,
 For compliment and courtship's quintessence;
 Ingenious Shakespeare, Massinger that knows
 The strength to write or plot in verse or prose,
 Whose easy Pegasus can amble o'er
 Some threescore miles of fancy in an hour;
 Cloud-grappling Chapman, whose aerial mind
 Soars at philosophy, and strikes it blind;
 Daborne I had forgot, but let it be
 He died amphibion by thy ministry;
 Sylvester Bartas, whose translating pate

Twinned, or was elder to, our laureate;
 Divine composing Quarles, whose lines aspire
 To heaven, and vanish the celestial choir;
 The April of all poesy—Tom May—
 That makes our English speak Pharsalia;
 Sandys metamorphosed into another,
 We know not Sandys or Ovid from each other;
 He that so well on Scoppius played the man,²
 The famous Digges, or Leonard Claudian;
 The pithy Daniel, whose salt lines afford
 A weighty sentence in each little word;
 Heroic Drayton, Wither smart in rhyme,
 The very poet-beadle of the time;
 Pan's pastoral Browne, whose infant Muse did squeak
 At eighteen years better than others speak;
 Shirley, the morning child, the Muses bred
 And sent him us with bays borne on his head;
 Deep in a dump Jack Ford alone was got,
 With folded arms, and melancholy hat;
 The squabbling Middleton, and Heywood sage—
 The apologetic Atlas of the stage—
 Fourscore³ sweet babes he fashioned from the lump,
 For he was christened in Parnassus' pump;
 Well of the golden world⁴ he could entreat,
 But little of the metal he could get;
 The Muses' gossip to Aurora's bed,
 And since that time his face was ever red.
 More worthies like to these I could impart;
 But that we are troubled with a Broken Heart.
 Thus through the horror of infernal deeps
 With easy paces each man softly creeps.
 But being dark they had Alecto's torch,

² It is not clear to whom this line refers. I am of the opinion that Hemming is here confusing Leonard Digges, who in 1617 published a translation of Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine*, with George Digby, who in 1614 led the band of rufians hired by the English ambassador to Spain to waylay and beat Scoppius (Caspar Scoppe) in the streets of Madrid because of his attacks upon King James.

³ It is rather singular to find Heywood here credited with but fourscore plays, since he himself, only about a year later than this, declared that he had "an entire hand or at least a main finger" in two hundred and twenty.

⁴ In the first scene of *The Golden Age* we find the lines:

—and in this Iron Age,

Show you the state of the first golden world.

The latter part of Hemming's lines on Heywood read like an echo of certain lines in *The Brazen Age*. (Act II, sc. 2.)

And this made Churchyard⁵ follow from his porch;
 Poor, torn, tied, tacked—alack, alack,
 You'd think his clothes were built upon his back;
 The whole frame hung on pins, to mend which clothes
 In mirth they sent him to old Father Prose.
 Of these sad poets this way ran the stream,
 And Dekker followed after in a Dream.
 Tom Coryate⁶ from his progress being returned,
 His shoes being mended, with his sole he mourned.
 Rounce robble hobble, he that wrote so big,⁷
 Bass for a ballad, John Shank for a jig,
 Kendall and Fenner,⁸ men of famous crime,
 That dealt in feet, but ne'er wore socks in rhyme;
 Orderly thus disordered they did go—
 True sorrow knows no equipage in woe—
 For sent by Jonson as some authors say
 Brome⁹ went before, and kindly swept the way;
 Next heathen Brome, a bard whose learning lay
 All in his beard, and read a homily,
 A rhapsody of old confused lines,
 Begot in Merlin's age upon the times.
 Next to the bard there went the major drum,
 A kinsman to the finger called Tom Thumb.
 The standard was, because you shall not trip us,
 A witty pamphleteer surnamed Aristippus.¹⁰
 Fancy played on the fife, a large goose quill,

⁵ According to Camden the following epitaph for Thomas Churchyard was commonly current:

Come Alecto and lend me thy torch
 To find a Churchyard in the Church porch.
 Poverty and Poetry this tomb doth inclose;
 Therefore, Gentlemen, be merry in prose.

⁶ Upon his return from his famous journey on the continent, Coryate hung up in the church at Odcombe the shoes in which he had walked from Venice.

⁷ In *Certaine Poetical Conceites* by Richard Stanyhurst occur these lines:
 These thre were upblotching, not shapte, but partlye wel onward,
 A clapping fyerbolt (such as oft, with rounce robel hobble,
 Jove to the ground clattreth) but yeet not finnished holye.

⁸ William Fenner was fond of calling himself "the King's Majesty's Riming Poet."

⁹ This is, of course, Richard Brome, but who "heathen Brome" in the next line may be I do not know.

¹⁰ *Aristippus* (the first edition of which appeared in 1630) was by Randolph himself, but none of the editions which appeared during his life-time bore his name, and it would seem from this reference that even his friends were ignorant as to who the author was.

An instrument in use with poets still.
 The artillery were muskets, pikes, and one
 That rid upon a Pegasus alone.
 The main battalia did consist of foot—
 Dactyls and spondee, tribrachs and a rout
 Of valiant hoof-beaters, such as had been
 In time past old iambics to the Queen.
 For bullets they had words which kill amain,
 Flashes of wit for match, powder of brain;
 The pikes were all long verse, and here and there
 An elbow verse for a more eminent spear.

Thus marched they on, and now at length are come
 For transportation to Elysium.
 The crabbed Charon 'gins to trim his boat,
 Smiling to see so many men of note
 That must be passed. He craves his fare; reply
 Full soon was made—Poets had no money.
 For Wisdom, Temperance, Thrift, in woeful plight,
 Were laid behind, and were quite out of sight.
 But Riot, used to ride, now without boot
 Ran by the coffin naked and a-foot.
 Charon will give no passage—whereupon
 The Water Poet makes an oration.

“Charon, O Charon, thou from whom we know
 The art of navigation—how to row,
 To steer, restem, to calk, to stop a leak,
 How to avoid, or how a billow break.
 I am thy scholar, tutored through and through
 And rowed a water boat to Quinborough.¹¹
 Many a fare have I translated o'er,
 And never stood to bargain with the poor.
 These are good fellows, and a jovial pack
 That have spent all their means in smoke and sack,
 And therefore little thought to pay more dear
 For water after death than for small beer.
 Had thy sad flood been nectar, or divine
 Nepenthe, or some such celestial wine,
 I'd pawn my life that each man would have brought,
 Reserved for that same use, his grand-dam's goat.
 And by their thrift on earth have heaped more store
 Of wealth on high than all thou ferriest o'er.
 These men thy praises sing, thy fame they tell,

¹¹ John Taylor's own account of the voyage from London to Queenborough in a brown paper boat, with two stock-fish tied to canes for oars, may be found in *In Praise of Hemp Seed*. Hemming alludes further on to Taylor's habit of distributing prospectuses of his journeys in the attempt to raise money to defray expenses.

Which makes the usurer bring his coin to Hell.
 Shall I row with my load over the ferry,
 Was made by these in malaga and sherry.
 The learned song in honor of the boatman
 Was meant by thee, and I'll give thee a groat, man.
 And will you stand with these, why these, and they
 Which in their life-time never used to pay?
 For such poor trifles custom none should break—"'
 "Nor will I mine; 'twill make my boat to leak.
 If they want coin," quoth Charon, "let them go
 And write an entertainment or a show."
 With that he pushed them by, for here he saw
 Three or four meager fellows, thin and raw,
 With envy not with study, and they came
 With orphans' goods new gulled at Amsterdam.
 To these, though they seemed poor, the poets went,
 And to their worships pamphlets did present,
 Of pretty begging lines, but they will none
 But what were made by Hopkins or Tom Stone.
 They quaked at Jonson, as by him they pass,
 Because of Tribulation Wholesome and Ananias.
 But Middleton they seem much to adore
 For's learned exercise 'gainst Gondomar.
 To whom they thus, "Pray can you edify
 Our understandings in this mystery?"
 With tears the story he began, whilest they
 Pricked up their ears, and did begin to pray.
 The sad tale ended, nosing out, "Profane,"
 Straight for the finger wished the man were slain.
 Such was their charity, 'cause his sarcenet hood
 So vilely wrote against the Brotherhood.
 And which was worse, that lately he did pen
 Vile things for pygmies 'gainst the Sons of Men.¹²
 The righteous man, and the regenerate,
 Being laughed to scorn there by the reprobate.
 "Brother, say on, you spur your zeal to show,
 To check at these things which the learned know.
 These are but scars, the wound doth deeper lie;
 Who knows but he writes to a monastery?
 And these whom we call players may in time
 Luther abuse, and fence for Bellermine.
 The Pope has juggling tricks, and can use sleights
 To convert players into Jesuits.
 The metamorphoses we see, no other

¹² The piece referred to here is Randolph's *Muses Looking-Glass*, which had been acted in both Cambridge and London. No details of the performances in either place are available.

Than when a cobbler turns a preaching brother.
The Catholic skulls of Spain and Italy
Work all by undermining villainy.
I grant their show is fair, but this you know—
A Papist tutor makes his pupil so.”

The finger, waxing angry at this point,
Fain would have spoke, but it was out of joint.
The Puritains are past, the poets stayed,
Who for a better tide and hour prayed.

The Muses mourn, Minerva, full of ire,
Set half a dozen libraries on fire.
Such was the sight that it did seem to be
A Doomsday, only framed for poetry.
Much of Ben Jonson in her rage did fry,
Whilest he deemed Vulcan for his enemy;
And many learned pates as well as he
Were sadly martyred for this infamy.
And it was thought had not great Maya's son,
The winged Mercury, to Jove's coast run,
And promised present aid, all poetry had been
Forever blasted and accounted sin.
But Hermes brought, which he did late purloin,
A box of quicksilver, the poets' coin—
An active cash, which now is theirs, anon
The vintner's joy, and Presto! it is gone.
This they gave Charon, thus their credits save,
And being ferried o'er abused the knave.

Rabelais, Tasso, Boccas, Anacreon,
Vergil and Horace, smooth-tongued Claudian,
Seneca, Plautus, Terence, and the rest
Salute the finger and applaud the jest.
Pluto and Ceres' daughter absent were,
And little for the finger did they care.
For which the poets swore that they should be
A fertile couple in sterility.
Old Chaucer welcomes them unto the green,
And Spenser brings them to the Faery Queen.
The finger they present, and she in grace
Transforms it to a May-pole, where now trace,
Her skipping servants, and doth nightly sing,
And dance about the same a fairy ring.

FINIS

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FURTHER INFLUENCES UPON IBSEN'S *PEER GYNT*IV. Schack's *Phantasterne*

Schack's remarkable pathological study of the romantic imagination (1857) was brought into connection with Ibsen's poem directly after the latter's appearance by Brandes,¹ who characterized the relation so accurately that it would seem superfluous to expand the brevity of his verdict. What his thorough knowledge of Danish literature and his clear insight into literary origins immediately revealed has since been accessible to Ibsen-interpreters and may be found, for example, in Woerner's book.² In these works it is however, the general fact rather than the specific details that have been given and it remains very much a question whether the full significance of the relation has been adequately impressed upon the Ibsen reader or even the Ibsen scholar.

J. Paulsen³ bears witness to Ibsen's admiration for Schack's novel and his familiarity with it even to the ability to relate episodes from it, while Ibsen himself referred to it in a book-review published in a newspaper in 1860.⁴ What has impressed Brandes and others particularly is that Peer Gynt's fundamental characteristic of withdrawing from the world of reality to a world of fancy and so appearing a dreamer and coward rather than a man of strength of character is exactly what is treated by Schack as a morbid tendency, which once acquired, if not combated with the greatest energy and persistence, leads inevitably to insanity.

In noting further details which the work may have suggested to Ibsen I shall cite from the pages of the third edition of *Phantasterne* published in Copenhagen in 1899.

3 f. The dreamers make of themselves heroes in their imaginary adventures as Peer does of himself in his.

5 ff. The narrator imagines himself (cf. also 205 f.) king of Denmark in the time of Napoleon, who is referred to as

¹ *Samlede Skrifter*, III, 270 (1867).

² *Henrik Ibsen*, I, 258 f. 1900; 2nd ed., 265 f. 1912; cf. also V. Vedel, article on Schack in Salmonsen's *Konversationsleksikon*, 1904 and Chr. Collin, *Bj. Björnson*, II, 314, 1907.

³ *Mine erindringer*, I, 180, 1900; II, 133, 1901.

⁴ *Samlede værker*, X, 451.

"Kejser." Among the aspirations of his companion Christian (who has taken over the rôle) for a greater Denmark England is mentioned, though as evidently hopelessly unattainable, being an island with great sea-power; compare also (10 ff.) the narrator's entrance into Copenhagen as "Kejser" of the Baltic and the homage paid him. Peer in the first act imagines himself king and "Kejser"; as such he rides aloft over the sea to receive the homage of England.

17. The Greeks and the Turks; compare *Peer Gynt*, 4th act.

26 ff. Asia and Africa, the reading of *Aladdin*; compare Peer's travels in the fourth act and the influence of Oehlen-schläger's *Aladdin* upon *Peer Gynt*.

27. "Skal vi saa langt?" "Ja, endnu længer, maaskee!" *Peer Gynt*, close of third act: "Så langt!" "Og længer endda."

33. In the imaginary oriental wanderings Christian takes notes in his notebook. Peer in Egypt (4th act) takes notes. Troy ("Troja") is mentioned in both.

34. "Oldforskeren"; *Peer Gynt* in fifth act reminiscing: "Oldtidsgranskeren."

35. "Prophetens Grav"; compare Peer's masquerade as "Profet."

37. "Sproggransker"; compare Peer's notes upon Begriffen-feldt's language in fourth act. The division of the three fields of investigation in Africa: linguistics, natural sciences and archaeology among the three "Phantaster" had apparently suggested to Ibsen the combination of the three in Peer's scholarly program.

67. Goethe is quoted, with an ironical suggestion that it was the fashion to do so ("at jeg skal vise, at jeg ogsaa kan citere Goethe") as Ibsen has Peer cite him in an off-hand way as an "esteemed author."

73. Faust and Gretchen are expressly referred to and again in the same humorous vein, it being also from *Faust* that Peer quotes.

107. Refuge from unpleasant reality is taken in "Phantasi." Peer's mother had brought him up on this theory, and he subsequently makes use of it for himself and eases his mother's last hours by it.

108 (cf. 4). The "Phantast" develops by "Phantasier" as other persons by actions and events. This thesis is fairly well illustrated by *Peer Gynt*'s whole career.

189. The narrator imagining himself in the devil's rôle had exulted in having "bortsnappet den fede Steg" (cf. 184) from God himself. Ibsen in the fifth act of *Peer Gynt* has the devil ("den Magre") use the same expression. About to leave Peer he explains: "jeg skal hente en *steg*, som jeg håber blir *fed*."

189 f. "Guds Register"; Peer in fifth act is obliged to seek his "Synderegister." With the help of the "Synderegister" Peer hopes to escape the fate threatened him at the hands of the button-moulder. The "Phantast" is repeating the stanza of a hymn in the hope of escaping death and the devil. The stanza refers to the reckoning up of his life's account.

193. The narrator had from childhood felt that he would sometime by an unexpected event be called to a great career. Peer Gynt in his youthful years assures his mother he is born to something great.

197. The narrator at the crisis of his ailment contemplates the approach of insanity, as his friend Christian, the leader and original suggestor of the romantic debauches, later actually lands in the insane asylum (297). The crowning of Peer Gynt at the close of the fourth act as "Kejser" in the Cairo insane asylum probably owes its first suggestion to Schack's work, as I have noted before.⁵

198. "Phantasi" as a lie ("Løgn"). At the very start of Ibsen's play mother Åse accuses Peer of lying, he being engaged in narrating an imaginary adventure.

206. The narrator realizes that he is becoming insane, declaring that he has to get out of his own skin ("gaae ud af mit eget Skind") in order to get into it again, that he has to lie doubly in order to get back to the truth (He has imagined himself as himself in order to escape from his trouble and get back at work). This undoubtedly stands in relation to and helps explain, so far as it is susceptible of explanation, the insane Begriffenfeldt's declaration with reference to absolute reason, that it is not dead, but that it has gone out of itself, out of its skin ("Han er gået fra sig selv. Af sit skind er han gået"), which involves a whole revolution and reversal of intellectual values, with Peer Gynt as "Kejser."

207. The narrator finds help neither with God nor in himself and decides to resort to the devil. Peer in fifth act finding himself without hope of heaven tries to qualify for hell.

⁵ *Journ. Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, XIII, 243, 1914.

211. The narrator, despairing of himself, God and the devil, decides to hang himself, but lacks the courage. Peer in fourth act advises the insane fellow to hang himself and is dismayed and incredulous when he actually proceeds to do so.

225 f. The night watchman remarks of his wife that she is so bad that the only possibility of improvement would be a complete recreation—body and soul. This impresses the narrator as pretty much his own need also. It is not essentially different from the program of the button-moulder with respect to Peer.

227. Work as the sole means of salvation, not plans, etc.; this corresponds in essence with Ibsen's idea of going straight through, not round about as Peer does.

228. "Lysets Engel"; Peer in fifth act, "Lysets bud."

229 ff. Repentance ("Anger") appears as a hindrance to work and salvation, and accordingly as in part an inspiration of the devil. This helps explain an episode of Ibsen's poem that has caused difficulty to the commentator, viz., that in the fifth act of the yarn-balls, the withered leaves, etc. These represent exactly the work, or attempted work, of penitence in Peer's mind and Peer comes to exactly the same conclusion as the "Phantast" of Schack—that it is best to run away, as one's own sins are heavy enough without bearing those of the devil ("Fandens synder") in addition. Already in the third act after the encounter with the green-clad woman and her son Peer moralizes in similar tone upon repentance and avoids it. Recognition of the parallelism will of course not blind one to the fact that the reaction of the "Phantast" is one of practical common sense, while that of Peer is one of cowardice. Ibsen is, however, making it clear that Peer can not be saved by penitence.

232. "Han led og stred og Seier vandt" applied to persons who have recently died is compared by the narrator with his own case. This is in substance the text of the funeral sermon in *Peer Gynt* over the peasant who had mutilated himself to escape military service; Peer also compares with his own case.

263. Mention of photography ("Daguerreotypien") as a new invention; Ibsen has the devil ("den Magre") in Act 5 make use of the new discovery of photography ("i Paris") as a means of instruction to Peer with reference to the development of character.

263. America appears in Schack's work in connection with an American invention for weaving negroes' hair into a good fabric. We learn in Ibsen's fourth act that Peer had been in America dealing in negro slaves.

285. Allusion is made to the fondness of Thomas, the skeptic among the "Phantaster," for "det Reelle." In Ibsen's work it is Master Cotton as representative of England who speaks for "det reelle."

295. The princess Blanca in her romantic days had cut out of a book of fairytales a merman ("Havmand") with a gold crown, put him in a pasteboard palace and sunk it in the little lake. Peer in the third act imagines a mermaid ("Havfrue") as the most essential ornament of his castle (He is building a hut in the woods).

298. Christian, the chief of the "Phantaster," upon becoming an inmate of the insane asylum associates mostly with a small inmate, described as a "sørgelig Skikkelse," who resembles a monkey. The fact that he is kept constantly climbing trees to play Zacchaeus for Christian helps in the latter suggestion. With him is to be compared Huhu ("mørk skikkelse") in the Cairo insane asylum of *Peer Gynt* and his championship of the orang-utang language.

The above comparison shows clearly enough that Ibsen was favorably affected by Schack's work and that its influence was such that he wrote essentially in its spirit. The difference is, as has already been observed (Brandes, *loc. cit.*), that what Schack treated as a disease Ibsen treated as a sin. There is then a more personal attitude of indignation in Ibsen's case, the fire of an intense enthusiasm, which is absolutely lacking in the other work. The relation is however much more vital than has been adequately appreciated. Ibsen in his life work passed through all the chief literary movements of the nineteenth century (including the close of the eighteenth). Of the transitions the most abrupt and at the same time the most important is that from the romantic in its various directions to modern realism, which Ibsen first approached in his poetic philosophic dramas. In this approach the two literary influences of greatest moment, so far as can be seen at present, were Schack and Heiberg. Schack's influence was in the negative direction; he helped Ibsen to see that romanticism belonged to the past, that

it had no longer a part in the world of productive reality. It is possible, and indeed probable, that it was not solely or even primarily Schack that led Ibsen to this conviction, but in Schack's work Ibsen at any rate found a means of approach to the destruction of romanticism within himself and in his poetic production that appealed strongly to him and proved a very real help in a difficult, not to say critical process. If Schack's influence was in so far destructive, Heiberg's was on the contrary constructive. In Heiberg Ibsen not only found, as we have shown before, the model for an incisive satire of the philistine aspects of contemporary life, but he also set about realizing the aesthetic theory illustrated and preached by Heiberg, that the philosophical poetic drama is the highest form of literature.⁶

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⁶ Heiberg, *Prosaiske Skrifter*, I, 485 ff. (1835 and 1861).

REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE HEROIC LEGENDS OF DENMARK. By Axel Olrik. Translated from the Danish by Lee M. Hollander, N. Y. 1919. Pp. XVI+530. (The American-Scandinavian Foundation. *Monograph Series, Vol. IV.*)

Axel Olrik's *Danmarks Helledigtning* was widely reviewed in leading philological and literary journals at the time of its appearance.¹ The work is also well-known among specialists in this country. The task of the reviewer of the translation, then, will be especially to indicate wherein the author has for this edition revised his original views and altered his presentation; secondly to determine whether the translation is an adequate and satisfactory rendering of Olrik's work. I shall turn first to the former, and it will be well to deal somewhat fully with that. During the thirteen years that Olrik lived since Vol. I of his *magnum opus* was published he has continuously been engaged in further investigation into the heroic literature of Denmark and the domain of Scandinavian folklore. Much of the results of these investigations was embodied in the continuations (Vols. II-III) of his *Helledigtning*. But naturally they now and then reflected new light back upon the problems dealt with in the first volume of those studies;² and there have been some investigations by other scholars. An examination of the present volume shows that there have been made certain important modifications and some minor ones. I now indicate these.

Chapter I (pp. 12-65), "Denmark During the Migration of Nations," has received a much fuller treatment. See below.

Chapters II-III, "The Biarkamal," pp. 66-216, remain the same.

Chapter IV, pp. 217-260, "Legends of Hrolf's Warriors," has received a few additions. Thus in the story about the bone-throwing at the marriage of Agnar and Hrut, Hrolf's sister, Olrik contented himself with discussing the brief form in Saxo and the Icelandic elaboration of the Biarki and Hialti episode. He now also shows that the episode refers to an old custom deeply rooted in Scandinavia, as evidenced in the old laws, in Faroese ballads, and in some of the sagas (pp. 219-220). It was a form of sport in the hall of the Danish kings during the Viking Age, by which the agile warrior showed his skill and the despised

¹ Vol. I was published in 1903, Vol. II in 1910, Vol. III in 1915. Vol. I, of which this is a translation, was reviewed by Karl Mortensen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift*, 1903, pp. 410-414; by E. Mogk in *Zeitschrift für Völkerkunde*, XIV, 250-252; by L. Pineau, *Revue Critique*, LVI, 487; by W. Ranisch in *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XXI, 276-280, and by A. Heusler in *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXX, 26-36.

² Entitled: *Rolf Krake og den ældre Skjoldungerække*.

or the degraded one was the butt of the fun. In the story of Bjarki and Hjalti many motifs have been combined; and it is the weakest warrior that suffers the ill-treatment; the strong warrior appears as the protector of the despised one. The story of the bear-hunt is similarly more completely interpreted by evidence, this time, from Norwegian and Swedish customs (p. 224). These are the additions. (There is a minor omission, of the last §, p. 133, of the original, regarding a possible double method of taking oath.)

Chapter V, pp. 261-323, "Legends Concerning the Race of Halfdan," remains essentially the same. On p. 268 is added the fairy-tale parallel³ to the Icelandic description of the Queen Oluf episode. Further under "The Childhood of Helgi and Hroar" North of England legends⁴ as the prototype of the Hroar-Helgi story are discussed.

Chapter VI, pp. 324-347, "The Royal Residence at Leire." The author calls in also possible archeological evidence on the problem of the location of Leire castle, pp. 342-346 (also on graves of the Gold Period, p. 339).

Chapter VII, pp. 348-380, "Hrolf's Berserkers," remains essentially the same. However to the story about how Hrolf and his warriors leap over the fire (an adventure at Athil's Court in Sweden) he adds information from Olaus Magnus of an ordeal by fire practised by Swedish courtiers; of it, however, Olrik regards the Hrolf episode as but a fleeting reminiscence, not a record from personal knowledge. On p. 374 he adds some evidence of traces of the Biarki legend from Northern England.

Chapter VIII, pp. 381-445, "Scyld." Here the discussion under "Scyld and Scaef," pp. 396-400, has been rewritten into the form of a résumé of the fuller treatment in the Danish original (to which the translation refers), chapters 37-38 of Vol. I and chapter 38 of Vol. II. In the original Olrik deals somewhat fully with the legend about Scaef, the sheaf of grain and the journey by ship. The central question was whether the legend originally attached itself to Scyld or Scaef. He noted the confusion in the sources: *Widsith*, *Beowulf*, *Æthelweards' Chronicle*, and *William of Malmesbury*, and the opposing views among scholars today whether Scyld or Scaef is to be regarded as the real progenitor in the genealogical legend. With Herman Möller he held that to Scyld rightly belongs that position, the epithet Sceaþing meant from the first only something like "he of the Sheaf" or "son of the sheaf"; and by a misunderstanding the word was among the Anglo-Saxons taken to mean "Son of Sceaþ." Olrik then separated the legend into two: Scaef belongs to a well-known type of legend with the

³ Modern Icelandic and Faroese.

⁴ Published by O. L. Olson in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, III, 1916, pp. 68-81.

foundling-motif with name defining elements. The original Scyld legend resolves itself into the myth about the hero-child who comes from the unknown supernatural world with royal ship, weapons and treasures, and who upon his death returns there, as a warlike semi-divine founder of the warlike royal race. In Vol. II, ch. 38, under "Stamfader og Kornvætte," the progenitor legend and grain-myths are dealt with fully, partly in refutation of Chadwick's opposite interpretation, accepted by Neckel. The summary in the translation emphasizes Sceáf's appearance without any connection with the Scyldings; his prescriptive right to the Sheaf on the ship; that Sceaf from the oldest times was assumed to be the progenitor of one or more tribes on the Baltic or the North Sea; the legend of the progenitor arriving on a ship is known among a number of peoples inhabiting the coasts of the North Sea as well as among the Danes, and to have attached itself to various names according to the necessity of the case; Scyld had his place in the poems celebrating the greatness of the Scyldings composed in the migration period and the name may be older. It is however noted, p. 399, that in the old cult-rite practiced among the people along the Thames the sheaf (sceáf) was placed on a shield (scyld) to float down with the stream. And Olrik grants the possibility that the divinity symbolized might become designated either Sceáf for Scyle—probably the former, for the sheaf represented the person sailing and the shield only his ship. But this is not the real problem. Only with Scyld's appearance in his ship, introducing the glorious age of the Scyldings, a conception which, on the whole, is maintained in Beowulf, does the significance of the legend for Danish heroic poetry begin.

Chapter IX, pp. 446-476, "The Peace of King Frothi," is a summary of chapters 45-50 of the original. The *Grottasongr* is presented in its entirety in stanza form.

Chapter X, pp. 477-483, "The Older Line of the Scyldings," remains as in the original. Similarly the Conclusion, pp. 484-507, except that its pages 336-343, "Forskningens Standpunkt" are omitted.

We return then to Chapter I. Under "Danish Kings in Anglo-Saxon Poems" the change from a discussion in order of sources to a discussion under names and families and events (Scyld and the Scylding family, Ingeld's marriage, the fighting in the hall Heorot, the Hrothulf episode, the King's son Heoroward, Kings not belonging to the Scyldings) is much better and clearer. Among the sources is added Alcuin's testimony regarding an OE. lay about King Ingeld. New material is added also otherwise. I can do best by indicating Olrik's views as now expressed: The similarities in the persons and the events of *Beowulf* and Scandinavian tradition prove with absolute cer-

tainty that the poet of *Beowulf* did not himself invent these persons and these events. The introductory lines do not accord well with the epic, as it now stands; they belonged to some lay that really treated of the Danish warrior Kings. In regard to Ingeld's marriage the breaking out of the old feud and the fight in the hall Heorot in Widsith and in *Beowulf* 81-85 the conclusion is that the three are accounts of the same event of the Heathobard wars with some variations in emphasis; they are variations of a single, tragically inspired episode of the Heathobard feud. Throughout, then, in the events themselves and in the character of the personages the English tradition shows a remarkably detailed picture of the Danish realm and its royal race, as well as of the events that took place in the heroic period, i.e., in the period of the Migrations of the Nations (p. 23). There is added at this point a new investigation regarding the extent of the Danish realm, without arriving at any difficult answer; there is present merely a vague idea of its great extent. In regard to the facts of the reign of the Halfdan dynasty and accounts about the family of the Scyldings they do not point to connected history information, but are based on lays with circumscribed action (as Ingeld's marriage, Hrothgar's and his son's relations to Hrothulf, and the relation of Hrothulf to Heoroward).

Olrik presents now a much fuller account of the Danes about the year 500 than in the original. It is an effort to draw a complete picture of the time from the evidences of archeology (pp. 35-41). The exceedingly valuable contribution "The Naming-Custom of the Migration Period" is left as in the original. It would seem here that continued investigations in this general field of Old Germanic Scandinavian name-giving should have been taken account of in the translation. I cannot myself quite subscribe to the author's view that the application of the principle of alliteration is sharply limited in time,⁵ a point which space forbids taking up in this place. The discussion of name-giving closes by an emphasis upon the necessity of also lexicological study of the individual names as tests of the trustworthiness of *Beowulf*. In the following much elaborated section on "The Scylding Feud" the unhistoric characters Hunferth (= Unferth < Unfrid), "Unpiece, Disturber of the Peace") and Wealthew are conclusively shown.

Regarding the translation I may say that Dr. Hollander has in the main given us an eminently satisfactory rendering of Olrik's great work. It has not been an easy piece of work to do and we have no right to demand perfection in such a case; but he has done scholarship a great service by his share in the labor of placing before a larger English public such an important work. The

⁵ I may refer to my article on "Alliteration and Variation in Early Germanic Name-Giving," *M. L. N.*, XXXII, pp. 7-17.

translation is almost always correct as regards meaning. Such a case as the following is very rare: It is noteworthy to observe how frequently a start is made, as it were, in the very oldest poems of our race, to compose a Biarkamal for: *Det er mærkeligt at se, hvor ofte man finder ligesom tilløb til Bjarkemål i vor folkestammes ældste kvad.* I may, perhaps, be permitted to note a few cases of inexactness citing the original first.

P. 67. *Her har vi altsaa et navn med den for Halfdan-slægten ejendommelige begyndelse med H.* Transl: We would, then, have another name beginning with H, which is the uniform characteristic of the line of Halfdan (p. 144).

P. 229. *Denne mishandling som vor tid vil ækles ved, minder om vilde folkeslags ældgamle straffemaader,* peculiarly rendered by: However repellent to us, this maltreatment reminds one of the ancient modes of punishment among wild tribes.

P. 24. *Betydningen af denne nye navneskik er åbenbar nok; den udspringer fra et poetisk hensyn.* Transl: The purpose of this new custom of naming is apparent enough. It is due to poetic exigencies. (*Betydningen*, 'The significance').⁶

In a number of cases a too close adherence to the phraseology or word-combination of the original results in inexact or un-English constructions, as P. 139: Nevertheless the poet is for no moment in doubt about his hero's limitations (*Dog er digteren intet øjeblik*, etc.); P. 145, taken from some older lay (*lånt fra et eller andet ældre kvad*); P. 148, Considering that she is given only passing mention in the Biarkemal the thought suggests itself that she was no real person, but another *Skuld*—one of the norms or Valkyrias—was meant, and that Hiarvarth's descent on Leire was made *at Skuldar Ráði*, "by decree of the Fates (*Når man læser, hvor flygtig hun omtales i Biarkemål, ligger den tanke ellers ikke fjærn, at hun egentlig intet virkeligt menneske var, men at det var Skuld som en af nornerne eller valkyrierne, så at Hjarvards overfald skede "at Skuldar ráði," efter skæbnemødens bestemmelse*); P. 184, The fragments are easiest to recognize in the prose version (*Brudstykkerne kan bedst genkendes*, etc.); P. 72, In a more superficial way, also (*Også på en anden mere ydre måde*); The castle is fired (*Borgen blir tændt i brand*).⁷

The sentence beginning with a present participle is sometimes heavy as compared with the smooth original; so p. 145: Going back to the oldest traditions as found in the English epics, the explanation is simple enough (is this English)? The original reads *Flytter vi det imidlertid over til den ældre sagnverden, er forstaaelsen af det simpelt nok.* On pp. 274–5 three successive

⁶ Other cases, Translation p. 143, The figure, etc.; p. 226, The stories, etc.; p. 435, As our, etc.; p. 448, line 6; p. 193, If one should, etc.: p. 77, scanning the English epics (*Søger man til de engelske kvad*).

⁷ P. 164, Rather say "Thus sings Wiglaf," than "Thus chants Wiglaf." Why use the long extinct "leman" for *frille*, p. 228 and elsewhere?

paragraphs begin with this construction. Cp. also p. 178, 259, and elsewhere.

Sometimes when there is no change in stylistic level in the original, the translation, by a commonplace, drops to a lower level. This is perhaps not a very serious matter, but personally I should have preferred a different word in some cases. I note p. 70, "hodgepodge" for *virvar* (mixture), p. 151, "hit upon" for *fandt*; p. 301 it is not difficult 'to make out' the legendary motifs for *gennemskue* (rather 'penetrate,' 'discover,' or simply 'see'), p. 373. This whole long story about Bodvar for *Dette lange Bodvar-æventyr*.

There is considerable inconsistency in the use of the words Norn, Norse, Northern, Scandinavian, Norwegian, etc. The translator's preface informs us that the word *Norn* (Old Norse *Norræn*) has been used instead of "the clumsy Old West Scandinavian" in deference to the express wish of the author (XIV), and that: "It is used in contradistinction, on the one hand, to the more general Old Norse, Northern, Scandinavian, and to Old Danish, Swedish, etc., on the other." We already here meet with a peculiar contradiction: *Norn*, which is from Old Norse (that is Old-Norwegian-Icelandic) *norroen* meaning West Scandinavian (Norwegian and Icelandic), is to be used in contradistinction "to the more general Old Norse, Northern Scandinavian, etc." Thus the word Old Norse is used two ways in the two sentences: once in the specific sense it regularly has, and once in the more general meaning of Scandinavian.⁸ The word *Norn* usually appears as defined in the preface; so p. 10, p. 355, line 3, and elsewhere. But it is also used for "norsk" in the original, i.e., for "Norwegian" (twice on p. 199): On the other hand the translator, according to general usage, writes "Old Norse" on p. 204, p. 356 etc. On p. 287 it is called "Old *Norn*" saga, l. 4 from the bottom (while on the same page again "Norn" is used for "norroen," once, and for "norsk" once). Elsewhere the word "norsk" of the original is rendered correctly and clearly by "Norwegian," as p. 372 (*norsk folkvise*, Norwegian ballad). There would seem to be no place for the name "Norse," and when used, the general reader will understand by it the modern languages of Norway and Iceland; that he logically would do. "Norse" occurs many times in the text, as p. 3 where it seems to mean "Modern Scandinavian"; but on p. 189 "Norse" translates "norroen," which is evidently also the connotation of it in p. 229; however on p. 288 it translates "nordisk" similarly twice on p. 356. Again on p. 205 "northern" appears in this broadest sense, and elsewhere, by the side

⁸ On this point of the use of Old Norse why not leave well enough alone: Old Danish, Old Swedish, Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic are all clear. Old Norse is a short name for Old West Scandinavian of Iceland and Norway combined, whose languages and literature are so closely related.

of "Scandinavian." This is somewhat confusing, as will readily be seen: it could have been avoided by using consistently the word "Norn," according to the wishes of the author, and eliminating the word "Norse."

While I have therefore thought it desirable to have attention called to what I feel are mistakes, I wish finally to say that in comparison with the very great achievement the translation as a whole represents, these are but minor matters after all. In the main the translation has been well done; the proof-reading has been done with great care, very few misprints appearing (*Odinsjageren* for *Odinsjægeren* in note p. 154 *ætum*—for *ætum*-, p. 165, incomplete quotation marks, p. 4 after *arms**; *Þidreksaga*, p. 426, note *Danske Historisk tidsskrift*, p. 149; *Oldn. Literatur Historie*, p. 140 note; *Oldn. lit. hist.* p. 183, note; old *Norn*, p. 287; *Nordsällandske*, p. 319; *Rietz, Svensk dialect lexicon*, p. 319 (*Svenskt Dialekt Lexikon*); *undersogelse*, p. 333, note; on p. 513, Table, the correspondence to VIII, 3 in the original should be 37-38 and that to 4 should be 39; Add to the Index the names: East-Götland, 37; Iðunn, 434 note; Hergrimsbani, 4; HoltingaR, 44; Sigar, 23, note 13; Vígláf, 107.

The book is clear in arrangement of contents, excellently printed, and in every way attractively gotten up. The American Scandinavian Foundation is to be congratulated upon adding this last volume to its Monograph series. It is hoped that it may be widely read.

GEORGE T. FLOM

Urbana, Dec. 3, 1919

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF FRIEDRICH HEBBEL. By T. M. Campbell, Boston, Richard Badger, 1919.

In spite of the widely varying estimate of Hebbel as a poet, literary historians and critics are agreed upon that he is one of the important German dramatists of the nineteenth century. Accordingly Campbell indeed needs to offer no apology for presenting to the English-reading public an account of his life and works. Quite on the contrary, he has by his undertaking filled an important gap and rendered a real service to teachers and students of German literature. Campbell's treatment of his subject is very satisfactory. There is ample evidence that he has made careful use of the extensive literature on Hebbel, but has preserved his independence of judgment, and formulated his own estimates.

The impartial critic will find little occasion for disagreement. The essential features in the life and works of Hebbel are well brought out, and the very individual views of this author are set forth in a comprehensible manner. It is especially commend-

able that Campbell has avoided empty generalizations and rhetorical phrases. The simplicity and precision of his language enable the reader to form from the very beginning a clear conception, which individual study of Hebbel will confirm in most essentials. There is only this to be said that Campbell in a few instances has been too much disposed to find in the plays of Hebbel actually accomplished what the author, according to his own utterances, intended to achieve. But Campbell has fortunately not been carried away and totally blinded to all the shortcomings in the man and the poet by the panegyrics of the Hebbel worshippers. He has also chosen his illustrative material well. A striking instance is Ihering's account of the visit which Hebbel paid him in Göttingen. Nothing could bring out any better the egotistic attitude and overbearing self-esteem of Hebbel. But this is only one of many instances where Campbell succeeds in impressing upon his readers by a few lines, and entirely without comment of his own, some important trait or fact in the character or life of Hebbel.

Various critics have endeavored to discredit Hebbel as a poet by stamping him pre-eminently a philosophical thinker. Campbell prefers to oppose such views rather than to ignore them. But in his efforts to vindicate Hebbel as a poet, he is led in a few instances to make a statement which seems not quite tenable, as for example on page twenty-seven. I agree with him that poems like *Existence* and *Enlightenment* "do not spring from reflection in the abstract sense," but I am of the opinion that "the emotional realization of the universal" is impossible. The universal we can grasp only by means of the intellect, but a certain concept once formed may well become the object of our emotions, without the intervention of the intellectual process at the time of a given experience. As far as Hebbel's creative faculty is concerned, one may be in doubt if it ever was entirely divorced from reflection. But this perpetual presence of reflection in all his states of consciousness may well have made him oblivious to it, nay even to the possibility of any other mode of poetic production. Most readers, however, will reject with Campbell the views of Arno Scheunert, who desires every utterance of Hebbel interpreted in the light of his metaphysics, *i.e.*, pantragically. The importance of Hebbel's philosophical thought has in general been overestimated, though there may be many at the present time who regard his view of life as only too true.

In his discussion of *Genoveva*, Campbell designates Siegfried's mode of procedure upon being convinced of Genoveva's infidelity as "an act that outrages our sensibilities in the highest degree." That in itself would not matter so much. The question is whether or not Hebbel was justified in introducing this feature in his play. It might be said in his defense that he

merely followed his source, and that Siegfried's mode of action conforms to the code of knightly honor and the usage of his time. Moreover, any essential change which would leave the final outcome unaltered would have required the greatest skill, as a matter of fact, it seems that it could have been made only at the cost of probability. If we judge Siegfried by the standards of his own age, his action is at least not improbable. Hebbel, influenced by the Draconian laws of the Dithmarsh peasantry, very likely saw in Siegfried's conduct a commendable feature rather than a shortcoming. It remains, however, true that from the psychologic point of view Siegfried's decision must be regarded as resulting not from any stern adherence to some principle of honor or judicial custom, but from a certain moral cowardice. To spare himself grief and torment, he shuns his duty to sit in judgment over Genoveva in his own person. To be sure, in the last analysis, the exigencies of the play made his course of action necessary—and of Hebbel we should expect least of all that he should spare the sensibilities of his readers.

One readily agrees with Campbell that *Mary Magdalene* is not a well chosen title for the play in question, since the chief character really has nothing in common with the biblical Mary Magdalene. But *Clara*, which Campbell favors, would have been worse, it seems to me, since it is too colorless. In master Anton's make-up, pride is the trait which cannot be given too much emphasis. He is too conscious of his own righteousness, and at the same time he puts the chief stress on external appearances. Accordingly he depreciates the self-sacrifice of his daughter, saying: "Sie hat mir nichts erspart—man hat's gesehen!" His self-righteous pride and narrowness led him to insult the bailiff by treating him as a social outcast, an act that later becomes an important dynamic factor in the development of the dramatic action. Characteristic of Anton's type is also his mania for justice at any cost. *Fiat justitia et pereat mundus*, he believes with Michael Kohlhaas. But there is no fault to be found with Campbell's appraisal of Anton; he is, however, slightly in error when he states: "Leonhard's good intentions are not shattered, though shaken by the discovery that Clara's father has given away her dowry to save an old friend." Such is hardly the case. Leonhard must put up with it for the time being, since he does not dare to offend public opinion by retracting his suit without an "honorable" cause. This is made clear by his comment upon the death of Clara's mother, or rather upon the accusation against her son: "Schrecklich! Aber gut für mich!" He sees at the instance that the occurrence furnishes him the loophole by which he can make his escape without bringing upon himself any odium in the eyes of the people, and resolves at once to break off the engagement.

Though a Vienna audience of Hebbel's own time found the motives of Clara insufficient, the play is in its totality more convincing than *Herod and Mariamne*. The causes of Mariamne's tragic fate as recorded by Josephus are fully manifest and easily comprehensible. Hebbel, however, set himself indeed a difficult task when he undertook to represent Mariamne as still faithful and unflinching in her love for Herod after the treacherous death of her brother, and yet make the tragic end of Mariamne appear in the light of the inevitable. To accomplish this, he completely transformed the character of Mariamne, but not in an all together convincing manner. As Campbell observes, in the crucial scene "there are moments when a single impulsive outburst of love on the part of either (Herod or Mariamne) would at once clear up every misunderstanding, which is preserved only by the insistence of each on a particular point." This insistence is more readily understood on the part of Herod, steeped in suspicion as he is; in Mariamne it seems less natural and convincing. Herod begs for a word of assurance where at first he has hoped for a solemn oath, but Mariamne replies severely logical:

"Und leistete ich den (Schwur), was bürgte dir,
Dass ich ihn hielte? Immer nur ich selbst,
Mein Wesen, wie Du's kennst. D'rum denke ich,
Du fängst, da Du mit Hoffnung und Vertrau'n
Doch enden musst, sogleich mit beiden an!
Geh! Geh! Ich kann nicht anders! Heut' noch nicht!"

She not only requires that Herod should know and fathom her innermost being but he must also be convinced that Mariamne is as constant and unchangeable as God himself. According to Mariamne's reasoning, any promise, pledge or covenant would be superfluous—or worthless. But our own age, though nineteen centuries have elapsed since the days of Herod, has evidently not yet recognized this truth, in spite of the supposed advance in the valuation of the individual. Mariamne disdains to dispel the doubt cast upon her, out of sheer self-respect, because she considers it beneath her dignity to offer an explanation. Such a character is possible, but will be liable in all ages to being misjudged. Mariamne's self-esteem really comes dangerously near being inordinate pride, and her self-restraint would seem impossible if her love for Herod were more than a sort of intellectual passion, coupled with a lofty sense of what she owes to herself. It is not in the least strange that Herod should not fully comprehend this disdainful pride, for in spite of his determination to have and to hold at any price, he is apparently not lacking in a certain humility in his attitude toward Mariamne, of whom he says:

"Ich bin ihr so viel schuldig, dass sie mir
Nichts schuldig werden kann, und fühl' es tief."

Hebbel has spared no pains to convince us that Mariamne's humanity has been grievously injured. He even sought to re-enforce his position by the protest of Soemus against the commission given him by Herod, Mariamne finds:

"Du bist, wie ich, in Deinem Heiligsten
Gekränkt, wie ich, zum Ding herabgesetzt."

Soemus himself confesses that Herod in him

"Den Mann zu ehren wusste und den Menschen."

But he places a certain emphasis upon the practical aspect of the matter. Herod gave him an order which, if executed, must entail the destruction of Soemus himself. It is an order

"durch den er mich
Herzlos, wie Dich, dem sichern Tode weihte,
Durch den er mich der Rache Deines Volks,
Dem Zorn der Römer und der eignen Tücke
Preisgab, wie Dich der Spitze meines Schwerts.
Da hatt' ich den Beweis, was ich ihm galt!"

The import of the following passage is virtually the same, although the ethical aspect is brought out, too. We have here the spectacle of a man who seeks to set forth the moral justification of a conduct determined upon for practical reasons. That the practical grounds are the most important to him seems indicated by the fact that he reiterates them.

"So gross ist Keiner, dass er mich als Werkzeug
Gebrauchen darf! Wer Dienste von mir fordert,
Die mich, vollbracht und nicht vollbracht, wie's kommt,
Schmachvoll dem sichern Untergange weih'n,
Der spricht mich los von jeder Pflicht, dem muss
Ich zeigen, dass es zwischen Königen
Und Slaven eine Mittelstufe gibt,
Und dass der Mann auf dieser steht!"

Soemus' indignation seems quite natural. In spite of his services and his friendship, Herod has given him a base commission which endangers his personal safety. The old, tried warrior would, of course, not object to sacrificing his life in a noble cause, but will not execute a base commission at the risk of his life. Mariamne, however, does not at all revolt because her life has twice been put in jeopardy, but only and solely because her spiritual self has been trampled in the dust. Campbell speaks of Mariamne's struggle to check the gradual degradation of Herod. This statement can only refer to the inner conflicts of Mariamne. In her actual dealings with Herod, all her efforts are bent upon keeping him in the dark in regard to her true feelings and intentions, so that he may have an opportunity to prove his faith in her, and love for her—and thereby, according to the intentions of Hebbel, redeem himself in the only possible manner. One readily believes Mariamne's repeated

asseverations that she would not survive Herod, and yet one doubts if love is the chief motive for her resolution, whether or not love really tempers her lofty pride.

It is surely not to be regarded as a sin of omission that Campbell has not commented upon the extreme one-sidedness of some of the minor characters in this play. Here belongs especially Alexandra, who seems utterly incapable of experiencing any other emotions than hate, and cannot be disturbed in the pursuit of her plans and intrigues by any event whatsoever. Titus, too, seems but the embodiment of one single trait: superior, imperturbable tranquillity. Throughout the entire course of the action, he remains a dispassionate spectator, until at the very end, when the queen confesses to him her innocence, he betrays some emotion. Hebbel wanted to represent in him, we must suppose, the superiority of the Roman.

There exists a somewhat similar difficulty in *Gyges and his Ring*, as in the play just discussed. The course of Rhodope is psychologically comprehensible, her ultimate self-destruction, perhaps, excepted, if we are ready to assume the necessary magnitude of the offense committed by Kandaules. Rhodope, unlike Mariamne, is not setting up a new standard of individual worth, greatly in advance of her time; her indignation results from the violation of ancient morality rather than of mere custom, as some critics would have us believe. The play leaves us in doubt, not as concerns the nature of the infraction, but certainly in regard to the degree. Some interpreters of Hebbel have minimized it, and want us to assume that Gyges beheld Rhodope merely with unveiled face. If one accepts this view, the severity of the atonement exacted seems staggering, and Rhodope's sensibility somewhat incredible. The view is, however, not tenable, judging by the evidence contained in the drama. The offense is committed at night, in the sleeping chamber of Kandaules and Rhodope. Gyges remains there for some time; he has leisure enough to possess himself of a jewel which the queen has worn and taken off upon retiring. Kandaules we must imagine on his couch, for when Rhodope suspects the presence of a third person, she bids him arise. The assumption that Rhodope had likewise retired seems inevitable. She considers herself so degraded by what has happened that she keeps aloof from Kandaules, whom she still considers innocent, in order not to pollute him. She demands an unheard of punishment for the offender, and considers her own extinction an absolute necessity. She cannot find terms strong enough to brand the wrong inflicted upon her. When she discovers Kandaules' complicity, she inquires of Gyges:

"Er hat sein Gattenrecht Dir abgetreten?"

And all this ado because Gyges has seen her unveiled features? Surely not. Rhodope indeed appears unveiled before Karna,

and also before Gyges himself. To be sure, she is convinced of the latter's guilt, although it is not yet proven. And why should she of her own choice disgrace herself a second time, that is, if it is a disgrace for her to be beheld without a veil by the eyes of a man. Before she ends her life, she declares:

“Denn keiner sah mich mehr, als dem es ziemte . . . ”

Accordingly there is nothing unseeming, no degradation in the fact that Karna saw her without veil. Of her favorite servant, Rhodope asks the significant question:

“Und wenn mich Gyges sah, wann sah er mich?”

We need, moreover, not form our conclusion on the basis of Rhodope's utterances and conduct alone. We have the statements of Gyges by which to judge the enormity of the offense. He confesses:

“Denn frevelhaft erschien das Wagniss mir!
 Und jetzt noch schauert's durch die Seele mir,
 Als hätt' ich eine Missethat begangen,
 Für die der Lippe zwar ein Name fehlt,
 Doch dem Gewissen die Empfindung nicht.”

And later he states:

“Mit diesen meinen beiden Augen
 Verübt' ich einen Frevel, den die Hände
 Nicht überbieten, nicht erreichen würden . . . ”

He feels at once that only with his life he can atone for his conduct, though he acted only at the instigation of the husband. Such is the estimate of a Greek youth with liberal and advanced views. We may then well assume that Rhodope had ample cause to feel herself outraged, and to crave severe retribution. But why all this argument? To save a lascivious situation? Or to confute those that talk of “Schleierrecht” and the like? Nothing of the kind. But if we are compelled to grant the enormity of the offense, we can hardly regard Kandaules in the light in which Hebbel himself and his panegyrists would have us see him. He then is in our estimate not a thoroughly noble-minded man whose only fault is that his views in regard to conventions and customs are too advanced for his age, who by the resulting disregard for traditions brings destruction upon himself, and whose fall we therefore ought to deplore. We feel that he is wanting in one very essential aspect and that he has deserved his doom, for he has transgressed against a moral principle which has as yet not lost its validity. Whether any development leading away from it has been really beneficial or not, can hardly be a matter of doubt.

In regard to *The Nibelungen*, I must confess that Hebbel has not brought home to me the fact that the trilogy embodies the

fall of the old pagan ideals of the Germanic world before victorious Christianity, as the poet would have it. In spite of some shortcomings in the presentation, that which is perishing seems far greater than the forces that are supposed to conquer. Perhaps the impression would be a different one, if meanwhile true Christianity had actually conquered the world and were now governing human relations. But as it is, one cannot well believe in the supposed victory, or at least not in the superiority of the victorious forces.

It is needless to say that an introduction to Hebbel is precisely the place where one should not air and answer—to one's own satisfaction—questions like those that have been touched upon above, and Campbell has done wisely in treating them for the most part as non-existing.

There is one item of a more general character which calls for brief comment. The average reader might be misled by Campbell's appraisal of the Young German movement as realistic. It was realistic only in a very limited sense, though a reaction against romanticism. The Young German authors rejected romanticism, because it stood aloof from the life of the times with their many problems; but they were themselves, on the one hand, too inexperienced, on the other hand, too much possessed by abstract theories, to achieve anything like realism, or make themselves independent of the romantics. Their earlier productions bear quite plainly the impress of romanticism. *The Poets*, the first part of Laube's *Europa*, for instance, is romantic by its theme, manner of treatment, and attitude in regard to sex morals. The latter connects it with Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde*, as well as with Heine's *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln*. The essential features of the Young German movement, Campbell has set forth correctly enough. He even points out the main difficulty that hindered their achieving actual realism, when he declares: "they were talented doctrinaires." They therefore naturally were not qualified to attain realism in their productions.

Hebbel's attitude toward Gutzkow and Laube was surely not free from envy, though it may have mainly resulted from the antagonism in their views of life in general and of poetic art in particular. But Gutzkow and Laube not only held views that were opposed to those of Hebbel, they were also Hebbel's competitors in the literary arena, and very successful competitors into the bargain. Efforts on the part of Hebbel to establish a *modus vivendi* were instigated by practical considerations, and doomed to failure because of his unyielding nature. It is significant that he was not willing to recognize real literary merit in any of his contemporaries. To Tieck and Uhland, he could concede their deserts unreservedly, since they had already won their laurels and were not competing in the same arena

with him. Campbell has pointed out how susceptible Hebbel was to the subtle flattery of approval, and how in almost childish vanity he tried to impress people with the titles and orders conferred upon him. But we must bear in mind that he shared this weakness with many of his compatriots of those days.

On page ninety-three, Campbell states that the name of a Dr. Kramer "stands out in bold ENGLISH type on the page of the poet's diary." Might we not call it Latin or Roman type?—Typographic errors, ruinous to the sense, I have not found.

The garb of the book is as pleasing and satisfactory, as the arrangement and method of treatment of the material. Campbell's work is well suited as an introduction to Hebbel for the English-reading public, and can safely be put in the hands of youthful students without apprehension that it might engender a lot of false or one-sided notions.

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VERGIL AND THE ENGLISH POETS. By Elizabeth Nitchie, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1919. x+251 pp. \$1.50 net.

This is a well-written study of "Vergil as he appeared to and influenced the makers of English literature throughout its history." It is divided into ten chapters: I, Introduction; II, The Mediaeval Tradition; III, Chaucer, His Contemporaries and Imitators; IV, Vergil and Humanism; V, Spenser and the English Renaissance; VI, Milton and the Classical Epic; VII, Dryden and Pope; VIII, Thomson and the Didactic Poets; IX, Landor and the Romanticists; X, Tennyson and the Victorians.

A wide subject indeed, and one which cannot be covered in 250 pages without omitting a good deal of the evidence in the case. The first part of the subject, the various English poets' judgment or criticism of Vergil, is adequately treated, but one would like more details on the second and more interesting part, "the influence of Vergil on the makers of English literature." For example, there is a good deal more Vergil in Milton and in James Thomson than Miss Nitchie implies. About ten years ago I published a long article on the influence of the *Georgics* on the British poets (*Amer. Journ. of Philol.* xxxix. 1-32); and there is still room for anyone who has both the time and the courage to make a similar study for the *Eclogues* or the *Aeneid*.

It seems to me especially unfortunate that so little space could be devoted to a period as important as the nineteenth

century. For here it is "necessary to confine the treatment largely to certain men who represent the sympathy or reaction of an individual spirit toward the genius of the Roman poet. Incidental echoes in the work of other men are of little significance, and consequently call for but brief discussion." Why are 'incidental echoes' in the nineteenth century less interesting or less significant than in any other? Does not the very fact of the 'Hellenic current'¹ of that century give even a special interest to the incidental Vergilian echo? Take, for example, Matthew Arnold. It may be true that Vergil has left "little impress upon his poetry." Still, he has left some; and what he has left is all the more significant because of Arnold's special enthusiasm for Sophocles and Homer. The line in *Thyrsis*,

For Time, not Corydon, hath conquered thee!
refers to Ecl. vii. 69-70:

haec memini, et victum frustra contendere Thyrsim.
ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis.

The passage in *The Scholar-Gypsy*,

Still fly, plunge deeper in the bowing wood!
Averse, as Dido did with gesture stern
From her false friend's approach in Hades turn,
Wave us away, and keep thy solitude!

alludes to the meeting of Aeneas with the shade of Dido, Aen. vi. 469-73:

illa solo fixos oculos *aversa* tenebat; . . .
tandem corripuit sese, atque inimica refugit
in nemus umbriferum.

The reference to Goethe, in *Memorial Verses*,

And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow
Of terror, and insane distress,
And headlong fate, be happiness,

is freely translated from the close of Vergil's Second Georgic, 490 ff.:

felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.

And even in such a very Homeric poem as *Balder Dead*² the simile,

And as the swallows crowd the bulrush-beds
Of some clear river, issuing from a lake
On autumn days, before they cross the sea; . . .
So around Hermod swarmed the twittering ghosts,

¹ See an interesting article by Frederick E. Pierce, in this *Journal*, xvi. 103-35, "The Hellenic Current in English Nineteenth Century Poetry."

² See "Homeric Echoes in Matthew Arnold's *Balder Dead*," in *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 19-28.

seems to have been suggested by Vergil's picture, Aen. vi. 309-12:

quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.

To sum up, the author has set very definite limits to her work, and, within those limits, has treated the subject very well indeed. Perhaps I can best show my appreciation of the book by suggesting one or two slight changes for the second edition.

P. 76. "Labor omnia vicit" is a lonely misprint, for *vincit*.

P. 104. Lodowick Brysket's *Pastorall Aeglogue* is a paraphrase of Bernardo Tasso's first eclogue, *Alcippo*, as his *Mourning Muse of Thestylis* is a paraphrase of Tasso's *Selva nella morte del Signor Aluigi da Gonzaga*. For details, see *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* xxxv. 192-199.

P. 225. It is a pretty open secret that the 'parallel lives' of Vergil and Tennyson in the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1901, were written by Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

P. 243. Mention should be made of an excellent translation of the Aeneid in blank verse by Charles P. Billson, London, 1906.

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IBSEN IN ENGLAND. By Miriam Franc. The Four Seas Co. Boston. 1919.

To outline the history and appraise the depth of Ibsen's influence on English letters and the English Stage was the task of which the author has acquitted herself not without literary charm. Insofar it is not merely what the Germans would call a 'Baustein' (materials) for a future comprehensive history of the European drama of the Nineteenth century, but itself a valuable—and readable—chapter on that grand theme. At the same time it is not ungracious to remark that, however well done, the result leaves one with a feeling of dissatisfaction. After all, at no time in the world's history was there so organic and intimate an interchange in products, intellectual as well as material, between the diverse nations of the world as in the period to which the War put a full stop. Urban life and urban problems had become essentially the same, or variations of the same, themes, and incontestably the greatest exponent of the 'ideas uppermost in the consciousness of the age' was Ibsen. To sketch the direct influence of his work on the various literatures is but half the task—the easier, by far. There are

also the dispersed and reflected rays to reckon with. In other words, there is also to be considered the status of the vanguard of literary opinion in the republic of letters. Hence—it is not invidious to say it—though superficially beyond the bounds set, at least an orientating glance might have been taken by the author at the state of affairs in contemporary Europe. For Germany the studies of Stein and Eller were already available.

In no country, not even his own, was Ibsen more of a touchstone than in England. Miss Franc unflinchingly lays bare the well-nigh hopeless obtuseness, insularity, and Puritanism of the English theatre-going public, while admitting at the same time that many circumstances in the traditions and operation of the English stage were bound to militate against a ready appreciation even if his sponsors had made fewer tactical mistakes and enemies. For both aspects of the case her admirable chapter on the English Stage and Ibsen should be most instructive and helpful to students of the English drama of our days: to understand is to pardon greatly, here! At first blush it might seem strange to admit that on the whole Ibsen did not win out—his battle may be considered drawn but not won—when we read that “in the last thirty years there have appeared some seventy-five English editions of Ibsen’s plays, some containing a single play, some containing twenty-one plays,” and reflect that practically all the best plays of Jones, Pinero, Galsworthy, Shaw are Ibsenesque (as shown in skilful analyses) or, to put the case stronger still, are virtually unthinkable without the Norwegian. But then, as is justly observed, (p. 156), “the English reading public can revel in translations from Goethe, Balzac, Ibsen, and the Russians, but the English theatrical audience does not want to see foreign drama.” Indeed, they are worlds apart. However that be, one certainly has the impression that Ibsen’s influence on English dramatic literature, or shall we say the closet drama, is fully as great as on German literature, and distinctly stronger than on the French stage. In neither country was there so distinctly a rise in seriousness of purpose over the preceding epoch, relatively speaking.

The obvious aim of the author of not only stating dry facts but to furnish a readable interpretation of them ought never to have made for a conspicuous, almost ostentatious, lack of references in a book of this nature. She ought to know, footnotes do not necessarily spell pedantry, but furnish the conscientious student with the possibility of ‘auditing accounts’ or drawing his own inferences. Supposing, e.g., I call in question the statement (p. 145) that “Galsworthy is influenced by Ibsen through Hauptmann,” or want to know where and when Wm. Archer defended Pinero against a charge of plagiarism? In the same sense a list of the chief books of reference used, and of the news-

papers and magazines drawn upon, would have enhanced the value of this study.

To one acquainted with the Scandinavian tongues the accuracy manifested in the handling of Norwegian names and terms is gratifying. I have noted only one serious error of statement: the Laurvik-Morrison translation of Ibsen's letters owes its entire critical apparatus (without acknowledgement) to the joint editors of the *Breve fra Henrik Ibsen*, Halvdan Koht and Julius Elias.

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BRITISH CRITICISMS OF AMERICAN WRITINGS, 1783-1815. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS.

By William B. Cairns, Madison, 1918, pp. 98, (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 1).

What Professor Cairns has attempted to do in the present volume is to show "how English and Scottish readers viewed American writings" during the first three decades of our national independence, and further, to "ascertain what British criticisms of American work were so published as to exert an immediate influence in America." To this end he first briefly discusses the literary conditions prevailing in America and in England during the period covered; then passes to a consideration of the attitude of individual British writers, of the British magazines, and of the British public in general toward American books and American literary and intellectual development; after which he summarizes and comments on the more significant critical notices of American books and authors by British writers of the day, taking up first the notices of non-literary writings, than the works of Franklin and Paine (who receive a separate chapter by reason of their prominence in the eyes of British critics of the day), and finally of individual writers of poetry, fiction, and essays.

Among the most informing and most entertaining chapters are those devoted to the attitude of the British poets of the time and to the attitude of the periodical press. The British poets, though interested one and all in America, wrote but little about contemporary American literature, recognizing its comparative insignificance as pure literature; the professional reviewers, on the other hand, devoted a good deal of attention to American publications, especially those of a political and theological, and scientific nature. Important also is the discussion of the vogue of Franklin and Paine. But perhaps the most valuable chapter in the book is that in which Professor Cairns

sums up the contemporary comments on the early American poets and novelists and essayists. Freneau he shows to have been virtually ignored in England (owing in part, as he suggests, to the fact that his works were not generally accessible as yet); Dwight and Trumbull also received scant notice; while Joel Barlow and certain lesser verse-writers, including the forgotten William Moore Smith and Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton, came in for a good deal of attention. Brown, like Freneau, received but little attention, although his novels were reprinted in England and were later to become fairly well known there.

The conclusions that Professor Cairns reaches are that "British interest in American thought and American writings was considerable" for the period covered, and that it arose not merely from curiosity, but proceeded from a "serious concern with the political, economic, and . . . scientific and religious development of the new nation." British writers, moreover, contrary to the belief of many Americans of the time, were, he declares, inclined to be fair in their judgments on American books and American ideas, though they sometimes adopted "a paternal, if not a patronizing manner." The influence of foreign criticism, much of which was reprinted in American journals, he believes to have been fairly substantial.

Throughout the volume Professor Cairns exhibits the same painstaking concern for accuracy and thoroughness and the same modesty that distinguished his earlier studies in American literary history.

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NOTES ON BURNS AND THOMSON

One finds much valuable information concerning Burns's relations to Thomson in two studies by Dr. Otto Ritter: the first a review of Molenaar's *Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur*, in *Herrig's Archiv*, cv, 403; the second a monograph entitled *Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns 1773-1791*, Berlin, 1901.¹ Both works are painstaking and erudite, but in neither can the statements and inferences be accepted without scrutiny. Ritter has looked long at the sun, with the inevitable result that wherever he turns he sees the sun's image. Many of his parallels one rejects at first blush as fortuitous or insignificant; others after slight examination seem so far-fetched as to warrant similar treatment. Thus—to note only a few examples of the way his enthusiasm for parallels has led him to what appear to me false conclusions—he links stanza 3 of "To a Mouse,"

I doubt na, whyles, but thou may thieve,
with Thomson's

The fowls of heaven
..... crowd around
The winnowing store, and claim the little boon
Which Providence assigns them.
("Winter," 244.)²

Again, in the same poem, the lines

An cozie here beneath the blast
Thou thought to dwell

are supposed to echo Thomson's

While, not dreaming ill,
The happy people in their waxen cells
Sat tending public cares and planning schemes
Of temperance for Winter poor.
("Autumn" 1175.)³

¹ In addition to these works I have laid the following under heavy contribution: Molenaar: *Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur*, Leipsic, 1899; Ritter: *Neue Quellenfunde zu R. Burns*, Halle, 1903; Ritter: "Burnsiana," *Engl. Stud.* xxxii, 157; H. Anders: "Neue Quellenstudien zu R. Burns," *Archiv* cxix, 55; Ritter: "Burnsiana," *Anglia* xxxii, 197.

² *Quellenstudien*, 82.

³ *Ibid.*

Equally far-fetched is his comment on part of "To a Mountain Daisy": "Die Verbindung des Themas der 'artless maid' in Str. vi mit dem der 'unseen, alane' blühenden Blume (Str. iv-v) lag an sich nicht fern; doch mögen auch Stellen wie Thomson's *Autumn* 209-214, vorgeschwebt haben."⁴

Commenting on the "Address to a Haggis," Ritter notes that the line

His knife see Rustic Labour dight

"zielt vielleicht parodistisch auf Thomson, *Liberty*, v. 620: 'Seel social Labour lifts his guarded head' "⁵—a verbal similarity that is negligible. But if one is willing to check up every passage which Ritter lists as showing literary influence, and to reject many, probably half, one will find much of value in the two works. What one most feels the lack of in these and the other studies noted is an adequate summary or statement of conclusions to which the investigations have led. Except for a brief passage in the *Archiv* review the authors intentionally keep clear of all attempts at generalization. The result is a mass of disjointed facts, some of which are untrustworthy, from which no comprehensive idea of Burns's literary indebtedness can be extracted.

A. BURNS'S REFERENCES TO THOMSON

Definite evidence of Burns's interest in Thomson appears in many of the letters, in the two poems "Address to the Shade of Thomson" and "On Some Commemorations of Thomson,"⁶ and in occasional references in other poems. The following excerpts from the letters show the sort of comment which is most frequent.

"There is no time, my Clarinda, when the conscious thrilling chords of Love and Friendship give such delight as in the pensive hours of what our favourite Thomson calls 'philosophic melancholy.' "⁷

⁴ *Ibid.*, 139. Thomson's lines are:

As in the hollow breast of Apenine
Beneath the shelter of encircling hills,
A myrtle rises, far from human eye,
And breathes its balmy fragrance o'er the wild—
So flourished, blooming, and unseen by all,
The sweet Lavinia.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁶ *Centenary Burns*; i, 288 and ii, 227 respectively.

⁷ To Clarinda, Jan. 1788 (?). Scott Douglas, iv, 46.

"I guessed his model to be Thomson, that immortal bard."⁸

"My two favourite passages. . . rouse my manhood and steel my resolution like inspiration:

The triumph of the truly great
Is never, never to despair."⁹

"There is a charming passage in Thomson's *Edward and Eleanor*,
The valiant, in *himself*, what can he suffer?"¹⁰

"The poet . . . looks. . . thro' Nature up to Nature's God, until he . . . bursts into the glorious enthusiasm of Thomson:

These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God; the rolling year
Is full of thee."¹¹

"If legendary stories be true, there is indeed an *elsewhere, where*, as Thomson says, 'Virtue sole survives.'¹²

The list might be greatly lengthened, but further additions to it would serve no purpose. It is obvious that Burns—in common with the generality of his contemporaries—thought highly of Thomson. Were there no other evidence on the point than that furnished by these casual references, one would realize that any "purely Scottish" theory of the poet's literary ancestry is more than questionable.

B. THE DOUBLE ADJECTIVES

In the poems themselves one finds more evidence of Burns's debt to Thomson. Take, for example, the matter of the double adjectives: heavenly-seeming, warm-cherished, keen-shivering, and the like, which are so pronounced a feature of the language of many of Burns's English poems. He used them lavishly, with apparent delight in their poetic effectiveness. The Kilmarnock volume is rich in them. Thus, in "The Vision," we have rich-clustering, tideless-blooded, bold-mingling, musing-deep, heavenly-seeming, embryo-tuneful, warm-cherished, warm-blushing, keen-shivering—and these in close proximity to the lines

Thou canst not learn, nor can I show
To paint with Thomson's landscape glow.

⁸ To Peter Hill, 1 Oct. 1788. *Ibid.*, v, 166.

⁹ To Robert Ainslie, 6 Jan. 1789. *Ibid.*, 190. The lines are slightly misquoted from *The Masque of Alfred*.

¹⁰ To Mrs. Dunlop, 6 Dec. 1792. S. D. vi, 120.

¹¹ To Alex. Cunningham, 25 Feb. 1794. *Ibid.*, vi, 120.

¹² "Edinburgh Journal," written at Ellisland, 14 June 1788. *Ibid.*, vi, 396.

Again, in "The Lament," occur the following: sore-harassed, haggard-wild, silent-marking, silver-gleaming, mutual-kindling, and the following unusual adverb-adjective compounds: fondly-flattering, idly-feigned, fondly-treasured, fondly-wandering. "Despondency," "Man Was Made to Mourn," "To a Daisy," "To Ruin," "On a Scotch Bard," "Dedication to Gavin Hamilton," "Epistle to J. Lapraik," "Epistle to William Simpson," "Now Westlin Winds," and the "Bard's Epitaph," all show examples of the same thing. Among the poems added in the 1787 Edinburgh edition, three, "The Brigs of Ayr," "A Winter Night," and the "Address to the Deil," contain the following: wild-whistling, sullen-sounding, fervid-beaming, wild-woody, gently-crusting, dim-darkening, wild-eddying, deep-lairing, dark-muff'd, slow-solemn, bitter-biting, grim-rising, wild-wandering, bold-following. "The Humble Petition of Bruar Water," added in the 1793 Edinburgh edition, shows these: dry-withering, wild-roaring, prone-descending, mild-chequering, hoarse-swelling. Besides these that I have noted, there are many scattering examples of the same usage.

Now of course the use of such double adjectives was not limited, during the eighteenth century, to Burns and Thomson. But the trick was not one to which Ramsay or Ferguson was addicted, and among the English poets whom Burns especially esteemed, Thomson is the only one in whose work more than occasional scattered instances of the usage occur. Thomson was so fond of such adjectives, moreover, that their use, particularly in *The Seasons*, became one of the pronounced stylistic characteristics of his verse.¹³ The conclusion that Burns caught the trick from Thomson seems to me inevitable, and to offer another indication of the extent to which he was influenced by the English poet.

C. SIMILARITY OF THEMES

In three not uninteresting respects Burns's themes resemble those of Thomson. In his treatment of the wilder aspects of Nature—winter, storms, floods—in his sympathetic treatment of dumb animals, and in his verses describing the poor man's lot, or contrasting his state with that of the rich, Burns, how-

¹³ The *Castle of Indolence* shows a good many such forms; in *Liberty* they appear less often.

ever original he may have been as regards manner, was using matter that he knew Thomson had already worked into the fabric of *The Seasons*.¹⁴ Burns knew Thomson's work well; finding in it effective treatment of themes which had a strong fascination for him, he would have been more than human had he not allowed the earlier work to influence his own.

A comparison of a few typical passages will make clearer the extent and nature of this influence. Take, for instance, the description of the flooded river in "The Brigs of Ayr":

As yet ye little ken about the matter,
But twa—three winters will inform ye better.
When heavy, dark, continued, a' day rains
Wi' deepening deluges o'er flow the plains;
When from the hills where springs the brawling Coil,
Or stately Lugar's mossy fountains boil,
Or where the Greenock winds his moorland course,
Or haunted Garpal draws his feeble source,
Aroused by blustering winds an' spotting thowes,
In mony a torrent down the snaw-broo rowes;
While crashing ice, borne on the rushing speat,
Sweeps dams, an' mills, an' brigs a' to the gate;
And from Glenbuck down to the Ratton-Key
Auld Ayr is just one lengthen'd, tumbling sea¹⁵

Thomson had written in "Winter," less vigorously, but still effectively,

Wide o'er the brim, with many a torrent swelled,
And the mixed ruin of the banks o'er spread,
At last the roused-up river pours along.
Resistless, roaring, dreadful, down it comes,
From the rude mountain and the mossy wild,
Tumbling through rocks abrupt, and sounding far;
Then o'er the sanded valley floating spreads,
Calm, sluggish, silent; till again, constrained
Between two meeting hills, it bursts a way
Where rocks and woods o'erhang the turbid stream;
There, gathering triple force, rapid and deep,
It boils, and wheels, and foams, and thunders through.¹⁶

¹⁴ It may be objected that in all these instances Burns was merely using themes which were as old as poetry itself, and that the similarity is no evidence of direct Thomson-Burns influence. In view of the fact that there is other evidence of this influence, however, I believe that the parallelism of theme strengthens considerably my general contention.

¹⁵ *C. B.* i, 205. See for somewhat similar passages "Winter, a Dirge"; "Epistle to Wm. Simpson," st. 13, "A Winter Night," st. 1-4.

¹⁶ *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*; ed. J. Logie Robertson; London, etc., 1908; p. 188. See also "Autumn" 330, and "Spring" 314.

Here too should be placed the lines in "Tam O'Shanter":

The wind blew as 'twad blawn its last;
 The rattling showers rose on the blast;
 The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed;
 Loud, deep, and lang the thunder bellow'd.

 Before him Doon pours all his floods;
 The doubling storm roars through the woods;
 The lightnings flash from pole to pole;
 Near and more near the thunders roll. . . .¹⁷

lines which Thomson never equalled, but which he approached in his description of the storm in "Summer":

At first, heard solemn o'er the verge of heaven,
 The tempest growls; but as it nearer comes
 And rolls its awful burden on the wind,
 The lightnings flash a larger curve, and more
 The noise astounds, till overhead a sheet
 Of livid flame discloses wide, then shuts
 And opens wider, shuts and opens still
 Expansive, wrapping ether in a blaze.
 Follows the loosened aggravated roar,
 Enlarging, deepening, mingling, peal on peal
 Crushed horrible, convulsing heaven and earth.
 Down comes a deluge of sonorous hail,
 Or prone-descending rain. Wide-rent, the clouds
 Pour a whole flood; and yet, its flame unquenched,
 The unconquerable lightning struggles through,
 Ragged and fierce, or in red whirling balls,
 And fires the mountains with redoubled rage.¹⁸

Burns's "Lines on the Fall of Fyers" are in a similar way suggestive of Thomson's picture of the waterfall in "Summer" 590; and the verses "On the Death of the Lord President Dundas" find close parallels, as Ritter has pointed out,¹⁹ in "Winter" 5, 66, 69, 97, and "Autumn" 337.

Burns's description of the avalanche in the "Birthday Ode for 31st December 1787" seems to have been suggested directly by a well-known passage in "Winter."

¹⁷ *C. B.* i, 281.

¹⁸ *Works*, 93.

¹⁹ *Quellenstudien*, 180.

Burns:

From the cliff, with thundering course
 The snowy ruin smokes along
 With doubling speed and gathering force,
 Till deep it, crushing, whelms the cottage in the vale.
 (C. B. ii, 158)

Thomson:

Rushing sudden from the loaded cliffs,
 Mountains of snow their gathering terrors roll.
 From steep to steep, loud-thundering, down they come,

 And hamlets sleeping in the dead of night
 Are deep beneath the smothering ruin whelmed.
 ("Winter" 416)

It would certainly be unwise to say that whenever Burns thus pictures these phases of Nature he has Thomson's passages in mind. But I do not believe that it is overstating the case to suggest that Burns, conscious that he was doing what Thomson had done before him, allowed his imagination to be guided by his predecessor's example. And sometimes there is more to the tale than that.

Again, in the verses recording his sympathy with animals, Burns was both following his own humanitarian and sentimental bent, and echoing Thomson. Take, as a single example, his well-known opinion of hunters and hunting, found in "Now Westlin Winds," "On Seeing a Wounded Hare," "The Brigs of Ayr," and "On Scaring Some Waterfowl in Lake Turit." Thomson had said the same things before him:

Here the rude clamor of the sportsman's joy,
 The gun fast-thundering and the winded horn,
 Would tempt the Muse to sing the rural game—

 These are not subjects for the peaceful muse,
 Nor will she stain with such her spotless song—
 Then most delighted when she social sees
 The whole mixed animal creation round
 Alive and happy. 'Tis not joy to her,
 This falsely cheerful barbarous game of death.

 Poor is the triumph o'er the wounded hare.²⁰

²⁰ "Autumn" 360. In "Spring" 340 Thomson protests against the use of animals for food, though like Burns he seems to have had no compunctions against angling.

Thomson dislikes hunting, protests against slaughtering animals for the table, and sympathizes with them in distress, like the sentimentalist that he was. Burns, as he wrote his verses on the same subjects, must have known of Thomson's pronouncements, and may have been strengthened in his opinion that such were the proper themes of poetry by the example of "our favourite." But even were it possible to prove—that it is not—that Burns did his work in complete ignorance or entire independence of Thomson, it would still be interesting to note the Ayrshire bard belonging to the school of English humanitarians and sentimentalists, a companion of Shenstone, Cowper, and Thomson, even though, *ex hypothesi*, ignorant of the relationship.

Turn to Burns's poems on his fellows, and again we find much the same situation. Without Thomson's example, Burns would undoubtedly have been a protestor against social inequalities, and would probably have consoled himself by hymning enthusiastically the blessedness of honest poverty. But that his verses on these themes were influenced by Thomson seems to me more than probable. Thomson had written, after describing rural sports:

Thus they rejoice; nor think
That with tomorrow's sun their annual toil
Begins again the never-ceasing round.

Oh! knew he but his happiness, of men
The happiest he! who far from public rage
Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
Drinks the choice pleasures of the rural life.
What though the dome be wanting, whose proud gate
Each morning vomits out the sneaking crowd
Of flatterers false, and in their turn abused?
Vile intercourse! What though the glittering robe,
Of every hue reflected light can give,
Or floating loose or stiff with massy gold,
The pride and gaze of fools, oppress him not?
.....
Sure peace is his, a solid life, estranged
To disappointment and fallacious hope—
Rich in content, in Nature's bounty rich,
In herbs and fruits.²¹

²¹ "Autumn" 1232. *Works* 177.

Again, in "The Castle of Indolence," as if anticipating the famous passages in "The Twa Dogs" and "The Cotter's Saturday Night," Thomson had written:

Better the toiling swain, oh happier far!
 Perhaps the happiest of the sons of men!
 Who vigorous plies the plough, the team, the car,
 Who houghs the field, or ditches in the glen,
 Delves in his garden, or secures his pen:
 The tooth of avarice poisons not his peace;
 He tosses not in Sloth's abhorrèd den;
 From vanity he has a full release,
 And, rich in nature's wealth, he thinks not of increase.

Good Lord! How keen are his sensations all!
 His bread is sweeter than the glutton's cates;
 The wines of France upon the palate pall
 Compared with what his simple soul elates,
 The native cup whose flavor thirst creates;
 At one deep draught of sleep he takes the night;
 And, for that heart-felt joy which nothing mates,
 Of the pure nuptial bed the chaste delight,
 The losel is to him a miserable wight.²²

In "Summer" he had launched his shaft at

The cruel wretch
 Who, all day long in sordid pleasure rolled,
 Himself an useless load, has squandered vile
 Upon his scoundrel train what might have cheered
 A drooping family of modest worth²³

and in nine lines from "Spring" had given Burns a direct suggestion for two future stanzas:

Thomson:

Hence! from the bounteous walks
 Of flowing Spring, ye sordid sons of earth,
 Hard, and unfeeling of another's woe,
 Or only lavish to yourselves—away!
 But come, ye generous minds, in whose wide thought,
 Of all his works, Creative Bounty burns
 With warmest beam, and on your open front
 And liberal eye sits, from his dark retreat
 Inviting modest Want.

(*Op. Cit.* 874. *Works*, 36)

²² *Op. cit.*, ii, st. 55, 56. *Works*, 297.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 1636. *Works*, 113. Burns's "Castle Gordon," in which he offers to give up all that wealth and tyranny can offer for the sheltering cave "by bonie Castle Gordon," is quite properly compared by Ritter (*Quel.* 176) to "Summer" 860 and "Liberty" iv, 344; v. 8, 554.

Burns:

Awa, ye selfish, warly race,
 Wha think that havins, sense, an' grace,
 E'en love an' friendship should give place
 To Catch-the-Plack!
 I dinna like to see your face,
 Nor hear you crack.

But ye whom social pleasure charms,
 Whose hearts the tide of kindness warms,
 Who hold your being on the terms,
 'Each aid the other,'
 Come to my bowl, come to my arms,
 My friends and brothers!
 ("Epistle to James Lapraik" st. xx, xxi. *C.B.* i. 160)

Perhaps Thomson's most famous passage contrasting the rich and the poor is the one that follows the description of the farmer's death in the snow storm:

Ah, little think the gay licentious proud,
 Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround—
 They, who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,
 And wanton, often cruel, riot waste—
 Ah! little think they, while they dance along,
 How many feel, this very moment, death
 And all the sad variety of pain;
 How many sink in the devouring flood,
 Or more devouring flame; how many bleed,
 By shameful variance betwixt man and man;
 How many pine in want;
how many drink the cup
 Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
 Of misery; sore pierced by winter winds,
 How many shrink into the sordid hut
 Of cheerless poverty.
 Even in the vale, where wisdom loves to dwell,
 With friendship, love, and contemplation joined;
 How many, racked with honest passions, droop
 In deep retired distress.²⁴

Such passages—and the list is in no way exhaustive—will furnish sufficient illustration, I believe, of the way Thomson treated themes that were afterwards to be popular with Burns. Despite the fact that Burns could have found similar suggestions in many places besides the work of Thomson, it is my opinion

²⁴ "Winter" 322. *Works*, 198.

that if he got the clue anywhere outside his own consciousness, he got it from Thomson, whom he certainly knew well, and who influenced him in other respects.

Despite this similarity of matter, the manners of the two poets remain usually widely apart. Thomson, with the leisure of an artist vacationing in the country, sets up his easel in the corner of a field, and proceeds quietly to sketch the landscape before him. Burns flashes a glance at the same scene, and thinks of it no more, till some day the characteristic features appear as the background of a poem. Thomson, writing in his London chambers, discusses the cruelty of hunting, thinking back, perhaps, to the days when he, a Scottish lad, joined in the chase. Burns, sowing in the early dawn of an April morning, hears a shot, and sees a wounded hare limp by him, "very much hurt." He follows it in his imagination through "the bitter little that of life remains," and the poem is born:

Inhuman man, curse on thy barbarous art!

an entirely different sort of thing from Thomson's cool

Poor is the triumph o'er the wounded hare.

Thomson decorously eulogizes honest poverty and condemns its oppressors; Burns takes us into the cottage where

The mither with her needle and her shears

Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new,

or describes the factor who had driven his father to the wall in such terms that no one needed the name to recognize the individual. Thomson is usually general, mild, restrained; Burns is specific, caustic, passionate. But the two men were after all painting in the same field, and Burns knew it.

D. VERBAL ECHOES

Evidence such as I have presented in the three preceding sections will go further, I believe, towards establishing the fact and nature of Burns's indebtedness to Thomson, than any list of verbal parallels. But a few characteristic illustrations of the way Thomson's phrases found their way into Burns's work may have some value.

Burns
1. Sordid sons of Mammon's line.
(Second "Epistle to Lapraik" st. ii.)

Thompson
Sordid sons of earth.
("Spring" 874.)²⁶

²⁶ Cited by Ritter, *Quellen*. 72.

2. From scenes like these, old Scotia's
grandeur springs.
("Cot. Sat. Night" st. xix.)
- A simple scene! yet hence
Brittania sees
Her solid grandeur rise.
("Summer" 423.)²⁶
3. In vain to me the cowslips blow,
In vain to me the v'lets spring;
In vain to me in glen or shaw
The mavis and the lintwhite sing.
("Again Rejoicing Nature" st. ii.)
- Awakened by the genial year
In vain the birds around me
sing;
In vain the freshening fields
appear:
Without my love there is no
spring.
("To Amanda" st. ii.)²⁷
4. Till, wrench'd of every stay but
Heaven.
("To a Mountain Daisy" st. viii.)
- Deprived of all,
Of every stay save innocence
and Heaven.
("Autumn" 179.)²⁸
5. The hillocks, dropped in Nature's
careless haste.
("Verses Written with a Pencil" 14.)
- Swelling mounts,
Thrown graceful round by
Nature's careless hand.
("Spring" 915.)²⁹
6. The eagle, from the clifty brow.
("On Scaring Some Waterfowl" 19.)
- Invited from the cliff, to whose
dark brow
He clings, the steep-ascending
eagle soars.
("Summer" 607.)³⁰
7. The sweeping theatre of hanging woods.
("Verses Written with a Pencil" 19.)
- Blackening woods,
High raised in solemn theatre
around.
("Summer" 720.)³¹
8. Down foam the rivulets, red with
dashing rain.
("On the Death of . . . Dundas" 3.)
- Red from the hills innumerable
streams
Tumultuous roar.
("Autumn" 336.)³²

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.²⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.²⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.²⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.³⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.³¹ *Ibid.*, 173.³² *Ibid.*, 180.

9. Mark Scotia's fond-returning eye—
 It dwells upon Glencairn.
 ("Verses. .Below. .Earl's Picture" st. iv.)
- Full on thee, Argyle,
 Thy fond-imploing country
 turns her eye.
 ("Autumn" 929.)³³
10. Thou, Liberty, thou art my theme:
 Not such as idle poets dream,
 Who trick thee up a heathen goddess
 That a fantastic cap and rod has!
 Such stale conceits are poor and silly:
 I paint thee out a Highland filly.
 ("On Glenriddell's Fox" 1.)
- The fair majestic power
 Of Liberty appeared. Not as of
 old,
 Extended in her hand the cap
 and rod,
 Whose slave-enlarging touch
 gave double life:
 But her bright temples bound
 with British oak.
 ("Liberty" 26.)³⁴

Such examples of verbal borrowing—and the list, again, could be greatly enlarged—would seem to admit of only one explanation: that Burns knew Thomson's work so well that he either consciously or unconsciously drew from it when necessity arose.

And what, in conclusion, of the general question of Burns's debt to Thomson? There is no evidence that Burns kept *The Seasons* open on his writing table, or thumbed its pages in search of incident or theme. But it is obvious that he knew Thomson's work well and esteemed it highly; that he found in Thomson a pervading sentimentalism which enforced his own temperamental predilections, and that some of the themes on which Burns wrote most eagerly were themes that he knew Thomson had already treated. It can hardly be doubted, moreover, that he caught from Thomson the trick of using the double adjective, and that scattered here and there throughout Burns's work are passages which show, by their echoing of Thomson's very words, how familiar the latter poet was, not only with the substance but even with the exact phraseology of his predecessor's poetry.

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³³ *Archiv* cv, 414.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

“O DU ARMER JUDAS”

The German translation of the concluding strophe of a Latin Easter hymn, “*Laus tibi, Christe, qui pateris*”:

O tu miser Juda, quid fecisti,
quod tu nostrum dominum tradidisti?
ideo in inferno cruciaberis,
Lucifero cum socius sociaberis.¹

runs as follows:

O du armer Judas,
Was hast du getan,
Dass du deinen herren
Also verraten hast
Darumb so mustu leiden
Hellische pein,
Lucifers geselle
Mustu ewig sein. Kyrieleison.²

This German translation and parodies of it enjoyed a very remarkable popularity as satirical songs for several centuries, and the air is not yet forgotten in some parts of Austria.³ It is particularly noteworthy as being “one of the few instances in which folk-song has borrowed a tune from the Church.”⁴

¹ P. Wackernagel (*Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, I [Leipzig, 1864], 210, No. 347) gives the Latin text and its variants. W. Bäumker (*Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen*, I [Freiburg i. B., 1886], 462–463) adds nothing of importance on the Latin text.

² The text and music are conveniently accessible in Rochus, Freiherr von Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530 (Deutsche National-Litteratur*, ed. J. Kürschner, XIII, Stuttgart, n.d.), pp. 227–228, No. 75 and elsewhere as cited below. The minor variations in the text are fully given by Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, II (Leipzig, 1867), 468–469, Nos. 616–618.

³ The best study of the *Judaslied* is by R. Hildebrand in *Materialien zur Geschichte des deutschen Volksliedes, I: Das ältere Volkslied, Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, Ergänzungsheft 5 to vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 63 ff (I have not identified his citation “Monn., II, 281 ff.”) See also Creizenach, “Judas Iscariot in Sage und Legende des Mittelalters,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, II (1876), 185–186 and Solovev, *K legendam ob Iudye predatelye*, Kharkov, 1898, pp. 116–117. Solovev cites Nordmeyer, “Pontius Pilatus in der Sage,” *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, München, 22 April, 1895, 111, No. 92; but that article mentions Judas only in passing and is of no service here.

⁴ F. M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 646.

The date of the origin of this song is very uncertain. There seems to be no record of the melody much before 1400; and the earliest documentary evidence of its satirical employment is nearly a hundred years later. But, even though such songs may become popular very quickly, still the circumstances of its first recorded use seem to imply that it was known some time before the end of the 15th century. In fact there are passages which occur three or four hundred years earlier which may possibly contain allusions to the song. Müllenhoff suggests that the "armer Judas" of the song is referred to in the "Friedberger Christ und Antichrist," a fragmentary Old High German poem of the eleventh or twelfth century which narrates the life of Jesus und describes Antichrist and the Day of Judgment.⁵ In describing the Last Supper the author says:

bit demo brach er daz brôt
demo armen Jude er iz bôt.

The use of the descriptive adjective "arm," *miser*, of Judas, and especially at the moment of his betrayal of his Master, is so unexpected that one is perhaps justified in thinking of the song. The editors of the *Denkmäler*, however, cite other and later instances⁶ in which the same or a similar phrase appears, and it is therefore possible that the adjective is merely conventional, as in "der arme Sünder," and that its use here does not imply familiarity with the *Judaslied*.

⁵ Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII.-XII. Jahrhundert* (3rd ed. by E. Steinmeyer, Berlin, 1892), I, 102, No. XXXIII, C 11^a; see the notes, II, 197-201, especially p. 198.

⁶ The following parallels are given: "den armen Judas er gebilidot" (*Ruland*, 70, 11); "der arme Judas" ("Urstende," K. A. Hahn, *Deutsche Gedichte der 12. und 13. Jahrhunderte*, 104, 69); "der ermiste man, von dem ich ie vernam, daz was Judas Scariotis" ("Leben Jesu," Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Fundgruben*, I, 153, l. 31). Compare also

Untriu, Nit dabî was,
do der arme Jûdas
den wâren gotes sun verriet
benamen umb ein kleine miet

in Seifrid Helbling (ed. J. Seemüller, Halle, 1886, p. 244 [VII, 174]). For other curious uses of the word "arm" see Helbling, p. 271 (VII, 1013); p. 270 (VII, 980); *Wigamur*, v. 277; *Muspili*, v. 66 (cf. Müllenhoff and Scherer,⁵ II, 34); Otfrid, I, 17, 51. Hildebrand (*Materialien*, p. 62, n. 3) remarks that the phrases "armer Teufel," "armer Schächer" are "certainly derived from the medieval stage."

There is an interesting passage in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*,⁷ in which Bartsch thought he found a reminiscence of the Judas song:

Unt der arme Jûdas,
Der bî eime kusse was
An der triuwenlosen vârt,
Da Iesus verraten wart.

But Martin⁸ considers the adjective a fixed epithet, which was perhaps suggested by a passage in *Brandan*:

Ich bin ez der arme Judas
der ie ungetriuwe was. . .^{8a}

Solovev, moreover, finds an allusion to the *Judaslied* in the following lines from the *Klage* of Hartmann von Aue:

Und daz diu arme sêle mîn
Êwechlichen mûeze sîn
In der tiefen helle
Jûdases geselle,
Dâ niemen fröude haben mac,
Unz an den jungesten tac.⁹

Bech's note on this passage, however, makes it evident that the wish expressed here is a part of the medieval oath which employed the name of Judas and other notorious Biblical sinners for their terrifying effect.¹⁰

In the generation just preceding the Reformation we meet the first demonstrable allusion to the Judas song, and find that it was then utilized as a song of mockery. Emperor Maximilian caused the *Judaslied*, "carmen illud maledictionis,"¹¹ to be

⁷ Ed. Lachmann, 219, 25 (Book IV, vv. 1212-1216); ed. Bartsch,² I (*Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters*, IX, Leipzig, 1875), p. 230; ed. E. Martin, I (*Germanistische Handbibliothek*, IX, 1, Halle a. S., 1900), p. 76.

⁸ Vol. II (1903), *Kommentar*, p. 204, cf. Berichtigungen und Nachträge, p. xcvi.

^{8a} Ed. Schröder, vv. 965-966. Martin's reference to v. 1351 is apparently incorrect. I see no reason for thinking that Wolfram was acquainted with these lines; the phrase "der arme Judas" as a commonplace.

⁹ Vv. 1430 ff. (*Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters*, V, *Hartmann von Aue*, III, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1891, p. 96).

¹⁰ On this oath see H. Martin, "The Judas Iscariot Curse," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVII (1916), 434-451 and my additions in a forthcoming number of the same journal.

¹¹ Liliencron (*Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen*, II [Leipzig, 1866], 184) quotes the phrase from Oefele, *Script.*, I, 224; cf. also Hildebrand, p. 63.

played when, on the 26th of May, 1490, he floated down the Danube past the defiant inhabitants of Regensburg. The city had renounced its allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire in 1486 and had turned to Bavaria, and, on the occasion of the Emperor's visit to that part of the Empire four years later, the rebellious citizens refused him admission.

Naturally so effective a weapon of satire was not neglected in the bitter strife which accompanied the Reformation, and in the two generations between 1520 and 1580 the Judas song was parodied repeatedly.¹² Perhaps its first employment for satirical purposes is that in the “*Defensio Christianorum de Cruce, id est, Lutheranorum*” of 1520, an attack on Murner, the cleverest and foulest of Luther's opponents. He had to endure this far from witty adaptation of the song:

Ach du armer MURNarr,
Was hastu getan,
das du also blint
in der heiligen schrift bist gan?
des mustu in der kutten
liden pin,
aller gelerten MURR NARR
mustu sin.

Ohe ho lieber Murnar.¹³

And during the feuds which devastated Germany for the next generation, indeed for more than a century and a half, the *Judaslied* is heard again and again. In 1525 when the peasants withdrew from the Marienberg just outside of Würzburg, the watchman blew the tune to express his scorn of the retreating enemy:

Da war ein groszes frohlocken und schreien im ganzen schlosz Marienberg;
der thürner auf dem mittleren thurn blies den bauern das gemein liedlein:
hat dich der schimpf gereuen, so zeug du wider heim.¹⁴ So ward der fordere

¹² I do not find it mentioned in Kopp, “Die niederdeutschen Lieder des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, XXVI (1900), 1 ff., 32 ff.; nor in A. Hartmann, *Historische Lieder und Zeitgedichte vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (ed. H. Abele).

¹³ Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchentliedes*,³ Hannover, 1861, p. 232. The “*Defensio*” was written by Matthäus Gnidius, see J. M. Lappenberg, *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 417.

¹⁴ A song which is frequently referred to in the chronicles of this period, but which has not been preserved; see Hildebrand's interesting discussion, pp. 59 ff.

thürner herab auf die schut geführt und blies den Wirzburgern den armen Judas: o Judas, armer Judas, ach was hastu getan.¹⁵

The ballad of Fritz Beck, master of ordnance for the besieged, reports this event with mention of the Judas song:

Der thurner blies den Judas,
ach was hast du gethan!
es waren selzam laudes,
es lacht nicht iederman.
er blies: hats dich gerewet,
so ziehe wider heim.¹⁶

Further south, in Switzerland, the Catholics played the song of Judas, the traitor, on the organ of the cathedral in Bern to show their scorn for the iconoclasts who had taken possession of the building. Hottinger¹⁷ reports the incident as follows:

Auch die Musik beym Gottesdienste ward abgeschafft. Am Abende des letzten Vincenzius-Festes [7 Feb., 1528] spielte der Organist die Tonweise des Liedes: "Ach armer Judas was hast du gethan?" und verliess dann mit Wehmuth die schöne Orgel, welche nun sogleich zerschlagen ward.

The followers of Luther satirized the Swabians in "Ain anders lied sagt von den schwaben, wy sie von gotts wort abgefallen sindt, im thon 'o du armer Judas,'" which is too long to reprint here.¹⁸ The first of the eight stanzas runs:

O ir armen Schwaben,
was hand ir geton,

¹⁵ Hildebrand (p. 59) cites Gropp, *Samml. wüzb. Geschichtsschr.*, I, 130. I cannot find the passage in question in *Collectio Novissima Scriptorum et Rerum Wirzburgensium . . . P. Ignatii Gropp*, Frankfurt, 1741. See also *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, II (1854), 271.

¹⁶ O. L. B. Wolff, *Sammlung historischer Volkslieder und Gedichte der Deutschen*, 1830, p. 258; Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder*, III (1867), 480, No. 381.

¹⁷ *Geschichte der Eidgenossen während der Zeiten der Kirchentrennung, Zweyte Abtheilung*, Zürich, 1829, pp. 117–118. See also E. E. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesanges der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1867, II, 5; H. Alt, *Der christliche Cultus*, I (Berlin, 1851), 144; Niklaus Manuel, ed. J. Baechtold (*Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz und ihres Grenzgebietes*, II, Frauenfeld, 1878), p. xxxv; Böckel, *Psychologie der Volksdichtung*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 331, n. 4. The story is poetically told in Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, I (Leipzig, 1843), 114–115.

¹⁸ Bartsch, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der alldutschen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1886, pp. 308–310, No. 3; K. Steiff, *Geschichtliche Lieder und Sprüche Württembergs*, 1899 ff., p. 336, No. 69.

das wir unsern Christum
so schandtlich hand verlon!
darum so must ir liden
dSpanier in euwerm land,
des kaisers aigen bliiben:
ist euch ain grosse schand.

Perhaps the best stanza is the prophecy of the fate of the city of Ulm:

Ullm, Ulm, ich thun dir sagen,
es wirt dir ubell gan;
denen mocht ir hertz schlagen,
die by dir musen stan
und hertzlich schmerzen liden,
die grosse schmach und schand
an iren kindt und wiben
im gantzen Schwaben land.

The author discreetly conceals his identity:

Der uns dis lied gesungen hatt,
von nuwem hatt gemacht,
der hatt der Spanier boshait
von herten recht betracht,
die sy iezund üben
zu Ulm in der statt;
darum well gott behüten
ein lobliche eidgenossenschaft.

The presence of the Spanish in Swabia vexes this anonymous writer, but it so delights Jörg Lang of Simelbrunnen, an opponent of the Reformation, that he shouts “Kyrie, die Spanier seind im land!”—a stirring refrain to “Von den Reichstetten Ein newes Lied Im Thon ‘Ach du armer Judas’” of 1546, which begins:

We euch, ir armer reichstett,
wie gross vermessenheit
dass ir euch widern frommen kaiser,
die höchste oberkait,
on ursach dorften setzen
auss besonderm neid und hass!
furwar, ir solten wöllen,
ir hettens betrachtet bass,
Kyrie, die Spanier seind im land!¹⁹

¹⁹ Cf. Böhme, p. 646; Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder*, IV (Leipzig, 1869), 369–372, No. 539; Hildebrand and Soltau, *Deutsche Historische Volkslieder, Zweites Hundert*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. 221–229, No. 30; Hildebrand, p. 64, n. 2; Hoffmann von Fallersleben, p. 232.

The poet then in a leisurely manner goes about his task of calling the imperial cities to account. These cities, he says, have fallen away from the true faith because of their pride and particularly because of their acceptance of the Lutheran heresies:

Wann ir aber thut fragen,
was euch dahin hab bracht:
furwar ich will euch sagen,
ir habt euch zu hoch geacht
und ewerer predicanten
new falsch erdachte ler;
wann ir sie alle hänkten,
die thetens nimmer mer.
Kyrie, die Spanier seind im land!

Next having reviewed the failure of the Peasants' War, in which the imperial cities participated, he admonishes them not to be angered at the judgment of God to be seen in its outcome:

Furwar ir sölt nit zurnen,
dann es kain wunder ist;
wann gott der herr thut bschirmen,
so hilft kain gwalt noch list.

The sins of the imperial cities, which are of course the sins of Luther's adherents, are numerous: nine stanzas are required to summarize them. The cities have refused obedience to their lord, the Emperor, have expelled priests, monks, and nuns, have sacked the churches and monasteries, have desecrated the holy images, mocked the mass, falsified Holy Writ, disregarded the times for fasting and have eaten meat on Friday, have scorned Charles V, their lawful ruler, and have rebelled against him. All this makes a very telling indictment of sins for which God's vengeance will not be long delayed:

ob es sich schon lang hat verzogen;
gott ist kain Bair nit,
er hat noch niemand betrogen
und kumbt zu rechter frist.
Kyrie, die Spanier seind im land!²⁰

The concluding strophes in which he turns more to the personalities are distinctly weaker, and more than once degenerate into the vilest abuse.

²⁰ Stanza 13, vv. 5-9. Hildebrand and Soltau (*loc. cit.*) conjecture that the author of the satire was, in spite of these lines, a Bavarian.

Another employment of the Judas song is preserved in the manuscript of the unpublished chronicle of Thuringia and Erfurt by Konrad Stolle. The portion of the chronicle which can be certainly ascribed to Stolle closes with the year 1493 and up to that date the manuscript is in his autograph. There follow in various hands miscellaneous songs concerning events which took place in and after 1526, and among these songs occurs "Ein O Armer Judas von den neuen Christen":

O jr viel armen christen
was hand jr getan,
das jr euch Priapisten,
hant so verfuere lan,
darumb muest jr noch leiden
vil hellische pein,
sanct Peters schiffa meiden
falt jn das mher hinein
kyrieleyson.

Nit neyd die hohen schulen,
wuthet nit mit schalle
sie land nit also wulen.
wie es euch gefal.
wissen kein grund noch glauben,
bey potencia,
seint jr die selen brauben
vnther falschem schein
kyrieleyson.

O jr reudigen scheffle,
wer hat euch verblendt,
das ir furwitzig effle,
nit ewern hirten kendt,
den wolffen thut nach lauffen,
gand willig zu dem tod,
got wirt euch schwerlich straffen,
jr thuts an alle noth,
kirieleyson.²¹

Nor did Luther himself fail to seize this weapon and turn it against his enemy, Duke Henry of Brunswick, saying, "Wenn

²¹ Hesse, "Aus Konrad Stollers Erfurter Chronik," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, VIII (1851), 339-340 (Blatt 314 of the *Chronik*). Stolle remarks in another place that he was sixteen years old in 1446; it is therefore probable that the entries referring to the religious controversies and among them this song are by another.

ich dis Liedlin ein mal vol mache, wil ich dem zu Meintz seine leisen auch finden." The "Liedlin" is as follows:

AH du arger Heintze, was hastu getan,
 Das du viel Fromer menschen durchs fewr hast morden lan.
 Des wirstu in der Helle leiden grosse pein,
 Lucibers geselle mustu ewig sein, Kyrieleison.

AH verlorn Papisten, Was habt jr gethan,
 dass jr die rechten Christen, nicht kundtet leben lan,
 des habt die grosse schande, die ewig beliben sol,
 sie gehet durch alle Lande vnd solt ihr werden tol, Kyrieleison.²²

Haltaus reports that at the instance of Duke Henry the Senate of Brunswick inquired in 1545 whether the gatekeepers of Wolfenbüttel had blown the tune "O du armer Judas" at the departure of the Senate's messengers, but he does not say whether a satisfactory answer was given.²³ Clearly the tune awakened far from pleasant recollections in the Duke's mind.

A mediocre song of 1548 aimed against Moritz of Saxony begins with the two foregoing stanzas of Luther's and continues:

Moritz, du rechter Judas,
 was hastu gethan!
 du bringst zu uns die Spanier,
 die schenden fraw und man;
 du bringst her die Maraner
 in unser vaterland,
 darzu Italianer,
 ist dir ein ewig schand!

For a dozen and more strophes the satirist recites in a rather bitter tone the sins of Moritz and his associates. His wrath is perhaps expressed most forcefully in the last of the twenty-four stanzas:

Sie sollen miteinander,
 die gotteslesterer all,

²² *Wider Hans Worst* (1541), ed. J. K. F. Knaake, Halle, 1880, p. 73 (*Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, No. 28). Cf. Hildebrand, p. 64; Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder*, IV, 175, No. 476; Hassebrauk, "Die geschichtliche Volksdichtung Braunschweigs," *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins*, XXXIV (1910), 44. I have not seen Rambach, *Luthers Verdienst*, pp. 113-114.

²³ C. G. Haltaus, *Glossarium Germanicum Medii Aevi*, Leipzig, 1758, s.v. Judasgruss; he quotes from the *Acta Henrici Iulii Ducis Brunsv. contra Civitatem Brunsv.*, I, 466. Cf. Creizenach, *Beiträge*, II, 186, n. 4.

mit bapst und sein vasallen
 hinfahren ins teufels stall;
 daselbst sie sollen haben
 das ewige herzenleid.
 Herr gott, erschein mit gnaden
 deiner armen christenheit.²⁴

In 1552 after the raising of the siege of Frankfurt the followers of Margrave Albrecht very savagely attacked Moritz for his treachery in a song to the tune of the *Judaslied*:

O du armer Mauritz,
 was hastu gethan,
 das du den edlen kunig
 so schendlich hast verlan!
 darumb mustu leiden
 ewig spott und schand,
 man wirt dich zuletzt vertreiben
 von leuten und von land,
 kistel seckel feger.

The remaining stanzas, three in number, heap up abusive and filthy epithets, displaying bitterness of feeling but no skill in expression. The second stanza will give an idea of the others:

Wie oft bistu worden
 zu einem schelmen gross,
 getreten in Judas orden,
 verrathen viel ohn mass!
 kein trau noch ehr betrachtet,
 wider alle natur
 verretherei du machtest
 bist ie ein grosser laur,
 kisten seckel feger.²⁵

When, a little later, Jacob Herbrodt, burgomaster of Augsburg, took sides with Moritz of Saxony against the Emperor, the city was soon occupied by Spanish troops. The citizens relieved their feelings by singing:

O du arger Herbrodt,
 was hast dich angemast,
 dass du die stat Augspurg
 so grob verraten hast!
 darumb must du leiden
 und must billich sein
 durrer bruder geselle
 an dem galgen sein.

²⁴ Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder*, IV, 464-466, No. 572.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 568-569, No. 607. The last line, a parody of the Kyrie eleison, is also found in an Anabaptist mocking song based on the *Judaslied*, cf. Wackernagel, III, 392-393, No. 466.

Each of the five stanzas begins in similar fashion: "O du loser Herbrot," "O du schneder Herbrot," and so on.²⁶ And the last one takes up the concluding "Lucifers geselle mustu ewig sein" so that in structure these satirical verses conform more nearly to their model than is the case with the other parodies.

A generation after this Gebhard Truchsess of Cologne was satirized to the tune of "O du armer Judas" (1587).²⁷

The song was not forgotten by Roman Catholic partisans in the Thirty Years' War, but they seem to have employed it only against the "Winter King," Friedrich V. von der Pfalz, the unfortunate ruler of Bohemia; but Protestants, so far as the evidence now goes, made no use of it.²⁸ In 1620 a parody, which loses its force because of its length, thus threatened the Bohemians:

O Ihr arme Böhheim,
was habt jhr gethon,
das jhr ewern frommen König
nit handt regieren lohn?
Darumb müssent jhr euch leyden
im gantzen Teutschn Landt,
dess Kaysers gunst vermeiden,
ist es nit ein schandt?

Kyrie, thuns nimmer mehr.²⁹

They have been false to their coronation oath and the emperor will not forgive their perjury:

Bey der Crönung handt jhr geschworen
einen falschen Aydt,
sehent, das jhr nit werden verlohren
darzu in ewigkeit,
welches ist geschehen
in manchem schönen Land,
darff ich sicher jehen,
ist es nit ein schandt?

Kyrie, thuns nimmer mehr. . . .

²⁶ Liliencron, IV, 575-576, No. 609. Cf. his *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530*, p. LIV.

²⁷ Böhme, *Alteutsches Liederbuch*, p. 647 (title only cited).

²⁸ K. Bruchmann, *Die auf den ersten Aufenthalt des Winterkönigs in Breslau bezüglichen Flugschriften*, Programm, Breslau, 1905, No. 215, contains nothing relevant here.

²⁹ R. Wolkan, *Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig (Bibliothek deutscher Schriftsteller aus Böhmen, VIII)*, Prague, 1898, pp. 82-86, No. 15, 2, cf. pp. 345-346, No. 68. Hildebrand (p. 64, n. 3) cites Heyse, *Bücherschatz der deutschen National-Litteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, No. 1338.

Mein Gnädiger Herr, der Kayser,
 hat jhm gar recht gethan,
 das er sich in andere Landtschafft
 hat führen lohn.
 Da ist er euch gesessen
 mit Kraut und Loth,
 vnd wird ewer nit vergessen,
 vnnnd solt es sein ewer Todt.
 Kyrie, thuns nimmer mehr.

They deserve, the author continues, just such mockery as this song:

Last euch nit verdriessen
 dieses Liedlin schlecht,
 man solt euch treten mit füßen,
 so gescheh euch eben recht.

The bitterest scorn is heaped upon them:

Nach disem Leben,
 jhr arme Böhmerleuth,
 Vngarer vnnnd Mehrer
 vnd alles Dorngesteyd,
 was in den Hecken
 gewachsen ist im Landt,
 stellt man zu den Böcken
 am Jüngsten tag zur schandt.
 Kyrie, thuns nimmer mehr.

All of them who revolt against their lawful lord, the Holy Roman Emperor, should, he concludes, be hanged like Absalom:

Zur Schandt vnd Spot
 allem disem Gesindt,
 die wider den Römischen Kayser
 also vnrüwig seindt,
 denen wirdts ergohn,
 wie dem Absolon,
 an Baum ist er bliben hangen,
 mit Spiessen durchstechen lohn.
 Kyrie, thuns nimmer mehr.

Another song to the tune of "O du armer Judas" appeared when the fall of the Winter King became certain: "Ein schön new Gesang Von König Fritzen" (1621).³⁰ The first stanza runs:

³⁰ Wolkan, pp. 117-123, No. 23; cf. p. 343, No. 60A; p. 363, No. 116; p. 384, No. 169E. This is presumably the song "O du armer Fritz," cited by Böhme, *Alteutsches Liederbuch*, p. 647. See also K. Heyse, *Bücherschatz*, No. 1341 and Emil Weller, *Lieder des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*,² Basel, 1858, p. xxiii.

O du armer König Fritz,
 Was hast du gethan,
 Das du vnserem Keyser
 Seyn Cron hast nit gelahn?
 Darumb must du meiden
 Dein Chur vnd Böhmerland,
 Pfuy dich der grossen Schande,
 Ist aller Welt bekant.
 Kyrie eleyson.

King Friedrich is addressed very directly at first:

Ey lieber Fritz, mein lieber Gsell,
 Lass fahren dise Cron,
 Bereit ist dir woll in der Höll
 Für dich zu deinem lohn.
 Dan wer sich selbst erhöchen thut,
 Gott strafft in darauff glich,
 Falt tieffer in die helle Glut
 Vnnd kompt von Gottes Rych.
 Kyrie eleyson.

The king's youth affords an opportunity for a home-thrust:

O lieber Fritz, du junges Blut,
 Dir besser wer zu handt
 Ein gute eingeweichte Rut,
 Als dise grosse schandt.

His fall from high office is certain:

Kein Chur Fürst wirst du nit mehr sein,
 Das sag ich dir fürwahr,
 Fileicht must hüten noch den schwein
 Auf dises künfftig jahr.
 Vertriben wirst auss Böhmerland.
 Sich was hast du gethan.
 An's Zepters statt in deiner handt
 Den narren kolben han.
 Kyrie eleyson.

After this the author turns more to generalities: the Winter King's plans have gone awry because he was not called to office by the divine will. He would have been much better off as Elector than he is now in a position where the Catholics are watching him from every side. The soldiers of the Catholic "Liga" are well paid and in good spirits. The king has stolen from the

priests and they are now in arms. In short, the Winter King must soon pay the piper:

Die Zech must jnen zahlen bar,
 Botz Fritz, du armer tropff,
 Beschichts nit hür, vffs ander jahr
 Fileicht mit deinem Kopff.
 Ich raht dier, flüch in Engelland
 In gute Sicherheit,
 Dein Pfaltz ist jetzt in ander hand,
 Mit trewen seis dir gseidt.
 Kyrie eleyson.

Here, if not earlier, the author might well have stopped, but he goes on for seven more stanzas. Friedrich has already suffered one defeat and he may look forward to the fate of Absalom:

Sein vatter fromb wolt Absalon
 Vom Reich verstossen gar,
 Empfangen hat seinen lohn,
 Erhenckt sich an seim har.
 Das ebenbild dich treffen mag,
 Glaub Liechtenbergers Saag,
 Bestattet wirst in Esels graab,
 Vollenden deine tag.

Repentance will not save the Winter King from mockery and the consequences of his deeds. The author ends:

Die sach wil ich jetzt bleiben lahn,
 Wo man nit folgen wil,
 Man sicht wol, wo es auss wil gahn
 Vnnd geben für ein Spil.
 Wer stercker ist, hat oberhandt,
 Ohn Gottes gnad ist nicht,
 Bewahre Catholischen Standt,
 Derselb behalt den stich.
 Kyrie eleyson.

This song is particularly interesting because it also occurs in a somewhat shorter form—sixteen stanzas instead of eighteen—with considerable verbal differences, called “Lamentatio über den König in Böhmen, von den Papisten gemacht.”³¹ For

³¹ Opel and Cohn, *Der dreissigjährige Krieg, eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen*, Halle, 1862, pp. 61–64; reprinted in Ditfurth, *Die historisch-politischen Volkslieder des dreissigjährigen Kriegs* (ed. K. Bartsch), Heidelberg, 1882, p. 18.

comparison I print two corresponding stanzas³² in parallel columns:

Die Pfaffen hast in harnisch bracht, nit bald bringst sy mehr drauss, Bis dass sy dir den garaus gmacht Vnd lachen dich nur auss, Den spot must sampt den schaden han Mit deiner falscher Lehr, Du hast es dir nur selbst gethan, Ein ander mahl kommt mehr.	Die Pfaffen hastu in Harnisch bracht, Nicht mehr bringst du sie 'raus, Bis sie dir han den Garaus gemacht Und kommst in nobis Haus. ³³ Den armen Judas musst du singen ³⁴ Gar bald, mein lieber Friez, Vielleicht gar über die Klinge springen, Dich wird brennen die Hiez.
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To be sure the comparison of these two stanzas alone will not give an entirely fair idea of the degree of similarity existing between the two versions. Perhaps two-thirds of the stanzas agree as closely as the two foregoing, but the remaining third in "Ein schön new Gesang" have no correspondences in the "Lamentatio." Opel and Cohn, like all editors, think their version the more original, and possibly they are right. At any rate the characteristic idioms of the "Lamentatio" in the preceding passage appear as commonplaces in the parallel text, and this fact might be adduced in favor of their opinion.³⁵ The concluding stanza of the "Lamentatio"—which may be compared with that of the "Gesang" above—shows more than one humorous touch:

Ich will der Sachen nicht thun zu viel,
Wills itzund bleiben lan,
Weil man kann sehen aus dem Brill,
Was der Friez hat gethan.
Wäre Bier in Fass widerum,

³² On the left the tenth strophe of "Ein schön new Gesang" and on the right the eleventh of the "Lamentatio."

³³ "In nobis Haus kommen" means 'to die,' see Liebrecht, *Germania*, VII (1862), 500; and XVI (1871), 213; Laistner, *ibid.*, XXVI (1881), 65 ff.; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ II, 837; J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), Tübingen 1896, pp. 231-232; *Zeits. d. Vers. f. Volkskunde*, IV (1894), 189; J. W. Müller, *Album-Kern*, pp. 257-262 (cited in *Jahresberichte . . . germ. Philol.*, XXV [1903], 194, §12, No. 55); and a long series of notes in *Alemannia*, II (1875), 259-261; III (1875), 282; VII (1879), 94; IX (1881), 88; XIV (1886), 40 and in *Am Urquell*, I, 163 ff.; II, 34 ff., 112, 219, 260 ff. The phrase is of considerable interest to the mythologist.

³⁴ On "den armen Judas singen" see note below.

³⁵ Wolkan holds two contradictory opinions about the relation of the "Gesang" to the "Lamentatio"; compare p. vii with p. 343 and see Diemar in *Literaturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philol.*, XXI (1900), 163.

So stünde die Sache gar uol;
Zu geschehen Dingen in der Summ
Das Beste man reden soll.

The *Judaslied* is still sung by the Germans of western Bohemia³⁶ in the following form:

Ach falscher Judas, was hast du getan? Du hast ja unsern Herrn Gott verraten, jetzt musst du leiden in der Hölle Pein! Luci, Luciferi, es muss geschehen sein! Kyrieleyson, Christeeleyson, Alleluja.

Wea[r] keina Oia [Eier] haut, Geld nehma a!

The last sentence, a request for the singer's pay, is of course not a part of the song; it refers to a custom which is practised in many places in Bohemia on Easter Monday: boys go from house to house singing and collecting eggs or other gifts which they later share among themselves.³⁷ The Judas song is, as will appear later in the discussion of its tune, intimately connected with Easter festivities. This instance of its being sung about Easter time by crowds of boys—presumably accompanied with more or less disorder—renders it probable that certain passages (collected by Creizenach) describing customs in olden times also refer to the *Judaslied*. On the Saturday before Easter, says Haltaus in a glossary of the German language written in 1758, the children of Leipzig used to go about with drums, bells, and rattles, singing a song in which Judas was mocked—presumably the Judas song:

Sonnabends vor Ostern, so bald es nur anfang zu tagen, liefen die Kinder, Iungen und Mägdlein, mit Paucken, Schellen und Klappern durch die Stadt herumb, auch in die Klöster und Kirchen, und sungen mit grossem Geschrey ein teutsches lied, welches dem verraeter Juda zuschand und unehren, von der geistlichkeit war gemacht worden.³⁸

And a chronicler of Zwickau, a town of Saxony on the border of Bohemia, who is also quoted by Haltaus, gives a similar descrip-

³⁶ At “Kolosup bei Tuschkau, Mieser Bezirk”; see A. John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen (Beiträge zur deutsch-böhmischen Volkskunde, VI)*, Prague, 1905, p. 64.

³⁷ John, p. 67. See C. Peabody, “Certain Quests and Doles,” *Pulnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, pp. 344–367 on this custom in general and the references in Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, III, 4.

³⁸ S.v. *Judasgruss*. He is quoting “Vogelius in Chron. Lips. MS.”

tion³⁹ of the "Pumpervesper" which was held there on Holy Thursday:

Da iederman mit Stecken, Knütteln, Prügeln, Steinen, Hämmern, Beilen—
in der Kirchen auf die Stüle und Bänke, und wo es nur einen starken Wiederhall
gab, schlug. Darbey musste sich der arme Judas viel leiden; iederman redete
alles übel von ihm und wolten ihn also zum Teufel in die Hölle jagen.

This shows certain reminiscences of phrases in "O du armer Judas." Jörg Wickram, an Alsatian of the sixteenth century, also refers unmistakably to the *Judaslied* in a collection of anecdotes entitled *Rollwagenbüchlein* (first ed., 1555). During Holy Week, he says, we tend to become pious, but when Easter passes, then the piety vanishes:

Dann so jagen wir den Judas über den zaun vnd gan alle Kirchweyhen an;
so muss sich Zacheus leiden gleich wie Judas in der finstern metten; mit dem
und über den schreigt, singt und boldert man; wenig aber wirt dass leiden Christi
bedacht.⁴⁰

It is worth noting that in Bohemia something like the German *Judaslied* was sung in Holy Week, as the congregation left the church:

Jidáší co's ucinil	Oh Judas! What have you done?
ze's pana Krista Zidům zradil?	You have betrayed Christ to the Jews?
Musíš za to u pecele buti,	For this you shall live in Hell
S certem d'ablem prebyvati.	With the Devil as dues.

There is another Bohemian song about Judas which resembles the German song even more closely:

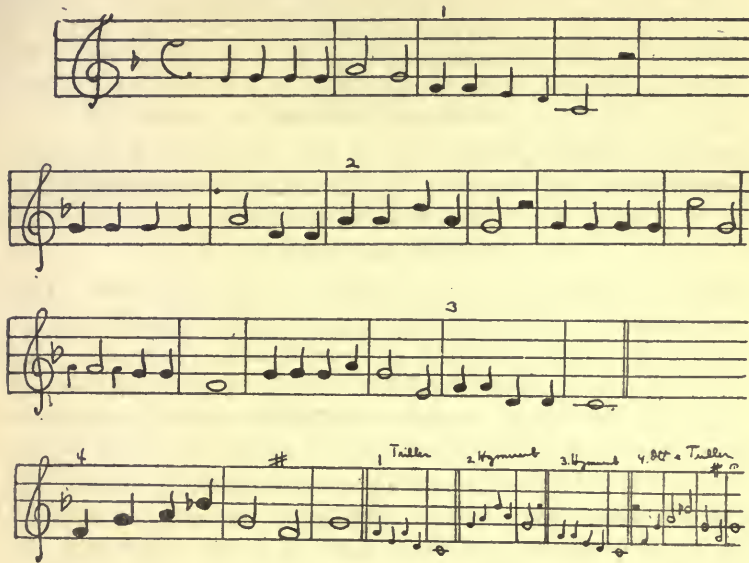
O Jidáší neverný!	O Judas, unfaithful one!
co jsi ucinil,	What have you done
ze's svého mistra	That you your Master
zidům prozradil?	Thus have betrayed?
musíš za to	For this you must
šlapat bláto,	Tramp in the mud
co nejvíce	As much as you can,
do cepice.	In depth to your cap.
My Jidáše honíme,	We are chasing Judas
klekáni zvoníme;	With kneeling and ringing of bells.
kyrie eleyson. ⁴¹	

³⁹ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, VII, 1993 (Polterpassion), 2231 (Pumpermette, etc.), and VIII, 1488 (Rumpelmette), etc.

⁴⁰ Ed. H. Kurz, Leipzig, 1865, p. 88. "In der finstern metten" alludes to the mass read on Good Friday; the melody of the *Judaslied* in one early manuscript bears the superscription "Zu dem 'Laus tibi Christe' in der vinster metten."

⁴¹ Both songs are carelessly printed by Solovev (pp. 116–117) from K. J. Erben, *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla*, Prague, 1864, I, 60.

The melody of the *Judaslied* has a history of its own.⁴² It is composed in the Mixolydian Mode, the seventh of the ecclesiastical modes, transposed a fourth higher. It is simple, direct and rather impressive.



This first appears, with minor differences, about the end of the fourteenth century (in a manuscript which can be dated between 1392 and 1400) under the title "Zu dem 'Laus tibi Christe,' in der vinster metten."⁴³ A Tegernsee manuscript of the next generation, which contains the melody, also refers

⁴² F. M. Böhme, *Alte deutsches Liederbuch*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 644 ff., No. 539; Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder*, IV, Appendix, "Die Töne," pp. 24-25; Hoffmann von Fallersleben, pp. 230-232. Wilhelm Tappert (*Wandernde Melodien*,² Leipzig, 1890, pp. 80-81) adds nothing of importance. Böhme (p. LXVII), Liliencron (*Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530*, pp. 227-228, No. 75), and Erk-Böhme (*Deutscher Liederhort*, III [Leipzig, 1894], 670, No. 1963) give transpositions into modern musical notation. There is another modern setting in a higher key in Friedrich Arnold, *Das deutsche Volkslied*, Prenzlau, 1912, II, 207, No. 139, cf. Anhang, p. 40; Arnold also has it composed in four part harmony.

⁴³ The melody in modern form is given in Erk-Böhme, III, 671, No. 1964, from whence the above is taken.

to the employment of the tune in the services of the Church on Good Friday. The German text of the song runs:

Eya der grossen liebe,
die dich gebunden hat,
gar hertiglich eim diebe,
warer mensch und warer got.
du hast her gegeben
mit deinem blute rot
uns das ewig leben,
dank sey dir milter got.⁴⁴

The last strophe of this hymn is the *Judaslied*. During the sixteenth century the tune was used for a hymn beginning:

Wir dancken dir, lieber herre,
der bitern marter dein . . .⁴⁵

And of this again "O du armer Judas" is the last strophe. This combination of the Judas song with a hymn is, as Böhme (p. 646) points out, paralleled in several other instances, e.g., "O du armer Judas" is the last strophe of "Lob wollen wir singen."⁴⁶ He repeats Hoffmann von Fallersleben's conjecture that the "Laus tibi Christe" came originally from an Easter play in which the congregation sang the song in the vernacular; and the last strophe, "O tu miser Juda," is, he says, assigned to the congregation in printed texts of Easter plays from the sixteenth century. This fact alone would account satisfactorily for the people's familiarity with the melody. Easter plays which mention the Judas song are, however, rare. The stage directions in a Frankfort passion play⁴⁷ seem to confirm his surmise; at the moment when Judas kisses Christ the choir (*persone*) sings "O Juda quid dereliquisti." It should be remarked that the words as well as the melody can be traced back several centuries behind this; consequently it is unneces-

⁴⁴ P. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, II (Leipzig, 1867), 467-468, No. 615 (from a manuscript of the first half of the fifteenth century, cf. Wackernagel, I, 365).

⁴⁵ Böhme, p. 645, No. 539; Wackernagel, II, 470-471, No. 623; *ibid.*, III, 392-393, No. 466; E. E. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes*, I (Stuttgart, 1866), 209.

⁴⁶ Wackernagel, II, 472, No. 627. Cf. Heinrich Alt, *Der christliche Cultus*, II (Berlin, 1860), 494.

⁴⁷ Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, II, 355 (*Deutsche National-Litteratur*, XIV, 2). W. Tappert (*Wandernde Melodien*,² Leipzig, 1890, p. 80) says the song was sung in the Easter play when Judas leaves the stage to hang himself; but he does not cite any text in which this is done.

sary to insist on the importance of any Easter play in the dissemination of the Judas song.

The first appearance of “O du armer Judas” in print was, I think, in *Fünff und sechzig teutsche Lieder*, which is supposed to have been published in Strassburg between 1520 and 1525.⁴⁸ During the century of the Reformation the melody is found again and again in hymns: “Unser grosse Sünde” (1544), “Lob und Dank wir sagen” (1555).⁴⁹ But “Ein neuer armer Judas, dass über uns zu klagen ist, im alten Thone” (1527), an ecclesiastical parody of the *Judaslied*, seems not to have gained much popularity. Erk and Böhme give the first stanza:

Ach wir armen menschen, was hab wir gethan
Christum unsern Herrn gar oft verkaufft han!
Müsst wir in der Helle leiden grosse Pein,
wollte er selbst nicht Helfer und Mittler sein.⁵⁰

Hermann Bonnus (d. 1548), a chronicler of Lübeck, adapted a Catholic hymn to this Protestant tune: “Och wy armen sünders” (1543). And before long this was translated from Low German into High German as “O wir armen Sünder,” which may still be found in Evangelical hymn-books, both English and German.⁵¹

Thus one can say that this song about Judas has come down to the present day, for its melody may yet be heard; but the remark is only [partly true. Certainly the impetus to the

⁴⁸ A. F. W. Fischer, *Kirchenlieder-Lexikon*, II, 220.

⁴⁹ Böhme (p. 646) lists some ten in all; see also Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530*, p. lii. Compare the list of adaptations and parodies given in W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen*, I (Freiburg i. Br., 1886), 462-463, which adds some titles, e.g., “Der arge pyschof Annas”; “Pylatus hat gros vnrecht.”

⁵⁰ *Deutscher Liederhort*, III, 671.

⁵¹ See for an elaborate account of the history of this hymn: A. F. W. Fischer, *Kirchenlieder-Lexikon*, Gotha, 1886, II, 219-220; cf. also Wackernagel, III, 735-736, Nos. 849, 850; Böhme, p. 646; and (for English translations) J. Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, rev. ed., London, 1907, p. 163. I have not seen H. Spiegel, *Hermann Bonnus*,² Göttingen, 1892 nor J. Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (cited *Jahresberichte . . . germ. Philol.*, XV [1893], 234, §15, No. 76) nor Joseph Kehrein, *Kirchenlieder*, 1883, p. 153. Wendebourg (*Liederleben der evangelischen Kirche*, Hannover, 1852, p. 114, No. 45 and pp. 643-644) says that it is not assigned to Bonnus in the early hymnals and he therefore queries the ascription which is otherwise generally accepted.

composition of "Och wy armen sünders" and its early popularity, evinced by its translation into High German, are due to the song. But the hymn has outlived its progenitor. Political songs to the same air no longer awaken the passions of men or their laughter and have now only an antiquarian interest. The verbosity of these satires, the narrowness of their outlook on the situation, and the vindictive, offensively personal feeling embodied in them destroy their effectiveness for us. Indeed the satires of the Reformation seem to have been almost, if not entirely, forgotten a hundred years later. The Protestants apparently did not think of the Judas song at all, although they had once been the first to employ it, and the Catholics used it only in one episode of the Thirty Years' War against one individual, the Winter King. Thus within a century the song had lost greatly in popularity and since then it has dropped entirely from view. But the root from which the satirical song and the Protestant (and Catholic) hymns sprang is alive in Bohemia where the song is still to be heard, as it was six centuries ago, at Eastertime.

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NOTE: "DEN ARMEN JUDAS SINGEN"

During the period of the greatest popularity of the Judas song as a model for satires the phrase "den armen Judas singen" was occasionally used. One instance has already been pointed out above in the "Lamentatio über den König in Böhmen." It means there as elsewhere "to sing rather small."⁵² The phrase is employed in the Hegebacher *Chronik* in describing the attack of Georg Truchsess on the peasants during the Peasants' War; the chronicler says: "gleich an der gueten mitwochen [Osterwoche] wardent in "der arme Judas." With

⁵² See J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, ii, 2351, s. v. *Judas*. Long ago this meaning was remarked by Scherzius (*Glossarium Medii Aevi*, col. 745) when he defined *Judasgruss* as follows: "acclamatio infamis rhythmica Judae, in ludis scenicis olim decantata . . . sic cantilena similis a populo infamatis occini solita. dicebatur der arme Judas ab exordio. hunc & einem den armen Judas nachblasen." Scherzius cites as authority Haltaus, *Glossarium Germanicum Medii Aevi*, Lips., 1758.

a similar connotation the phrase appears twice in the *Faustbuch* of 1587:

Es ist hie zu sehen des Gottlosen Fausti Hertz und Opinion, da der Teuffel ihm, wie man sagt, den armen Judas sang, wie er in der Hell seyn muste.⁵³

and:

Als nu der Geist Fausto den armen Judas genugsam gesungen, ist er wiederum verschwunden, und den Faustum allein gantz Melancholisch und verwirrt gelassen.⁵⁴

In view of these instances there is no reason for believing (with Hildebrand, p. 65) that the phrase implied that Judas himself sang the song in a play—the possibility that the Judas song came originally from an Easter play is another matter, which has already been discussed. It will be observed that the phrase "den armen Judas singen" was used only during the epoch when the Judas song was current and that it died with the disappearance of the satirical songs.

⁵³ Ed. W. Braune, Halle, 1878, p. 17, ch. iii at end (*Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Nos. 7-8b); ed. Scheible, *Das Kloster*, II, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1846, p. 947.

⁵⁴ Ed. Braune, p. 113, ch. lxxv at end; ed. Scheible, p. 1061.

WORDSWORTH AND THE BRAMBLE

The *Atlantic Monthly* for November, 1919, contains an essay by Professor Chauncey B. Tinker on *The Poet, the Bramble, and Reconstruction*. After commending Lord De Tabley, Victorian, a poet and authority on brambles, the essayist proceeds with a deft arrangement of various allusions to the bramble in the writings of Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Milton, in the Bible, in 'a mediæval work on leechworts and simples,' in the *Treasury of Botany*, on the lips of the nursery rhymester, and in the poetry of Wordsworth. Professor Tinker refers somewhat vaguely to the species of the *rubus*; botanical accuracy is not his purpose. And if we disregard questions arising from his use of the term *bramble*, the sketch is not 'rather bleak,' as he suggests, but wholly delightful. We should be churlish to demand a strict definition where the writer's choice of instances does not mislead us.

Wordsworth's estimate of the bramble, however, is neither fully nor justly indicated. Professor Tinker writes:

'It might have been expected that Wordsworth, with his eye dutifully upon the object, would have had something to say of the blackberry bramble; yet I recall but one reference in his poetry, and that not untouched with contempt:

The gadding bramble hangs her purple fruit.

And even this line, which, by the way, is somewhat suggestive of the despised manner of the eighteenth-century poet, wastes what little sweetness it has upon the desert air of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. I fear that, when all is said, Lord De Tabley must be acknowledged as the undisputed monarch of the bramble world.¹

Be it said that in the 'desert air' of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* flourish 'hyacinths,' the 'lily,' and 'daisies,' 'sweet pastoral flowers' for 'vernal posy' or for 'garland gay.' 'Grass' and 'moss'—'green moss'—'ivy,' 'herbs,' and 'the tender sod' are here; and the 'reverend hawthorns,' 'laurels,' and 'fresh holly,' too. By virtue of its 'crown of weeds' and its 'crown of thorns' this is no desert. Here strike the roots of 'the pine-tree,' here are 'palm-groves,' the 'elm,' and 'forest-oaks' and 'chestnut-wood.' And if the 'flowers of chivalry' and 'fancied roses'

¹ *Atlantic Monthly* 124.672.

perfume the desert air in vain, there are 'wreaths that shall not fail,' 'Heaven-born flowers,' 'immortal amaranth and palms.'²

Moreover, the one reference to the blackberry-bramble in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* is not the sole reference to the bramble in Wordsworth's poetry. Professor Cooper's *Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth* contains under *bramble*, *bramble-leaf*, *brambles*, seven citations.³ There are also two relevant passages in the *Description of the Scenery of the Lakes*; at least one is to be found among Wordsworth's letters; and the *Journals* of Dorothy Wordsworth have several comments of value for defining and interpreting her brother's artistic treatment of this theme.

An entry in Dorothy's *Journal* for February 15, 1798, will serve to begin the series:

'Gathered sticks in the further wood. The dell green with moss and brambles, and the tall and slender pillars of the unbranching oaks.'⁴

A month later:

'The spring continues to advance very slowly, no green trees, the hedges leafless; nothing green but the brambles that still retain their old leaves, the evergreens, and the palms, which indeed are not absolutely green. Some brambles I observed to-day budding afresh, and those have shed their old leaves. The crooked arm of the old oak-tree points upwards to the moon.'⁵

Through some such dell or country-side as this the 'enduring Ass' in *Peter Bell*

Moves on without a moment's stop,
Nor once turns round his head to crop
A bramble-leaf or blade of grass.⁶

² The references in this paragraph are to *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*

1.27.14	1.10.10	3.33.11	2.12.10
2.15.4,7	3.40.13	3.34.12	2.7.7
3.39.10	1.21.11	1.8.8	2.25.7
1.1.11	2.12.9	3.40.5	2.7.8
3.22.3	3.41.9	3.17.6	2.1.7
3.32.7	3.39.5	1.21.11	1.1.14
3.31.9	1.1.11	3.39.7	

The edition of Wordsworth's *Poetical Works* by Hutchinson, which is frequently cited in this article, will be hereafter referred to as *P. W.*

³ P. 93.

⁴ *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Knight, 1.9. This work is hereafter referred to as *Journals*.

⁵ *Journals* 1. 14-15.

⁶ *Peter Bell* 712-715 (*P. W.*, p. 244).

Such may have been the brambles eluded by Wordsworth on those nutting-expeditions of his boyhood, when he turned his steps

Tow'rd some far-distant wood, a Figure quaint,
Tricked out in proud disguise of cast-off weeds
Which for that service had been husbanded,
By exhortation of my frugal Dame—
Motley accoutrement, of power to smile
At thorns, and brakes, and brambles,—and in truth
More ragged than need was!⁷

Remembering that Wordsworth set aside *The Prelude* in 1800, and seems for the time to have exhausted himself by the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, we read with interest of the knight whose history was that year *Written with a Slate Pencil upon a Stone, the Largest of a Heap Lying near a Deserted Quarry, upon One of the Islands at Rydal*. He

Desisted, and the quarry and the mound
Are monuments of his unfinished task.⁸

To the bramble the poet consigned the fragments:

If thou art one

On fire with thy impatience to become
An inmate of these mountains,—if, disturbed
By beautiful conceptions, thou hast hewn
Out of the quiet rock the elements
Of thy trim Mansion destined soon to blaze
In snow-white splendour,—think again; and, taught
By old Sir William and his quarry, leave
Thy fragments to the bramble and the rose;
There let the vernal slow-worm sun himself,
And let the redbreast hop from stone to stone.⁹

'The unfinished task' preoccupies other poems of 1800. Wordsworth has said of Leonard

So he relinquished all his purposes.¹⁰

Michael's sheep-fold, too, was

unfinished when he died;¹¹

. . . and 'tis believed by all
That many and many a day he thither went,
And never lifted up a single stone.¹²

⁷ *Nutting* 8–14 (*P. W.*, p. 185).

⁸ Lines 12–13 (*P. W.*, p. 548).

⁹ Lines 25–35 (*P. W.*, pp. 548–549).

¹⁰ *The Brothers* 427 (*P. W.*, p. 102).

¹¹ *Michael* 472 (*P. W.*, p. 138).

¹² *Ibid.* 464–466.

The Idle Shepherd-Boys and the 'forlorn *Hic jacet!*' of Bruce's grave date from 1800. But, happily, 1800 is the year when the poet hopes for the dust of the pleasure-house of *Hart-leap Well* that

. . . Nature, in due course of time, once more
Shall here put on her beauty and her bloom.¹³

Briar-rose or bramble, no doubt, will be the pioneer in the reconstruction. And there is to be a new precision of the observing eye and the contemplating mind. This is made evident in Wordsworth's *Poems on the Naming of Places*, 1800, and in Dorothy's wish to label nature's 'beauty and her bloom.' We read in the *Journal* for May 16, 1800:

'I carried a basket for mosses, and gathered some wild plants. Oh! that we had a book of botany.'¹⁴

Coleridge and Dorothy temporarily dispensed with the bramble on September 1, 1800, and there was rejoicing:

'After dinner, Coleridge discovered a rock-seat in the orchard. Cleared away many brambles. Coleridge went to bed after tea. John and I followed Wm. up the hill, and then returned to go to Mr. Simpson's. We borrowed some bottles for bottling rum. The evening somewhat frosty and grey, but very pleasant. I broiled Coleridge a mutton-chop, which he ate in bed.'¹⁵

Yet by October 17 'Coleridge had done nothing for the L. B.'¹⁶ We are not told whether the bramble crept again over the rock-seat.

The poems of 1802 and 1803 are themselves fragmentary, although in them we may trace the beginning of sonnet-series, and are supplied with the elements from which later the *Memorials of a Tour in Scotland, 1803*, were developed. Dorothy furnishes evidence that William used his own walking-stick on this tour—and lost it!

'William climbed up the rock, which would have been no easy task but to a mountaineer, and we constructed a rope of pocket-handkerchiefs, garters, plaids, coats, etc., and measured its height. It was *so* many times the length of William's walking-stick, but, unfortunately, having lost the stick, we have lost the measure.'¹⁷

¹³ *Hart-leap Well* 171-172 (*P. W.*, p. 203).

¹⁴ *Journals* 1. 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1. 47-48.

¹⁶ *I. e.*, *The Lyrical Ballads*; see *Journals* 1. 54.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 2. 108.

What better warning could we wish for the poet who writes, the critic who measures, the warrior who will 'take the shortest way'?¹⁸

In *Rob Roy's Grave*¹⁹ Wordsworth discusses this very problem of 'strength of prowess or of wit' as against 'books' and 'statutes':

'For why?—Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep who can.'

Again:

And to his Sword he would have said,
'Do Thou my sovereign will enact
From land to land through half the earth!
Judge thou of law and fact!'

But Rob Roy 'came an age too late'; for 'Polity was then too strong.' Now polity had marked Wordsworth for her own, although in 1803 he would 'clear the weeds from off' the grave of 'brave Rob Roy.'

What were these weeds? Dorothy has described the burial-place of the lairds of Glengyle as

'a dismal spot, containing four or five graves overgrown with long grass, nettles, and brambles.'²⁰

She repeats and intensifies this impression at the reputed grave of Rob Roy:

'There were several tomb-stones, but the inscriptions were either worn-out or unintelligible to us, and the place choked up with nettles and brambles.'²¹

It was left for Wordsworth to give these memories their authentic form in *The Highland Broach*:

The heroic Age expired—it slept
Deep in its tomb:—the bramble crept
O'er Fingal's hearth; the grassy sod
Grew on the floors his sons had trod.²²

Not alone does the bramble set its thorny seal upon the 'heroic Age'; its wreath is no less appropriate to the age of

¹⁸ *Rob Roy's Grave* 56 (*P. W.*, p. 291).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 50, 21, 22, 37-40, 77-80, 64, 63, 6, 5.

²⁰ *Journals* 1. 245.

²¹ *Ibid.* 2. 111-112.

²² Lines 31-34 (*P. W.*, p. 390).

polity. It trails the quick and the dead. Dorothy remarked at Luss on Lake Lomond:

'How elegant were the wreaths of the bramble that had "built its own bower" upon the riggins in several parts of the village.'²³

Dorothy and Wordsworth saw brambles—with other things—during November, 1805, in Gowborough Park. The brother's recast of the sister's journal was presumably not made until 1835, but the bramble finds a due place in the whole, and only a due place. Dorothy wrote:

'The trees in Gowborough Park were very beautiful, the hawthorns leafless, their round heads covered with rich red berries, and adorned with arches of green brambles; and eglantine hung with glossy hips; many birches yet tricked out in full foliage of bright yellow; oaks brown or leafless; the smooth branches of the ashes bare; most of the alders green as in spring.'²⁴

Wordsworth revised this to read:

'The hawthorns were leafless; their round heads covered with rich green [? red] berries, and adorned with arches of green brambles, and eglantines hung with glossy hips; and the grey trunks of some of the ancient oaks, which in the summer season might have been regarded only for their venerable majesty, now attracted notice by a pretty embellishment of green mosses and fern, intermixed with russet leaves retained by those slender outstarting twigs which the veteran tree would not have tolerated in his strength. The smooth silver branches of the ashes were bare; most of the alders as green as the Devonshire cottage-myrtle that weathers the snows of Christmas.'²⁵

A memorable reference to the bramble occurs at the end of the letter of December, 1806, in which Wordsworth's plans for the Beaumont winter-garden were set forth:

'Few of the more minute rural appearances please me more than these, of one shrub or flower lending its ornaments to another. There is a pretty instance of this kind now to be seen near Mr. Craig's new walk; a bramble which has furnished a wild rose with its green leaves, while the rose in turn with its red hips has to the utmost of its power embellished the bramble. Mr. Graham in his *Birds of Scotland* has an exquisite passage upon this subject, with which I will conclude:

The hawthorn there,
With moss and lichens grey, dies of old age,
Up to the upmost branches climbs the rose
And mingles with the fading blooms of May,
While round the brier the honeysuckle wreaths

²³ *Journals* 1. 222.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 2. 159-160.

²⁵ *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by Knight, 2. 114-115.

Entwine, and with their sweet perfume embalm
The dying rose.²⁶

This co-operative function of the bramble Wordsworth even more generously acknowledged when he added a parenthesis to the *Description of the Scenery of the Lakes* in the edition of 1823:

'The process by which she [Nature] forms woods and forests is as follows. Seeds are scattered indiscriminately by winds, brought by waters, and dropped by birds. They perish, or produce, according as the soil and situation upon which they fall are suited to them; and under the same dependence, the seedling or the sucker, if not cropped by animals (which Nature is often careful to prevent by fencing it about with brambles or other prickly shrubs), thrives, and the tree grows, sometimes single, taking its own shape without constraint, but for the most part compelled to conform itself to some law imposed upon it by its neighbours. From low and sheltered places, vegetation travels upwards to the more exposed; and the young plants are protected, and to a certain degree fashioned, by those that have preceded them.'²⁷

The *Description* was first published in 1810; Wordsworth's parenthesis, we note, was not added until 1823. Thus the decade or so which terminated in the 'desert' waste of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* brought to the forest its bramble.

With similar regard for the cost of a cosmic pageant, fencing bramble and cropping animal had appeared in *The Excursion*, where the 'rustic Boy' was compared to

a lamb enthralled
'Mid thorns and brambles.'²⁸

Wordsworth's eye is 'dutifully upon the object,' but in both cases his mind no less dutifully ranges among purposes. Did he not say in 1815 that it was the function of the judgment

'to decide how and where, and in what degree, each of these faculties [Observation, Description, Sensibility, Reflection, Imagination, Fancy, and Invention] ought to be exerted; so that the less shall not be sacrificed to the greater; nor the greater, slighting the less, arrogate, to its own injury, more than its due?'²⁹

But the roots of this particular bramble strike down into the *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*. In that tirade of his youth Wordsworth had ironically said:

²⁶ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. by Knight, 1. 283-284.

²⁷ *Prose Works*, ed. by Knight, 2. 78.

²⁸ Lines 170-171 (*P. W.*, p. 886).

²⁹ *P. W.*, p. 954.

'I congratulate your Lordship upon your enthusiastic fondness for the judicial proceedings of this country. I am happy to find you have passed through life without having your fleece torn from your back in the thorny labyrinth of litigation.'³⁰

The thorns of litigation, wardens of the justice which is so frequently bespoken in the *Convention of Cintra*,³¹ the justice which is the last cadence to fall upon the 'desert air' of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*,³² deserve their part with the brambles of the forest. These debts the Wordsworth of later years knew how to pay.

That one of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* which monopolizes the 'little sweetness' of the sole bramble which Professor Tinker remembers in the poetry of Wordsworth may be quoted in full:

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

Threats come which no submission may assuage,
 No sacrifice avert, no power dispute;
 The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
 And, 'mid their choirs unroofed by selfish rage,
 The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage;
 The gadding bramble hang her purple fruit;
 And the green lizard and the gilded newt
 Lead unmolested lives, and die of age.
 The owl of evening and the woodland fox
 For their abode the shrines of Waltham choose:
 Proud Glastonbury can no more refuse
 To stoop her head before these desperate shocks—
 She whose high pomp displaced, as story tells,
 Arimathean Joseph's wattled cells.³³

And with this sonnet should be considered those stanzas of *Fort Fuentes* to which it is related, and probably indebted:

Dread hour! when, upheaved by war's sulphurous blast,
 This sweet-visaged Cherub of Parian stone
 So far from the holy enclosure was cast,
 To couch in this thicket of brambles alone,
 To rest where the lizard may bask in the palm
 Of his half-open hand pure from blemish or speck;
 And the green, gilded snake, without troubling the calm
 Of the beautiful countenance, twine round his neck;

³⁰ *Prose Works*, ed. by Knight, 1. 24.

³¹ *Ibid.* 1. 115, 116, 131, 134, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 153, 160, 161, 165, 167, 170, 172, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 186, 188, 194, 202, 203, 208, 210, 212, 213, 215, 220, 223, 224, 231, 233, 242, 250, 251, 252, 265, 266, 268, 276.

³² *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* 3. 47. 14.

³³ *Ibid.* 2. 21.

Where haply (kind service to Piety due!)
 When winter the grove of its mantle bereaves,
 Some bird (like our own honoured redbreast) may strew
 The desolate Slumberer with moss and with leaves.

FUENTES once harboured the good and the brave,
 Nor to her was the dance of soft pleasure unknown:
 Her banners for festal enjoyment did wave
 While the thrill of her fifes thro' the mountains was
 blown:

Now gads the wild vine o'er the pathless ascent:—
 O silence of Nature, how deep is thy sway,
 When the whirlwind of human destruction is spent,
 Our tumults appeased, and our strifes passed away!³⁴

In 1820 and 1821, then, not without a tinge of that sadness which haunts the poems of 1800, we have the bramble still used as the image for the deep and kindly sway of nature. Where is the touch of 'contempt' which Professor Tinker would have us think the poet intends? The accusation is rather, is it not, against the tardy submission, the belated sacrifice, the wasted power, the 'selfish rage,' the pride, the 'high pomp,' the upheavals, the whirlwind, the tumults, the strifes? Is the sorrow not for the forgotten shrines, and the violated enclosures?³⁵ In *Fort Fuentes*, indeed, the bramble, the gilded snake, the redbreast, to whose mastery the fragments of mansion and pleasure-house were in 1800 dedicated as a last resort,³⁶ become pious servitors of a 'Slumberer,' and in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* that slumberer, upon whose shrines the bramble and the lizard lead unmolested lives, is exhorted in imagery not alien to the present theme:

Why sleeps the future, as a snake enrolled,
 Coil within coil, at noontide? For the word
 Yields, if with unassuming faith explored,
 Power at whose touch the sluggard shall unfold
 His drowsy rings.³⁷

³⁴ *P. W.*, p. 340.

³⁵ Compare the sonnet and the stanzas quoted above.

³⁶ Compare the references in the earlier paragraphs of this article.

³⁷ *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* 3. 47. 1-5.

When the *Hic jacet* and the *Requiescat in pace* shall have felt the touch, may we assume that Dorothy Wordsworth's bramble will on that early spring-day, too, be found in the van with 'the evergreens and the palms'?³⁸

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³⁸ *Journals* 1. 14-15.

SEMANTIC NOTES ON CHARACTERIZING SURNAMES IN OLD NORSE

Of the vast body of descriptive epithets and other types of "ekenames," or added names, which function as surnames in Old Norse a very considerable number are semantically of obscure origin. Names of other types are often self-explanatory, as those designating family connections of some kind. Thus, e.g., *Pálnatóki* (= Toki, son of Pálni) in the *Jomsvikinga saga*, or *Ingibjorg jarlamóðir* (= I. Earls' mother), the mother of *Páll jarl* and *Erlendr jarl*.¹ Fairly transparent are also, usually, names which have their origin in the age of the one named (*Knútr gamli*),² his nationality (*Geirr gerzki*, Geirr Russian),³ or in the name of the province he has come from (*Ketill jamti*, Ketill of Jamtland). Other classes of names are, however, far less simple. And in particular are there many difficulties in the way of their explanation in those cases which seem to have the reason for their origin in the appearance, some quality, or a characteristic behavior or activity of the person so named. It is a group of surnames of this type that I shall consider briefly in the following pages.

The Icelandic family sagas often tell how a certain event gave rise to a particular name. Handed down by long tradition these explanations are, nevertheless, in most cases correct probably. Such accounts are interesting also in that they give us some idea of the numerous factors that have operated with the different types of names. In the concluding discussion of his collection of Old Icelandic surnames⁴ Finnur Jónsson notes the instance of Tord Torlakson of the Faroes who was called *þórðr lági*, the 'short'; and yet Thord actually was a very tall man. The element of facetious naming must be taken account of as a factor that may have operated now and then in the various types.

¹ About seventy instances of such or related formations are listed in *Tiln.*, pp. 163-170.

² Who therefore in youth and manhood had no fixed cognomen possibly.

³ That is, in this case, the one who had lived for a time in the Scandinavian *Garðariki* (Russia).

⁴ "Tilnavne i den islandske oldlitteratur," *Aarb. f. n. O.*, 1907, p. 364.

Now, to be sure, an account of how any nickname or surname arose may not at all suggest the explanation of the name. What we primarily wish to know is the (idea or) ideas associated with a name when it came to be definitely used of this or that person. And ordinarily we must assume that an added name which acquired fixed usage was aptly descriptive of something about the person named. In the effort to account semantically for names of this type such a point of view must be our basis of procedure. We cannot tell, of course, to what extent facetious designations may have played a rôle in names that imply a comparison, or in those which describe manner or behavior. It is conceivable that sometimes the result would be a name as incongruous as that of applying the adj. *lági* to the tall Tord Torlakson. But, failing the evidence of this, we must assume that any name under consideration has its origin in the desire to describe or characterize and that the choice of a term is due to its' apparent fitness. In the case of that important class of names which are referable to terms that, in the language of the day, were used both of animals and inanimate objects I believe that in the majority of cases the comparison with the latter was the one that was most natural and the one actually resorted to. The names considered below will, I believe, well illustrate this in some typical cases. Elsewhere I hope to show these processes in operation in recent times in the Norwegian pioneer settlements in the Northwestern states here in America.

In his discussion of the Icelandic material Jónsson noted: "den store og uensartede mangfoldighed og brogede tilfældighed, der råder." And he found this to be the case especially in his Division X, a miscellaneous group covering some forty pages of his material. Of it he says: "det bemærkes, at vi her står overfor mange vanskeligheder; ikke blot er ordene ofte flertydige, men ogsaa ofte i og for sig dunkle; og selv om tilnavnet er nogenlunde gennemsigtigt, er vi dog langt fra sikre på at have truffet det rette; og selv om vi med overvejende sandsynlighed kan sige, at det betyder det eller det, er dog anledningen til tilnavnet ganske usikker . . . uagtet vi mener at kunne se eller skimte det." Jónsson, after speaking of Rygh's alphabetical arrangement in a Trondhjem school program of 1871,⁵ classifies

⁵ "Norske og islandske tilnavne fra oldtiden og middelalderen."

his collection into ten divisions, of which the second, names connected with the body and its parts and with bodily characteristics, pp. 192–233, the sixth, laudatory names, the seventh, derogatory names, and ninth, names taken from objects of nature, may here be especially noted. Kahle's collection as first compiled covered for the most part the same ground. As it was finally published, however, in 1910⁶ he eliminated the major portion of those already considered by Jónsson, and emphasized, as the title indicates, more the Old Norwegian literature, which he examined down to 1400; Jónsson's terminus ad quem was 1300. Of his own procedure Kahle says: "Es stellte sich als nunmehr F. J.'s Abhandlung vorlag, ferner heraus, dass hier und da—was bei der Weitsichtigkeit des Stoffes nur zu erklärlich und entschuldbar ist—Beinamen übersehen worden waren, sodann glaubte ich, bei manchen eine andere Erklärung geben oder doch einen anderen Erklärungsversuch der Erwägung anheimstellen zu können. So entstand eine Reihe von Ergänzungen und Zusätzen." Jónsson's list contains about 2800 surnames, Kahle's about 1100.

It goes without saying that there might be differences of opinion concerning many names in such a large number, especially within the divisions spoken of above. It has appeared to me that Kahle's conclusions regarding a great many names within these groups and Division X of miscellaneous names⁷ has been hastily arrived at. Thus there are numbers of cases where Fritzner's definition of the term is taken over bodily.⁸ But Fritzner's definition is often confessedly tentative in such cases, or it is given for the corresponding common noun, which again is often rare and uncertain; also the given noun is only of Icelandic occurrence, whereas the name under discussion may be from a XIVth century Norwegian charter. And the latter consideration seems to me not without importance.

In my own examination of many such nicknames which appear as surnames, especially those listed from Norwegian charters, I have come to a different conclusion regarding their

⁶ "Die altwestnordischen Beinamen," *Arkiv f. n. F.*, XXVI, pp. 143–202 and 227–260 (referred to in this discussion sometimes as *Beinamen*).

⁷ Kahle adopted Jónsson's classification.

⁸ Ex: *holkr*, Halldórr: "Kurzes Rohr von Metall, das an einem Ende mit einer Platte geschlossen ist, und in dessen anderes man einen Schaft steckt." Fr.

connections and their origin. The group of names that I will consider, then, in the following pages are mostly such as appear only in Bishop Eystein's *Jordebog* or in the Norwegian charters. If in any case early literary connections be lacking it is well to bear in mind that we are dealing with Old Norwegian material. And, where we are obliged to consult the modern dialects, as we often are, I believe we must first of all turn to the Norwegian dialectal material, and to the same dialectal region to which the charter belongs and where the person named lived. But, while accepting this as a general rule, it may very well be that in the case of a Southwest Norwegian name, e.g., local parallels failing or not affording a possible explanation, some Icelandic dialect term will reveal the origin of the Norwegian name in question.⁹

I now turn to the surnames. References will be given to pages in Kahle's collection. Source and exact form of the name will be shown in each case, as *DN.*, *I.*, = *Diplomatarium Norvegicum I.*, followed by the number of the charter, place and date of issue.¹⁰

Køjukona, Guðrun. *DN.*, *I.*, 134. Bergen, 1312. BK156. This charter forms one of fifteen written in various southwest Norwegian dialects.¹¹ BK suggests Nw. *køya*, cited for Telemarken by Ross;¹² this word means "liden Pyt eller Sump med høit Græs eller Siv." Under *køjumagr*, p. 157, BK refers to *Køjukona*. The charter forms are *køjv-* and *kæiv-*. It thus appears that we may have before us the diphthong *ei* (*æi*), and not (necessarily) the diphthong *ey* (*æy*). If we assume that it is *æi* then we have a word whose modern form in W. Tel. would have *ei*¹³ and only such a dialectal form could be considered. If, however, we assume that the diphthong in our name is *øy*, and consequently that *æi* is an inexact writing, then the

⁹ And similarly Swedish words or uses of a word in the case of persons from the E. Norw. border districts.

¹⁰ Abbreviations for grammatical terms, dialects, etc., will be the usual ones. In reference to Norwegian dialects the abbreviations of Aasen-Ross is used. Kahle's collection will be referred to by BK., Finnur Jónsson's collection by FJ or *Tiln.* I use ON for O Ic. and O Norw. combined.

¹¹ See Hægstad: *Vestnorske Maalføre II, Sudvestlandsk*, 2. (Abbr. = *V.M.*); p. 4.

¹² *Norsk Ordbog. Tillæg til Aasen.*

¹³ Other southw. Norw. equivalents are tabulated by Hægstad, l.c., pp. 86-87 (usually *ai*).

modern Tel. equivalent would be a word with *-øy-*. The assumption of *æi* suggests Nw. d. *keia*, vb. "gjøre sig viktig med stram Holdning og stive Fagter; kneise," which is given by Ross for Hallingdal (*ho kom keiand, han stoo aa keia seg*). Semantically this would be perfectly possible; we do not, to be sure, know whether it would be a fitting characterization of the Guðrun in question.¹⁴ But formally there is a difficulty here. In the charter in question ON *æi* is always (with the possible exception of *kþijv-*) written *æi*, as *bræiðr*, *þæim*, *æigi*, *Æirikr*, etc. Hence we should have to regard our name as an erroneous writing. However, when the scribe in the one case of the unexplained *Kþijv-* writes *þi(þij)*, we are forced to conclude that he is attempting to give a written form to a name which did not have the diphthong *æi*, which he everywhere writes *æi*.

With regard to the assumption that it is the diphthong *æy* we have it is to be noted that, with the single exception of *þyri*, the charter throughout represents ON *ey(æy)* by *æy* (*hæyra*, *kæyptuz*, etc.). ON *æy* seems also, therefore, to be excluded, for in that case the writer would probably have written *kæyu-*, though he might possibly have written *kþyu*; it does not seem at all likely that he should have written *kæiu-* and *kþiju-*. This becomes a certainty, practically, when we bear in mind that, as Hægstad has shown, the charters of this region and this period represent ON *æy(ey)* by *æy* as the only writing in ten main charters, and by *ey* in five, elsewhere regularly *æy*, and *æy*.¹⁵ It is furthermore shown that the change of ON *æy* to *æi*, *ei*, is quite sporadic and apparently limited to certain words¹⁶ while that of *æi* to *þy* is nowhere evidenced. The forms *kþijv kona* and *kæiv maghr* are noted (p. 43) and Hægstad remarks: "ser framandvore ut," and in a foot-note: Den uvanlege svagande skrivemaaten leider tanken burt paa eit framanord, tysk *keie*, *keige*, f. wurfspieß, speer (?)." We have, however, no evidence that this L. G. word was ever present in W. Norw. speech, either middle age or modern. However, to me also the writing (*þi* especially) has a foreign suggestion here. And whereas throughout the charter the

¹⁴ As there is not, to my knowledge, any further information about her.

¹⁵ L.c., p. 43.

¹⁶ Examples given for Voss, 1340, Sogn, 1331, but practically limited to the name *Eisteinn* and the word *husþreia*, and especially this region. *VM.*, p. 101.

orthography is remarkably consistent, this particular word vacillates between two writings in the only two times it occurs. This indicates uncertainty on the part of the writer, and would suggest a loanword that only recently, perhaps, had come into use. And the writing with an *i* as the second element of the diphthong both times, would indicate that he felt that the quality of the diphthong was not that of *æy* (or *æy*). Possibly also the varying initial vowel in his two writings indicate a failure to identify it with either that of *æy* or that of *æy*.

I think it most likely that the source of our name is L. G. *kôje*, modn. lit. Norw. *køje*,¹⁷ which in southwest Norw. dialects is now variously pronounced with a diphthong *øi* or *qi*: Sogn, Voss, Hardanger, *køi*-, Telemarken *køi*-, as in the vb. *køia seg*, 'to go to bed.'¹⁸ As used in Riksmåal Norw. to-day this word exhibits, to be sure, only the meaning 'berth, bunk,' but it has a wide use in compounds; in W. Norw. dialects the noun *køi* or *køi* (as in *te køis*), from which the vb. as above is formed, meant 'bed' in general. The noun *køia* may very well have existed by the side of *køje* almost from the first; *køi* and *køia* (vb.) are both used dialectically to-day.¹⁹ From the context it is pretty clear that *køia* was the nickname of Guðrun's husband, whose first name later in the charter is given as Æirikr. Olafr kævmaghr would be Guðrun's brother.²⁰ As a nick-name *køia* would have been about equivalent to "Lie-abed." Cp. the case of *Juriðr rumgylla*, which FJ. translates, "sængeso," *Tiln.* p. 305.

nostamagh, Bjorn. acc. *DN.*, III, 552.²¹ Borgund, 1400. BK asks: "Ist nosti Eigen- oder Beiname und welches seine Bedeutung?" No such personal name as Nosti is recorded in ON. We may compare Norw. d. *nuste*, m., "liden tætvoxen Karl," Ross, for Hall. and Tel. and *nusta*, f., "knortet Rod," Hall., and variant *knust(e)*, m., "vreden Klods," Tel., *knest*, m., "liden Knald." Hall., *gnust*, m., "Kubbe, særlig Træklods med

¹⁷ See Falk og Torp: *Etymologisk Ordbog* (Abbr. = F. and T.).

¹⁸ Vidsteen does not give *køia seg* for Søndhordland: *Ordbog over bygdemaalene i Søndhordland*. Not recorded either by Aasen or Ross (because only uses corresponding to those of Riksmåal were found?).

¹⁹ Schött: *Dansk-Norsk ordbok*, p. 455, gives both for Landsmaal.

²⁰ He represented Guðrun in the transfer of property recorded in the charter.

²¹ BK, wrongly, charter 334.

vreden og knudret Ved = *ein vranten kubbi*," which Ross gives for Tel. and Sæt. Also adj. as *ei gnuste furu*, and *ein gnuste kar'e*, "en tætvoxen Karl," Tel., Sæt. Related forms with or without initial *g*, *k*, and the vowels *e-a* or *u-au* occur.²² The nickname then probably means: "stumpy body." Bjørn receives his cognomen from being—Nosti's brother-in-law.

flotskalle, Pædhar. DN., III, 468. Matenes, 1386. BK translates "der Fettschädel," but with a query. This rendering was probably suggested by the surname *flotbytta*, *Tiln.* 289, which is translated by FJ. "Fedtbötte, d.v.s., en bötte hvori det fedt samles, der flyder (flot) oven på suppen." Cp. Icel. *flot*, 'gravy.' Unusual as this is as a nickname there can be no doubt of FJ.'s explanation.²³ But Fettschädel" is not very convincing as an explanation of *flotskalle*.

The charter in question concerns a division of an inheritance at Hogermo Fos in Jämtland.²⁴ The language of the charter is mixed Norwegian and Swedish. Aasen cites a form *flot* (o) "flod og jævn Mark," Gbr.,²⁵ and *flote* (o), "en noget stor Markflade." This is quoted only for Sogn,²⁶ but in the meaning "en svær bred Karl" it is used in Östl.²⁷ Thus we would possibly in the name *flotskalle* have a characterizing use of ON. *flot*. f., "flade, slette," compounded with *skalle*- meaning about "Flat-skull," (or "broad-skull.") This may very well be the source of the name. I am, however, inclined to seek the source in ON. *flótr*, 'quick, fleet,' which shows a wide use of the ablaut forms: *flot*, *flöt*, and *flut*, in the Throndhjem-Jämtland dialect region. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt lexicon*, records under *fliota*, the adj. *flyt*. "snabb, flink," for Jämtland, and *flut*, "duktig," as *flut arbeidskar*, *flut snikkare*, for Västerbotten. In Throndhjem the form is to-day *flöt*²⁸ (also vb. *flöta seg*, 'to hasten').

²² The meaning of some of these words: barskhed, barskt væsen, may be compared (probably a later developed meaning). There is a mod. Ic. *nostur*, 'tidiness,' which seems to be a specifically Icelandic meaning development of the corresponding strong noun.

²³ So too Fr. The name *Þorleifr flot*, p. 200, BK renders þ. "Fett."

²⁴ Before 1650 a part of Norway.

²⁵ Also Ryf, in sw. Norw.

²⁶ Also *flot*, m., "mindre markflade," Rom., Gbr., Sogn (Ross).

²⁷ Cp. Värmland Sw. d. *flot*, "stor varelse," Noreen: *Fryksdalsmålets Ljudlära*, p. 18.

²⁸ Aasen under southw. Norw. *fljot*: "I Throndhjem St. bruges det meget og hedder: *flöt*."

The Jämtland surname *flotskalle* means then, if this is correct, one with a "quick head" (Peder "the capable" or "the clever").

snægg, Þosteini, dat., *DN.*, XI, 7. Sandvin, 1316. BK: "kurzhaarig." This is, of course, perfectly possible. However, another meaning is fully as likely. The adj. ON. *snöggr*, 'short,' seems in Icelandic to have been used specifically in the sense 'short-haired'—so all the citations of this use in Fr. and so most of the uses of the word *snöggur* and *snögg-* in cpds. in Icelandic today.²⁹ That it also had this meaning in W. Norw. there is no doubt,³⁰ but it was evidently not much used in this sense for it appears that no W. Nw. dialect today exhibits it.³¹ On the other hand in Norway *snögg* is used of short garments, as in *DN.*, V, 640; and this meaning is fairly widespread today in W. Norw., e.g., *snöggleg*, adj., "noget knap eller trang; om Klæder," given by Ross for Hardanger (cp. also *snöggt*, adv. "knapt." N. Gbr., and *snögg*, do. Nordl.). Our charter is written in Hardanger dialect (See *V.M.*, II, p. 2). Þorsteinn is mentioned as a witness of the transaction spoken of; he was probably a native of the place. Þ. *snöggr* may then have received his name from a habit of wearing short tight-fitting clothes. I would, however, add that Þorsteinn's surname may not be this word but ON. *snöggr*, "quick, swift," which is a practically universal W. Norw. word and common in O. Norw. and O. Icel.

blæzs, Ogmunder, *E Jb.*, 455, line 5, 1394, a list of gifts to *Hafs kirkia i Solæyum*.³² BK: "blesi?" The form *blæzs* probably is to be read *blæss*.³³ Fr. suggests "*bles = blestr?*," but at the same time refers to the name *Erlendr blesi*, *DN.*, I, 228. Aurland, 1334.³⁴ But this prevailing West Norw. word seems to differ semantically from the corresponding East Norw. words. See, however, *Tiln.*, p. 198. Our word may contain a stem *bles-* descriptive of manner rather than *bles-*, *bles-*, descriptive of appearance (Examples, Ross, p. 49). In this case we may compare *blesen*, adj. "rask men uforsigtig med sine Hænder

²⁹ Barring *snöggur*, 'sudden,' which probably is an entirely different word.

³⁰ *Speculum regale*, 66,¹⁹ *snöggvan kamp*, acc., 'short beard.'

³¹ The regular, almost universal, word is *snau*.

³² Solör, E. Norw.

³³ Cp. *Halzstein* in the same document.

³⁴ In his *Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian* Torild W. Arnoldson notes, p. 14, the Norw. *blesa*, and Estonian Swedish *bläs*, "star; forehead," p. 162.

og sin Mund," V. Agder, and *blessa, f.*" en rask men uforsigtig og aabenmundet Kvinde, "Dal., V. Agder, Jæd., Rbg.

cabæini, Olafue, dat. *DN.*, XII, 69. 1326. Söndfjord? BK: "S. die Bemerkung FJ.'s." In *Tiln.* listed from *Hákonar-bók*. FJ. would refer the element *ká* to Norw. *kaa*, "Allike, corvus monedula (Aasen), Dan *kaa*, but notes that this is not found in Norw. Icel. literature; and he renders "med ben som en allikes," adding "Fritzner's forklaring er ikke tiltalende." The word *bein* appears with considerable frequency in compound surnames in ON, and it is true that these names are generally descriptive of appearance (adj. + noun, as *digrbeinn*) sometimes possibly involving a comparison with an object or an animal; so probably *trumbubeinn*, *Tiln.*, 220, and possibly *fylbeinn*, "with legs like a foal's" (queried by FJ. himself). To FJ.'s 18 occurrences BK offers five from the Norw. charters. Of the latter *meldibeinn*, *Beinamen*, p. 173, may contain such a comparison. The name also occurs in *Flat.* III, 133, 1, in the form *Olafr kaabeinn*. We seem to have no ONorw. form, for while the required long vowel would suggest ON. *ká*, vb., 'to disturb one's peace and rest,' it is not clear how these can be connected semantically.³⁵ We could more naturally connect it with the widely used Norw. d. *kaa*,³⁶ "vende Hö" (Aasen), both E. and W. Norw., "om at sprede eller lufte Hö" (Ross). This is presumably the source of Fr.'s definition of *kábeinn*. Cp. such formations as *slodefot*, "en som gaar slæbende og snublende" (Ross), vb. *sloda*, "slæbe," and *slengjekjeft*, "person som gjerne bruger slengjeord" (Ross).³⁷ Finally, Ross gives a cpd. *kaäbjörk*, a Hardanger variant of *kartbjörk*, but seems uncertain of its form. *Kart* means "stump, stub, etc." If the early existence of this word be certain, the formation *kábeinn* would be quite regular both in form and meaning.

fltk, Þorir, *Hák.*,³⁸ *Tiln.*, p. 237, listed under Division III, B. "Klædedragt." FJ. translated "et stykke tõi." The stem

³⁵ *Ká*, vb., is cited only from the *Barlaamsaga* and the *Strengleikar* by Fr., as also by Vigfusson-Powell. *Gamalnorsk ordbok* defines *Ká*, "skjepla, uroa"; presumably the two defining words are here about synonymous; *skjepla* otherwise shows a considerable meaning extension.

³⁶ Which Fr. conjectures to be the same as ON. *ká*.

³⁷ *Slengjebeinn* is probably also found in some dialect.

³⁸ Also *Flat.*, III, 51.

flik- shows a very extensive semantic development in mod. Norw. dialects with numerous secondary formations. For discussion see this Journal, Vol. XII, pp. 78-92. The nick-name *flik* in this case may mean merely 'a piece of cloth,' but it is more likely that it had some one of the early derived meanings.³⁹

stoltekarl, Magnus, *DN.*, III, 477, Oslo, 1388, and *EJb.* 235, Valdres, 1388. BK: "stolzer Mann." Rather, "The Distinguished" (i.e., the one of distinguished appearance, bearing). Cp. *þú riddari, er sitr á þeim hvíta hesti, er ek sá engan stoltara*, "thou knight, sitting on the white steed, than whom I never saw one handsomer" (i.e., of finer bearing).⁴⁰ As we learn from *EJb.*, Magnus S. was a native of Valdres and held at the time the office of councillor to the government.

olfuss, Eiríkr, *Ldn.*, IX. BK., p. 187, rejects FJ.'s rendering "den alvillige, forekommende,"⁴¹ and calls attention to the context where we are told of Eiríkr and Hallsteinn: *þeir áttu jóladrykkju ok veitti Eiríkr vel fyrir þeim . . .* adding: "Der Beiname wird darauf gehen, dass E. an Bier nicht sparte, und er wird bedeuten 'reichlich mit Bier versehen.'" This is to me still less satisfactory. Would BK. refer the origin of the cognomen to this event? But liberality on the part of a host on such an occasion and the having supplied oneself generously for an ale-feast was surely rather the rule than the exception, and so could give rise to no name such as this. Nor should we, in the event of such origin, expect the word *-fúss*, for ON. *fúss* means "willing, bent upon, eager for, zealous of" (as Fr: "begjærilig efter, tilbøielig til noget"), and all modn. dialectal uses show this or closely related meanings. I think, however, that the element *ol* is ON. *ol*, "ale, beer," and that Eiríkr had, on the occasion in question (if the name arose then), shown himself as very 'eager for,' or 'fond of,' beer; or the name arose

³⁹ Cp. occurrence already in O Ic. of *flik*, "et löst kvindfolk."

⁴⁰ *Karlamagnus saga.*, ed. Unger, 1860, p. 235, l. 3b. Cp. Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*; when Peer imagines the strange cloud to be a horse and himself as the rider; the steed is silver-crested and gold-shod, and he himself has gauntlets and sabre and a long silken cloak, and there are many riders with him, but: *Ingen dog sidder så stout på folen*, 'no one sits his charger so well, so handsomely.' The Norw. *kjæk* conveys exactly the idea.

⁴¹ Hence *ol* < *al*- by *u*-umlaut, as Noreen, §76.

because he was generally known to be overfond of beer. The formation would, of course, be similar to that of *ölfærr*, "capable of drinking much ale." The word *öl*, 'ale,' occurs as first element also in other ON. names; see *Tiln.*, 381, and *Bein.*, 259.⁴²

gubba, Svæinns, gen., *EJb.*, 335, 1388. BK., p. 189: "Kerl, Mann"; this is the general modn. use as given in Aasen: *Gubbe, m.*, "Karl, Mand," p. 250. But in this meaning the word would, surely, not have acquired the function of a cognomen; it must have had some descriptive or characterizing force. This may not have been that of Norw. d. *gubbe*, "a distinguished looking person" (which may be only a modern use), but possibly that of "en bred Figur," Ross, Li, Sæt., Tel., semantically closely related. E.g., *gubbe*, adj., in *ei gubbe kjæring*, "en bred og statelig noget selvsikker . . . Kvinde" (Tel.). Originally, however, as applied (only) to inanimate objects 'characterized by roundness and bulkiness, hence = "clump, heap, block," we have it to-day in *korngubbe*, "bundle of grain." If this was the meaning it is an interesting early example of this type of transferred appellation. We may render the name about = "S. the square-built" (not necessarily large). In personal use the idea of 'large size' is generally attached to the word, hence: 'the well-built,' or 'the broad-shouldered.' In these meanings the name does not belong under Div. V. It is to be noted that the MS form of the name is *Gubba Svæinns* (cp. adj. use above).

strakr, Guðbrandr, *DN.*, VI, 130, Thoten, 1327; also *Auðun straker*, Fyxin (Hamar), 1398, and Guthormr *strakar*, Hvamm, Romerike, 1359. BK, p. 190: "Landstreicher," as ON. *strákr*, Fr. "landstryger," of which Fr. cites eight examples (as: *strákar ok lausamenn*). The cognomen *strakr* in our three E. Norw. charters does not seem to me to be directly referable to the Icel. *strákr*, here cited. The latter word is semantically connected with ON. *striúka*, to stroke, stroke the surface of something, start off, and to ON. *strika*, of similar meaning = OE. *strīcan*, "rub, stroke, move."⁴³ Modn. Icel. *strákur*, "mischievous boy, knave, rogue," and *stráklegur*, adj. "knaveish,"

⁴² *al-* 'all,' seems, however, never to occur, and I do not find it a likely prefix of nicknames and surnames.

⁴³ See forms and meanings F & T under *stryge* and *streg*. The connection of all the forms is by no means clear. There are, it is evident, borrowed forms as well as contamination in their use.

is clearly the same word. This form seems also to be found in the dialect of Tel., Norway, in *straak*, "stiv. lang, oplöben Person," and vb. *straake*, "føre sig som en *straak*." Elsewhere such an original long vowel form is not evidenced in Norw. dialects. Our three occurrences are from charters in the region of Hamar-Toten. Here in E. Norw., as indeed in Norw. dialects in general, we have in common use a word *strak*, "straight, erect"; this would go back to older *strakr*. A form *strákr* is not found. I rather think that *strakr*, "erect," is the source of our three surnames. Aasen gives the Tel. form *strak bein*, "ret som en snor," and from Gbr. *strakje*, "en höi og rank Figur," of which Ross furnishes further examples from other E. Norw. dialects. Of this word Falk and Torp's *Etymologisk ordbog* says: "vel laant fra mnt. *strak*, . . . opretstaaende, stiv, stram, sterk, stræng, . . . dertil vel ogsaa ags. *strǣc*, stivsindet, streng, heftig." The Telemarken words cited above and all forms with *ǣ* could be referred to OE. *strǣc* in an Anglian form *strac-*, and a form *strāc* (from *strīcan*). Norw. *strak*, "straight, erect," is practically general Norw.,⁴⁴ whereas the Icel. word *strákr*, 'tramp,' is not in evidence in Norway.

stokkr, Sigurðr. *Fgrsk.*, 349, XIIC. BK, p. 198, leaves it with a query. But the word is probably the same as ON. *stokkr*, "log," hence "the stockily built."⁴⁵ Hardly in the sense of "stubborn." For the suggested meaning cp. the Norw. d. use, *stokkfött*, adj. "tyk og stiv i födderne," and *stokklagd*, adj., "rund, fyldig," *stokkvaksen*, "rundvoxen," all from Hall. (Aasen), and *stokkrund*, no locality given. It will be pertinent here, however, to observe the appearance of the form *stokk*-in Norwegian river names. O Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 248, lists ten such (*Stokka* in Saltdalen etc.). Rygh says: "Kan enten komme af stokkr, m., Stok, og Navnet maa isaafald sigte til ret løb (jfr. Stav-), eller af støkkva, springe, hoppe." The latter may easily be the source of the river names cited. It might be the source of Sigurd's nickname, in which case it must have had its origin in a certain nervousness in his manner.

⁴⁴ Cp. also *strakbeint*, adj., "med rette og noget stramme Ben," Ross for Smaal. and Oslo.

⁴⁵ *Stokka*, Ross, p. 763, ON. *stökkva*, may be noted.

mata, Petrus, *DN.*, I, 112, Bergen, 1307, BK., p. 199. The charter is in Latin. Assuming that we have the full form,⁴⁶ it is difficult to see how the name can have anything to do with *matr*, "food." BK would, however, refer it to *mata*, 'food' (which appears in cpds. as, *mōtunautr*), and he cites Modn. Icel. *mata*. f. "food-supply." Vidsteen⁴⁷ cites for Shl. the vb. *mata*, also given by Ross for Voss, Hard, etc., "lōfte og arbeide sig frem med Stang og Vaagmat, ake seg fram med matetak." Hence from a noun *mati*, "crowbar, rod?" If this is the source the name may have had reference to the stiff walk of the one named. Cp. *strak-beint*, "stifflegged."

holkr, Halldorr, *DN.*, II, 501, Oslo, 1387, *EJb.*, 544. BK., p. 201, translates: "Kurzes Rohr von Metall, das an einem Ende mit einer Platte geschlossen ist, und in dessen anderes man einen Schaft steckt," quoting Fr., who takes this O. Icel. word to be the same as the Norw. nicknames and refers to our two instances. This is clearly the same word as Nw. d. *holk*, f., a contrivance (set on the wall) for putting something into as knife, spoon (*skeiholk*). This does not seem to me a likely cognomen. The basic meaning is here not the rod but the hollowness, the opening.⁴⁸ Cp. also *holka*, f., "Fordybning i Landskabet" (Ross). But the same word, also in varying forms, shows prevailingly a different use in Norw. dialects. Just as in the above cases the sememe 'cylinder' develops to that of 'a hollow contrivance,' 'an opening,' 'a hole,' 'a hollow,' so in this specifically Norw. d. group the sememe 'cylinder' becomes "a rod, a bar, a stiff object," and so appears in personal use in such a case as *holk*, m., "stiv plump keitet Figur eller Person." Nfj og fl. (Ross),⁴⁹ and *holke*, "om en stor dygtig Karl," Gul., with further meaning change (loss of idea of stiffness).⁵⁰ The former of these two would seem to be the meaning of the name.

⁴⁶ Cpds. with *mat-* 'food,' as first element occur in considerable number in W. Norw., also in personal appellations.

⁴⁷ l.c. 118.

⁴⁸ Hence the obscene uses of the word cited by Fr.

⁴⁹ Also as vb., *holka*, "drive paa med klodset Voldsomhed, Nfj og fl." (Ross). Also adj. *holkevoren*, "klodset."

⁵⁰ Cp. further development of the variant form *hylkje*, "keitet, stiv tvær Person" (Ryf., Ross), which I assume to mean that *hylkje*, "stiff, awkward person," is also used of a "stiff, stubborn, and contrary person."

The word finds in Norw. d. an equally widespread use in the sense: "jar, stone-bottle, flask, kettle, tub," etc. For this as the possible semantic base of our name cp. the nickname "tubby" in American student slang applied to a fat round person. These dialect uses are possibly later, however, than the XIVth century.⁵¹

begla, Botolfr, *Tiln.*, 298 (Orkn.). FJ: "Betydning usikker, maaske 'en der hindrer,'" citing *begla*, "hindre" (Aasen). I do not feel that Botolf's having once, by a clever trick, frightened away an attacking party and so saved his guest's life would have given rise to a nickname meaning "the hinderer," or some similar sememe. The name could hardly have had its origin in Botolf's act on the occasion in question (the contents of a song he sang caused the attackers to flee). A corresponding word appears extensively in Norw. dialects, usually in one of three meanings: 1, "contrary, perverse, stubborn"; 2, "clumsy, awkward"; 3, "stupid, standing gaping ignorantly." The last is especially E. Norw. (also Swedish),⁵² the former two are almost general Norw. E.g., *beglen*, adj., "hinderlig, tver; kludrende," Jæd., Dal., *begla*, f., "vrangvillig og hinderlig Person," Jæd., *begla*, vb., "være tvær; kludre," Innh., Jæd., etc. I take it that the surname had its origin in the stubbornness of disposition for which B may have been known.

slagha, Jon., dat., *EJb.*, 353.⁵³ E. Norw., 1388. Fr. gives a noun *slagá*, f., "hunfaar (á eller ær) som skal slagtes," which BK gives in explanation of the surname. This is semantically impossible. Also we have to do with a form "*slagi* or *slagr*." Norw. dialects exhibit an extensive meaning development of the stem *slag-*; several of the meanings recorded in Aasen-Ross are possibly early. Semantically *slag-*, 'strike,' would be perfectly satisfactory, but there are formal difficulties here. However, it could be this if we assume *slagi* to be a wk. parallel to ON.

⁵¹ For nicknames of this meaning, cp. the name *Þorkell dunkr*, *Tiln.*, 289. Shetlandic "Norn," i.e., the remains of ON. speech in the Scotch dialect of the Shetland Isles exhibits an extensive semantic development. I shall merely cite *holk*, 'something big and clumsy; a big, awkward person; a clumsy, ill-shapen person,' Jakobsen: *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, pp. 312-313.

⁵² Cp. my article on "Tunamål Words (South Dalarne, Sweden)" in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, V, under *begla*, p. 257.

⁵³ BK erroneously 352.

slagr, "change," in figurative use of "changeable, fickle," as Fr. III, p. 425. But the surname would seem to be an adj. Cp. Norw. dialectal adj. *slag*, "haldende" (Aasen) which would seem also to mean 'slack,' i.e., unsteady, and so semantically directly connected with the above use of ON. *slagr*. This is hardly the direct source, however. Aasen also gives the vb. *slaga*, "gaa i en kroget Linje,"⁵⁴ gjøre enkelte sving til Siderne"; B. Stift.⁵⁵ The meaning would then be: "one who sidles along," or "one who walks with a swinging gait." Both qualitative and quantitative ablaut forms occur, as *sloga*, (Senjen), and *slugga* (Tel.),⁵⁶ "gaa med tunge skridt."⁵⁷

geigr., Jon, *DN.*, IV, 90. Stavanger, 1311. BK. p. 228, "Schaden," thus referring it to the O Ic. *geigr*, m., "skade," Fr., cited from the *Njála* and *Bp.* This is possible; but more likely it is one of a very common ON. and southw. Norwegian d. group of words represented, e.g., by the noun *geigr*, m., *geigra*, f., "nogen eller noget som "geigrar," and vb. *geigra*, "om Personer eller Ting, ta en skjæv Retning, fare ut til Siden, slænge med Overkroppen eller Armene"; also vb. *geiga*, "om Personer, gjøre svingende eller slægende Bevægelser helst med Overkroppen eller Armene" (cited by Ross for practically all southw. Norwegian dialects). The *r*-forms are here iterative, the form *geiga*=ON. *geiga*, "tage en skjæv Retning," and *geigan* f. "Vaklen til Siden."⁵⁸ In the dialects there is also the form *geigja*, in refl. use, "vugge Overkroppen til Siderne." Hence also *geigr*, surname of Jón, is in its origin a characterizing nickname given him because of his manner of walking.

GEORGE T. FLOM

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⁵⁴ In ed. I Aasen defines: "gaa skjævt eller kroget," p. 442.

⁵⁵ Cp. Icel. *slaga*, to totter.

⁵⁶ Cp. *slogga*, "gå tungt och senfärdigt," Västergötland, Sweden.

⁵⁷ Ross cites the E. Norw. *slaag*, f. 'beam' rod (for lifting), also 'large beam' (=ON. *slagbrandr*, *slá*) with ON. -á-

⁵⁸ Fr. Defined in H T also "ganga skeivt, skeiva."

A SENTENCE BY WALTER PATER¹

"The term is right, and has its essential beauty, when it becomes, in a manner, what it signifies, as with the names of simple sensations."—Pater's *Essay on Style*, p. 19; *Appreciations*, 1905.

It is the function of any sentence to bring to the mind of a reader certain ideas—by naming them—and to indicate their relationship. Sentences differ, however, in respect to the exclusiveness with which the ideas they name are presented, and in respect to the manner in which these are related. In general, two sentence-types may be distinguished; and these are:—The sentence whose ideas are associated with others in the reader's mind, and are loosely related to one another; and the sentence whose ideas are, so to speak, dissociated from all others, and are organically or inseparably related. The names appropriate to these types are Expository and Descriptive, the Descriptive Sentence being the one by means of which the reader comes into possession of a group of organically related ideas.

Pater's sentence—in general, any sentence by Pater—is of the latter type; and any modified form of it produced by the striking out of a removable term—adjective or adverb—is a sentence of the former type:—the descriptive sentence becomes expository. It is my purpose in this paper to explain Pater's sentence—the type I have called Descriptive—by comparing a sentence from *The Child in the House* with a variant formed in the manner just described.

Pater's sentence, as I have said, presents a group of organically related—and not merely associated—ideas. This means that the reader of the sentence gives his attention wholly to the ideas presented to him; no term, we may say, both "denotes" and "connotes." We shall see that the facts or ideas so presented are concrete: they are not "class concepts." Each thing named (by the noun, verb, adjective, etc.) is the only

¹ The following paper is a revised and rewritten edition of a paper privately printed under the same title in 1915, 8vo, pp. 8. Professor Kirk now goes somewhat more deeply into the philosophical aspect of his subject.—EDITOR.

one of its kind. Pictured ideas have this concreteness, and a picture is a presentation of an object conceived as existing in a single and indivisible moment of time. The parts of such an object are co-eternal and their relationship constant. Concreteness is the term we apply to this completeness of organization.

We shall see that Pater's sentence differs from the variant in that it contains no stressed terms, is unemphatic (and therefore more convincing than the other), and is not a statement made in answer to a direct question. If we should attempt to explain the origin of this particular form of sentence, we might speak either of the writer's attitude towards his subject-matter—he prefers to see and to present things as pictures—or of his attitude towards his reader—he chooses to address a passive or unquestioning reader.

My paper, from this point, follows this general outline:— I show that the variant is a sentence of the Expository type, and then, how, by reintroducing the omitted modifier, we change its character wholly. I then refer to the "picturesque" character of Pater's sentence, and to a "time theory." Finally, I discuss the rhythm and movement of the sentence, very briefly, and its effect upon the reader.

Let us take the following sentence from *The Child in the House*—"At the next turning came the closet which held on its deep shelves the best china"—and modify it by omitting the phrase "on its deep shelves." This gives us the variant—"At the next turning came the closet which held the best china." What light is thrown on the question of Pater's attitude towards his subject-matter by a comparison of these two—apparently very similar—sentences? In parenthesis, it should be noted that these sentences are equally "complete"—that they are, in short, "sentences"—and also, that the inclusion in the former of the phrase "on its deep shelves" is not to be explained by the statement that this phrase contains information "too valuable" to be omitted. We should never reach agreement on this point, whereas we shall presently agree to the proposition that the phrase in question was introduced in order that the sentence in which it appears might have the form of, and function as, a "descriptive" sentence.

The shorter of the two sentences—"At the next turning came the closet which held the best china"—has the merit of perfect clearness. It has, perhaps, an advantage over Pater's in this respect. We understand in reading it that at the "next" of an indefinitely long series of "turnings" came the closet which held the best "china"—one of an indefinite number of "closets" each of which "held" a certain "best thing." We understand perfectly that the author of this sentence is conducting us in imagination from "turning" to "turning"—as from mile-stone to mile-stone along a highway—for the purpose of indicating to us at each the object peculiar to that view; and that this object is invariably "a closet which held some 'best thing.'" We have now—as we read "At the next turning came the closet which held the best china"—come to a position midway in our journey—though indefinitely removed from either end of the journey; and here we have in mind, certainly, not only the closet which came at the "next" turning, but the many preceding turnings, each with its closet; and also, other turnings and closets whose particular relationships have not yet been revealed to us. In other words, the sentence we are reading is a statement made in answer to the question, "Which closet (understood to be a closet which held some 'best thing') came at the 'next' turning?"; and this statement is clearly but one of an indefinite number of similar statements, each made, or to be made, in answer to this same question.

The point to be emphasized is, that at no time during our journey in imagination from turning to turning are we permitted to become so "interested" in a particular "closet" as to "forget" the other "closets"—in which case we should also forget the turnings at which they came, and should also cease to regard the "china" (or other "best thing" held by the closet in question) as being one of an indefinite number of "best things." The fact is important; for the reader of Pater's sentence does, in effect, "become so interested" in what came at the "next" turning as to "forget" the other "closets," "turnings," and "best things" held by closets. We shall see presently that the proof of this "forgetfulness" is the phrase "on its deep shelves."

The reader of the shorter sentence does not "forget" these other things; he is interested in them, however, primarily,

because they form—the turnings by “being” and the closets by “coming”—a certain pattern, in which pattern the “best things held” appear as distinguishing characteristics. Deprived of these things, the closets would be as indistinguishable as the turnings would be without their numbers. Could we perform the impossible, and read the last in the series of sentences of which “At the next turning came the closet which held the best china” is one, we should have in our possession an idea which may be expressed as follows: “At turnings 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, came closets a, b, c, d, and e.”

The relationship of any one of these closets to its turning—of the closet which held the best “china,” for example, to the “next” turning—is what may be called an “accidental” relationship. That is to say, there is no reason, “in the nature of things,” why *this* closet should have come at *this* turning. Any other closet *might* have come instead—at this time or to this place. To be certain of this, we have only to remember that the sentence answers the question, “Which closet came? Which, as a matter of fact, came?”

The closet of which Pater writes is the only “closet” (and the only “thing”) the reader has in mind as he concludes his reading of the sentence. The others are “forgotten.” “As he concludes his reading”; for the thought Pater expresses passes through several modifications. In the first place, we cannot read “At the next turning came the closet,” without having a tendency to think the closet one of a group of objects each of which differs from every other in kind. At the “next” turning came the “closet.” And a little later—having read “At the next turning came the closet which held”—there is a tendency to think the closet one of a group of objects similar in kind—“closets”—but unlike in respect to the thing “held” by each. A further modification of the thought takes place when the phrase “on its deep shelves” is introduced, and a final modification when we read the phrase “the best china.”

The effect of the phrase “on its deep shelves” is to withhold our attention upon the “closet,” or to overcome a tendency to “take in” at one view more than the words “the closet which held” denote, a tendency, in other words, to link the idea of this particular “holding closet” to the idea of others. As we read the phrase “which held” the attention is on the point of taking

flight (so to speak) towards the closets which, in the first instance, did *not* hold the thing held by *this* closet. The phrase "on its deep shelves" withholds the attention and gives it a new direction.

If we cannot think the closet one of an indefinite number of closets, each of which held a certain thing—or associate the closet which held "china," for example, with others which did *not* hold "china"—it is because we are now compelled to think of the closet's deep "shelves"—with a tendency to associate these shelves with other ("deep") parts. We cannot, of course, do the two things; we cannot, for example, standing before two houses, at one and the same time compare the two, and compare the parts of either—these windows with those, or this "wing" with that.

It is necessary just here to read Pater's sentence carefully. "At the next turning came the closet which held on its deep shelves . . ." might possibly be understood to be a statement concerning a particular one of several closets each of which held a certain thing "on its deep shelves." But in that case we should stress the pronoun "its"; and this term is not stressed.² The noun "shelves" is stressed, slightly. We must also understand that the closet of which Pater is writing did not hold two things—*this* on its deep "shelves," and *something else* elsewhere.³ After reading the phrase "on its deep shelves," and before reading "the best china," we understand that the closet held "on its deep shelves *only*" a certain thing. We have other "deep things"—which are *not* "shelves"—in mind, and these are "non-holding" parts.

These non-holding parts disappear—or our tendency to associate the "shelves" with other parts of the closet is overcome—when we read the phrase "the best china." The effect of this phrase is similar to that of the "which held" and to that of the phrase "on its deep shelves," each of the three in turn withholding and directing the reader's attention.

This phrase—"the best china"—brings to mind, first, a "best" of something; and there is a tendency to associate this "best" with a "not best." This tendency replaces the tendency to associate "shelves" with other parts, as the earlier tendency

² As, for example, it is in "At the next turning came a closet which held on its deep shelves . . ."

³ As in "At the next turning came the closet which held on its shelves. . ."

replaced a still earlier one, namely, the tendency to associate the "closet" with "closets." We do not, however, finally, having completed the sentence, associate the "best china" with other "china"; nor do we, of course (the closet holding but one thing, and there being but one closet), associate it with other "best things." We have no place in our thought-structure for anything but the "best china." There is but one "closet," that closet has, for "holding" purposes (and no others are known), only its "deep shelves," and these shelves hold only "the best china."

By means of these several modifiers, then, Pater "dissociates" the ideas named by the terms of his sentence from all others—the "which held" shutting out the "other things," the phrase "on its deep shelves" shutting out the "closets" and "best things held," and the phrase "the best china" shutting out the "other parts" of the closet, and thus making the thought of a "not best" china unthinkable. He dissociates these ideas, and he presents them as the parts or members of an organic whole. It is not "a closet" in which the reader of Pater's sentence is interested; it is an object composed of the several ideas named—the turning, the closet, the shelves, the china.

Of the manner in which these ideas are related there can be no question. Since there is but one "closet," and not an indefinite number of "closets," it is impossible to assume—as we did after reading the shorter sentence—that "some other closet" *might* have come at the "next" turning. Pater's closet not only "came" at the next turning, it "must have come" there. In this instance, there is no distinction to be made between "coming" and "coming at the next turning." Again, there *is* no "next" turning, if by the "next" we mean the next in an indefinitely long series; for it is only when an indefinite number of "closets" come to mind that an indefinite number of "turnings" appear. The turnings are only positions to be occupied by closets—markers or "mile-stones." Of the "shelves," it need hardly be said that they *are* the closet; they are exclusively *of* it—there being no other closets, either with or without "shelves"—and the closet has no other "parts." Finally, of the "china," this too is a part or "member" inseparable from the object in which we are interested. Nothing else exists for the shelves to hold.

Pater's "closet," then, is a unique object; it is "concrete" or "individual." It resembles no other—being neither "a kind of thing" nor "a kind of closet"—and the parts of which it is composed are exclusively *its own*.

An object of this kind—or of this form—is conceived as existing in a "timeless moment"—at or within a time which is neither past, nor present, nor future except by reference to the continuous present—the beholder's or reader's present, which is continuous. Again, this object is composed of parts of equal value—parts whose relationship is not that generally understood by "the relationship of subject and object." The following remarks will make these statements clear.

I have in mind a picture—of a bather stepping down to a stream of water—with which Pater's sentence may be compared. Like the sentence, the picture is not "a statement made in answer to a question"; for example, it is not presented in answer to the question, "Which bather came?" For to think of other bathers we must think, first, of a time when the stream was only potentially a stream in which to bathe, of a time, that is, when the act we now see represented in the picture was an act *to be* performed. And at that time the now "bather" must have been either engaged in the performance of some other act, or inactive. Nor does the picture answer the question, "To which stream did she come?" For to think of other streams we must think of a time when it was necessary to select a certain stream in which to bathe. In short, we cannot modify the picture we see—by thinking the bather a particular bather, or the stream one of several streams—we cannot, that is, take into account *what might have been*—without thinking of a past time and of a "bather" who, at or within that time, does not "bathe" but "chooses to bathe," or, perhaps, does something else, or does nothing at all.

Pater's sentence is like this picture. The closet and turning and china are as inseparable as are the bather and the stream, either of which without the other would be meaningless. The closet does not "come to" the turning either by choice or by chance, but "comes" simply because it is itself, the closet. To be "the closet" is to come "at the next turning."

In the shorter sentence—"At the next turning came the closet which held the best china"—we are given to understand

that the closet "came" at a certain definite time—after the coming of certain others—and that it was "coming," or "not yet come," or inactive, at other times. When these other closets disappear—as they do in Pater's sentence—the idea of definite "times" disappears, and the idea of a closet now "active," then "inactive." We also understand that the closet "came" of necessity—all closets "coming"—and that it came at the "next" turning by chance—there being no reason to suppose that some other closet might not have come at this time or to this place. In Pater's sentence, the closet does not come by chance to a certain turning, or come to some turning because it is a closet. Again, in the shorter sentence, the closet and the turning are loosely related; we think of them as together and as apart. But in Pater's sentence their relationship is constant; the closet "is" only when it "comes," and it "comes" only "at the next turning."

In this same sentence, the closet and the china are loosely related. The closet, because it is a closet, must hold some "best thing," and because it is a certain closet—this closet and no other—it "chooses" to hold the best "china." It could not but hold *some* "best thing"; it might have chosen to hold any other "best thing." In Pater's sentence, there is no idea of a choice, for there is but one thing to be held; and there is no idea of a need to choose, for there is but one closet. All that we can say of the new relationship is, that to be "the closet" is to hold "the best china," and to be "the best china" is to be held by "the closet."

Pater's sentence is "picturesque" in its presentation of facts because these facts are presented as matters that exist only by virtue of their association one with another, as within a single instant of time. The "bather" in the picture is what we see and no more, and the closet is only what we see: something never less or more; something that is at all times what it appears to be at this time. The "state" presented to us does not imply the existence of other states. Again, as I have already said, the "act" is never an act of choice, or a necessary act, or something that occurs by chance. It is simply the activity of which we are aware; it neither can be explained nor requires explanation. In short, the ideas presented have absolute, and not relative, values. It is not "this" closet, but "the closet"; it is

not "this" best thing, but "the best china." Ideas can be presented in this manner only by means of a sentence in which there are no stressed terms.

To summarize what has been said, Pater "dissociates the ideas named by the terms of his sentence and presents them as the organically related parts or members of a whole thought or idea." In other words, he presents an object conceived to exist in a "timeless moment," its several parts appearing simultaneously, no one of them preceding or continuing beyond the others. These parts, therefore, are not related as "subject and object," distinct entities influencing one another, but are presented in equality or identity, each complementing and being complemented by every other. We have seen how this object is presented, the thought or idea expressed by the sentence being subjected to repeated modifications, the purpose of each being to correct a tendency in some element of the thought to attach itself to similar elements in the neighborhood of the thought, or, in the first instance, to correct a tendency towards particularity in each of these thought-elements in turn. The sentence is a descriptive sentence and the object presented by means of it is concrete or individual.

Pater's sentence, because it is "descriptive," and because the descriptive sentence brings to mind only the ideas named by its terms, contains no stressed terms, and therefore has a distinctive movement and rhythm.

It contains no stressed terms; for a term is stressed only when we choose to particularize the idea it names, as, for example, in the statement that "At the next turning came the closet," where we stress the word "closet" to express the idea that the object named is the momentarily most important member of a group of objects, each differing from every other in kind, or, again, in the statement that "At the next turning came the closet which held the best china," in which the word "china" is stressed to indicate the particular character of the closet—one of a group of closets, each of which held a certain "best thing."

Because it contains no stressed terms, Pater's sentence has its own distinctive movement; and we may characterize this movement by saying that it is "continuous." I mean by this that in reading Pater's sentence we are not compelled from

time to time to pause, as, for example, we pause in reading "At the next turning came the closet, which," etc. When we place a comma after the word "closet" (in order that the word shall be stressed), the movement is interrupted. There is an arrest, followed by a release, of the attention.

The pause at the end of Pater's sentence is not the "stress-pause," such a pause, for example, as we have when the phrase "on its deep shelves" is omitted and we read "At the next turning came the closet which held the best china." This latter denotes an arrest of the attention, the former a momentary suspense. The difference is that between the falling of a stone and the alighting of a bird. Pater's sentence has a "dying fall," a gradual ebbing away of the force which, in the shorter sentence, seems to flood towards and to be checked by the final word.

If the movement of Pater's sentence is continuous, it is also constrained or measured. In the variant—"At the next turning came the closet which held the best china"—we are aware of something "wave-like"—an upward-sweeping movement—through the clause "which held the best china." We read this clause as if we were in haste to discover what the closet "held." This movement is definitely modified by the introduction of the phrase "on its deep shelves." We now read the clause more slowly, and as if we were under constraint to choose our way carefully, or were continuously held in check.

Earlier in the sentence, it is a pulling-forward that we are aware of. There is a tendency to pause on the word "closet"—"At the next turning came the closet" expressing a complete thought—but the "which" pulls us forward. When we reach the verb "held" the tendency is forward, and here we are held in check—turned, so to speak, from the direct way into a by-path. The last phrase, "the best china," has again the pulling effect of which I have spoken.

This continuous and measured movement—with its suggestion of checks and balances—is wholly characteristic of Pater's style. In reading his sentences we are constantly aware of the guidance to which our attention is being subjected.

The rhythm of Pater's sentence (the up-and-down movement as distinct from the forward movement) is best represented when we draw a line consisting wholly of ascents and

descents, the last a downward-gliding stroke, and the whole approaching straightness. There are no sharp ascents and descents, nothing to suggest a swiftly mounting or suddenly breaking wave. For example, the voice never falls so low as in "At the next turning came the closet"; and never strikes such a high note as in "At the next turning came the closet which held the best china." The words "closet" and "china," respectively, are below and above the range of Pater's sentence.

Perhaps the word "modulated" best describes this type of rhythm.

Pater's sentence has its distinct manner; it indicates, that is to say, a well defined attitude towards the reader. It is an unassertive sentence, this following from what has been said; for assertiveness is indicated by emphasis or stress. We say in effect the same thing when we say that Pater's statement is convincing, or, again, when we say that it is a statement addressed to the unquestioning reader.

We have already seen that Pater's statement is logically convincing; what the writer of a descriptive sentence states is unquestionably so. While we may say, "Did the closet indeed come?" or "Was it indeed this closet which came at the 'next' turning?" after reading the shorter sentences, we cannot make any such statement after reading Pater's sentence. And the manner of Pater's sentence is the manner appropriate to the logic of the sentence; it is convincing in manner because it is logically convincing; unassertive because there is nothing which can be asserted; and it is addressed to an unquestioning reader because, having read it, we find nothing in it to question.

In his *Essay on Style* Pater writes: "The term is right, and has its essential beauty, when it becomes, in a manner, what it signifies, as with the names of simple sensations"; and what I have said of his sentence should convince us that he applied this principle in his own practice. In the sentence I have examined in this paper the "term" comes to be "what it signifies"; the term "closet," and each of the other terms, coming to denote one thing, and to connote nothing. Finally, the manner in which Pater's idea is shaped—through a series of modifications brought finally to its preconceived perfection—brings to mind the idea he more than once expressed—of the artist's work being a work of revelation or discovery:—"For

in truth all art does but consist in the removal of surplusage, from the last finish of the gem-engraver blowing away the last particle of invisible dust, back to the earliest divination of the finished work to be, lying somewhere, according to Michelangelo's fancy, in the roughhewn block of stone."

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THE SUMNER'S TALE AND SAINT PATRICK'S
PURGATORY

Sumner's Tale, ll. 1729-31.

'Delivereth out,' quod he, 'anon the soules;
Ful hard it is, with fleshhook or with oules
To been y-clawed, or to brenne or bake.'

The unscrupulous friar of the *Sumner's Tale* in haranguing for his trentals gives a picture of unusual purgatorial torments. Since the souls are to be relieved by masses they are of course in purgatory and not in hell. We wonder whether to serve his own ends the friar borrows from hell torments or whether such torments are sometimes found in purgatory.

There are two sets of torments mentioned, the second being of baking and burning. There is of course always fire in hell, in addition to cold, hunger, thirst, serpents, and so forth. These are always made as terrible as possible, with no lack of concreteness. Purgatorial torments, on the other hand, are often vague, with the exception of fire, which is almost always mentioned as in purgatory.¹ In the Bamberg Latin version and in Marie de France's French version of Saint Patrick's Purgatory souls are tormented in iron baking pans.² In the Middle English version in the *South English Legendary*, ll. 269-70,

Some op-on grediles of Ire: i-rostede weren also,
Some ase gyes, þe spites of Ire: þoruþ-out heom i-do.³

The second type of torment, where the souls are clawed with fleshhooks and awls, is more curious, as it implies agents to administer it, who can hardly be anything but devils. This

¹ Augustine, *In Psalmum xxxvii*, verse 2 (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. xxxvi, col. 397); Dante, *Purgatorio*, canti 25-27; Legend of All Souls' Day, *S. Engl. Legendary*, E.E.T.S., O.S., vol. 87, p. 422, ll. 81 ff.; R. Rolle, *The Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris, Phil. Soc., Berlin, 1863), ll. 2972 ff., 3088 ff., 3344; *An Alphabet of Tales*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 127, p. 441; *Gast of Gy* (*Palaestra*, vol. I), ll. 664, 1695-1785.

² "In sartaginibus ferreis" (*Romanische Forschungen*, vi. 167); "Qui sur grailz erent rostiz" (ed. T. A. Jenkins). Cf. also the vision of purgatory described by a woman in 1422 (Horstmann's edit. of Richard Rolle, I. 387, 389.) —The writer owes this and various other notes and other help to Professor John S. P. Tatlock of Stanford University.

³ Similarly in the Auchinleck version, st. 79 (*Engl. Stud.*, I, 104).

torment with awls⁴ and fleshhooks is inflicted in hell by devils. In a Middle English version of the Vision of Saint Paul,⁵ the ninth torment has these:

In helle is a deop gayhol.
 Þar-vnder is a ful hot pol.
 Ten þusend deoffen. and wel mo.
 Þer doþ þe wrecche saulen wo.
 Þat nymeþ eaules and heom to-tereþ.

In Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*⁶ we find a good example of the fleshhooks:

yn þat fyre saghe he lye
 Saulys brennyng, and ruly crye;
 Þe fendes ȝede hem among,
 And fast echone on oþer þrong
 with brynnynng crokys sorowfully,
 And pyned hem with-oute mercy.

 Come a deuyl rennyng to hym
 with glesyng yȝen and croke yn hande,
 Þe steme stode oute of hys mouþ brennand:
 he broght on þat brynnynng croke
 A brennyng soule þat al to-shoke.⁷

Devils are not regularly found in purgatory. They are inharmonious with the theological conception of a place of purification for saved souls; there are none in Dante's purgatory. In some visions, however, it is hard to tell which is purgatory and which is hell. Further, since it was believed that

⁴ This was a form of torture for the martyrs also: *Life of Saint Katherine*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 80, p. 108; *Life of Saint Blaise*, in the *South English Legendary*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 87, ll. 83-5.

Mid ropes him hengen on a tre. be-neþe ðer stode I-nowe
 Tormentours wið oules kene, ȝ al his fless to-drowe;
 as men wið combes wolle to-drauð, his fless þer-wið he tere.

⁵ *XI Pains of Hell*, in *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 49, p. 153.

⁶ E.E.T.S., O.S., 119, ll. 2511 ff., 2524 ff. The passage is from the account of Furseus in Bede, but the detail is original.

⁷ Devils with hooks or crooks often appear in hell in the M. E. *Vision of Tundale* (ed. by Wagner, Halle, 1893, ll. 371-2, 720 ff., 1075, 1187); these particular instruments are not mentioned in the Latin *Visio Tnugdali*. Devils with iron hooks appear in the vision of *Thurchillus* in Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum* (Rolls Series) II.26; and in Dante's *Inferno*, xxi. 52-57 ff.; cf. also *Debate of the Body and Soul* (Mätzner, *Altengl. Sprachproben*, I, 101). In pictorial representations of hell such things are common.

they are common on earth, perhaps there is no theological reason why they should not be found in purgatory. In detailed accounts of purgatory agents of torture are needed; and devils are introduced by writers whose imagination is more developed than their theology. There are devils ("tortores," "dæmones") in purgatory in the Latin version of the Monk of Eynsham's vision (about 1196);⁸ souls are parched in baking pans ("in sartagine frigebantur") and drawn with hooks ("unguibus");⁹ awls are not mentioned. In the account of purgatory in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Morale*, II, i. 11, devils are mentioned. He quotes from Petrus Cluniacensis two visions of knights punished purgatorially by demons, though not clearly in a local purgatory; and in his summary of Bede's account of the vision of Furseus we find devils in what Vincent, but not Bede, represents as purgatory.

The nearest parallel in accounts of purgatory to the torments mentioned by the friar is in *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*. This was the most popular and influential mediaeval poem on the subject. In all the versions devils abound. Among the torments specified in one of the three Middle English versions, that in the *South English Legendary*,¹⁰ there are several cases of awls and fleshhooks wielded by devils in purgatory.

heo ȝollen and grenneden on him foule: and strong
 fuyr bi-gonne for-to tiende;
 Þis kniȝt heo bounden honden and fet: and a-midde þe
 fuyre him caste,
 With Irene Ovles and pikes: heo to-drowen
 him wel faste. (l. 168 ff.)

Þis wrechche gostes weren so i-pinede: with Irene
 and with fuyre.

Þe deoulene ornen opon hem: and treden heom to þe
 grounde,

⁸ *Visio Monachi de Eynsham (Romanische Forschungen, xvi)*, cap. xv, xxiv. This work apparently never got into the vernacular till the late fifteenth century.

⁹ Cap. xv, xvi. In cap. xvii it is plain that the place is purgatory, though the word is avoided. Devils are mentioned in connection with purgatory in Rolle, *Pr. of C.* 2902 ff.; *Gast of Gy*, 597 ff; i.e., they come to try to get the departing spirit, but they are not in purgatory.

¹⁰ Ed. by Horstmann, *E.E.T.S., O.S.*, 87, ll. 168 ff., 203, 207-8, 211-12, 233-4, 247-8, 285.

And with Ovles swiþe kene: maden heom mani a wounde.

For ase wel beth þe schrewes in purgatorie: and ouer-al,
ase in helle,

And schullen for-to þe daiþe of dome come: telle ;wat men
telle.¹¹ (LL. 203, 207-8, 211-2.)

þe luþere gostes ornen al-so: a-boute heom i-nowe
With hokes and with ouþles: a[nd] with gret eir
heom to-drowe. (233-4)

þe feondes ornen faste a-boute: fram ech oþur i-nowe
And heore wrechche flesch with oþur wo: mid Ovles
heom to-drowe. (L. 247-8.)

þis feondes wenden forþ a-non: and heore hokes
þaron caste. (L. 285.)

At the mouth of hell:

heore Oules heo nomen and heore hokes: and
toward him casten an heiþ. (L. 447.)

In the Auchinleck version devils with hooks are mentioned;¹² likewise in Marie de France's French and in the various Latin versions of the work, "od cros de fer," "uncis ferreis et vectibus longissimis," etc.¹³

In conclusion we may say that the friar tries to make purgatory as vivid and dreadful as possible, with the obvious motive of stirring people to give money for masses. It is conceivable that the Sumner might have had his friar borrow from accounts of hell, either ignorantly or deceitfully. But with the mediaeval interest in the other world, people were familiar with accounts of both places. It is likely that Chaucer reflected the popular, as opposed to a theologian's, idea of purgatory. It is not quite necessary to suppose that he reflects some single account; but if he does, none was so well known, none is so much like the

¹¹ This couplet shows that the writer expected surprise at the appearance of devils in purgatory.

¹² *Engl. Stud.* I. 103, 106, stanzas 73, 119.

¹³ *The Espurgatoire Saint Patriz of Marie de France*, ed. T. A. Jenkins (*University of Chicago Decennial Publications*, Ser. I, vol. vii, 235 ff.), ll. 891, 1149, 1258, 1396; *Zur Geschichte der Legende vom Purgatorium des heil. Patricius*, ed. Mall (*Rom. Forsch.* vi, 139 ff.), pp. 162, 167, 172, 175, 177. In the fifteenth century vision of purgatory mentioned already (in Horstmann's *Richard Rolle*, I, 387-8) devils use hooks for tearing the sinners, but not awls.

friar's account, as *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*. Of the three Middle English versions of this, the earliest, that in the *South English Legendary*, extant in four MSS, is nearest to the friar's account. It contains all his details, including the burning and baking, reiterates the awls and hooks, and is the one account of purgatory in any language, so far as observed, that mentions awls. One may perhaps add *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* to the small list of English works which Chaucer probably knew. It is likely enough that Chaucer remembered reading the work himself; yet there are other possible explanations of his knowledge. It is not improbable that he may have heard real preachers hold forth like this friar; the whole beginning and end of this tale are Chaucer's most vivid picture of fourteenth century village life.¹⁴

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¹⁴ The above is not the only reflection of popular vision literature in Chaucer's works. W. O. Sypher shows some reason to think that the *House of Fame* is influenced (directly or indirectly) by some other-world visions beside the *Divine Comedy* (*Studies in Chaucer's H. F.*, pp. 68, 115). Cf. also H.F. III. 713. But there is more than this. Eolus in the *House of Fame* blows a smoke of evil fame from his trumpet:

And hit stank as the pit of helle (III, 564).

The visionary hell usually appears as a hideous pit ("puteus," "putte"), or at least contains a pit, and the stench is one of its chief horrors. E.g., Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, V. 12 (vision of Drihthelm); *Purgatory of Saint Patrick*, ll. 309-10, 357-8, 362-3, 376-379, 406-12 (*S. E. Legendary*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 87; Auchinleck version, st. 107, 110, *Engl. Stud.* I, 105-6; all except one of these stinking pits are in purgatory, but in this work there is small distinction between the two places of torment); *XI Pains of Hell*, 227-8 (a M. E. version of the Vision of Saint Paul, *O.E. Misc.*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 49); Dante's *Inferno*, xi, 4-5, xxix (not likely to be Chaucer's chief source); *Book of Enoch* (Fritzsche in *Rom. Forsch.* II, 253); visions of Alberic, Tundale and Thurcill (Becker, *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, pp. 48, 77, 83, 89, 98); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, XXVIII, 96, *Spec. Mor.* II, i, 11; *De Babilonia civitate infernali*, by the Franciscan Jacomin da Verona (in Ozanam, *Documents Inédits*, pp. 304-5). Again, Eolus' trumpet utters a sound (III, 713).

As loude as belweth wynde in helle.

This recalls not only the winds in *Inferno* V and XXXIV, but those in Anglo-Saxon accounts of hell, in that of the Monk of Eynsham, and especially the high and bitter winds in *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (E.E.T.S., O.S., 87, ll. 184, 245, 333, 339, 385, 415; *Engl. Stud.* I. 103-6; not all, but mostly, in purgatory). If it is worth while to single out a particular vision as source of the allusions in the *House of Fame*, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* is again the most likely.

SOME PARALLELS TO SHAKESPEARE'S
"SEVEN AGES"

The division of human life into stages, from infancy to extreme old age, has occupied the minds of Heathens, Jews and Christians from the olden times down to Goethe; it has been discussed not only by poets but also by theologians, philosophers, politicians, and men of the medical profession. The division has however not always been into seven, but varied from two up to fourteen, and the variety of aim and purpose in dealing with the subject was just as great as that of the number of stages into which life has been divided. I will, however, limit my remarks mainly to utterances of the poets and legendists whose main object in dealing with the different stages of man's life was, like that of our own great poet, to illustrate the vanity of active life, and in this respect we shall have to deal with five different divisions, namely the division into *three, four, seven, ten, and twelve* stages.

The origin of the division of life into three stages may be found in the Bible. Thus in Deuter. xxxii. 25:

The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the *young man* and the *virgin*, the *suckling* with the *man of gray hair*.

A similar division is given by the Psalmist, cxlviii. 12, 13:

Both *young men*, and *maidens*; *old men*, and *children*: Let them praise the name of the Lord.

Besides the Hebrew literature, which has a prominent share in the division of stages, as will be seen anon, we must mention in connection with the three stages two Greek poets. Hesiod (8th century B.C.) speaks of the acts of the *young*, the advice of the *adults* and of the prayers of the *old*.¹

All these are merely crude allusions to the three main periods of man's life without establishing any comparison or pointing to any moral. It is not until about a thousand years later that we meet with a comparison of man's years to animals, a comparison which, as we shall show, was very popular at a later time. The Greek poet Babrius who put Aesop's Fables into

¹ Wackernagel, *Die Lebensalter*. Basel, 1862, p. 15.

verse wrote a poem (No. 74. Furia 278. Coray 194) the contents of which are as follows:—

Horse, bull, and dog appear freezing before the house of man. He opens the door, receives them kindly and offers them food; the horse gets barley, the bull legumens, and the dog food from the table. The animals filled with gratitude towards the man give up part of their years in return for his hospitality. First the horse repays with his years, that is why man is insolent in his *youth*; then the bull, therefore the *middle-aged* man has to work hard; last comes the dog with his years. The result is therefore that the *old* are always sulky, flattering only those who give them food, and disregard hospitality.

Thus we have here the three stages of man's life exactly as in the previous examples, only in addition to the mere divisions we are clearly given the motive of the animal in man.

Among the three Ages mentioned by the Rabbis² the following pronouncement is characteristic for its obvious intention to point to the vanity of human activity:—

When the man is *young* he sings songs;
when *grown up* he abounds in proverbs;
as *old man* he speaks empty words.³

The four stages are more popular and may be said to be of an international character. In their simplest form they figure in the Bible, where Jeremiah (LI. 22) says:—

With thee also will I break in pieces *man* and *woman*;
and with thee will I break in pieces *old* and *young*;
and with thee will I break in pieces the *young man*
and the *maid*.

A more poetical aspect is given to this division already in the sixth century B. C. when Pythagoras compares the four periods of man's life to the four seasons of the year (*Diog. Laërt.* vii. 10).

Thus far no age limit is mentioned in connection with any of these stages. An attempt at an exact division of the different stages is being made in the following old Rumanian story of man and his years:—⁴

When God created the world, he called all his creatures together to grant them their span of life, and to tell them how long they would live and what

² See Leopold Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der Jüdischen Literatur*. Szegedin, 1875, p. 21.

³ *Midrash Rabba* to the *Song of Solomon*, i, 1.

⁴ M. Gaster, *Chrestomatie Romana*, Bucharest, 1891, vol. ii, No. 113, and in *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories*, 1915, p. 336 ff.

manner of life they would lead. The first to appear before God was man. And God said to him, "Thou, man, shalt be king of the world, walking erect upon thy feet and looking up to heaven. I give thee a noble countenance; the power of thought and judgment shall be thine, and the capacity of disclosing thy innermost thoughts by means of speech. All that lives and moves and goes about the earth shall be under thy rule, the winged birds and the creeping things shall obey thee, thine shall be all the fruits of the tree and land, and thy life shall be *thirty years*."

Then man turned away dissatisfied and grumbling. "What is the good of living in pleasure and in might, if all the years of my life are to be thirty only?" So did man speak and grumble, especially when he heard of the years granted to other animals, the ass, the dog, and the monkey who were allotted *fifty*, *forty*, and *sixty* respectively, and who were in their turn dissatisfied with their long periods of life accompanied with misery, worry and trouble. On their appeal for curtailment by twenty years of their span of life, the ass and dog are granted their request and so is also the monkey granted his request for the reduction of thirty years off his originally allotted sixty. Then man, greedy of life, steps forward and begs for himself the twenty years rejected by each, the ass and the dog, and the thirty years rejected by the monkey, so that he may live a hundred years altogether, and his request is also adhered to. Man lives, therefore, as a king and ruler over all creatures for the thirty years the Lord had given him, in joy and happiness, without care and without trouble. Then come the years from *thirty to fifty*, which are the years of the ass; they are full of hard work, heavy burdens, and little food, for man is anxious to gather and to lay up something for the years to come. It could not be otherwise, for were not these the years which he had taken over from the ass? Then come the years from *fifty to seventy*, when man sits at home and guards with great trembling and fear the little that he possesses, fearful of every shadow, eating little, always keeping others away lest they rob him of that which he has gathered, and barking at every one whom he suspects of wanting to take away what belongs to him. And no wonder that he behaves like that, for these are the dog's years, which man had asked for himself. And if a man lives *beyond seventy*, then his back gets bent, his face changes, his mind gets clouded, he becomes childish, a laughing-stock for children, an amusement for the fool, and these are the years which man had taken over from the monkey.

A very similar fable is told by a French poet. Delaunay relates in the first of his fifty fables⁵ entitled *Jupiter et les Animaux*, as follows:—

Lorsque le Maître du tonnerre
Eut formé les Cieux et la Terre,
Créé l'Homme et les Animaux;
Il voulut à chacun assigner en partage
Une fonction, un usage,
Et fixer de leurs jours le terme et les travaux:
Toi, dit-il au Baudet, le destin de ton être

⁵In his *La vérité fabuliste*. Paris, 1732, p. 53 ff.

Est de preter le dos aux fardaux, que ton Maître
Desirera de t'imposer;
Et tu vivras autant d'années,
Que dans le cours d'un mois j'ai marqué de journées:
Trente ans! dit le Baudet; ah! daignez m'excuser,
Seigneur, c'est trop de jours, pour autant de souffrance:
Otez-en vingt au moins: passe; je le veux bien.
Alors le Dieu s'adresse au Chien;
Tu seras par ta vigilance,
Des Fermes, des Troupaux commis à ta défense,
Gratuitement gardien;
Car tu n'en auras pas pour cela plus de bien;
Mais dans ces fonctions illustres
Tu passeras plus de sept lustres.
Ah! Seigneur, moderez la Loi,
Sept lustres, dans un tel emploi!
De cinq hélas! faites-moi grace:
Volontiers, dit le Dieu. Le Singe ensuite passe:
Toi qui n'est bon à rien, lié, plein de besoins,
Tu seras le jouer des Enfants, des Esclaves,
Et tu vivras dans les entraves,
Six olimpiades au moins.
Six! ah! d'un tiers, Seigneur, abregez, je vous prie,
Une si ridicule vie.
Soit: Puis il vint à l'Homme, et le Dieu des Humains,
Lui dit, chef-d'œuvre de mes mains,
L'Univers est ton apanage,
Tous les tresors sont ton partage,
Jouis-en bien, ils sont à toi;
Mais il faudra dans peu que tu les abandonnes;
Tu verras au plus trente Automnes:
O Ciel! vous me glacez d'effroi:
Est-il juste, grand Dieu, qu'un bien si désirable,
Qu'un bien, qui vient de vous, soit aussi peu durable?
Ah! du moins, qu'il me soit permis,
Puisqu'enfin il faut que je passe,
D'ajouter à mes jours, pour un plus long espace,
Ceux que l'Asne, le Chien, et le Singe ont remis.
Fort bien, dit Jupiter, oûi, je t'en fais largesse;
Mais à condition que jusques à la mort,
Après trente ans faits, ton espace,
En jouissant des jours que chaque animal laisse,
Jouira d'un semblable sort.

Hélas! il est trop vrai; nous passons la jeunesse,
Et nous en profitons jusqu'à trente ans au plus;
Pendant ce tems, plaisirs, amour, et bonne chere,

Font nos amusemens et nos soins assidus;
 C'est l'état que d'abord Jupiter nous scut faire.
 Passé ce tems, grandeurs, soin de ménage, affaire,
 Viennent nous surcharger de leur énorme faix;
 Pour-lors, c'est l'état des Baudets.
 A cinquante ans et moins, nous sentons la misere
 Du Chien, gardien des troupeaux;
 Pour conserver les bien acquis par tant de maux,
 Nous nous privons du nécessaire,
 Nous immolons notre repos:
 Enfin, tels que le Singe arrêté par sa chaîne,
 Qui n'a ni paix, ni liberté,
 Nous sommes détenus par la caducité,
 Et souvent pour surcroît de peine,
 Nous sommes, comme lui, les malheureux joüets,
 Et des enfans, et des valets.

The similarity of the two fables, the Rumanian and French, is apparent, yet we cannot suggest any interdependence between them. There are two more versions of the story that deserve being mentioned here. The one is a German tale⁶ and relates how God, after the creation of the world, fixes the years of all creatures to be thirty. The animals dissatisfied with their long span of life appeal to God, and He alters His decision, reducing that of the ass by eighteen, of the dog by twelve, and of the monkey by ten years and adding these years to the originally promised thirty years of man. Thus man lives seventy years. When his own thirty years have elapsed, the eighteen of the ass follow. During these eighteen years man has to work hard and to carry heavy burdens. Then come the twelve years of the dog, when man lies in the corner, growls and has no teeth to bite with. His last years are those deducted from the monkey. During that last period of his life man is the laughing-stock for children.

The other version of the fable is represented in a Hebrew poem by Juda Löw Bensef (1764-1811)⁷ in which the tale is the same as in the preceding ones, the divergent points are that the ass is assigned thirty years which on his appeal are reduced to ten, similarly the dog and monkey have thirty-five and twenty years respectively reduced to ten, and the balance, *i.e.*, the

⁶ Grimm, *Hausmärchen*, no. 176.

⁷ *Meassef*, V (1788), pp. 388-391.

fifty-five years deducted from the animals' life, is added to the thirty years of man, who thus lives eighty-five years.

If we consider all the divergent and common features of the four mentioned versions of what seems to be the same beast fable we find that they all agree as to the original span of life allotted to man, namely thirty years, the kind of beasts that appeal for a shorter life appear in the same order in all the four versions, first the ass, then the dog and last the monkey; again all the versions in common point to the animal in man and to his greed for a longer life, which he ultimately succeeds in getting. Thus the main points are present in all the four stories. They only differ in minor facts. The number of years allotted originally as well as ultimately to the animals after the granted deduction and furthermore the final number of years man has to live after his thirty years are over differ in every version. This will be clear from the following table which shows the number of years originally granted to every creature, the years deducted, the net result after deduction, and finally the years of man after the years rejected by the animals have been allotted to him:—

	Rumanian	French	German	Hebrew
Ass—	50-20=30	30-20=10	30-18=12	30-20=10
Dog—	40-20=20	35-25=10	30-12=18	35-25=10
Monkey—	60-30=30	24- 8=16	30-10=20	20-10=10
Man—	30	30	30	30
<hr/>				
Man—	100	83	70	85

Thus we see the difference in the number of years man has to live after all the additions are made. The two versions that differ least in this respect are the French and Hebrew, the French version giving him eighty-three while the Hebrew allots him eighty-five. They have still some other points of contact. In both versions the span of life allotted to the ass and dog as well as the years taken off therefrom are alike. I have put man at the end of the Table for convenience sake, although he appears in the Rumanian version first.

Though it may seem at the first glance that the Hebrew is dependent on the French, I would not suggest it. For the division of man's life into periods and its comparison to animals is so frequent in Hebrew literature, as we shall see further on,

that an imitation or adaptation from any other literature is very unlikely.

But before proceeding to show that, I will only refer to the Hungarian poet Karl Kisfaludy and to another French poet Edouard Pelouvier both of whom also wrote of the four ages.⁸ Finally, I mention Goethe, who has the following epigram:—

Als Knabe verschlossen und trutzig,
 Als Jüngling anmasslich und stutzig,
 Als Mann zu Taten willig,
 Als Greis leichtsinnig und grillig!—
 Auf deinem Grabstein wird man lesen:
 Das ist fürwahr ein Mensch gewesen!⁹

The German poet brings us back with his divisions to the biblical four ages of childhood, boyhood, manhood, and old age, which have also been retained by those who prefer the division into heptads. For they only split childhood into three stages, reckon marriage as a separate stage, and thus obtain seven altogether.

The most interesting of these divisions which at the same time represent the fullest and most striking parallels to Shakespeare's "Seven Ages" are found on Hebrew soil, and emanate from the ninth century. They all have as their background, the same idea as our great poet, the vanity of human life. The first of these passages runs as follows:—

"The seven Vanities of which the Preacher (Eccl. i. 2) speaks¹⁰ correspond to the seven æons of man. At the age of a year he is like a king, put in a coach, embraced and kissed by all; at two or three he is like a pig dabbling in mud; at ten he bounds like a kid; at twenty he is like a horse neighing, beautifying himself, and looking out for a wife; when he has married he is like an *ass*; when children are born to him, he is as arrogant as a *dog* to get the means of sustenance; when he has grown old he is like a *monkey*, this only applies to an ignorant, but to learned men applies the word of scripture, 'Now King David was old,' (i Kings, i.1), though he be old, yet he is like a king."

A more elaborate version exists in two different Hebrew sources which, apart from their variants in language and style, may be rendered thus:—

⁸ L. Löw, *l.c.*, p. 10.

⁹ Goethe's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, 1885, i, p. 298.

¹⁰ The word 'vanity' occurs (Eccl. i, 2) twice in the plural, which the Rabbi considers as equivalent to four, and three times in the sing., making altogether seven.

"Seven worlds follow one another in rapid succession.¹¹ In the first, the child is like a king: for all greet it and long to catch a glimpse of it; they embrace and kiss it, it being but one year old. In the second stage, it may be compared to a pig, which wallows in the mud, this is when the child is two years old. In the third period, it resembles a kid, which capers hither and thither, making glad the hearts of all who look upon it. In the fourth stage, man may be likened to a spirited steed; for like the steed the boy of eighteen years runs about boasting of his youth. There comes the fifth stage, in which he becomes as the saddled ass, when (at the age of forty) he is bowed down by the burden of wife and children, having to travel backward and forward in order to bring home sustenance to the members of his household. In the sixth period of life he is like a dog, racing about in arrogance, shamelessly snatching from one in order to give to another. Lastly there comes the seventh stage of man's existence, when, like the monkey, his countenance is unlike that of any other creature, he asks like a child for everything, eating, drinking, and playing as a child; he returns to his youth only as far as his intelligence is concerned, but not in any other respect, so that even his own children and his household mock at him, disregarding and loathing him; and when he utters a word, people say of him, 'let him alone, for he is old and childish.' Thus he is like a monkey in all his actions and utterings."¹²

Here again, like in the four stages above, appear in all the three versions the ass, the dog and the monkey, in the same order as there and with the same motive, namely that in the last three stages of his life man leads the life of these animals. The septenary periods have hardly been derived from the speculations of Cabalistic philosophers upon the secret power of numbers and upon the climacterical year, they are more probably due to the influence of the Greeks or more especially the Athenians, whose social and political life suggests a division into seven ages of unequal duration.

The zoölogical metaphors must have been very popular. For we find them from now on represented everywhere in the comparison of man's life. The number as well as the kind of animals vary according to the requirement and taste of the respective authors. This is especially the case with the division into decimals, where each of the ten stages is compared to another animal, at ten to a kid, at twenty to a calf, at thirty to a bull, at forty to a lion, at fifty to a fox, at sixty to a wolf, at seventy to a cat, at eighty to a dog, at ninety to an ass, at a hundred to a goose.¹³

¹¹ *Ecclesiastes Rabba*, i, 2.

¹² *Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. Berlin, 1875, p. 264. Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, Leipzig. 1853, i, p. 154 seq.

¹³ Wackernagel, *l.c.*, p. 35.

That the division into ten periods must have been popular in Germany is proved by the fact that the subject has passed into a rhyming proverb, as follows:—

x jor ein kint,
 xx jor ein jungling,
 xxx jor frisch man,
 xL jor wolgeton,
 L jor im abegan,
 Lx jor ein altman,
 Lxx jor schafs diner selen vor,
 Lxxx jor kinden tor,
 xc jor der welt ein spot,
 c Nun gnod sin got.¹⁴

A far greater popularity has the subject enjoyed among the Jews. For the beautiful Hebrew poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra (middle of the 12th century) that describes the ten stages has even been incorporated in the liturgy not only of the Spanish and Portuguese but also in that of Polish and German Jews.¹⁵ A rendering into English may be of interest:

The son of earth should remember his origin, for one day to his mother he must return.

How cheerfully plays the child of five,
 His way leads up a sunny day,
 Now he lies quiet in his mother's lap,
 Now he is riding on his father's neck.

Wherefore reprove ye the boy of ten?
 He soon will grow, and wiser get;
 As yet he listens to milder words
 Of parents, friends, and play-fellows.

Oh that charming age of twenty,
 A roe leaping over the mountains;
 He shuns reproach, hears no advice,
 And runs after the loving hind.

At thirty he belongs to his wife,
 He looks about him, and lo! he is caught;
 Beset by ever threatenng darts,
 The constant desires of wife and children.

¹⁴ G. Binz, *Die deutschen Hss. der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel*. Basel, 1907, part i, p. 250. Cf. Wackernagel, *l.c.*, p. 30 seq.

¹⁵ Cf., for instance, the Prayer Book ed. Vilna (Rosenkranz & Schriftsetzer), 1874, p. 1.

And restless now he reaches forty,
Content whatever be his lot;
He moves on, forsakes his friends,
Labors and watches without leisure.

At fifty he remembers the vanity of life,
Sadly looks forward to evil days,
Despises all worldly splendor,
And fears his time will soon be over.

What has become of him at sixty?
There is neither twig nor root;
The rest is weakness and frailty,
Of no avail in the battle of life.

And do his years come to seventy,
He is not looked at nor listened to;
Has become a burden to his friends,
Nay even to himself and his wife.

And with eighty a burden to his children,
A derision to all his neighbours;
He has neither eyes nor heart,
His cup is gall, wormwood his bread.

Beyond that age he is looked upon as dead:
Blessed, if considered a pilgrim;
There are no other thoughts in him
But for future life and reward.¹⁶

This division is quite different from all the others. The psychological point, the animal in man, is entirely absent. Even the divisions themselves are unlike the others. For though they contain ten stages, they are not all of equal duration nor do they extend to a hundred years. The only features common to the preceding versions are the idea of the vanity of life, which is so markedly emphasized in the poem, and to which it probably owes its place in the liturgy, and the duration of man's life which is given in the poem at beyond eighty years. In this respect it resembles the French and Hebrew versions of the four ages. It also reminds us of Plato's division into nine stages of nine years each, where the normal age is eighty-one years, and of the division into twelve periods of seven years each by the Peripatetic Staseas, with the normal age of eighty-four years.

¹⁶ *The Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra* (in Hebrew) ed. Warsaw, 1894. i, p. 171 seq. Cf. also J. W. Jones, *Observations on the Division of man's life into stages prior to the "Seven Ages" of Shakspeare*. London, 1853, p. 7.

Staseas was the first to attempt the division of man's life into twelve stages. Later on we find in a Hebrew source human life compared to the twelve signs of the zodiac.¹⁷ But of greater interest for our purpose is a division into twelve coming from Italy through Jewish intermediation. The division is contained in a Bodleian manuscript (Can. Or., No. 1217, fol. 211b-213a), written in Venice and dated January, 1554. It is composed in German and Italian rhyming prose written in Hebrew characters. Human life is there compared at one year to a king, at three to a pig, at seven to a kid of goats, at eighteen to a horse, at thirty to a fox, at forty to a lion, at fifty to a cock, at sixty to a dog, at seventy to a monkey, at eighty to a serpent, at ninety to an ox, at a hundred to a house in ruins.

The text may follow here with the amendations necessary for the understanding of its contents. For the by no means easy task of restoring and amending the exceedingly corrupt Italian version I have to thank the admirable skill and untiring zeal of Mr. Cesare Foligno, M.A., Taylorian Lecturer in Italian at Oxford.

Das mensch gegelichen . . . zu einem tor, zu ein schwein, zu ein zickln'
zu ein fuchs, zu ein lew, zu ein han, zu ein hunt, zu ein af, zu ein hûs, zu ein slang',
zu ein ochs.

Ein kind vun einem jar
glich as ein nar, ein tor (Ms. torer);
doch tuot man im sin beger,
glich as es ein kunig wer.

Un' put di teta
uribel (Ms. uri bel uri) malneta
. . . port' (Ms. unge umport) grando amor
com' a un' re e grando sinior.

Wen es is drfer jar eilt(!),
es hand un' fuos hat zu gewalt;
es nit wil (!) sin un' witz hat,
es walt as ein schwein im kot.

Cum el à ani tre
son vestiment gimtre(?)
el n'a guardo 'sun (Ms. soum) al bel
el si volta entr' al fanga come un purcel.

¹⁷ *Midrash Tanhuma*, towards the end of Deut.; English translation in *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1894, p. 11.

Ein zicklîn.

Wen es kumt zu siben jaren,
es macht sich hervoren;
es hat nit vil sin un' witz,
es springt gltch as ein kitz.

Cuma el a die ani set
quest vera dicret
el *no va ai* (Ms. nova aj) dret
el salta coma un' cabret (Ms. cbaret).

Ein pherd.

Wen es kumt zu jaren achtzehn,
es begint sich um zu sehen;
es suocht sich guot in den(!) welt,
as ein pferd, das do get zelt.

Coma el à di ani dizot (Ms. diz ot)
urmai è'l crescuit di bot
el st' in quart de tanto (Ms. el stin quart e dtanto)
el va cumu un' caval dipurtanto.¹⁸

Ein fuchs.

Wen es kumt zu jaren drisik,
es is zu allem flisic (Ms. es sich zu a. flist);
es verliert sich in allen nist,
as ein fuchs mit aller list.

Cumo el à di ane trenta
del ben e mal el senta
el va atinder el so fat
cumo un' volpo quant . . . ¹⁹

Wen er in die vierzig jar ist getreten,
so is er ein man besteten;
oder man furcht vor im hat,
as sluog in ein lew mit sner phot.

Cuma el à di ane queranta
è *el* (Ms. el) un' um cum toto pusanta
lo sofizent è scort
cumo un gerd dear port(?).

Ein han.

Wen er zu den funfzik jaren hat,
mit sinen kindern er sich berat;
er nigs(!) one sIn kinder tuot,
as ein gluck, die ir huner hat ùs gebruo.

¹⁸ *dipurtanto* may be a gerund, with a *t* for the rhyme, or a pres. part. with an *o*-ending for the same reason.

¹⁹ Ms. el liglis kat (sic).

Cumo el à di ane zinquanta
di lo sui fiuli si mentata
el fa qual chi lor vol
come un' kiuki²⁰ di²¹ so fiol(!).

Ein hunt.

Wen er kumt in die sechzik jar,
sîn kraft er mër wen halb verlor;
er is guot in hûs zu aller stund,
das er zu dem hûs sicht as ein alter hunt.

Cuma el à li sesanta ane intrad
el so cun timp'â (Ms. kuntimpa) mancad
sempar in pensir e grando pan
è'l si bon in casa pi²² guardian, cuma un can.

Ein af.

Wen er kumt in die sibzik jar,
halber(!) er verlor;
slafen un' essen un' triken is im guot,
er sitzt, stet in den stul, as ein af tuot.

Cum el li setanta ana intrad nun è'l piu ancuntar
le mitar²³ di manzar e bebar
nun val asar prigá
simpr (Ms. stimpr) seder cum' un' simia (sic) escadriga.

Ein slang.

Wen er achzig jar eilt (!) wert,
er get gebukt wîs úf die erd;
im is die zit un' och die wîl lang,
er kricht úf der erd as ein slang.

Cuma el à ane otanta soi renta
non à'l puei pusanta
el non ben puei far guera (Ms. par guer')
el va com' un' vis²⁴ par tera.

Ein ochs.

Wen er kumt zu niuzig (!) jaren,
do hat er al sîn hushim²⁵ ver loren;
er kan sich nit mër der nern,
as ein alter ochs, der sich der vliegen nit kan der weren.

Cum' el à onanta ani el cuminzá
aver malania el non sa
far nison (Ms. par ni son) ven²⁶
cum' el bo magir le musche . . . ²⁷

²⁰ *kiuki* is probably onomatopœic for 'hen.'

²¹ *di* distinctly so, it ought to be *chi* or rather *che*.

²² *pi* probably stands for per, pe.

²³ The *r* in *mitar* should probably be omitted.

²⁴ We clearly have here change of *b* to *v*, for *bisc*, *biscia*.

²⁵ Hebrew for "senses."

²⁶ On *ven* see the last but one note.

²⁷ Ms. has here *vollir ven*.

Wen er is nun hundert jar alt,
 er nit hat zu gewalt;
 er wert kal un' glat as ein mûs,
 er falt nieder as ein gebrochen hûs.

Cum' el li ani zenti a (Ms. ani) cumpii mid²⁸
 toti le so cose va (Ms. vagi pisid?)
 anchn vich cum' un' soris brobad (sic)
 cum' un' cazi rota nun abitad.

It is obvious that the division given in this poem is based on the midrashic metaphor. For, apart from the first three stages where they correspond almost literally, the fourth one is no less striking by similarity, and the eighth and ninth stages, too, find their analogues in the last two stages of Midrash, where the man is compared to the hound and ape, and here again the last one is almost a translation from the Hebrew source. The third and fourth periods merit a few remarks. The third one which is not given any fixed age in the midrashic paraphrase is in the Germano-Italian version limited to seven years, and in both versions this period extends to the eighteenth year, the year of maturity or ephebe. Both these age limits, seven and eighteen, may be due to the Athenian division of the different ages.²⁹ That the puberty of man is reached with his eighteenth year is also expressed in another quite interesting Jewish division of the ages of man. It is found in the twenty-fourth paragraph of the last chapter of the *Sayings of the Fathers*,³⁰ which has become very popular owing to the insertion of these chapters into the Jewish Prayer Books. The passage in question runs as follows:—

"At five years the age is reached for the study of Scriptures, at ten for the study of Mishna, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at *eighteen* for marriage, at twenty for seeking a livelihood, at thirty for strength, at forty for understanding, at fifty for counsel, at sixty for old age, at seventy for the hoary head, at eighty for special strength (Psalm xc. 10), at ninety he bends beneath the weight of years, at a hundred he is as if he were already dead and had passed away and withdrawn from the world."

²⁸ Probably 'cupid' (?).

²⁹ Löw, *l.c.*, p. 4.

³⁰ Ch. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1897, p. 96.

Thus we see here quite clearly that the year eighteen is the age of full development. We should, of course, look in vain for a close relationship between the latter passage and the Germano-Italian version of the ages, seeing that the one has been composed in a different mood, and with an object different from that of the other; the former being of a pedagogical nature, while the latter is purely satirical. Yet we cannot help noticing some features common to both, beside the one already mentioned. The points of contact are obvious at the age of fifty, when man is declared to be able to advise others or is said to like to take advice; the man of eighty is characterized in the satire as being bent, and so he is in the other version at ninety, while at a hundred he is described in both versions as a worthless being. Though these points of contact can hardly be accidental, I do not see any direct interdependence between the two versions, but I think there is not a shadow of doubt that the Germano-Italian satire has largely drawn on the Midrash *Tanhuma*.

Taking all these versions of the stages of life together they show once more the striking example how the same motive can be preserved through many centuries and with numerous nations. In the present case the motive which influenced all these compositions is so much the same that it can hardly be accidental, yet a direct adaptation cannot be proved, though an indirect influence is beyond doubt. They show, furthermore, how immeasurably they all, with the exception of Ibn Ezra's poem, fall short of the poetic conception of our own great poet, the author of 'As You Like It.'

L. LANDAU

London

REVIEWS AND NOTES

1. *ALTDEUTSCHES SPRACHGUT IM MITTELLATEIN*. Proben eines Ducangius Theodiscus von Friedrich Kluge. Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung 1915.
2. *DEUTSCHE NAMENKUNDE* von Friedrich Kluge. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1917.
3. *HILDEBRANDSLIED, LUDWIGSLIED und MERSEBURGER ZAUBERSPRÜCHE*. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1919.

These three important publications are all from the pen of the noted Germanist whom Freiburg i. Br., Germany, once was proud to count among the most illustrious members of her faculty, but who now faces a rather dark future, blind as he is and deprived of the principal means of his income, because a stupid government threw him on the discard heap, that is to say, pensioned him off at a pittance to make room for a younger man. That the divine fire still burns very brightly in him and that for all his blindness he still can turn out work by which we all may profit, is abundantly proved by the three publications I have the honor herewith to present to the American learned public. The aims of the first publication the author himself well explains in the following introductory remarks: "*Mein Ducangius theodiscus sammelt und mehrt, sichtet und erläutert, was in den reichen Schatzkammern des mittellateinischen Sprachschatzes von Ducange an altgermanischem Sprachgut vorliegt. Mit den rein germanistischen Absichten, das altgermanische Wortmaterial der nicht germanischen Sprachquellen für das frühe Mittelalter aufzuhellen, verbindet sich von selbst die Möglichkeit, schwierige Worte von Rechts und Geschichtsquellen zu prüfen und zugleich der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft die sicheren Unterlagen zu vermehren. Die vorgelegten Proben veranschaulichen Umfang und Charakter meiner Arbeit, die wohl Vorläufer und Vorbild für das Programm zu einem neuen Ducange werden kann.*"

Seventeen ML. words are dealt with: (1) *bargum*, *bargus*; (2) *chrotta*; (3) *danea*; (4) *hapia*; (5) *humulus*; (6) *lêha*; (7) *melscare*; (8) *nastulus*; (9) *reipus*; (10) *rufia*; (11) *sagiboro*; (12) *scancio*; (13) *sonium*; (14) *strêpa*; (15) *sunnis*; (16) *trabum*; (17) *wargus*.

As to the Germanic character of No. 2, Kluge himself has expressed doubt, and under these circumstances I think it would have been better to leave it out. Also No. 16 seems to me of very doubtful character. Certainly the material produced as evidence is far from being convincing. I am sure, if the distinguished scholar could have looked up himself the glosses he

quotes as favoring his contention, he would have seen at a glance that they do no such thing. As I expect to discuss the matter at some greater length than would be permissible in a mere review, I shall let these remarks suffice for the present. However much I may disagree with my friend in some details, I heartily agree with his proposed Ducangius theodiscus as a whole, and I sincerely trust he may be given strength and zeal for his task sufficient to overcome the obstacles put in his way by his blindness and his helplessness against the malice and ill-will of those who hamper and hinder him, when they should help him over the rough places of his hard lot with the sympathy and good fellowship of real colleagues.

Of a more popular character, though no less scholarly, is the second publication. In four chapters, comprising 45 pages, it gives a masterly survey (1) of family names, (2) of baptismal names, (3) of the names of country, places and rivers, (4) of the names for the days of the week and high days. That the book made a hit with the public it was written for, is attested to by the fact that it has already entered upon its second edition. Among the family names that rose from the name of the handicraft or trade plied by the first founder of the family I notice that of *Schwegler*, which on page 14 is explained from MHG *swegel* "Flöte." This is somewhat discrepant from the explanation given on page 17, where it is intimated that the MHG meaning of the word was "Sackpfeife." Mention might have been made of OE. *swegelhorn* which renders *sambucus* in the Corpus Glossary, ed. Hessels, S58, and *sambuca* in the Aldhelm Glosses, edited by Napier, 1, 1645 and 14, 1. To the pet-name for *Wilhelm*, mentioned on page 19, I should like to see added *Helmke* as exemplification of diminutives formed from the second part of the word. As to *Renz*, short for *Reinhart* (page 19), I can testify to its being used as short form for other compound names, too, as for example *Redlich*. A school-mate of mine bore that name, but we always called him *Renz*. Is *-lar* in *Fritzlar*, *Goslar*, *Weizlar*, *Lahr* really "ein urdeutsches aber früh verklungenes Wort für Ansiedlung?" I thought it was considered rather as a memento of former Celtic settlements and connected with Irish *lár* (from [p] *lāro*- 'floor').

I wonder, too, if *-leben* in *Aschersleben* *Busleben*, *Eckartsleben*, *Eisleben* etc., is really from OLG *lêven* 'to leave behind.' Compare OE *collif*, *præostlîf*, *stocklîf*.

The third publication is primarily meant for the teachers and students of what the Germans call *Hoch und Mittelschulen*. The American college professor will find in it a cheap, handy tool to introduce his advanced students of German to the *Hildebrandslied*, the *Ludwigslied* and the *Merseburger Zaubersprüche*.

The value of the edition is materially increased by the addition of facsimile phototypes of those portions of the MSS., in which those OHG monuments are preserved. By their help the careful reader can easily check the correctness of the text as printed. I am sorry to say the correctness of this text is not as flawless as it undoubtedly would have been, had the learned editor been able to supervise personally all the minute details the printing of these poems entails. Unfortunately, in his crippled condition, he had to rely on the accuracy of those who were to prepare and see the work through the press and they have been somewhat remiss in the discharge of their duty as will be pointed out. But these blemishes detract very little from the value of the master's presentation of his subject. The booklet came to me as a belated Christmas present, and I wish I could convey to the reader the keen enjoyment I have derived and am still deriving from the perusal of its stimulating pages.

Kluge's edition of the *Hildebrandslied* falls into six parts: (1) the transcription of the MS. text (pp. 5-6); (2) Interpretation and detailed discussion of the text and its problems (pp. 7-45); (3) Remarks on the linguistic characteristics of the poem; (4) Normalized and reconstructed text; (5) Alliterative rendering of the poem into Modern German; (6) Appendix. Reproduction of the *jüngere Hildebrandslied* after Simrock.

While one may not agree with everything the learned author brings forward, there is much that is entirely convincing; his discussion of the problems is stimulating all through, and to me at least it seems as though he had brought the riddle, scholars have wrestled with for so long a time, a good deal nearer its solution by his effort. And I do hope its value will be so generously appreciated, here at least in America, that he, in a time not too far off, can bring out a second edition for the benefit of which I would recommend the following alterations: The *handschriftliche Text* should stick more closely to what is actually on record in the manuscript. To facilitate reference to it, its lines should be numbered as should be those of the facsimile. The interpretation and discussion of the poem should take as its basis the text and numbering of the transcript from the MS. In the present edition some confusion is brought about by the *Erläuterungen* following in parts rather the emended text than the MS. text. The numbering of the verses interpreted and expounded is certainly that of the emended text and faulty, at that, as will be seen by the following corrections:

page 13	for 7-11	substitute	7-10
16	" 12-13	"	11-13a
18	" 14-17	"	14-18a
20	" 18-19	"	19-20

page	21 for 20-22	substitute	21-23
	22 "	23-24	" 24-25
	23 "	25-26	" 26-27
	24 "	27-29	" 28-30
	25 "	30-32	" 31-33a
	27 "	33-35	" 35-37
	29 "	36-38	" 38-40a
	30 "	39-41	" 40b-43
	31 "	42-44	" 44-46
	32 "	45-48	" 47-50
	33 "	49	" 51-52a
	34 "	50-52	" 52b-55
	36 "	53-54	" 56-57
	37 "	55-57	" 58-60
	38 "	58-60a	" 61-63a
	— "	60b-62	" 63b-65
	40 "	63-64	" 66-67
	42 "	65-68a	" 68-71

It is one of the characteristics of the *Hildebrandslied* that *w* is almost uniformly represented by the OE wen-rune and, with the exception of one or two instances, marked by an accent. These accents, absent in the present edition,¹ I should like to see restored in the second edition to come. Another characteristic, observable also in OE Mss., is the writing of words, grammatically connected, as a unit. The *handschr. Text* of the present edition only rarely takes cognizance of this peculiarity, so page 6, line 37, *nipurti*.² The 2d edition ought to show it also in *ihheitlu*, p. 5, l. 14; *ψasher*, p. 5, l. 23; *dirit*, p. 6, l. 28;³ *pilthmih*, p. 6, l. 31. (The facsimile seems to exhibit *pilihmih*, or rather *pilihnih*; if this is countenanced by the MS., then we have to assume scribal error for *pilthmih*); *tibanin*, p. 6, l. 43; *dersi*, p. 6, l. 46; *vellustit*, p. 6, l. 47; *demotti*,⁴ p. 6, l. 48. Of other short-comings of the present transcript from the MS. the new edition ought to take care of the following: p. 6, l. 32 *fuortos* ought to be changed to *fortos* and renewed inspection of the MS. ought to settle whether or not the *t* is not marked for expunction as it ought to be, in the same way as the *t* of *stoptū*, p. 6, l. 51. If it is not marked for expunction, then we again have to assume

¹ See *handschr. Text*, p. 5, lines 8, 13, 17, 23; p. 6, lines 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 52, 53.

² How it is about *vetlu* of p. 5, l. 24, I cannot determine, the facsimile showing at that spot only a splotch.

³ *dirit* I am sure is scribal blunder for *dīnu* = *dī nu*, from which it follows that only the next *nu* wrongly repeated needs expunction.

⁴ I fully agree with Kluge that what the MS. exhibits *niu sedemotti* stands for *niusē dē mōtti* 'let personal meeting i.e. combat determine.' As to the omission of the *n*-stroke over *e* of *niusē*, compare the same omission (p. 6, l. 27) in *cheisuringu* for *cheisuringū*. The same omission is responsible for the *gudea* on record page 6, line 47, for what I think ought to be *gudeā* = *gude ana*.

one of the scribal errors. The *t* in both instances seems to me to have arisen from misconception of those meaningless flourishes I have drawn attention to in the introduction to my edition of the Epinal Glossary and again have spoken of when discussing *extentera*=*exentera* in Engl. Stud. 49¹⁵⁶. I also recommend renewed inspection of the MS. to determine whether it really exhibits *epin*, p. 6, l. 32, and not rather *opin*, as it would appear to me from the facsimile. That *opin* is the true reading I am very much inclined to think. It stands for *oupin* and would represent an OE **éaw-en* which is fairly conceivable by the side of the actually recorded *éaw-isc* 'manifest, ocular.' As to OHG **ouwin* 'ocular,' compare Ahd. Gl. I 224³⁶ *palam auuizorahit*; *ibid.*, I 233¹¹ *publicanus auuizorahit*, which would be OE **éaw-torht*. Consequently I cannot agree with the explanation of vss. 30-32 (p. 6)=vss. 40-43 (p. 60) which Kluge proposes on page 30: '*Du bist, alter Hunne überaus schlau und verführst mich mit deinen Worten, um mich mit deinem Speer zu treffen. Du bist, Mensch in der Weise alt geworden, dass du immer mit Hinterlist umgegangen bist.*' To my mind the situation is this: the young man makes fun of the old warrior who imagines he can beguile him with his specious words so as to catch him off his guard in order to throw his spear with effect at him. He is not aware, old fool that he is, how manifest his tricky design is to the wary. Kluge evidently overlooks the force of *dir* in the sentence: *Dû bist dir, alter Hân, ummet spâhêr* 'Videris tibi immoderate callidus.' I do not think it is well to take *man* in the next line as vocative. *Pist also gealtet man sô dû owîn inwît fôrôs* means 'Tam aetate provecus i.e.; hebetatus es ut dolum manifestum pro te geras.' As to *chonnem* exhibited by the *handschr. Text* p. 5, l. 23, the facsimile's *chotinem* points to *chounem*=*chuonem* in the archetypus; *feh&a* printed p. 5, l. 22, is taken=*fehita* in the expository part on page 24. But does it not stand for *fehetha*, *fehitha* 'Fehde'? The new edition I confidently expect will put beyond doubt that what is printed on page 6, l. 50 *asckim* does not conform to MS. evidence which points clearly to *asc[ge]kini*. *Do lêtun se ærist asc gekini scritan scarpén scurim* means 'Then they first let spears fly against each other in sharp showers.' And as the spears stick fast in the shields (*dat in dem sciltim stont*), they go for each other with the sword (*do stopun tosamane*); *stainbort chlubun*,⁵ *heupun harmlicco huitte scilti*; in this personal encounter, man to man, their shields are hacked to pieces.

The new edition, I trust, will also settle whether or not *suasat*, p. 6, l. 41, is corrected to *suasaz* as would appear from the facsimile.

⁵ This emendation for *chcludun* seems to me quite evident.

The pages 69–77 of the booklet contain the *Ludwigslied* which I should like to see introduced in the new edition by the statement that it is preserved in MS. No. 150 of the Public Library at Valenciennes, France. The print of this text is very accurate. Of discrepancies from the facsimile I have noticed only the following: Page 69, first line of the text: *Heizit*; this is, of course, normalized spelling for what the MS. according to the facsimile exhibits as *heizsit*.

Text, line 6 *lango*: the last letter looks to me in the facsimile like *v*.

Text, line 19, the first *i* of *ervirrit* seems to me corrected to *e*.

Text, line 30 (page 70): the *o* of *Frô* looks to me almost like *a*.

Text, line 43: of the *n* of *Sinan* I can see no trace in the facsimile. How is it in the MS?

Text, line 54 *hin*: the facsimile has *hiN*.

The last line of the Ludwigslied *Gihalde inan truhtin Bt sinan êrgrehtin* Kluge renders 'möge Gott ihn erhalten in seinen Gnaden' and in the *Erläuterungen* on page 77 we find *êrgrehti* f. explained by *Gnade*, as being a composition of *êra* 'Gnade' and *girêhti*, just as if 'Gnade' was the usual meaning of OHG *êra*. But as far as my observation goes, this is a very unusual one, and the observation is borne out by what Kluge himself has to say on the subject in his Etymological Dictionary sub *Ehre*. The meaning of *Gnade* is restricted to OLD SAXON and OLD ENGLISH. *Ehre*, *Ruhm*, *Ehrgefühl* are the meanings attributable to the word in OHG. If then it turns up here with a meaning unusual in OHG, but usual in Old Saxon and Old English, it is reasonable to assume influence from either of the two. To Old English influence would point the fact that the *Ludwigslied* is followed in the MS. by a curious Latin poem about Love, beginning with the very name for love in Old English, *lufu*. It is curious enough to warrant its printing here:

LUFU^{5a} *dei tanta est quæ germine prodit*^{5b} *amoris*

*Ut faciat gratum mente cubile deo*⁶

*Ipse etenim*⁷ *semel clemens habitare fatetur*

*Qui fuerit Christi*⁸ *pectore fixus amor*

5 *Lancinam*⁹ *et*¹⁰ *indignam diuinis sedibus aedem*

*Quam ludens fuco lauit inepta*¹¹ *fides*

*Is*¹² *quoque*¹³ *mandato dedit haec praecepta*¹⁴ *secundo*

^{5a} L close to the margin and hardly discernible.

^{5b} the usual abbr. of *pro*.

⁶ the usual abbreviation.

⁷ *I* of *ipse* close to the margin; *et* of *etenim* not visible.

⁸ the usual abbreviation.

⁹ Only *lanc* recognizable.

¹⁰ the usual abbreviation.

¹¹ separated in *epla*.

¹² *I* not visible.

¹³ *-ue* abbreviated by ;

¹⁴ *rae* expressed by stroke over *p*.

- Diligat ut fratrem se quasi quisque¹⁵ suum
Iussibus¹⁶ his geminis pendet lex atque¹⁷ prophetæ*
 10 *Haec duo caelestes ingrediuntur¹⁸ opes
Tum¹⁹ mihi quid spei frater decernis habende
Unius ob meritum quo tibi uota gero
En²⁰ minus ad maius poterit conscendere²¹ donum²²
Ut placeam Christo²³ te quia frater amo*
 15 *Quamquam, o, sed sileo forsitan deus²⁴ addet et²⁵ illud
Aut tibi forte dabit quod²⁶ mihi iure negat
Atque²⁷ utinam cædat^{27a} tibimet. sic namque²⁸ peropto²⁹
Sic pro³⁰ te dominum³⁰ Nocte dieque³¹ precor*

On pages 78–83 of the booklet the *Merseburger Zaubersprüche* are printed and discussed.

For the second edition I would recommend that the discussion be based on a faithful transcript of the charms from the original. To be sure, the careful reader has always the facsimile at his disposal by which he can check the correctness of the print. Still, the proper way would seem to me to follow the same plan here that has been followed in the presentation of the *Hildebrandslied*. Let us have first the actual manuscript text and then work up from that to the text as shown by the discussion it ought to be. Here, then, it is, The Manuscript Text:

*Eiris sazun idisi sazun hera duoder suma
hapt heptidun suma herilæzidun suma chlu
bodun umbicuonio uuidi insprinc hapt
bodun umbicuonio uuidi insprinc hapt
bandun inuar uigandun. †.*

Eiris Kluge takes to be miswritten for *eirist* 'erst.' I ventured the opinion that it rather stands for *einis* and wrote him so. He informed me that this conjecture of mine had already been advocated by Holthausen. Well, to me it seems fairly convincing and I wish Kluge had adopted it. His *eirist*

¹⁵ -ue abbr. by ;

¹⁶ I not visible; -us abbr. by ;

¹⁷ -ue abbr. by ;

¹⁸ the usual abbr. for -ur.

¹⁹ I can't say whether I have supplied T correctly; the letter is invisible.

²⁰ The same applies to E here.

²¹ con- abbr. by c̄.

²² the usual abbreviation of m.

²³ the usual abbreviation.

²⁴ the usual abbreviation.

²⁵ the usual abbreviation.

²⁶ abbreviated by qd̄; the same abbreviated quod may have to be assumed for the quo on record in line 12, if I understand the verse all right.

²⁷ the usual abbreviation for -ue.

^{27a} so for cædat.

²⁸ the usual abbreviation for -ue.

²⁹ separated.

³⁰ the usual abbreviation.

³¹ the usual abbreviation for -ue.

does not agree well with the situation I believe is depicted by the verses. Kluge seems to me wrong in interpreting *sazun* by 'setzen sich, liessen sich nieder,' as though the *idisi* were settling down from flight, nor do I believe he is right when saying "In unserm Zauberspruche zeigen sich die Walküren in drei verschiedenen Haufen, sie kommen durch die Luft geritten. To be sure, the *idisi* are represented by the charm to be sitting in three different groups, but I can see nowhere any indication of a previous flight through the air. I fully agree with Kluge that *hera duoder* represents *heridohter* = *heridohter*, common OHG *heridohter*, but I would add that what is on record is misreading by the scribe of *heræduoder*; compare *læzidun* = *lezidun*. As to *o* as the result of misreading *c*, the *cuonio uuidi* of line 3 is in point. For there cannot be any doubt that *cuonio-* stands for *cucnic-*, where *c* is that tag, devoid of any phonological value, I have discussed above when speaking of *fortos* and *stoptun* in the *Hildebrandslied*. Kluge himself refers to OE. *cyniwithan* 'redimicula,' rectius *cyniuuithan* 'Ridimiculae'; for so has the Epinal Glossary, see my edition, page 22, cd 27. The Erfurt (CGL. V 387²⁶) has *ridimiculi*; the correct form of the lemma is, of course, *redimicula*, as I had pointed out, years ago to G. Goetz, the editor of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, when drawing his attention to the source of the gloss, *redimicula mitrae* of Aldhelm ed. Giles, page 76⁶; for some reason or other, however, he has failed to point out this source in his *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*, page 190, sub *Redimiculum*. This OE *cynewithe* has its congener in OHG *cunawithi* 'catena' adduced by Kluge. As this scholar says in his *Erläuterung*, page 79, *cuoniowidi*, that is to say, *cuniuwidi* is the plural of a feminine *i-* stem *-wid* (MHG *wit*, pl. *wide* 'Wiede, Strick') = ON *við* 'chain.' The singular is attested to by OHG *chunwit*, preserved in the gloss Murenule, *catenule teretes*, i. *chunuuit* in the *Fragmentum Universitatis Monacensis* 4^o 914 (Ahd. Gl. III 349⁷). In the footnote to this gloss Steinmeyer points out its bearing on the passage in the *Merseburger* charm 1, 3. The gloss itself is arranged by St. under *Summarium Heinrici XI* and refers, we may add, to Esaias 3, 20; compare Ahd. Gl. I 589.¹⁹ Consequently, Kluge is mistaken when he says in his *Erläuterung* on page 79, 8th line from the bottom, "Unsicher ist Lautgestalt und Bedeutung des 1. Wortgliedes." There can be no doubt, I repeat, that the proper reading of vs. 3 of the charm is *suma chlubodun umbi cuniuwidi*, and by this verse is depicted, not as Kluge ll., line 15 ff., thinks, a scene of the battlefield 'durch kein Zeugnis der germ. Stabreimdichtung näher ausgeführt,' but the activity of the "weird sisters" who determine the fate of kingdoms.

"Once," the charm tells us, "the weird sisters held a meeting": *Einis sazun idisi, sazun heræduoder*.

Part of them twisted ropes (for the victor to tie the captives with),
 the other part constructed the 'lets' (by which the army to be defeated was to be hampered).
 A third part were busy twining and untwining the 'withs' of the kingdom.

} *suma hapt heptidun*
 } *suma heri læzidun*
 } *suma chlubodun*
 } *umbi cuniuuidi*

This is the general or introductory part of the charm depicting a session of the weird sisters (presumably on the eve of battle) who weave victory or defeat for man. Now comes the special application or invocation:

*insprinc hapt bandun, inuar uigandun Wela. Wela*³²

That, I take it, is the negative way of praying or wishing for victory. Hence it would appear to me the verses were not originally meant to serve as a *carmen solutorium* the way Kluge seems to imply in his discussion on page 80. They may have been part of the ritual invoking victory on the army ready to battle. The negative nature of the invocation may have recommended the verses as suitable for uses to which the Christian priests apparently put them *i.e.*, as a benediction for people in captivity or in the bonds of sickness. They may have been used even for sick cattle as in all likelihood the second charm was used. That the charms were in common use by the Christian clergy is evident from the Latin following upon the second charm, to which (I regret to see) Kluge has paid no attention in his print. Therefore I wish to draw attention to it here:

*Omnipotens*³³ *sempiternus*³⁴ *deus*³⁴ *quifacis*³⁵ *mirabilia magna solus, praetende*³⁶ *super*³⁷ *famulum*³⁸ *tuum*³⁸. *N. et*³⁹ *super*³⁷ *cunctas congregationes illis commissas*³⁸ *spiritum*³⁹ *gratie salutaris et*³⁹ *ut inueritate*³⁵ *tibi complacent* *perpetuum*³⁷ *eis rorem tue benedictionis infunde* †⁴⁰.

A final word I wish to say about *hapt heptidun* and *haptbandun*. Kluge, on page 79, assumes in all three cases miswriting for *haphl* and *heftidun* (comm. OHG. *hafun*). This seems

³² omitted by Kluge. It, of course, answers to Latin-Greek *Amen*. See later on, note 40.

³³ *-potens* abbr. by *ps*.

³⁴ the usual abbr. of *m* and *deus*.

³⁵ So!

³⁶ the usual abbr. of *prac-*.

³⁷ *-er* expressed by stroke though *p*.

³⁸ the usual abbr. for *m*.

³⁹ abbr.

⁴⁰ Ordinarily this would stand for *vel vel*; but I have no doubt the abbreviation is to express *Wela Wela = Amen*, here as it does at the end of the first charm where the abbreviation † is used.

to be borne out by the first line of the second charm where the first word *Phol* is written *P^hol*, that is to say, the scribe wishing to express Germanic *f* by the combination *ph* forgot the *h* at first and added it afterwards over the line. So he may have forgotten it in the case of *hapt heptidun* and *haptbandun* and may have neglected to add it over the line. But it seems singular that he should have been so forgetful in three consecutive instances. Therefore I wonder if Kluge's explanation is the true one.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER

Lakeland, Florida, Easter 1920

*INDEX VERBORUM QUAE IN SENECAE FABULIS
NECNON IN OCTAVIA PRAETEXTA REPERIUN-
TUR* a Guilielmo Abbott Oldfather, Arthuro Stanley
Pease, Howardo Vernon Canter confectus. Apud Univer-
sitem Illinoiensem, MDCCCXVIII. 272 pp. *Univer-
sity of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. 4;
No. 2 (= *Index* [etc.], Pars Prior), No. 3 (= Pars Altera),
No. 4 (= Pars Tertia), pp. 61-332.

When an exhaustive verbal index, or a full concordance, to an important author, ancient or modern, is well-made, the conventional thing to say is the right one: the makers have conferred a lasting boon upon all serious students of language and literature. Because of the position occupied by the Senecan tragedies, mid-way between the ancient classical and the modern drama, students of Renaissance literature, it is true, would have welcomed a concordance to those tragedies. There are yet awaiting complete investigation various aspects of Senecan influence—for example, upon Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights in England—where a concordance would have greatly facilitated the researches already begun; it is easier to trace relationships by a line-for-line, rather than a word-for-word, comparison. One may venture to think that a similar statement would be true of the relations between the disputed *Octavia* and the other Senecan plays, and between all these tragedies and the other works that are more confidently attributed to Seneca. And in fact the compilers of the *Index* at first projected a concordance. But a concordance would have been a far bulkier work to publish in these days of costly paper and printing—and, after all, an excellent index such as this will serve the purpose well. The collaborators, who have spared no pains to render it full and exact, may rest assured of their meed of gratitude from scholars for generations to come.

No review could do justice to a work like this. Time alone can reveal its usefulness, and will do so through such investigations as it alone makes possible. The function of the reviewer mainly consists in drawing attention to the *Index* as an accomplished fact; for it too often happens that indispensable pieces of scholarly apparatus, not being of the showy sort, escape the notice of those who ought to use them. Such, at least, is the case with concordances and the like to modern authors. And it is also true that scholars who deal in particular with modern literature are not generally aware of the short cuts, in the form of special indexes and lexicons actually existing, to the information they may happen to need when identifying passages in Greek and Latin. Accordingly, one may remind all who are interested of two valuable booklets published by Teubner: *Repertorium Griechischer Wörterverzeichnisse und Speciallexika*, von H. Schöne, Leipzig, 1907, and *Repertorium Lateinischer Wörterverzeichnisse und Speciallexika*, von Paul Rowald, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914. It is to be hoped both these will be republished ere long, and from time to time in the future, with the necessary additions; and that the Senecan *Index* will duly find its place in the lists of Rowald.

I have made what may be termed adequate rather than exhaustive tests of the accuracy and completeness of this *Index*, and have found virtually nothing to complain of on either score, beyond the page and a half of *corrigenda* (pp. 271-2) noted by the editors themselves. The manuscript went through the press during the disturbed conditions of war-time; a mischance led to the printing off of certain pages without a final revision of the proofs.

Let us pass to certain matters of detail.

Following a custom that on some grounds is more defensible, and on others less, the Preface (pp. 5-15) is in Latin. It recounts the inception of the work in the year 1911, when the plan was to excerpt for a concordance, and when collections were made to this end with the help of ten young ladies (Misses Anderson, Austin, Bruner, Colcord, Davis, Hardin, Larson, Seawell, Slough, and Voegelein), students at the University of Illinois. In 1915 this plan was altered in favor of the more compact *Index*, and in the summer of 1916 the excerpts were reduced to their present shape, after which the citations were verified by comparison with the text. The second edition (1902) of the text of Peiper and Richter was taken as a basis, this being supplemented by their lists of variant readings, and by readings, conjectures included, from other sources noted in the Bibliography (pp. 6-15; *addenda*, pp. 264-5). The praiseworthy care of the compilers is further shown by their list of *Lectionum Additamenta* (pp. 265-270) drawn from sources noted in the *addenda*. From the *Index* proper certain variations have been

purposely omitted, as, for example, mutations in the order of lines, and of words within the line. In the latter point, a concordance would have the advantage, since, when the lines of verse are printed with the words for which they are cited, transpositions of words can be indicated (see my *Concordance to the Works of Horace*, 1916); and varying word-order is, of course, not seldom important in shifting the force of individual words. Words in the titles of scenes are not included, nor are the names of the persons of the drama—save that, naturally, they are recorded when they occur as a part of something said.

The Bibliography, which includes titles dated later than 1901 (that is, subsequent to those listed by Peiper and Richter), with the *Additamenta Operum Recentiorum* (pp. 264-5, as already noted), would seem to be altogether valuable. So far as concerns classical books and periodicals, it appears to be fairly exhaustive; but outside their own classical field the compilers perhaps have not been equally successful. Thus it is strange to find John W. Cunliffe represented only by his review of Miller's translation of the Senecan plays, in the *Classical Journal* for 1908. If the anastatic reprint (New York, 1907) of his earlier work, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893) is not to be listed, one certainly should add his edition of *Early English Classical Tragedies*, Oxford, 1912, and his chapter (No. 4), *Early English Tragedy*, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by Ward and Waller, 5 (1910). 68-99 (see also Index, s.v. 'Seneca'). Add also, p. 6, after 'B. Ambrassat,' Heinrich R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, Berlin, 1904.

Two or three minor flaws may be mentioned. In the earlier part of the work, there is a space between the citations of words under A and those under B, and so on to T; but there are no spaces between T and U, U and V, V and X, X and Y, and Y and Z. The *Index* is printed two columns to a page, with ample margins, but with perhaps too narrow a vertical space between the columns. In the copy that has come to me, too many printer's 'quads' have forced little blocks of ink on open spaces of the page, defacing an otherwise clear impression. For these defects the printer is largely responsible. And he doubtless is mainly responsible for the mischance that rendered necessary the long list of (mostly trifling) *corrigenda*.

One oversight I have noticed in the alphabetical order: on page 197 *quippe* precedes, instead of following, *quintus*.

But it would be wrong to dwell upon the inevitable appearance of notes in a glass that for every essential purpose is fine and clear. No one who has not engaged in an enterprise of this kind has an inkling of the labor involved in accurately reproducing the myriads of details of which this volume containing over two hundred and fifty double-column pages is entirely com-

posed. The correction of proofs for such a volume is a sore burden for the most experienced reader. The whole undertaking is also thought to be a thankless task; Dr. Johnson says as much in the Preface to his Dictionary. But it is not thankless. There will be a sufficient number of persons in every age who will use the indispensable work of Professors Oldfather, Pease, and Canter, with grateful hearts, mostly thankful in silence, yet from time to time outspoken. The compilers of this *Index* have rendered an essential service to scholarship, to their fellow-men.

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JUBILEE JAUNTS AND JOTTINGS. 250 Contributions to the Interpretation and Prosody of Old West Teutonic Alliterative Poetry. By Ernst A. Kock. (Ur "Festskrift utgiven av Lunds Universitet vid dess tvåhundraftioårsjubileum 1918.") Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 26.

Professor Kock's contribution to the 'Festskrift' published on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Lund University consists in a textual study of some two hundred and fifty passages selected from the Old West Germanic alliterative poetry. It follows about the same lines as the author's previous studies in this field, namely his 'Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts,' *Anglia* xxv, 316-28, xxvi, 364-76, xxvii, 218-37, xlii, 99-124, and his paper 'Zum Heliand,' *Zeitsch. f.d. Altert.* xlviii, 187-204—not to mention his separate studies of the relative pronouns, and Selma Colliander's investigation of 'parallelism' in the *Heliand* (Lund, 1912) which was undertaken under Professor Kock's direction. It also shows the same scholarly originality, fearlessness of attack, and vigor of expression which make the reading of his papers decidedly interesting. But this new monograph is naturally more comprehensive and presents a greater variety of interpretational problems. Practically all the (major) Old English poems come in for a share of comment; besides, the continental German *Heliand*, *Genesis*, *Hildebrand*, and *Muspilli* are properly taken up. The great advantages of treating the different West Germanic literatures, in a way, as a unit, in other words, the merits of the comparative method are thus brought home to us in a very direct and convincing manner. Who, indeed, would deny the fact that the customary separation of 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Germanic' studies has been a prolific source of misapprehension, especially on the part of professional Germanists? In addition, also the Old Norse literature has been occasionally drawn upon with a view to throwing light on

obscure spots of Old English poetry, as illustrated, e.g., by the felicitous conjecture proposed for *Elene* 245: (*gesion*) *brimwudu snyrgan / under spellingum*. Instead of Thorpe's generally accepted emendation *swellingum* (from *swelling* 'swelling sail,' Kock suggests *snellingum* (ON. *snillingr* 'valiant man,' cp. *snelllic sárinc*, *Beow.* 690), which has the additional advantage of furnishing a thoroughly idiomatic construction of *under*. Besides the examples cited from the *Edda* (as, *langhofðuð skip und líðqndum*, 'long-headed ships beneath the sailors'), we might as well refer to the strictly analogous use of 'under' in connection with horses, as *Elene* 1193: *mearh under modegum*, or *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 55 (*Kálfs- vísa*): *en annar austr / und Aðülsi grár hvarfaði*.

The solid basis of Kock's investigation is an accurate knowledge of the old syntax and style, and in particular a close study of the all-important principle of variation or parallelism. He has so thoroughly familiarized himself with the Old Germanic poetry that in many cases he seems to be in a position intuitively to hit upon the exact meaning presumably intended by the author. Indeed, such a 'Stilgefühl' is, in a large sense, of the same kind as the feeling acquired by training and experience which guided the ancient poets in the handling of their material by the aid of a vast store of formulas, stereotyped modes of expression and motives. On the other hand, it is well known that Kock pays less deference than many others do to metrical criteria. He is certainly not a strict believer in the practical validity of Sievers' rules of versification, and emendations proposed in order to meet supposed metrical requirements carry little weight with him.

Of course, it must be admitted that the 'laws' of style are not absolute any more than the 'laws' of meter. 'Exceptions' to the rules may occur in either domain, and instances are not lacking in which the decision must ultimately rest with the individual student's subjective judgment. In fact, which one of us has not, from time to time, experienced a change of heart in his views on disputed passages?

A dilemma may naturally arise from the pressure of conflicting analogies. In his discussion of *Wanderer* 6-9, Kock argues for a new punctuation which is meant to obviate the necessity of altering the transmitted text, namely *Winemæga hyre / oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gehwylce, / mine ceare, cwipan*. Now it is quite true that this sort of parallelism is sufficiently supported by similar cases. But, on the other hand, the traditional punctuation which makes the sentence begin with *oft* has much to commend it. The adverb *oft*, it should be noted, is rather frequently found to introduce a statement of a general character, in particular at the opening of a poem or of a speech. Thus, e.g., *Beow.* 3077: *Oft sceall eorl monig*

anes willan / wræc adreogan, Fates of Men 1: Ful oft þæt gegongeð mid Godes meahum, Wanderer 1: Oft him anhaga are gebideð. Close parallels of this function are readily recognized in the use of *fela*, as in *Beow.* 2426: *Fela ic on giogoðe guðræsa genæs, Wids. 10: Fela ic monna gefrægn mægþum wealdan, Gifts of Men 1: Fela bið on foldan forðgesynra etc.*, and of *monige*, cf. Sievers' note on *Heliand*, 1. Accordingly, *Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gehwylce / mine ceare cwipan* still seems to me the better reading of *Wanderer* 8 f. Whether *hryre* of the preceding line should be changed to *hryres* or be considered a permissible *lapsus*, remains a matter of doubt.

Of general stylistic and syntactical features discussed I mention the interesting phenomenon of asyndetic parataxis of nouns and adjectives (p. 11, and *passim*), the use of the parenthetic exclamation (pp. 16–18), and the omission of the inflexion of adjectives and participles which qualify a preceding noun or are used predicatively (pp. 19 f.).

Regarding the first of these, it may be pointed out that, as a general rule, the type is: noun + compound noun, but also the opposite order seems to occur, as *Beow.* 1224: *windgeard weallas, Andr. 494: þryðbearn hæleð* (Cosijn: *hæleða*); cf. *undyrne cuð, Beow.* 150, 410. Also *ond (ne)* is sometimes met with in connection with similar groups of practically tautological nouns, as *Beow.* 1454: *brond ne beadomecas*, 2660: *byrne ond beaduscud*, cf. 2322: (*lige befangen*), *bæle ond bronde*; 2449: *eald ond infrod*.

As to the disregard of the proper inflexion of adjectives and participles under the conditions specified, the most interesting group of examples shows "a peculiarity not yet apprehended: the adjective may be endowed with an ending that agrees with the noun in number but not in case; the form used in nom.-acc. pl. is appended appositionally," e.g., *Elene* 991 ff.: *næs þa fricgendra . . . gad . . . feorran geferede* (Sievers: *gefereðra*). That even the complete lack of inflexion in such a case is a possibility, appears from the instructive passage, *Brunanb.* 40 ff.: *wæs his maga sceard, / freonda gefyllen on folcstede, / forslegen* (varr.: *beslegen, beslagen, beslægen*) *æt sæcce*. The meaning 'deprive' very commonly assigned to this *gefyllan* is certainly spurious, though the varying readings of the last line show that the scribes themselves were in doubt about the context.

From what has been said, it is easily inferred that Professor Kock is not prone to improve the text by brilliant conjectures, but thinks it more important to study the precise meaning of words and phrases and especially to elucidate the context by correcting the punctuation. Yet a few emendations are put forward also by him as the most reasonable way out of a desperate difficulty. A really daring etymological guess

is offered on *fridhengest*, Riddle 23.4, the first element of which is explained as the Latin-Romanic *vered-*, *fred-* in *veredus*, *fredus*, *paraveredus*, German *Pferd*, etc. However, it must be added that an examination of the old Grein (*Bibliothek* i, 380) shows that even this guess, startling as it seems, is not new, for in a footnote the editor queries: "vgl. Ahd. *parafrit*?"

Naturally, there remains ample room for discussion in this large field of textual problems. To instance some cases. *Andr.* 569 ff. *ah he þara wundra a, / domagende, dæl ænigne / frætre þeode beforan cyðde.* Kock thinks that *he* must be an error for *ne* or *ne he*, which seems to me very unlikely on account of the unsatisfactory word-order resulting from that change. Something more plausible is Krapp's *nænigne*. But the simplest and most natural solution appears to be the insertion of *ne* before *cyðde*.—*Andr.* 1376 f. *Hwæt, me eaðe ælmihtig God, / niða neregend* etc. To get rid of the anacoluthon, Kock postulates on original *me . . . niða neregeð*, 'will save me from tribulations,'—an alteration which is clearly open to linguistic objections. Indeed, Ettmüller's suggestion that *mæg alysan* may be supplied, in sense, from the preceding lines appears less hazardous. Even Root's double emendation *me eaðe mæg . . . niða generian* (or *-neregan*) seems, at least, possible, especially in view of the formula-like character of *eaðe mæg*.—Again, I do not feel quite sure that the adjective *sigerice* must be eliminated from the Old English dictionaries. It is to be admitted that in *Exodus* 563, *sigerice* looks like a noun: *gesittað sigerice be sæm tveonum, / beorselas beorna.* But in *Exodus* 27 its adjectival function is by no means improbable: *hu þas woruld worhte witig Drihten, / eorðan ymbhwyrft and uprodor / gesette sigerice.* Some little weight may be attached to the parallel passage, *Beow.* 92 ff., cf. 94: *gesette sigehreþig sunnan ond monan* etc. It is also well to remember that the Old Saxon adjective *heðanriki* (always in the combination *God heðanriki* or *heðanriki God*) was not admitted into the glossaries until the discovery of the *Genesis* fragments established its existence beyond doubt, cf. Braune's note on *Genesis* 25 and his Glossary.—*Andr.* 174. *þu scealt feran ond frið lædan.* The point which Kock makes in regard to the form *frið* has not become quite clear to me. "*Frið* for *frihð* = *ferhð* (cf. *stiðfrihþ*, *Gen.* 107) is no scribal error, as the reader might infer from Holthausen's 'lies *ferð*' (Grein-Köhler, p. 882)." It is well known that *-frið* as the second element of compounds was liable to become *-ferð* (cf. *Bülbring* §572), and this seems to have occasioned a certain amount of confusion. But the author of the poem, unless his linguistic feeling had suffered a severe shock, no doubt meant *fer(h)ð* and nothing else, and there can hardly be any objection to correcting the scribe's *frið* to *fer(h)ð*. Similarly, I would not hesitate to change *friðgedal* in *Genesis* 1142: *þæt he friðgedal frem-*

man sceolde to ferhðgedal; for that compound certainly does not mean 'divortium a pace' (Grein), but is = *aldorgedal*, cf., e.g., *Genesis* 1071 f.: *oð þæt aldorgedal . . . fremman sceolde*.—The simplification of *Waldere* i, 6 ff. by dropping to *dæge*, i.e.: *ne læt ðin ellen nu gyt / gedreosan, dryhtscipe! Nu is se dæg cumen* had been already introduced in Holthausen's first edition (Göteborg, 1899), but has been abandoned in his later texts (in the *Beowulf* volume). The suggested reading is, of course, smooth and unquestionably tempting, but remembering the prolixity and phrasal repetition found in other passages of this poem, one does not feel justified in accepting it as final.

Taken all in all, these 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings' form an extremely valuable collection of interpretational notes—valuable even in those instances where we hesitate to follow the author's lead. Besides solving many problems, they are calculated to stimulate thought and to inspire others to a renewed examination of doubtful passages of our ancient poetry. No student, or editor, of Old English (and, in fact, Old Saxon) poems can fail to profit by them.

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SAMUEL BUTLER, *AUTHOR OF EREWHON* (1835–1902):
a Memoir by Henry Festing Jones. London. Macmillan
and Company, Ltd. 1919. 8vo. 2 vols. 21 illustrations.
2 guineas (\$12.50).¹

This is one of the most elaborate biographies of modern times, running to a total of about 1,030 pages and setting forth in minute detail the quiet life of a literary recluse. If the word recluse does not exactly fit Butler, at least it may be held that he went little into society and apparently made no effort to win or keep the friendship of more than three or four kindred spirits. Even in the world of literature something of the spirit of the recluse animated him; for he tells us that he made it a point never to write except on some subject on which he thought the general opinion was at fault, or at least widely at variance with his own. The more general the opinion, by the way, the more likely it was to be wrong; that, at least, is the impression one

¹ The following reviews have already appeared: J.M.M. in *The Athenæum*, October 24, 1919, pp. 1060–1; *The Saturday Review*, November 8, 1919, cxxviii. 441–3; *The Spectator*, November 29, 1919, no. 4770, pp. 730–1; *Blackwood's Magazine*, November, 1919, ccvi. 709–14; Maurice F. Egan in *The New York Times Book Review*, January 15, 1920, pp. 1, 3; *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, October 16, 1919, pp. 553–4; Edward Shanks in *The London Mercury*, December, 1919, i. 164–75; Stuart P. Sherman in *The Evening Post Book Review*, January 31, 1920, pp. 1, 4; cf. editorial comment on this in *The New York Times*, February 8, 1920, entitled "Back to the Victorian."

gets from the number of controversies in which Butler engaged, fighting always a losing battle.

Mr. Jones's book, though bulky, is admirably planned and well executed. It includes a good bibliography of Butler's works and a model index filling fifty-seven double-column pages.

Was the life of this man worth writing at such length and in such detail? While there are undoubtedly some, perhaps too many trivialities set forth, still our answer must on the whole be in the affirmative. There is after all very little that does not contribute to a better understanding of the subject. Both Butler and his biographer were apparently systematic workers and kept great masses of literary and epistolary material which have been skillfully wrought into this book and which throw light on both the life and the times of the author of *Erewhon*.

One of the most interesting features of the book is the letters of Miss Eliza Savage, the original of Alethea in *The Way of All Flesh*. As a letter-writer she was superior to Butler, who, it must be admitted, does not shine in this field of endeavor. Miss Savage is always clever and vivacious, always interested in the concerns of her correspondent; Butler is more matter-of-fact; more wrapt up in himself; often tiresome, so very seriously does he take his affairs. It is a great pity that Butler never cared to marry this highly gifted woman, whose feeling for him he well understood and who might have made a different man of him. Doubtless she would have bored him somewhat, as he feared; but there would have been compensations even for this, in a companionship that would have been good for him. In his later years his shabby treatment of her caused him much remorse. Hers was a rare friendship.

In respect to his disinclination toward marriage and to his capacity for strong friendships with young men, Butler recalls another Cambridge man of an earlier time, Thomas Gray, who might have wedded Miss Speed but would not, and whose feeling for Bonstetten was like that of Butler for Pauli and Hans Faesch. But while we do not affirm that Gray was a saint, in moral character Butler, with his mistresses and his lack of reverence for all those social institutions which the Anglo-Saxon holds sacred,² is not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the author of the *Elegy*. Without agreeing with all that Professor Sherman says in his strong attack on the Butlerians, one must admit that there is some considerable justification for his point of view.³

² Cf. John Butler Yeats, *Essays Irish and American*, New York, 1918, p. 16; Jones ii. 128; and Professor Sherman's review, p. 4.

³ An editorial writer in *The New York Times* for February 8, commenting on Sherman's article, thinks that by some it "is regarded as the first gun in a counter-revolutionary war, a movement which, like a number of others, is taking advantage of the world's present disgust with itself, its condition and its

Butler's experience with Charles Pauli is curiously illuminating. Pauli took him in completely. For years Pauli took the pension of £200 which Butler generously gave him, and when questioned about his receipts from his law practice, either lied or kept silent, which amounted to the same thing. It seems strange that Butler should have proved so easy a victim of so shameless an imposture. But the experience says much for Butler's goodness of heart.

His controversy with Charles Darwin, again, reflects very little credit upon his perspicacity. We refer of course not to his difference of opinion with Darwin over the essentials of Darwinism but to his unfortunate quarrel, in which he accused Darwin of misrepresentation and falsehood. The charge was not proved, and on the whole Darwin acted with the more dignity of the two. Reading over the correspondence which Mr. Jones now publishes, one concludes that Butler magnified the offence to begin with, and should have burned the letter to *The Athenæum* (published on January 31, 1880) in which he aired his imaginary grievance.

This onslaught on Darwinism brings us to the question, what was Butler's aim in life, and what was his achievement? It is evident that he believed he had made a contribution to the theory of evolution, the credit for which was denied him. It was his fate to be ignored by the specialist in evolution just as he was ignored by the Homeric scholars when he contended that the *Odyssey* was the work of a woman and was written at Trapani in Sicily. Which was right, we shall not presume to say. The truth is not so easily arrived at. Yet it is clear that he was not a specialist either in evolutionary science or in Homeric archeology; he therefore labored under a serious handicap which he should have recognized and made allowance for. Indeed, he did not confine himself even to the business of literature; he went in for painting and music as well. No doubt the pursuit of these arts gave him much satisfaction and enjoyment; but they took time, and they dissipated energies which, if more rigorously concentrated, would have brought him a greater measure of fame.

accomplishments, to turn back the clock. This time the purpose may be regarded as a return to Victorianism." Then he goes on to attack the smug and cheerful belief of the Victorians that virtue would "infallibly fill the safe deposit vault with gilt-edged securities and deeds to mansions in the skies"; their firm conviction that they were themselves immutably and eternally right; and their indifference to contemporary conditions which resulted in the legacy of the Great War. But unless I am very much mistaken, the Anglo-Saxon world is not returning to this point of view. The war itself made that impossible. It is, on the other hand, making a vigorous protest against that individualism whose chief aim seems to be covertly to obtain for itself the freedom of license. The Bolshevik attack on religion and the family cannot be expected to make much headway in the English-speaking world. The qualities by virtue of which we feel only disgust at this attack are too deep-seated in our natures.

Was Butler a writer who followed painting and music as avocations and diversions, or a painter who occasionally felt a call to write a book? Were his books his main care or not? The question is not altogether easy. He undoubtedly began life, after returning from New Zealand, as a painter. He writes to Dr. Haast (February 14, 1865):

I have been taking lessons in painting ever since I arrived. I was always very fond of it and mean to stick to it; it suits me and I am not without hopes that I shall do well at it.

It seems probable, then, that in the beginning he regarded painting as his main work but that as time went on he was drawn more and more into literary work and later into musical composition. He never achieved much distinction by his painting. He could never overcome a certain stiffness; and if one may judge by his two best known pictures, "Family Prayers" and "Mr. Heatherly's Holiday," his technique was sometimes faulty. His consciousness of a certain degree of failure as a painter doubtless influenced him to go in more for the other arts. Another factor may have been the encouragement of Miss Savage. The change came, Mr. Jones thinks, in the summer of 1877 or thereabouts, when he "discovered" the British Museum as a place to work. He willingly admitted his failure in art; he never would admit anything of the kind for his books. Writing in 1901 a note on one of Miss Savage's letters, he says:

I have since found out that if success is cumulative, failure is cumulative also; and for the last twenty years each one of my books has failed—of course I only mean commercially, for I admit no failure in any other respect—more completely than its predecessor.⁴

As we survey his achievement, the first thing that strikes us is that he was a hardy and courageous fighter. He liked the atmosphere of controversy; it was here that truth was hammered out. In the *Note Books*, p. 374, we find this passage:

One reason, and that the chief, why I have made no noise, is now explained. It remains to add that from first to last I have been unorthodox and militant in every book that I have written. I made enemies of the parsons once for all with my first two books. The evolution books made the Darwinians, and through them the scientific world in general, even more angry than *The Fair Haven* had made the clergy so that I had no friends, for the clerical and scientific people rule the roast between them.

I have chosen the fighting road rather than the hang-on-to-a-great-man road, and what can a man who does this look for except that people should try to silence him in whatever way they think will be most effectual? In my case they have thought it best to pretend that I am non-existent.

Professor Sherman thinks that Butler had no regard for the truth as such; perhaps the truth is rather that he was too stubborn and too little inclined to give anyone else credit for any part of the truth.

⁴ Cf. also the *Note Books*, pp. 372 f.

Undoubtedly he had too little respect for the literary work of others. The number of writers whose work he disliked was very large. He praises almost no one. Writing to Robert Bridges on February 6, 1900 (Memoir ii. 320), he says:

As you very well know, I am a prose man and, except Homer and Shakespeare, I have read absolutely nothing of English poetry and *very little* of English prose. What with music (and I am much occupied with the orchestration of Ulysses) and reading what I must read for my own subjects, and writing, I have no time for general reading and am far more ignorant of your poetry—beyond a strong residuary impression that you stand at the top of the tree among living poets—than I can easily excuse myself for being.

And on the 14th he followed this up with another letter from which the following may be quoted:

I have never read and never, I am afraid, shall read a line of Keats or Shelley or Coleridge or Wordsworth except such extracts as I occasionally see in Royal Academy Catalogues. I have read *The Idylls of the King* and I do not like them. I have never read a word of Browning—save as above. The poets of the day are names to me and nothing more. I have read *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* but neither of them kindles any warmth within me—admiration for marvellous workmanship, but nothing more. . . . It is the business, practical side of literature and not the poetical and imaginative—I mean literature applied to the solving of some difficult problem which may be usefully solved—that alone fires me with hot desire to devour and imitate it. That, and the battering down of falsehood to the utmost of my poor ability.

Obviously one cannot be both an omnivorous reader and a prolific writer; for this there are not enough hours in the day. Yet the great stylists have generally read much, thereby acquiring at least color and allusiveness. Butler's style would not have been hurt by wider reading. It is true that Bernard Shaw, in a review of Mr. Cannan's book (quoted by Jones, ii. 76), says that Butler "had the supreme sort of style that never smells of the lamp, and therefore seems to the kerosene stylist to be no style at all"; but not all readers will agree with him even while smiling at his fling at the kerosene stylist. Style is the man; true, but what is the man? He *must* be more than a collection of echoes; but a few echoes rather make for interest and variety. Butler is fond of echoes; but they are too often echoes of himself. He lived too much in a world of his own peopling. He was too well pleased with himself—too much at ease in Zion. This comes out in the short *Apologia* which we find in the *Note Books* (pp. 370-4) and in the note on his work which follows it.

Yet we must admit that he had some reason to be pleased with himself; and this will be more evident as time goes on, and the rigidity of orthodoxy in religion and science becomes modified and tempered. He made some contributions to the theory of evolution, even if he did not completely expose and discomfit Darwin, Wallace, and others. He was probably on the wrong track in his explanation of the resurrection of Jesus in *The Fair Haven* as a hallucination; but he was assuredly con-

tending for a good cause—the reasonable explanation of the Gospel story—and he put the case very ably. He wrote with some intellectual and esthetic appreciation on Dutch, Flemish, and Italian art; and he contributed appreciably to the criticism of literature, whether his conclusions about Shakespeare's sonnets and the authorship and topography of the *Odyssey* be ultimately accepted or not. Finally, *The Way of All Flesh* is a powerful presentation of the dangers of excessive piety uncontrolled by common sense. Butler is not, of course, among the immortals; few of us prove to be. But he will long continue to be met with:

Yet meet we shall, and part, and meet again,
Where dead men meet, on lips of living men.

CLARK S. NORTHUP

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THE OLD ENGLISH ELENE, PHOENIX, AND PHYSIOLOGUS. Edited by Professor Albert S. Cook. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. lxxxix+239.

Long ago in publishing his edition of the *Crist*, Professor Cook made a clear statement of his purpose as follows: "So far as the existing state of English scholarship would allow, I have sought to edit an ancient English classic with some approach to the care which has been bestowed upon certain of the Greek and Roman masterpieces." With the present publication, scholars are again indebted to him for the same painstaking research, laborious collection of material, and accurate presentation of text, that have marked the editions of the *Crist*, the *Judith*, and the *Dream of the Rood*. It is a matter for special pleasure that the *Elene*, which has hitherto been somewhat slighted, now appears in a convenient and well equipped volume, to which are added, apparently because of the editor's leaning toward the theory of Cynwulfian authorship, the *Phoenix* and the *Physiologus*, although they do not come from the same manuscript.

The Vercelli Codex is naturally a topic of early discussion. Professor Cook has an opportunity to comment on Foerster's recent review of his theory as to Cardinal Guala and the transmission to Italy, and on the new suggestion of Foerster himself that the manuscript went by way of Fulda or Würzburg. The argument that no member of the higher clergy of Guala's time could read Old English and would therefore care for such a document is met by Earle's assertion of "an Anglo-Saxon Renaissance" of about that period. The evidence does not seem abundant, but perhaps it is not really required. It is safe

to conjecture that a volume of Old English would have seemed fairly precious to anybody who had an interest in books; modern collectors, at all events, seem to show a willing passion for uncut pages. At least two of the points that Foerster makes, however, are admitted valid. And it will no longer be possible to be quite so emphatic as Krapp in his statement that: "There can, indeed, be little doubt that, either directly or indirectly . . . Cardinal Guala is responsible for the long journey of the manuscript." As Professor Cook says, "We are evidently reduced to hypotheses." Certainly his hypothesis, even after the attempted refutation, seems as fair as that of Foerster. As late as the fourteenth century, pilgrims descending the Alps "passed through Vercelli on their way to larger and more important towns"; we know that Cardinal Guala was both in England and in Vercelli; in England he had a priory of St. Andrew, and his life at several points seems to have had much to do with that patron saint; and, finally, the first of the poems in the manuscript (though not the first item) is the *Andreas*. These points still hold.

Owing to the fact that Cynewulf's life has received full discussion in editions of the other poems, the matter is here greatly reduced and only a brief summary serves to repeat the still probable theories: "That Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, or at least an Anglian, ecclesiastic, who wrote in the second half of the eighth century, or possibly as late as the very beginning of the ninth." It is to be hoped that before long someone will feel called upon to make a fresh review of the long process of scholarship involved in Cynewulfian problems. Certainly the history of opinion in that field is fully as amusing as it is instructive. At least twice complete legends have been constructed which purported to follow each whim of the poet's fancy as well as each day of his life. And almost every poem in the field, from *Beowulf* to *Monna Mod*, has been ascribed to him at one time or another. Once Wülker (*Anglia* I, pp. 483 ff.) pricked the bubble, and his skepticism remained constant (as in his review—*Anglia Beiblatt* IX, pp. 161 ff.—of Trautmann's study). But the romance of Cynewulf gradually developed again, until it attracted the efforts even of a scholar like Sarrazin (*Anglia* IX, pp. 515 ff.; *Beowulf Studien*, Berlin, 1888; *Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf*, Berlin, 1913). Reference to these items is excluded from Professor Cook's bibliography. But in another connection he does refer to the article by Tupper (*PMLA* XXVI, pp. 235 ff.) which again exposed the fragility of the basis for Cynewulfian theory. The influence of Tupper, in fact, is very possibly represented in the brevity of Professor Cook's account of the life, although it is often difficult to give the devil's advocate his due.

The story of the *Elene* is fully examined in two sections: "Sources of the Legend," and "Constantine and the Vision of the Cross." Some one might well carry the study into the appearances of the theme in medieval art, including the Inventio on the western porch of the cathedral at Rheims. The other poems receive similarly full introductions, with an account of the Exeter Book quoted verbatim (with omissions) from the author's edition of the *Crist*, together with important notes. The *Phoenix* "would have been congenial to Cynewulf"; but the evidence is as slim as it is in the case of the *Physiologus*, which the editor would attribute if he "did not hesitate before assigning to Cynewulf so many Old English poems." The folklore of these poems is studied in detail, including the "Earthly Paradise" briefly but well done. One element on which he does not touch, and strangely since it is represented in the *Phoenix*, is the water barrier of the Otherworld, which often requires a long voyage or at least a plunge. It too is found in the Oriental tradition, and is exceedingly important.

In the matter of texts, the recent photographic reproduction of the Vercelli Book now made available by Foerster has been utilized together with the previous readings of other editors. In general the text is conservative. But in variations the dependence is apparently heaviest on the studies of Holthausen. Professor Cook refuses Holthausen's concocted lines in *Elene* 22, 313-14 (which H. himself later rejects), and 451. In line 25 he prefers *heorucumbol* to Holthausen's *herewoman*, and seems justified by line 107. In 311 Holthausen reads "ond gedweolan lifdon"; Cook "in gedwolan lifdon." Here the manuscript favors Holthausen; but the problem is complex, for the spelling *gedwolan* seems established by 371, 1041, and 1119, and although Klæber's parallel phrases are significant, we have this precise phrase in *Daniel* 22. In line 580 Cook's reading seems preferable to Holthausen's, for the fact that the latter keeps the extraordinary hapax *apundrad* and his verse is a half-line deficient. On the other hand, Grein's reading (Gr.¹ 580) does less violence to the manuscript. Finally in 1004, the text does not follow Holthausen's earlier readings; and it is interesting to see that in his third edition (Heidelberg, 1914, which has escaped Professor Cook's attention) Holthausen comes around again to "gif hie brim nēsen." "Nēsen" entirely obviates emendation.

Sometimes the changes do not seem so definitely in Cook's favor. In line 11 the *MS.* gives "leodhwata lindgeborga." Cook, following Holthausen for the first compound, emends to "lofhwata," and following Grein for the second, changes that to "leodgebyrga." But "leodhwata" is no stranger as a compound than *leodfruma*, nor is there special reason, it would seem, for altering "lindgebyrga" (allowing here just the minor

change). Holthausen returns to this—practically the manuscript—reading in his third edition. In line 31 Cook has adopted Holthausen's earlier "burg[locan]" in place of the manuscript "burgenta." Kent, in his 1889 edition, has "burgenta," translating it "city of the giants." And Holthausen has returned as far as "byrg enta." It is conceivable that even "ofer burg enta" may be correct. *Ofer* in the sense of "throughout" would take the accusative after a verb of motion (*scynde*)—cf. 158, 981. The idea obviously in the poet's mind is that of the orders spreading through the city and of the throng hastening through the streets, although, to be sure, the action does take place *in* the city. Must we emend all the doubtful grammar of the ancients? In line 646 there seems hardly sufficient justification for the departure from the manuscript ("fær mycel"). The lack of a comparative before *þonne* is found elsewhere: *Beowulf* 70; *Psalms* 117, ll. 8-9.

In the minor poems it is again difficult to discover any real flaw. Some argument might be given for Bright's reading of ll. 136-7 (omitting the "ne") were it not for the *sweghleopor*, *Panther* 42, which seems to settle the case. Some objection, however, is surely reasonable against the emendations, be they ever so brilliant and tempting, in *Phoenix* 144 (*priwa*) and 424 (*lareowas*). The manuscript reading will do in each case.

The notes and glossary are full and illuminating. The following comment consists merely of scattered material, most of which is of minor importance. Page 86, n. 21, "The Hugas"—another theory is criticized in Chambers' *Widsith*, p. 68, n. 2. Page 87, n. 88^b-90—here should be noted Sarrazin's comment and possibly my own observations in *PMLA* XXXIV, pp. 235 ff. and 238 ff. P. 87, 110^b—for "By. 160 ff.," read "By. 106 ff." The style of *Seafarer* 19 ff. is similar. Page 88—add 171^b, cf. *Crist* 960. Line 189, cf. *Andreas* 861. Why not credit the observation p. 97, 1237 ff. to Sievers—cf. *PBB* IX, 236, n.; and that, p. 100, 1272^b—7^a, to Leo? Page 141, important additions to Jansen's bibliography are in the reviews in *Anglia Beiblatt*, XXII, pp. 6-8; *Englische Studien*, XLV, pp. 98 ff. Foerster's *Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII*, *Studien zur Engl. Philologie*, Heft L, L. Morsbach gewidmet, Halle, 1913, should be listed. Also in "Criticism" (p. 145) should be included Holthausen's article, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXV, pp. 83 ff.; and Sarrazin's, *Engl. Studien.*, XXXVIII, pp. 145 ff. In the same section it seems more than worth while to refer to the literary criticism in Gerould's *Saints' Legends*, Boston and N. Y., 1916, pp. 62 ff. The only possible criticism of the glossary as it stands is that sometimes it seems to do work appropriate for the translator. If only the precise denotation of a word were supplied, the connotation would be suggested, as it should be, by the context. For example, *adwylm* means a "wave" or "surging" of fire

(cf. *cearwylm*); *galga* means and is glossed by *patibulum*; *urigfeðere* means "dewy-feathered"; *wyrd* means "fate" or "something fated." Perhaps, however, it is well to admit that such precise meanings are somewhat in doubt until we see practical tests made of Schücking's recent study of Old English poetic diction and its researches extended. And it seems hardly necessary to add that none of these criticisms indicate real blemishes in the book, which is, of course, a model of its kind and one of a series which has taught students how Old English texts deserve to be edited.

HOWARD R. PATCH

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EILERT EKWALL, *SCANDINAVIANS AND CELTS IN THE NORTH-WEST OF ENGLAND*. (Reprinted from the 'Festskrift' of the University of Lund, 1918.)

This paper, written as part of the "Festskrift" commemorating the bicentennial anniversary of the University of Lund, 1918, is a scholarly attempt to fill the want of a systematic study of the influence exercised by the Goidelic population on the place and personal names of North-West England. To that end the place and personal names of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire are examined for Goidelic traces and the results presented in five chapters. The bulk of the disquisition, 65 pages, is devoted to the first chapter which deals with compound names showing "inversion" of the component parts, such as *Briggethorfin* 'Thorfin's bridge' and *Polneuton* 'Newton pool.'

The second chapter, 7 pages, surveys the Goidelic personal names in North-West England.

The third chapter, 29 pages, examines the place names containing *ergh* 'a shieling' and then turns to place names showing other Goidelic elements the etymological interpretation of which is rather doubtful.

The fourth chapter, 9 pages, gives the author's conclusions from his investigation. The fifth chapter, 14 pages, deals with some Brythonic place names of a compound character the consideration of which is made necessary by the observation of "a strong Brythonic element in the place-nomenclature especially of Cumberland and because Goidelic and Brythonic elements are not always quite easy to distinguish."

The conclusions reached by the author and presented in chapter 4 may to some seem rather surprising, especially the general conclusion expressed in these words: "*The Goidelic elements must, on the whole, have been introduced by Scandinavians and to them are to be ascribed the numerous inversion-compounds.*" The reviewer purposely refrains from expressing any opinion

on that head as he expects to get a chance, at some later date, to take the matter up in connection with a problem of his own. For the present it may suffice to report to the reader the author's views on the colonization of the North-West of England as shown in these words of his: "There must have been a very strong immigration of Celticized Scandinavians into the Derwent Valley and S. W. Cumberland generally."

"The Celticized Scandinavians in N. W. Westmorland may have come from the Derwent Valley."

"An extensive colony must have been founded by Celticized Scandinavians round the inner Morecamb Bay and the rivers that fall into it."

"In Amunderness, the flat and fertile region north of the lower Ribble, Celticized Scandinavians seem to have settled in large numbers."

"South of the Ribble a settlement must have been founded by Celticized Scandinavians on the coast of West Derby."

"The language of the Scandinavian settlers in N. W. England was not altogether uniform, particularly as regards influence from Goidelic. Some colonies seem to have been founded by settlers who had not only borrowed a number of Goidelic names and other words, but HAD ALSO ADOPTED THE GOIDELIC WAY OF FORMING COMPOUNDS.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER

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ORDO RACHELIS. By Karl Young. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 4. Madison, Wis. 66 pp. Fifty cents.

Of the several types of liturgical play connected with the Nativity Professor Young undertakes here a special study of one, the *Ordo Rachelis*, representing the Slaughter of the Innocents. He gives first a review of the closing scenes of several versions of the Magi play, the *Officium Stellae*, that show close approaches to a dramatization of the theme of the Innocents, and then studies in succession the genuine dramatization of the theme that is found at the close of the *Officium Stellae* from Laon, and the three versions in which it is found as a separate dramatic unit, viz., those of the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges, of the monastery of St. Benoit at Fleury, and of the cathedral of Freising. Finally there is a consideration of the textual relations, the ultimate provenience and the course of development of the versions, with a review and criticism of the views and theories of Meyer and Anz, and a brief consideration of the special question whether this type of play arose as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellae*, or as a separate and independent play, intended for Innocents' Day.

On the special question, and in a very general way on the whole question of development, the author's final paragraph formulates his opinion as follows:

"Under the general influences that inspired the great body of liturgical poetry, arose a trope (or tropes) of the responsory *Sub altare*, represented by the extant text from Limoges. Certain dramatists, wishing to carry out the implications of Herod's threats at the end of certain versions of the *Officium Stellae*, used such a trope as a substantial part of a text for an Innocents scene. The *Ordo Rachelis* thus created sometimes served as the conclusion of an *Officium Stellae*, as at Laon; sometimes, as at Fleury and Freising, it formed a separate and independent play. The relative simplicity of the *Ordo Rachelis* of Laon suggests the probability that the use of the trope in a conclusion of the *Officium Stellae* preceded its use in an independent play."

The search for the sources of the plays in the liturgy and Vulgate has yielded interesting results. The author's sane judgment very properly calls in question some of the views of Wilhelm Meyer, who in his brilliant study shows at times rather too keen a zest in establishing German origins. There is no mention, such as might well have been expected, of the scene of the Innocents in the Benedictbeuern Christmas play, with its use of two lines from the *Ordo Rachelis* of Freising. Among other merits this study has the great one which those interested have learned to expect in Professor Young's publications in the field of the liturgical drama, it offers new and excellent texts of the plays that are studied.

NEIL C. BROOKS

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PICKPOCKET, TURNKEY, WRAP-RASKAL AND SIMILAR FORMATIONS IN ENGLISH. A semasiological study by W. Uhrström. Stockholm. Magn. Bergvall 1918.

This large-octavo booklet of 80 pages might have proved a very interesting semasiological study indeed, if the author had approached his subject in a different manner. As it is, we get little more than a classified compilation of a number of such formations as pointed out by the title, and the writer has not even striven to make his selection fairly representative, as is shown by the absence of such common expressions as *cure-all*, *knockabout*, *knock-down*, *knock-out*, *lick-boot*, *marplot*, *make-believe*, *make-shift*, *never-do-well*, *split-nickel*, *stick-in-the-mud*, *stop-gap*, *shoo-fly*, etc., to mention only a few I happen to think of. To be sure, the author in the preface distinctly disclaims any aim at completeness, but he ought to have included in his list at least those of most frequent occurrence. As he has failed to do so and as his collection of material, gathered chiefly from dictionaries (notably the NED) and handbooks, is far from being exhaustive, I am very much afraid the hope expressed in the preface that the booklet 'as a collection of materials may be

of some use for future investigations of a more detailed nature' will prove elusive. It also, I am afraid, falls short of being as entertaining as the author expected to make it to the general reader by the arbitrariness of method he in the preface confesses to have employed in classifying and subdividing his material. The reviewer, having perused the 80 pages the booklet comprises, owns up to a keen feeling of regret that a splendid opportunity to write scholarly and at the same time entertainingly of his subject has been sadly missed by the author. He even fails to be instructive when the material presented fairly cries out for explanation, while, on the other hand, he deals out to the reader information about things that are perfectly self-evident. For example, on page 12, the reader is told that *DRAW-LATCH* is defined by Grose 'as a robber 'of houses, the doors of which are only fastened by latches.' But not a word of explanation is offered with regard to *NIP-LUG* on page 15, where at least *LUG* will be perfectly unintelligible to the ordinary reader who is not acquainted with that word. To be told by the author that the phrase is equal in meaning to that of being at loggerheads helps him very little to a real understanding.

The external make-up of the booklet is quite pleasing, but the pleasure of that is marred by a number of misprints that by the exercise of a little more care in proof-reading could easily have been avoided. See page 3, last line; page 13, line 3; page 14, line 1; page 15, line 22 and 32; page 20, line 8; page 21, line 10; page 23, line 8 f.b.; page 28, line 5 and 13; page 44, line 11; page 45, line 4; page 62, line 10; page 67, line 15. Finally, a well-wisher of the author might have suggested to him that he submit his manuscript, before having it printed, to the friendly scrutiny of a man conversant with idiomatic English. Then a number of queer expressions might have been set aright that now offend the eye of the fastidious reader. See page 5, line 8; page 11, line 8-9; page 23, line 6; page 31, line 9; page 33, line 2; page 37, line 12, 13; page 42, line 6; page 63, line 25; page 64, line 12 f. b.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER

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THE YALE SHAKESPEARE¹

Both as a library edition and as an edition for class use, the Yale Shakespeare makes a strong appeal through certain innovations in its plan. The text, which is unexpurgated, is placed where it belongs—first. It is provided with glosses, the references of which are to line numbers, at the foot of each page. Difficulties requiring fuller explanation are treated in the notes following the text, and the reader is referred to every such note by a footnote on the page where the difficulty occurs. Except for intensive courses, the page glosses and notes supply all the information which the reader or student is likely to require; and they supply it in the most convenient and accessible form that has yet been devised. In using the Tudor Shakespeare, for example, if the reader encounters a difficulty, he is likely to look first in the glossary at the back of the volume. If he gets no help there, he turns to the notes; it may happen that he finds none there either; he has then wasted an appreciable amount of time. If he is using the Yale Shakespeare, a glance at the foot of the page will generally either give him the information he wants or send him to a note; if there is no gloss or reference, he need not waste time looking for information in the book. The advantages of this plan speak for themselves.

Following the notes, there are ordinarily four brief appendices; these contain the material which most editions place in the introduction. The first deals with the sources of the play; the second with its history, including its date; the third with its text; and the fourth offers a list of suggestions for collateral reading. Finally, there is an index of words glossed. The frontispiece is generally a facsimile of the title-page of some early edition; in some volumes a map or a facsimile list of *dramatis personae* from an early edition is used. The format of the volumes is attractive; the type is clear; the books open readily, and the page has an adequate margin.

The text is based on that of the Oxford Shakespeare; in each volume an appendix supplies a list of deviations from this text. These are mostly in the direction of conservatism; aside from

¹ Henry VI, Part I: edited by Tucker Brooke
 A Midsummer Night's Dream: Willard H. Durham
 Romeo and Juliet: Willard H. Durham
 Henry IV, Part I: S. B. Hemingway
 Henry V: Robert D. French
 Much Ado about Nothing: Tucker Brooke
 Julius Caesar: Lawrence Mason
 Hamlet: Jack R. Crawford
 Othello: Lawrence Mason
 King Lear: William Lyon Phelps
 Macbeth: Charlton M. Lewis
 The Winter's Tale: Frederick E. Pierce
 The Tempest: Chauncey B. Tinker.

modernizations of spelling, the bulk of them are returns to the reading of the first folio or—less often—to that of an early quarto. The editors discard a good many emendations which have been generally accepted. In some cases they go beyond the limits of good judgment in this direction. They reject, for instance, Theobald's "bawds" for "bonds" in *Hamlet* I iii 130 ("Breathing like sanctified and pious bonds"); also Theobald's "deserve" for "discerne" in *Macbeth* IV iii 15 ("Something you may discern of him through me"), which the Clarendon editors call a "certain emendation." Equally injudicious seem the rejections of Warburton's "god" for "good" in *Hamlet* II ii 183 ("being a good kissing carrion"), and of Rowe's "hail" for "tale" in *Macbeth* I iii 97 ("as thick as tale Came post on post"). More defensible, perhaps, but still probably wrong is their adherence to the folio "roaming" (instead of Collier's "running") in *Hamlet* I iv 109 ("Not to break the wind of the poor phrase Roaming it thus"). I do not quarrel with them for preferring the folio "objects, arts" to Staunton's "abjects, orts" in *Julius Caesar* IV i 37; but the weight of opinion, I suppose, would be against them. I should be disposed to defend them in sticking to the folio "Rebellious dead" in defiance of Theobald's "Rebellion's head" in *Macbeth* IV i 97 ("Rebellious dead, rise never"), and in preferring the folio "shag-ear'd" to Steevens' "shag-hair'd" in *Macbeth* IV ii 81 ("Thou liest, thou shag-ear'd villain!"). There seems to be no valid reason, however for their preference of the folio "fennel" to the "female" of the first quarto and the later folios in *Romeo and Juliet* I ii 29 ("Among fresh fennel buds"); or of the folio "lazy-puffing" to the first quarto "lazy-pacing" in *Romeo and Juliet* II ii 31 ("When he bestrides the lazy-puffing clouds"). The poetic superiority of the quarto reading is here its sufficient justification. Very rarely the Yale editors seem to me to err on the other side and adopt a needless emendation; for instance they follow Theobald and others in substituting "swoon" for "sworn" in the *Winter's Tale* IV iv 13 ("sworn, I think To show myself a glass"), though they admit that "swoon" is out of character for Perdita. In general the proof-reading appears to be thorough and accurate; I have observed no errors. A commendable departure from the Oxford text is the restoration of the first folio stage directions, and the enclosure of all later additions in brackets.

The glosses and notes are well adapted to the needs of both the general reader and the college student. There are few unnecessary glosses, and few difficult passages are overlooked. Most of the explanations are accurate and satisfying, though in this respect the volumes naturally differ somewhat in merit. I have examined rather minutely both glosses and notes in five volumes, and more cursorily the apparatus of several

others. Occasionally the explanation given is inadequate or misleading. Thus the note on "spendthrift sigh" (Hamlet IV vii 122) seems inadequate because the editor has failed to mention the Elizabethan notion that sighing expended blood from the heart. "Nickname God's creatures" (Hamlet III i 153) surely means "call things that God has made by affected names"; the editor's paraphrase is far-fetched and misleading ("by painting your face and by your fashionable affectations you turn human beings [God's creatures] into figures that bear the same resemblance to reality that a nickname does to a Christian name"). In Macbeth II iv 24 ("What good could they pretend?") "pretend" does not mean "intend," as the gloss says, but "expect to gain." In Macbeth IV iii 26 ("Why in that rawness left you wife and child?") "rawness" does not mean "rash haste," but "defenseless condition" (compare "children rawly left" in Henry V IV i 149, where "rawly" is correctly explained by the Yale editor). Such errors, however, are rare. In point of editing the least satisfactory volume of those I have examined is Professor Phelps' King Lear. In this a good many difficulties such as the editors have usually explained seem to have been overlooked; for instance, Edmund's concluding words in Act V, Scene i, "For my state Stands on me to defend, not to debate," and Cordelia's "Lest his un-govern'd rage dissolve the life That wants the means to lead it." (IV iv 19-20). More serious than such omissions are a number of questionable explanations and inaccurate glosses. As an example of the former I would call attention to the note on Kent's "Goose, if I had you upon Sarum plain I'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot" (II ii 88-89). The note points out that the Elizabethans identified Camelot with Winchester, and adds, "It is possible that Kent's words, *Goose . . . cackling . . . Camelot*, imply an allusion to an unsavory disease known to Shakespeare as 'Winchester goose.'" Professor Phelps is rather careful to call attention to unsavory references; thus he suspects in Kent's later reference to Ajax a pun on "A-jakes," and explains the Fool's "No heretics burned, but wenches' suitors" by saying (plausibly enough, I confess), "This refers either to syphilis, or the treatment for it." Examples of glosses which seem to me either inaccurate or wrong are "manner" for "quality" in Lear's "Thou'lt not believe with how depraved a quality" (II iv 139); "deprive of twigs" for "sliver" in "She that herself will sliver and disbranch From her material sap" (IV ii 34), where "sliver" plainly means "break off"; and "enlisted" for "impress'd" in "And turn our impress'd lances in our eyes" (V iii 51).

The appendices dealing with sources and history of the plays are clear and brief, and are so planned as to place the emphasis on essential points. In general they wisely avoid controversial

ground; an interesting exception is Professor Tucker Brooke's discussion of the date and authorship of *Henry VI, Part I*. Professor Brooke's view is that the play of "Harry the Sixth" mentioned by Henslowe as new on March 3, 1592 was then really new; that it was the original play, as yet untouched by Shakespeare. Starting with this somewhat questionable premise, he argues that a successful play was not likely to need revision for several years; that the revision was intended to relate this play closely to 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and was hence probably later than those plays; and that the list of Talbot's titles in *IV vii 63-71* appears to be derived from an epitaph of Talbot printed in Crompton's "Mansion of Magnanimity" in 1599. The old play might naturally have been retouched and revived by Shakespeare in 1599 in order to take advantage of the popularity of *Henry V*. The difficulty with this view is of course the "apparently immature" style of the supposed additions—the fluent end-stopped lines, the elaborate balance, the stichomythy. It is hard to believe that as late as 1599 Shakespeare wrote such a passage as Warwick's first speech in the Temple Garden scene:

Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;

Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;

etc. This difficulty Professor Brooke recognizes, but does not squarely meet. "The Shakespearian parts of 1 *Henry VI*," he says, "are assuredly not as unworthy of the author of *Henry V* as is *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (ca. 1600) unworthy of the author of *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado about Nothing*." But this is not the point. Admit that *The Merry Wives* is as inferior to *Twelfth Night* as you please; it does not show a reversion to the style of the younger Shakespeare such as we must suppose in 1 *Henry VI* if we place it as late as 1599. The question here is not one of literary inferiority; it is one of reversion to an earlier verse-form and manner. I do not doubt that if Shakespeare in 1599 had chosen to write in his earlier style he could have done it; I doubt merely whether he would have thought it worth while to take the trouble.

Professor Brooke's argument for Peele's authorship of the original *Harry the Sixth* seems to me more convincing. After ruling out Marlowe because of the lack of passion and intensity in the unrevised scenes, and Greene because of the play's entire unlikeness to his acknowledged work, Professor Brooke rests the case of Peele upon the jingoistic tone of the play, so characteristic of much of Peele's writing; upon its loose structure and general resemblance to *Edward I*; and upon its musical and somewhat saccharine verse full of echoes of Marlowe such as are found in Peele's other plays. Two lists of such Marlowe echoes, one from this play and one from Peele's admitted works, lend

strong support to this last argument. They prove at least that whoever wrote Harry the Sixth often imitated Marlowe in exactly the fashion of Peele's imitation of him.

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THE FOUNDATIONS AND NATURE OF VERSE. By Cary F. Jacob, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918.

As a suitable companion volume to Patterson's *The Rhythm of Prose* the student of prosody could scarcely do better than to select the monograph which is before us. Bound very much alike, of the same size, and from the same press, they compare favorably also in scholarly treatment, in attractive and definite diction, and in the value of their contribution to the field. To be sure Patterson's volume was based largely upon his own experimental researches, while Jacob's conclusions appear to be the result of a critical review of empirical data obtained by other investigators. Since, however, the detailed account of Patterson's work was reserved for the appendices, the difference in the presentation of material is less apparent than real.

The introduction begins with an excellent description of the development of meaning out of such arbitrary symbols as verbal language and music furnish. From the early and laborious process of learning the native tongue we pass by gradual stages to the rapid reading of meaning in word, gesture, facial expression, cadence, nuance, and style. So it is with music. But just as there is this development on the side of the individual who is assimilating and learning to appreciate the meaning, so there is growth also in the content learned and understood. Prose becomes verse, verse becomes song, and song becomes pure music. On the whole the chapter is rather well done. Stumpf's little book on *The Origin of Music*, in the light of what so authoritative an investigator has done in the field of the psychology of music, would have been of service to the author at this point. And while a certain amount of license may be granted a writer when he says that "the ear does hear," from a strictly scientific point of view he can not expect the same indulgence when he states that this anatomical structure "does find pleasure." But he is obviously right in his insistence that the proper approach to the problem of the basic nature of verse is through the avenue of auditory sensation. Even some of the factual components of auditory aesthetics lie in this direction; but aesthetics in general gathers its facts and theories from many branches of science and art.

In the beginning of the second chapter, on noise and tone, the author would have done better by distinguishing the three

different usages of the term, 'sound:' physical, physiological (or neurological), and psychological. The ambiguity becomes more noticeable when toward the close he lays down the definition of a tone. He has already indicated the varying distinction between noise and tone when he proposes that "any sound possessing continuity and definiteness to such a degree as may be appreciated by the ear is called a *tone*." Whether this statement refers to the physical vibration, which is very much stressed in the early portion of the book, or to the neural excitation, or to the conscious phenomena, remains in doubt, as does also the function designated by the term, 'appreciated.' In the realm of this subject the reader is made to feel the author's dependence on the work of D. C. Miller in contrast to the mature assimilation of other studies such as those of Jaensch and Krueger.

From a detailed account of the physics of pitch the next chapter advances to a consideration of the relationship of constituent tones in a timbre and of the elements of the diatonic scale. Other subjects treated in passing are beats, the origin of the scale, melody, and harmony. Again in these matters one misses Stumpf with whose two volume classic the author appears to be unfamiliar. Little is said on the subjects of combination tones and of consonance. In the following chapter when the beat-tone is discussed once more it is described as being only subjective in character: difference tones produced from the same windchest are also objectively verifiable.

Under the title of 'tone quality' the author proceeds with a detailed account of the literature concerning the subject, which then becomes a logical prelude to the discussion of vowel quality. Conversance with the physical aspect of the question is clearly at the expense of the psychological point of view. The important results of Köhler, Jaensch, and Rich are left unnoticed. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the expressive effects of sounds as in onomatopoeic writing. The author appears well grounded in his belief that few sounds qualitatively suggest interpretation. Many musicians will naturally disagree with him when the statement is applied unequivocally to the sound of certain chords and of some keys. And, indeed, he ought to enter reservations in favor of calls of distress that arouse an instinctive reverberation even in the lower animal species.

The chapter on intensity disposes of the subject temporarily until other matters like rhythm and meter can be dealt with. Intensity again is physical intensity, although toward the end of the chapter the author is at cross purposes with himself when he emphasizes the relative judgment of this attribute, *i.e.*, subjective intensity. It plays a minor rôle in the cadence of speech and music but a major rôle in accent which leads directly to the consideration of rhythm, a subject which

forms the core of the next five chapters. The author begins under the caption of 'genetic psychology' to treat a miscellany of information. Firm convictions are expressed on points that are still very much in doubt and on other matters that appear to be settled contrary to the assertions made. Visual rhythm, for example, may be serially exposed in time in connection with the successive visualization of rafters, motives in a border or frieze, and in a colonnade. Experiments in several laboratories have shown conclusively that visual rhythm is possible. Tactual rhythm must also be given a place. In so comprehensive a chapter shortcomings are easily detected; but surely among those who have "dealt with the specific objective conditions under which this expression arises" stands the omitted name of Woodrow.

With 'time' as the next topic psychological considerations again appear: the definition contains the significant phrase, 'a unity of experience.' The author's development of this subject proceeds along two lines of discussion: the determination of the phenomena that mark the end of single temporal intervals and of the phenomena that appear as contents of these intervals. The effect of both of these factors on the temporal perception is to be noted. The variations in musical tempo are studied. In the next chapter the author comes to terms with rhythm itself which is finally described as "constituted by the consecutive occurrence of phenomena which are perceived as forming a succession of distinct, related patterns in time." Duration is next given attention. The extreme variability in length between the spoken syllables of verse is reviewed and criticized. Consonants have no lengthening effect on the enclosed vowel, but occasionally on the syllable; 'strong' syllables are usually longer than 'weak' ones. But the ratio between these is never constant and a factor other than temporal must be sought for the explanation of rhythm.

In the judgment of the reviewer, the chapter on accent is the best done. It adheres very closely to the work of Wallin. His analysis and explanation of the stressed syllable or 'centroid' is adopted with slight modification. The wording of the definition seems unfortunate in the ambiguity of its meaning: "an impression which arouses the sense of hearing to a certain pitch of intensity for a certain length of time." Loudness, pitch, and duration have a varying but combined effect in producing the stress. Different kinds of accent, such as hovering and deferred, word, logical, metrical, and wrenched accent are noted. The nature and length of the phrase in prose, verse, and music next concern the writer. But the duration of the phrase, like that of the syllable, is found to be variable with a tendency toward greater regularity in music and less in prose.

Apparently the main section of the author's thesis is contained under the title: "the structure of the foot: accent, duration, and pitch in the general process of time synthesis." It is purposely psychological. Rhyme was found to have no rhythmical effect. The effect is now to be established not so much in terms of precise measurement but of general impression, an impression which permits of fairly wide latitude. The centroid and the pause are at the core of rhythmical perception; but in addition to the periodicity of these elements there appears a mental organization of content in terms of related patterns. Again, when treating of the content of the phrase, indications are to the effect that there must be a mentally recognized similarity, but not physical equality.

In the following chapter the author enters the lists with Patterson, but the reader is scarcely left in doubt as to the outcome. The author weakens his position at once when in the face of his own dearth of experimental results he charges his adversary with want. The statements concerning the metrical organization which poetry suggests are quite to the point. In fact Patterson was quite unwilling to call *vers libre* poetry until Amy Lowell reproduced it in her own way, in other words with accents known only to the tutored reader. Having already admitted the flexibility of the metre and the variety of accents, the author cannot easily desert his original position that music is more regular than verse. Therefore arises the impossibility of passing in verse from syncopated rhythms to coincident rhythms as one does in music. Patterson has made his original position somewhat clearer and modified it to a slight extent in a more recent article, an article which the author probably did not have an opportunity to consider.

The book shows wide reading and scholarly study. It is a contribution to the field as a critique of literature and corresponding theory. In spots it seems a little too contentious: it is difficult to oppose conclusions based largely on experimental procedures on the one hand with opinions and estimates on the other. But the judgment is nevertheless thoughtful and sincere. If the author has not well assimilated the literature on some subjects, it is only because the portion was not the morsel it seemed. With some chapters there is a question regarding their place in the volume: frequently the impression of a miscellany of information is left on the reader. But the author deserves credit for his services as a compiler and for the style that holds the attention of the interested reader to the end.

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DANTE: AN ELEMENTARY BOOK FOR THOSE WHO SEEK IN THE GREAT POET THE TEACHER OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. xiii, 187.

The author describes his work (Preface, p. xi) as 'a primer which leaves learning one side, and busies itself with Dante as a poet and a believer in eternal righteousness.' It is not really so bad as the reference to learning would seem to promise. Mr. Sedgwick has tried to prepare himself for his task, and has measurably well succeeded: his 'Suggestions' for Beginners (pp. 173-9) contain a good list of books. A better translation of the *Divina Commedia* than either of those there recommended is that in the edition by A. J. Butler; it is unfortunate that the publishers (Macmillan) have chosen not to render this again accessible by reprinting the *Hell* and the *Purgatory*. The translation by Tozer (Oxford Press) should likewise have been mentioned.

The first chapter (Dante's Fame) attempts, not unsuccessfully, to place Dante in the literature of the world; but among the general observations one may query the following. Can Euripides (p. 2), whom Browning called 'the human,' really be termed 'remote' from us? Is there any advantage to our understanding of Dante as poet, or to the cause of eternal righteousness, in saying (p. 3) that Macaulay 'somewhere' contends 'that Milton's reputation would stand higher had *Paradise Lost* ended with the fourth book?' For the sake of the eternal fitness of things, why not give the precise reference to Trevelyan's *Macaulay* (1877, 2.200): 'Milton's fame would have stood higher if only the first four books had been preserved'? Is it true (p. 3) that 'Milton's theology is now of no living interest?' Bishop Welldon has a vital paper on *The Theology of Milton in The Nineteenth Century and After* for May, 1912 (71. 901-918). It is not quite proper to say (p. 9) that Wordsworth 'admired and cherished Dante.' Wordsworth is sometimes more, sometimes less, favorable toward him. In the year 1824 he wrote to Landor (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. by Knight, 2.216): 'Pray be so good as to let me know what you think of Dante. It has become lately—owing a good deal, I believe, to the example of Schlegel—the fashion to extol him above measure. I have not read him for many years; his style I used to think admirable for conciseness and vigor, without abruptness; but I own that his fictions often struck me as offensively grotesque and fantastic, and I felt the poem tedious from various causes.' On p. 11 we read that Dante 'as a prophet of righteousness . . . has no peer since the time of the Apostles.' Dante himself, or any one who knows the Middle Ages, would take exception to the statement; Saint Augustine and the great Bernard certainly were his peers in this

regard. Mr. Sedgwick mentions (pp. 12, 13) Isaiah and Paul as writers one needs to know before reading Dante. They are obviously important; so are the Psalms; but if any Biblical author is singled out for the student of Dante, it must be Jeremiah.

If these allusions do not adequately characterize the book, one may add that the author approaches Dante with that Neoplatonic bias which in our day is common to amateur interpreters of poetry.

The Index (pp. 181-7) is not very full; for example, the reference to Wordsworth just noted, and references to other poets in the same connection, are not included. The little volume is not typographically so attractive as most of the publications of the Yale University Press, the print being small, and the words often crowded in the line.

There would be no harm in recommending Mr. Sedgwick's primer to the novice in Dante, were there not other and very good books of similar scope, easily attainable, by specialists in the subject. The recent *Life of Dante Alighieri* by Dinsmore (Houghton Mifflin) is better. So is Gardner's *Dante* (Temple Primers). It is a mistake in our author to suggest that he has been able to produce a more useful introduction to the poet because he is not a scholar—a mistake that is too frequently made in this country. How much more likely is Butler's *Introduction to Dante* to win the beginner; how well written it is! Even that would have been more effective had Butler been as adept in Dantesque scholarship as Moore. But doubtless the best introduction to Dante, at once popular and meeting the demands of present-day scholarship, is that of Toynbee (*Dante Alighieri, his Life and Works*, fourth ed., 1910).

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NOTES

Acknowledgment

As author of *Christianopolis, an Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century* I desire to make some acknowledgment of the space devoted to a review which appears in the July (1918) number of the *Modern Language Review*, and I feel obligated at the same time to respond briefly to the comments passed upon the monograph by Dr. G. C. Moore Smith, the writer of the review. I am all the more desirous of doing this because some correspondence was carried on by Dr. Smith and me while the book was in preparation, as a result of which Dr. Smith's edition of Bacon's *New Atlantis*¹ and one of his articles from the *Athenaeum*² appear in my bibliography.

¹ G. C. Moore Smith, Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Cambridge Press 1909.

² G. C. Moore Smith, The Date of the *New Atlantis* (In the *Athenaeum*, Feb. 1900).

Christianopolis, an Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century is primarily a critical study of utopias of the seventeenth century with what would seem to be a sufficient review of ideal states of earlier times, and its purpose (as mentioned in the introduction³ is to establish for Andreae's *Christianopolis* a firm place among them. As an appendix, and quite apart from the work itself, I have added in the same volume an English translation of the *Christianopolis*, which was originally written in Latin. Dr Smith has gone to considerable trouble and has taken great pains to criticize the translation unfavorably as to its accuracy and also from the view point of English style. While I do not wish to minimize the importance of these features by any means and while I gratefully accept some of his suggestions, I must express regret that an equal amount, at least, of effort and talent were not made available for an analysis of the former and major part of the work. For, aside from a very short sketch of Andreae's life, the review considers only a few scattered statements of the arguments, and the comments on these do not show any very deep insight into, or clear knowledge, of the utopias concerned.

The criticisms made are of such a nature that I feel justified in referring to some of them individually.

a) ". . . there is no proper bibliography." b) "No clear account of Andreae's various literary productions is given."⁴ References to Andreae, especially during the 17th and 18th centuries, are many. But commentators on the *Christianopolis* that have *anything new to offer* are comparatively few. The bibliography was purposely limited to the latter. The chief works of Andreae are suggested in the introductory chapter and elsewhere⁵ as is also the fact that he was an authority in many departments of knowledge. But to have given even a brief account of these works would have carried the proposed volume far beyond its intended limits. I have quoted from the *Fama Fraternitas* especially, as this work (except of course the *Christianopolis*) has the closest bearing on the matter under discussion. A further analysis of Andreae's writings and their relation to Education, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology may follow at some future time.

c) "Dr. Held . . . like a good editor minimizes any obligation he (Andreae) had to Moore and Campanella."⁶ I refer Dr. Smith to Chapter II of my book, and particularly to pages 21 and 22. Here I have suggested Andreae's knowledge and appreciation of both the *Utopia* and *Civitas Solis*. Andreae himself mentions both. My argument is, however, that Andreae, though having read both of these ideal states carefully, does not copy their contents (as he has been accused of doing), but has embodied in his *Christianopolis* new and purer principles of government and social life.

d) ". . . but the arguments establish probabilities and possibilities rather than certainties."⁷ The careful scholar, dealing with seventeenth-century literature, will guard against "establishing certainties." I call Dr. Smith's attention again to my introduction and ask him to note the expressed purpose of the analysis.

An instance of Dr. Smith's misinterpretation of Andreae's *Christianopolis* can be readily seen from a statement in his short sketch. "All the boys are herded together in one building and the girls in another." In defense of Andreae I cite chapters 51, 52, and 53 which describe the quarters of the pupils, and the school; and I quote, necessarily at some length, from the 51st chapter as follows: ". . . I saw a school roomy and beautiful beyond expectation, divided into eight lecture halls where the youths, the most valuable asset of the republic, are molded and trained to God, nature, reason, and public safety.—All

³ *Christianopolis, An Ideal State of the 17th Century* (Oxford University Press 1916). Page 15.

⁴ *The Modern Language Review* (Cambridge University Press) Vol. XIII, No. 3. Page 369.

⁵ *Christianopolis*, page 14 and see index.

⁶ *Christianopolis*, page 15.

⁷ *The Modern Language Review*, page 370.

this is not after the infamous example of the world. For when the world seems to love her children most of all, she often shuts them up in some out of the way, unhealthy, and even dirty prison, where they are brought into contact with filth and become accustomed to such jails. Here (in Christianopolis) all is open, sunny and happy, so that with the sight of pictures even, they attract the children, fashion the minds of the boys and girls, and advise the youths. They are not baked in summer nor frozen in winter; they are not disturbed by noise nor frightened because of loneliness."⁸ Does this arrangement merit the expression of Dr. Smith?

Nor do I agree that "theocracy" is the proper designation for the elements of government at Geneva that attracted Andreae. The quotation from Andreae's Autobiography⁹ cited¹¹ should make this clear.

I inserted no translation for the letters S.I.C. and R.D.T. which occur at the beginning and at the close of Andreae's dedication.¹² I am not convinced, however, that Dr. Smith's suggested interpretation¹³ of the evident opening and closing salutation is much more than a hazard.

I come now to the criticisms upon which most stress is laid in the review. Dr. Smith has selected twenty-three brief passages from the book, suggested that the translations were faulty, and without offering translations of his own (except of some particular word or expression in eight of them) he makes the statement that these are "sufficient proof of serious blunders on practically every page" and that the English is consistently "slovenly and inaccurate." Not wishing to take the space to analyze the merits of each passage (and in many of them the criticism seems to hinge upon the choice of a word) I offer in answer the statement of Professor Hugh M. Kingery, an American scholar,¹⁴ who has been kind enough to examine my translation. After commenting in detail on each of the twenty-three passages mentioned, he writes, "Though it seems to me that you have missed the point here and there, the reviewer's criticism of your knowledge of Latin is entirely too sweeping and your English has some *very decided merits*." (The underscoring is Dr. Kingery's.)

This further defense is I think justifiable. Before undertaking the translation in question, I had made a careful study of the thoughts and conceptions of Andreae as reflected in the *Christianopolis* and other works, in consequence of which I have often and purposely held to expressions which seemed to me to give a more accurate picture of the time and of the man Andreae than a more up to date phraseology would do. For after all I was concerned more with Andreae and with 17th century utopias than with the Latin language in which this utopia happened to be written. I could cite numerous illustrations, but will content myself with mentioning two typical instances which occur within the twenty-three chosen by Dr. Smith, namely, the literal translation of the figure of the grindstone¹⁵ and the rendering of "humanitatis legibus" by "attractions of the flesh."¹⁶ Andreae's works, Latin and German, contain many such pietistic phrases (as the latter) which I feel I have better interpreted by applying to them his own vocabulary (as I have found it) than by trusting to more regular and classical translations. Dr. Smith has, however, offered, here and there, some constructive criticism and "to this extent" (to use his own expression) he has my gratitude.

⁸ *Christianopolis*, page 205 f.

⁹ The Modern Language Review, page 369.

¹⁰ Vita ab ipso conscripta (F. H. Rheinwald. Berlin 1849) page 24.

¹¹ *Christianopolis*, page 27.

¹² The Modern Language Review, page 372.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 372.

¹⁴ Hugh McMaster Kingery, life-time student of classical languages, editor, and for 25 years Professor of Latin at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, now retired and living near Westerville, Ohio.

¹⁵ *Christianopolis*, page 162.

¹⁶ *Christianopolis*, page 147.

Dr. Smith is grieved that any "professed scholar" of the 20th century should be willing to cause to be printed such "slovenly English" (already noted) as that of which I am guilty in the translated appendix. I claim no place among stylists, and am free to acknowledge difficulties in turning Andreae's Latin into English, more especially as Herder¹⁷ finds it difficult to express Andreae's thoughts properly and honestly in German. But it is some consolation to note that the article of Dr. Smith contains expressions to which an exacting critic of English might take exception.¹⁸ And even as it is deplorable that scholars today are not properly equipped for writing smooth English paragraphs, and that we are "left sighing for the elegance and polish of two centuries ago"¹⁹ so it is to be regretted that professors of learning cannot criticize frankly and honestly the works of fellow seekers after truth, without permitting prejudices, national, professional, commercial or what not, to saturate their comments with sarcasm, exaggeration and (perhaps unintentional), misinterpretation.²⁰

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¹⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder, Vorrede zu Johann Valentin Andreae. Dichtung zur Beherrigung unseres Zeitalters. (Suphan) Vol. 16, page 592. "Valentin Andreae zu übersetzen, ist wahrlich keine Kleinigkeit, und ich wüsste beinahe keinen alten Schriftsteller, der dem Übersetzenden hie und da schwerere Arbeit machte."

¹⁸ Such as:

- a) Repetition of adversatives "but," "however," "but" in successive sentences (pages 369, 370).
- b) "Such *coincidences* must needs *befall*" (page 370).
- c) "—in which are *acted*—religious *plays*" (page 370).
- d) "Yet he has at least given us an impression of the contents of an interesting book which few of us had ever heard of, he has done something to set it in relation to books before and after, and to this extent he deserves our thanks" (closing sentence, page 372).

¹⁹ The Modern Language Review, page 372.

²⁰ I refer to such absurd statements as footnote three page 370, where Dr. Smith uses as ample proof of a "sadly defective knowledge of Latin" on the part of the translator the fact that mention is made once in the introduction (not the translation) of a work of Bacon, *De Sapientia Veterorum*. A misprint in the quoted title of a Latin work is as much proof of lack of knowledge of Latin, as would a like typographical error in the title of an English work be proof of lack of knowledge of the vernacular. The review has other such evidences of lack of candor.

SIEGFRIED-ARMINIUS

I

IS SIEGFRIED ARMINIUS?

Every nation loves to extol the deeds of its great heroes. Even in prehistoric times, the age of unwritten history, the barbarian peoples of Europe were celebrating the brave exploits of their leaders in songs and legends which were transmitted from one generation to another through many centuries. This is eminently true of the Germanic tribes. Since there was no written literature in Germany previous to the age of Charles the Great, the memory of its national heroes was perpetuated from the days of its early history by the epic lays of wandering minstrels.

It is true that sufficient evidence cannot be furnished to prove that all these legendary characters were real men, yet it is an assured fact that many of them were. Even before the existence of any Germanic historian, contemporary writers belonging to adjacent nations have had occasion to mention some of the great men of the Germanic peoples; Tacitus, Velleius, Dio, Strabo, Ammianus, and Priscus are valuable sources of this kind. Among the earliest German authorities are Jordanes, the Ostro-Goth (ca. 550), Paulus Diaconus, the Lombard (ca. 770), Widukind, the Saxon (ca. 967), the Quedlinburg Annals (ca. 1000), and Eckehard (1100). Other important writers are Gregory of Tours (ca. 580) and Eginhard (ca. 800). Old English Chronicles containing genealogical tables of the royal families with their legendary names affixed are found exceedingly important as source material. In such historical writings we find mentioned the names of Alboin, King of the Lombards, who appears in the Saxon poem *Widsith*; Ermanaric and Attila, of the Eddic Lays; Theoderich, the central figure in the popular German literature of the entire middle ages, also Odoacer, his adversary; Widigoia, the W. Goth; Offa, king of the Angles; Gundahari, the Burgundian king, etc.

We must admit, that where opportunity is offered to compare legend with authentic history, little more of fact remains

in the former than names of characters and of places—and these often altered—together with the barest outline of the original incident; perhaps only one single outstanding feature of the same is preserved. This is, however, only the natural result of the conditions under which this form of literature developed. The saga was not a fixed quantity—it grew along with the people. The wandering singers, the real transmitters of epic tradition, found it necessary to clothe their narration in a form which should appeal to their hearers. Thus it was that the saga, kept constantly before the people, became a sort of reflection of their national spirit and ideals; as it passed from age to age, from race to race, its heroes became no less heroic, no less noble, yet the manner in which they gave expression to their heroism would vary to suit the changed conditions. So, taking everything into account, we feel justified in believing that all saga contains at least a kernel of historic truth, however much it may have become obscured through the accumulation of unhistorical material. This observation of the interplay of legend and history has given rise to a problem which has been engaging the attention of scholars at different times through the last century.

There is no Germanic land in which the Siegfried-legend is not a favorite: in the Scandinavian Edda, and in both German epics, the Seyfridlied and the Nibelungenlied, Siegfried stands everywhere in the foreground; even in Beowulf, the Anglo-Saxon poem, our hero is not forgotten. In the Wilkina Saga we are told of Siegfried: “Er¹ ragte vor allen Männern an Hochfahrt und Adlichkeit und aller Hübschheit, beinahe in allen alten Sagen, wo von den stärksten und berühmtesten, und den mildesten Helden und Fürsten erzählt wird; und sein Name geht in allen Zungen vom Norden bis ans griechische Meer, und so wird er wahren, so lange die Welt steht.” Yet, strange to say, search the pages of history as we may, the name of Siegfried does not appear.

On the other hand, the four chief classic historians, who touch upon early German history, Tacitus, Velleius, Dio, and Strabo, have considerable to say about a man named Arminius, of the tribe of the Cheruskans, who through his heroism and skill succeeded in turning back forever the tide of Roman con-

¹ *Heldensagen*, v. der Hagen, Chap. 166.

quest that was threatening to sweep over all Germany and reduce its inhabitants to a condition of servitude. Tacitus says of him: "Liberator² haud dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sed florentissimum imperium lacesierit, proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus. Septem et triginta annos vitae duodecim potentiae explevit, *caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes.*" Surely such a king of heroes as Arminius, the liberator of Germany, would occupy a prominent place in the national saga. Incredible as it may seem, however, the memory of Arminius and his noble deeds seems unknown to German legend.

Here we have a peculiar situation: is it possible that all the Germanic peoples have through many centuries been singing the praises of a purely mythical hero, and have at the same time been entirely forgetting the one real hero to whom Germany owes the preservation of the very beginning of her national life?

One of the first to bring this matter to the attention of the public was *Adolph Giesebrecht*, who in 1837 wrote an essay entitled, "Über³ den Ursprung der Siegfriedssage." In this paper he begins by rejecting the myth theory as applied to the Nibelungensaga, and assumes that the saga in general is the outcome of certain ethical, fundamental ideas, awakened in the consciousness of the people by certain great events which strongly affected the national life. These moral views were strengthened at different times through similar causes, until the moral consciousness of the people, now fully alert, came to interpret new events in the light of the older ones. Thus, as history repeated itself from generation to generation, or from age to age, the saga kept pace with the tribal life: National characters or events, finding their counterparts in the saga, blended with them into one, bringing new characteristics and experiences to the individual, and new features to the situation.

With this theory in mind, the author begins to search backward through history from the estimated time of the Siegfried-legend, looking for a situation which seems to contain all the

² Tacitus, *Annals*, Vol. I, Bk. II, Chap. 88.

³ *Neues Jahrbuch der Berlinischen Gesellschaft f. d. Sprache u. Alterthums-kunde*, 1837.

essential features of the story. This he finds in the history of the Frankish king, Siegbert, who is treacherously slain by those from whom he could have expected love; in Brunhild, who is left with her little son in hostile surroundings; finally, in the quarrel of women as the source of severe crime, seen in the hostile relations of Brunhild and her sister-in-law Fredegund. Yet if the saga had been based on these elements, it would probably have taken a somewhat different form; for Siegbert was killed in open war against his murderers, the historical Brunhild possessed little of the magic art or gigantic strength imputed to the Brunhilde of the northern saga, also her relation to Siegbert is different from that of the legendary Brunhilde to Siegfried.

In a similar manner, Giesebrecht leads us back, farther and farther into history, finding here and there a character or combination of characters which may have made their contribution to the saga, until he reaches the time of Arminius, the Cheruscan. In him he believes to find a historical figure who may well have been the original character in whom the Siegfried of saga had his beginning. To analyze this composite, legendary Siegfried, to separate him into his original elements, and from these to reconstruct his historical counterpart, proved to be a most difficult task—indeed, one which offered almost insurmountable obstacles; yet sufficiently satisfactory results were reached, to justify the investigator, as he believed, in asserting that he had reached a solution of the problem.

In the slaying of the dragon, Siegfried's greatest exploit, Giesebrecht sees a fanciful representation of the deed which made Arminius famous, viz. the annihilation of the Roman army in the 'Varusschlacht.' In support of this theory, which seems at first sight rather improbable, Giesebrecht reasons thus: "Schon⁴ sehr früh scheint allerdings die Darstellung der grössten Tat Siegfrieds als Erlegung eines Drachen bekannt gewesen zu sein, wofür das bekannte Bild Siegberts in der Medarduskirche zu Soissons zeugt, so wie das Vorhandensein dieser Auffassung in den Eddaliedern beweist, dass schon in dieser Form die Sage in den Norden übertragen ward. Eben dies ist der Fall mit Siegfrieds Hornhaut, während die Sage, dass er die Sprache der Vögel verstanden, der nordischen Auffassung eigen

⁴ *Neues Jahrbuch der Berlinischen Gesellschaft*, 1837, pp. 225-6.

ist, und hiedurch wie durch den Parallelismus, in welchen diese Erhöhung seiner geistigen Natur zu der Unverwundbarkeit, als einer Steigerung der Körperlichkeit, tritt, einen jüngeren Ursprung vermuthen lässt. Die von diesen drei Stücken zu gebende historische Deutung wird nur denen sich empfehlen können, welchen der Grundsatz zusagt: es sei der Sage, welche aus einer Zeit dominirenden Naturlebens stamme, und in dem Augenblick verstumme, wo das Bewusstsein politischer Verhältnisse über jenes die Oberhand gewonnen, natürlich, statt des geschichtlichen Stoffes, wenn dieser sich aufdrängt, Naturgegenstände dichtend unterzuschieben, und jene unter der Form dieser aufzufassen und darzustellen. Wenn es daher dem Dichter auch eines entwickelten Zeitalters gerade nicht verargt werden wird, dass er, mit bewusster Freiheit, das besiegte feindliche Heer als ein erlegtes Ungeheuer darstellt—so hat diese Umgestaltung eine weit grözere Bedeutung und eine tiefere Notwendigkeit in einer Zeit, wo der Mensch durch das Fremde noch nicht berührt oder zu Reflexion veranlaszt, in der Anschauung lebt. Einer solchen Zeit mochte sich mit Notwendigkeit für den Anblick des auf engen Waldwegen durch die Schluchten einer Gebirgsgegend sich windenden Heeres gepanzerter und fremdredender Menschen die Vorstellung eines Drachen unterschieben; ein Eindruck, der auf heutigem Bildungsstandpunkte sich in ein hingeworfenes Wort entladen haben möchte, während er bei einem aus der Herrschaft der Naturanschauung nicht oder kaum hinausgegangenen Volke bleibende Form für die Auffassung der Begebenheit ward.”

In like manner, continues the writer, somewhat fancifully, Siegfried's horny hide might have symbolized historical meaning, viz. the coat of mail worn by Arminius, who, having served in the Roman army for a long time, was probably the first of his tribe to have such a strong covering for his body; Siegfried's ability to understand the speech of the birds might be only a fanciful way of expressing the fact that Arminius understood the language of the Romans, perhaps a rare accomplishment among the people of his tribe.

To those who may object to an attempt to derive historical meaning from the Northern Saga, since it represents the Volung family, to which Siegfried (Sigurd) belongs, as having descended from Odin, and therefore raises it out of the realm

of history, the author makes answer, that the nearer the events of saga lie to the time when the emigration of the Asen was supposed to take place, the more necessarily are they connected with them, for the races of heroes were supposed to be related to the gods; he also cites the fact that Hengist and Horsa are said to be, as is well known, descendants of Odin, only four generations removed from him, yet no one will doubt that they are to be considered historical personages of the fifth century.

Furthermore, the fact that in the family connection of both Siegfried and Arminius a striking similarity in the form of names is to be observed, most of them being characterized by the initial syllable "Sig-" or "Seg-," leads to the conclusion that saga has preserved for us the true name of our hero, and that the peculiar name given to him in history might have been simply an official one or even a religious epithet.

In the closing words of Giesebrecht's paper we get a brief, but vivid picture of the method by which the saga, originating perhaps in the very Songs of Arminius referred to by Tacitus, and passing through the tumultuous experiences of the 'Völkerwanderung,' gradually grew until it reached its present form. Partaking in the beginning, more essentially of the nature of a family saga, it assumed, little by little, the form of a tribal one; the legend of the hoard, indigenous in Gaul at the time of Chlodwig, was incorporated into the story; also in Chrotild was found a wife who took up the unfinished history of Thusnelda and conducted it to a brilliant end, at the same time bringing in the memory of an earlier event—the destruction of the Burgundians in Attila's time. When and how Hagen is added is uncertain, but it may have been in connection with the death of Siegbert. In Siegbert himself, the old tribal hero seems almost to have come to life again; and since his wife, the West-Gothic Brunhild, does not, in her true relation to him, continue to find a place in the saga, she blends into one with her enemy Fredegund and disappears. Before she vanishes, however, her quarrel with Fredegund provides the material for one of the outstanding features of this saga, viz. the quarrels of sisters-in-law. With the decline of the Frankish tribe from the time of Siegbert, no events of great moment occurred to give a fresh impulse to the saga, hence its development may be said to have practically ceased at this point. Thus, says Giese-

brecht:⁵ "ging die Sage neben dem Leben her, und wenn dieses auf die immer zusammengesetztere Gestaltung der ersteren wirkte, so mag auch sie wiederum nicht ohne bestimmenden Einfluss auf jenes geblieben sein. Nicht als ein zufälliges Conglomerat geschichtlicher Tatsachen also, statt deren auch eben so gut andere sich dem Kerne hätten anbinden können, sondern als die Hauptmomente der Geschichte des fränkischen Königshauses und Volkes bis zu einer ganz historischen Zeit hin, namentlich bis zum Aufkommen der Ahnen Karls des Grossen, organisch vereinigend, erscheint uns die Siegfriedsage."

We are informed by H. Jellinghaus⁶ that since the Brothers Grimm would not accept Giesebrecht's theory, his paper was not seriously considered by the public in general.

After the lapse of many years, another Germanic scholar, *Gudbrand Vigfusson*, the learned Iclander, who was then residing in England, again took up the long-forgotten theme of Siegfried-Arminius,⁷ ignorant of the fact that any one else had previously written fully on the subject. While he agrees with Giesebrecht in some respects, his manner of dealing with the matter is quite the opposite. Giesebrecht treats the whole question as a unit, making it his care, not only to find parallel situations in saga and history, but to fit them together logically, so that they shall form a complete whole. Vigfusson is, however, more concerned with details: he selects here and there the particular phases or situations which appeal to him as offering opportunities for comparison, satisfied to deduce his final conclusions from these in disconnected form. Except in the comparison of personal names, and death through the treachery of kinsmen, Vigfusson's field of research covers practically new territory not touched upon by his predecessor.

The question of names—personal, clan, and tribal—is entered into quite fully. The author thinks it entirely within the range of probability that one who had served in the Roman army for a long time, perhaps ten years, as Arminius did, should be given a Roman name and be designated only by that in the Roman annals, while in his home country and in its legends he should bear only the name of his boyhood. In this

⁵ *Neues Jahrbuch der Berlinischen Gesellschaft*, 1837, p. 231.

⁶ *Arminius u. Siegfried*, 1891, p. 8.

⁷ *Grimm Centenary*, 1885-6, pp. 1-21.

connection an interesting pedigree of the royal house of the Cheruskans is appended, which shows how often the initial syllable Segi- and Segis-, or Seges- appears. Thus, following the law of Germanic nomenclature, Arminius' name would have to be a compound of Segi- (since his father's name was Segimund), and might have been 'Segifredus.'

A clan-name for Arminius is constructed after the manner of names found in Scandinavian literature meaning 'King': for instance, there was an English royal family of Eadlinge, a Frankish one of Heldinge, a Swedish one of Schilbinge, and a Gothic one of Brandinge; operating by the same law which seems to govern the formation of these, the name 'Sigelinde' is evolved for the royal Cheruscan family.

In 'Hunsci,' a peculiar epithet applied to Siegfried in the Eddic Lays, Vigfusson thinks he has discovered a tribal title of Arminius, i.e., a corrupt form of 'Heorsci' (Cheruscus).

As to the name of Arminius' wife, he agrees only partly with Dr. Kramer's deciphering of the word which is found in an uncial MS. of Strabo in an almost illegible condition: 'Thousn-' he considers an impossible form, but sees in the latter part, '-elda,' a possible Romanization of '-hilda,' which would exactly correspond to 'Grimhild,' the wife of Siegfried. That the Northern Lays have not kept this name is thought to be due to the fact that the Ermanaric cycle by which Swanhild's mother becomes identified with Siegfried's wife, has been confused with the Siegfried cycle.

Through a minute comparison of the data respecting Arminius, as given by the Roman historians, with what is told of Siegfried in the Eddic Lays (the oldest form of Germanic traditional history), the author makes some interesting discoveries and deduces from them a body of conclusions which he considers sufficiently convincing to justify him in asserting that *Siegfried is Arminius*:

a. That Siegfried was probably posthumous seems to be indicated by the term 'unborn' which is used with reference to him in some of the older Eddic Lays; that Arminius did not know his father either, seems probable for several reasons: (1) His father, Segimer, is mentioned only in connection with the family pedigree, (2) Arminius speaks only of their mother in his conversation with his brother Flavus across the Weser,

(3) he would scarcely have entered military service among the Romans when a mere boy, as it is supposed he did, if his father had been alive.

b. That the above-mentioned interview of Arminius with Flavus, so graphically described by Tacitus, may have found its source material in some Germanic lay, seems not unlikely, so strikingly does it coincide both in form and spirit with the 'flytings' of the Eddic Lays, or with the account of the quarrel between Brunhild and Gudrun.

c. Both heroes resort to force, in order to obtain their brides, and these exploits are evidently the beginning of a chain of influences which finally culminate in the death of both men.

d. That Siegfried and Arminius resemble each other in personal appearance and traits of character, is considered interesting, but of minor importance—a fact whose worth is chiefly in helping to swell the body of cumulative testimony.

e. Immunity from poison—a characteristic of the Volsung family—is not entirely without its counterpart in history: Tacitus tells of a conspiracy to poison Arminius, of the proposition made to the Roman senate, and of its scornful rejection by Tiberius.

f. A possible reference to the trouble between Arminius and his relatives may be found in the Lost Lays from the Volsungs Paraphrase, where mention is made of the wars of the Volsungs with Sigi-geir and Sigi-here.

g. In the Edda we are told, "There fell Siegfried and his *three-year-old son*, named Sigmund, whom they slew." On the day of Germanicus' Triumph, according to Strabo, the son of Arminius was *three years* of age.

h. The Lamentation Lays may possibly be the outcome of the Triumph of Germanicus: according to Strabo, in the procession was a "car of humiliation" in which captive ladies sat together. The sight of them might well have inspired the writing of such poems as are included in this peculiar group of Lays.

Rudolph Much,⁸ of Vienna, wrote in 1890 an interesting article on 'Die Sippe des Arminius.'

He discusses quite fully the circumstances mentioned by Tacitus of the offer made by Gandestrus, the Chatten prince,

⁸ *Zeitschrift f. d. Allertum*, V, 35, pp. 361-71.

to the Roman senate, to poison Arminius, if they would furnish the drug. It is his opinion that this letter, supposed to have been written by Gandestrius was a forgery, (1) because the Germans did not lack poison, (2) because any one planning an assassination would do so with the greatest secrecy. Yet he must have been hostile to Arminius, or the belief concerning the genuineness of the letter would scarcely have gained credence. Arminius fell that same year through the malice of his relatives. As to the possible instigator of the evil plot, Much mentions his uncle Inguiomer, his father-in-law Segestes, and his brother Flavus, all of whom were opposed to him. But since Flavus was the son-in-law of Gandestrius who may have had a share in the murder, it is very likely that the adherents of Flavus, who was a Roman, were concerned with it, and that even the Romans themselves might not have been entirely innocent.

The discussion of Thusnelda's name, as it was given in this paper, will be replaced by a later theory⁹ of his, published in 1912. The first part of the name 'Thusn-' he believes to be derived from O.N. þausn, þausk, þyse, 'Getümmel' or þeysa, þysia, vorwärtsstürmen; the latter part is probably of German origin. He explains the absence of 'h' by saying that in the Greek (the language of Strabo) this letter must not be used at the beginning of the second part.

For the name of Thumelicus, the son of Arminius, the following explanation is offered: 'Thume-' is probably related to *þūmaz, 'strong'; the latter part '-licus' may come from Goth. 'leik' 'body.'

Concerning Arminius' name, Much chooses to believe, in opposition to Hübner, that it is of Roman origin, and was bestowed upon him at the same time as the title 'eques Romanus.' He argues that it did not need to be German, since it was not the family name. It is his opinion that Arminius' family name should contain 'Segi-' as the first component part, since his father's name was Segimer. This leads the way to the concession that he might possibly be identified with Siegfried of the Nibelungenlied; that the connection of a historical character with the myth of a god, because of some common similarities, would naturally cause the historical background

⁹ *Anzeiger f. d. Altertum*, 36, 205.

to become more and more obscure. He gives as his final opinion that the memory of Arminius still lives on in a saga of essentially mythical content, as that of a hero in whom Germans and northern peoples still recognized the prototype, Arminius.

In 1891, *H. Jellinghaus*,¹⁰ who was acquainted with the theories which had previously been advanced on this question, again took up the subject. Placing, as did his predecessors, Roman history and German saga side by side, he discovers still other interesting points of contact. His conclusions are based largely upon a comparison of names and places.

The first task which he sets for himself is to locate the place from which the Siegfriedsaga sprang and then identify it, if possible, with Arminius' home. He assumes that with the old Germans the leadership of a people virtually belonged to a descendant of the progenitor of the tribe, who first settled in their land. In a northern poem dealing with Siegfried's ancestry, Sige, Odin's son, flees on account of a murder, and is given the kingdom of 'Frankenland' by his father. This name, he tells us, as used in the northern saga, often included 'Sachsenland.' Sige's son Rerir is the father of Volsung, from whom Siegfried descends. Strangely enough, their country is called 'Hunaland,' and their kings, including Siegfried, 'hunische Könige.' According to the Saxon Dietrichsaga this 'Hunaland' can be no other than the Westfalen of to-day, and the land of the Cheruskans in Arminius' time. It is the opinion of this writer that the introduction of the historical Huns into the later German saga is directly due to a misconception of the meaning of the word 'hunisch' as used in the Eddic Lays. As to its origin and meaning, he does not offer the slightest suggestion.

In treating of Siegfried's youth, Jellinghaus uses the Edda as his legendary source. This represents him as posthumous, brought up at the court of his step-father. Wishing to be independent, he leaves home and enters the services of Wieland, the smith, whom all the smith legends designate as a Saxon. In the northern Dietrichsaga the smith is named Mimir. Taking into consideration all the names of places mentioned, also the fact that Westfalen is the home of the smithsaga as well as the region in which the best iron ore is found, the writer feels

¹⁰ *Arminius und Siegfried*, 1891.

justified in asserting that Siegfried grew up in his native land. On the other hand, he claims that, while contemporaneous history says practically nothing of Arminius' youth, there is nothing to substantiate the statement usually made in modern histories that he was brought up in the Roman army; much more probable is it that his first sight of the Romans was at the time of Drusus' expedition to the Weser. By the time of Tiberius' visit to Germany, when he held a friendly meeting with the princes of the Cheruskans, Arminius had become a young man; evidently the fair words of the Romans did not deceive him. Suspecting that they were plotting against the liberty of his country he, together with a number of his faithful followers, attached himself to the Roman army and became proficient in the arts of war. At this time, too, he may have been given his Roman name. Since Vetera, which is not far from the Xanten of to-day, was a Roman stronghold and the central point for all their military operations in northern Germany, the question is raised—granting that Arminius is Siegfried—whether this fact may not have given origin to the belief, as set forth in the *Nibelungenlied*, that Siegfried grew up in Xanten.

The battle of the Cheruskans with the three Roman legions under Varus is dwelt upon at some length: it is reasoned, that since this victory marks the high point in Arminius' public activity, i.e., it is his master exploit, we must find it symbolized in Siegfried's fight with the dragon. Resorting to the northern *Siegfriedsaga*, which descends from the Saxon saga, the writer believes to have found there sufficient evidence to warrant the statement that Siegfried's valorous deed is represented as having taken place in the same locality as that of the 'Varusschlacht,' viz. in the region between Detmold and Altenbeken. This idea he finds confirmed by the Icelandic Bishop Nicolaus who, about 1150, on a pilgrimage to Rome, passed through this same vicinity and made especial mention of the 'Gnitaheide,' the place where Sigurd slew Fafnir, as being situated in the Lippe-Detmold country.

In order to carry out the comparison, so we are told, the dragon must represent the Roman army. In this connection our attention is called to the fact that the original human nature of the dragon is to be plainly recognized in the northern

saga. To carry the comparison so far, however, as to try to establish a relation between the burning of the dragon and the fact that Varus' body was partly burned, seems, in our opinion, to stop little short of the ridiculous, and really serves to weaken the force of the comparison.

Another doubtful comparison is sought in the situation of the two heroes after the accomplishment of their great deeds: Siegfried, who in the Dietrichsaga betakes himself to Brunhild after he has slain the dragon, meets, in his relation to her, the beginning of a baleful influence which leads to his death; Arminius, through his ambition for the kingship of his people, created for himself, after the Varus battle, a situation which ended fatally.

Concerning the statement made by both Tacitus and Strabo that Arminius' wife and little son were in the great triumphal procession of Germanicus, Jellinghaus is extremely doubtful; he does not, however, discard the idea that such a son existed. On the contrary, he is inclined to think that the mention made in the Edda of Siegmund, Sigurd's three-year-old son, is probably based upon historical tradition, since there was a real connection between history and legend in the middle ages.

The character of Brunhild, her mysterious relation to Siegfried, and her relentless revenge, is found to be a difficult problem, when it comes to recognizing her counterpart in history. Yet an attempt is made to fit her into the Arminius story as an allegorical figure representing the fatherland: Arminius awakens the slumbering people, dedicates himself to the cause of his country, but after he has slain the Romans (Fafnir) and taken their treasure, he marries a king's daughter, i.e., tries to take the royal crown. As soon as his people (Brunhild) perceive his disloyalty, they turn against him and plot against his life.

The hoard which Siegfried wins from Fafnir is believed by the author to possess a deep significance; in most of the sagas it consists of gold and precious stones, but in Beowulf, which evidently borrows its dragon story from the Siegfried-saga, it consists of coats of mail, helmets, bracelets, swords, vessels, etc. The Dietrichsaga leaves the treasure finally in Siegfried's cellar, the key of which, according to a Swedish saga, lies buried under a rose-bush. This suggests the thou-

sand-year-old rose-bush of Hildesheim, especially since the silver treasure which was found near Hildesheim in 1868 is thought to be a part of the booty taken during the wars with the Romans. That Jellinghaus does not carry the matter further and claim that this silver is a part of Siegfried-Arminius' treasure, is rather surprising. He lays more stress upon another treasure found by Charles the Great which was said to have belonged to King Hercules. He claims that the divine Irmin is accustomed to be translated by 'Herkules,' and that to those who understood Latin and were acquainted with Tacitus, there was a close connection between the mythological Irmin and the historical 'Armin.'

That Etzel, or Atli, as he is called in the Saxon and northern saga, the one who brought destruction upon Gudrun's people, is the Attila of history, is most emphatically denied. Atli, who appears everywhere as the King of Hunaland in northern Germany, has his place of residence in Soest. Rather does it seem to our author that he may have been Italicus, the son of Flavus, who was sent by Rome, at the request of the Cheruskans, to take their throne, since he was the only remaining scion of the royal family. His reign being unsuccessful, he was at one time banished, then reinstated through the aid of the Lombards. This calls to mind the fact that in the northern 'Gudrunlied' Atli is expressly called 'der Langobarde.'

The strange query is raised whether the Dietrich of saga, who is represented as being dark and ugly, with fiery breath streaming from his mouth, and who disappears in a mysterious manner, might not symbolize the Roman power in Germany; for thirty years Dietrich was banished from his kingdom, and the Roman dominion covered about the same length of time (from 14 A.D. to 47 A.D.).

This pamphlet by Dr. Jellinghaus brought forth an interesting criticism by R. Henning,¹¹ of Strassburg, in May, 1893. He begins by quoting one of the opening sentences of the paper: "Beweise giebt es so wenig in der Vergleichung von Helden und Göttersagen wie etwa in der Sprachwissenschaft oder in der Ethnologie," and then raises the question, whether the author has been led to this empiric conclusion through the study of our most modern investigation of sagas. He calls in

¹¹ *Anzeiger f. d. Altertum und d. Literatur*, Vol. XX, p. 80-81.

question the reliability of some of the author's source material, such as Mone, Vigfusson, and Schierenberg, saying that he seems to think that by referring to such authors as these, he has a sort of guarantee for the correctness of his hypothesis.

Not only the source material, but also the method of the investigator, is justly subjected to severe criticism. He suggests that if Jellinghaus had wished to work methodically, he should have adopted as his axiom, that Siegfried can be only a historical character, and furthermore, that he can be no other than Arminius, instead of seeking for single points of comparison in traits of character and single occurrences, in order to evolve finally a great historic-poetic allegory.

To illustrate his point, he cites some of the comparisons made, and comments upon them in the following manner: "Was hilft es, wenn Siegfried nach der einen Version in Westfalen das Schmieden lernte und den Drachen tötete, nicht weit von der Gegend wo Arminius einst den Varus schlug? Muss Varus darum schon der Drache sein? Und wie der Umstand, dass Siegfried den Drachen 'mit anderen Untieren auf einem Holzstosse verbrennt,' daran erinnern soll, 'dass Varus den Römern zugeschickt wurde,' entzieht sich meinem Verständnis. Aber hinter dem Drachen soll nun einmal die römische Weltmacht stecken, welche die Erde umschlingt. Schade nur, dass dabei so viele andere Drachen germanischer und nicht germanischer Mythologien ohne Erklärung ausgehen."

After showing what he considers to be the weak points in Jellinghaus' method of reasoning, Henning casts aside all the results by saying that these things cannot possibly be taken into serious consideration; then he proceeds to outline what he would regard as a scientific method of approaching the subject, viz., to become acquainted with the entire history of German hero legend, then to investigate carefully all the material of the Siegfriedsage, and lastly, to consider whether a better and more consistent explanation may not be found in the old mythical story itself than in any historical event. This, he admits, would not yield the same results, but it would be in imitation of Lachmann and Müllenhoff, whose methods our critic evidently approves.

In 1899 *Theodor V. Grienberger*,¹² in writing a criticism of a lecture given by Privatdocent Wilh. Uhl on "The Portrait of

¹² *Anzeiger f. d. Allertum u. d. Literatur*, V, XXV, p. 323-5.

Arminius," expresses his judgment concerning the name of Arminius. He is strongly of the opinion that it is a German nickname such as was joined to the real name in the old Latin histories with the phrase, 'qui est dictus,' or among the northern nations with 'hinn,' but among the Germans with 'der': as, der Grosse, der Siegreiche, der Gute, etc.

For the basis of the name he takes an adjective or half-participial form, *armena, which is evidently retained, he believes, in the West-Frankish proper names Armingardis and Armenfred. Its signification he thinks to find in a related form, O.N. 'ramr' 'strong.' Thus it would be a fitting epithet for the German hero. Grienberger cannot believe that the designation under which he appeared in the German songs mentioned by Tacitus was not a German one, or at least a Latinized form of an original German name.

In 1909, A. Beneke, head-master in Hohenlimburg, celebrated the completion of the nineteenth century since the Varus battle, by publishing a pamphlet¹³ which, while dealing minutely with that particular event, had a much broader scope, since it had for its object a complete discussion of the Siegfried-Arminius question. He acknowledges his indebtedness to several German scholars, among whom is Dr. Jellinghaus, the results of whose investigations he has used in part, and which we shall not repeat. He does not claim to have settled the matter, but modestly acknowledges that only a hypothetical value must be ascribed to his work, until it can be confirmed by unquestionable proof obtained from the research of specialists.

In one respect at least, Beneke follows the method of research outlined by Henning: after giving a brief history of Arminius, and contrasting it with the story of Siegfried, he reasons that since it would be contrary to custom for the memory of such a historical hero as Arminius so entirely to disappear, or for such a great legendary character as Siegfried to have no reflected image in history, it must be that these two are one person. Though lacking in philological equipment he attacks the subject very carefully, taking but one phase at a time, and treating it as fully as possible.

A detailed account of his theories which contain many hazardous conjectures does not seem necessary.

¹³ *Siegfried und die Varusschlacht im Arnburger Walde*, 1909.

Diametrically opposed to the above theories is that of *Dr. Friedrich Panzer*,¹⁴ who rejects completely the idea that there can be any historical significance in the Siegfriedsaga, and bases it entirely upon fairy stories of earlier origin. He states that when a fairy story changes to a hero-legend, not only are some of the motives lost in the transition but, on the other hand, the legend usually contains features that are foreign to the fairy story. This latter fact necessitates a further search to find in still other stories the basic material which is lacking. In the 'Bärensohn' fairy tale and those types which he designates as "Märchen vom Brautwerber," "Märchen vom bedingten Leben," and "Formel vom geborgenen Leben," he believes to have discovered the different sources in which the Siegfriedsaga found its origin.

After commenting on the fact that so many investigators of this saga have sought to discover its interpretation, he says in the introduction to his work: "Es würde mir in der Tat eine Genugtuung sein, wenn mein Buch endgültig darzutun vermöchte, dass die Vorgeschichte dieser Sage nicht am Himmel, sondern auf der Erde zu suchen ist, wenn es die Überzeugung allgemein machte, dass es an dieser Sage zwar immer noch sehr viel zu erforschen, aber schlechterdings nichts zu 'deuten' gibt."

In the work of *J. W. Bruinier*¹⁵ finally we find a mean between the two extreme theories represented in the preceding authors. He recognizes in the Siegfriedsaga two originally independent parts: one tells of Siegfried the hero and takes us into a fairy world, the other treats of his death and brings in only human relations. The fall of the Burgundians and Etzel's death are excluded from consideration, since they belong to the Burgundian cycle which did not originally belong here. In the Edda and the Volsungasaga we find a much earlier stage of development than in the Nibelungenlied or the Dietrichsaga.

This story of the north, whose leading motive is the winning of a maiden, he finds very similar to the fairy tale of 'Dornröschen' which leads back presumably to a myth of spring. But from this myth have evidently developed several fairy stories very similar to each other and containing no proper names. These were appropriated by a poet and connected with

¹⁴ *Studien zur Germanischen Sagensgeschichte*, Vol. II, 1912.

¹⁵ *Die Germanische Heldensage*, 1915.

the plot of the tragic death of Siegfried which had been existing in legends for a long time. The deeds of the unknown hero of the fairy story were transferred to the hero Siegfried who was murdered by his wife's relatives.

This oldest Siegfriedsaga which relates an absolutely human life experience allows the conclusion that it may have originated in historical events—indeed, that it may contain the history of Arminius. The author warns us, however, not to compare Siegfried, the dragon-killer, the hoard-winner, the liberator of Brunhild, the original mythical hero, with Arminius, but only the human, legendary Siegfried.

The Arminius legend, so we are told, must have been in existence about five hundred years before the Frankish poet—or poets—united its plot with the ingredients of the fairy story. Then, for the first time, the characters of the latter receive their names. It is the author's opinion that two different poets wrote different epics, one describing Siegfried's youth up to his arrival at the court of the Nibelungs, the other beginning with the wooing of Brunhild for Gunther. In this way a difficulty arose when the two were combined; the two meetings of Siegfried and Brunhild have always disturbed each other. As a purely exterior means of adjustment, the 'Vergesungstrank' was invented. The disposition of Brunhild between the time of her liberation and of the coming of Gunther is another problem which has been variously solved in the different sagas.

The so-called 'Kurze Siegfriedslied' of the Edda, which tells of Siegfried's death, the author believes to be a folk-song treating of Siegfried-Arminius—probably the original source of the other Siegfriedsagas. In it Brunhild has nothing of the superhuman and the 'Waberlohe' is lacking; Brunhild is wooed at the court of her brother Etzel; the murder of Siegfried occurs at his wife's side, and his last words are of his son; the greed of Gunther for gold, which also appears in the *Waltharilied* is here apparent.

In glancing back over the different hypotheses which we have just reviewed, a certain degree of progress may be noted: Giesebrecht made an excellent beginning; he has not only reached some very plausible conclusions, but has woven them together, so that they appear as a whole. On the other hand,

Vigfusson, Much, and Jellinghaus have dealt with disconnected details: their papers are a jumble of comparisons in which we see no final unity. Jellinghaus is perhaps inclined to go to extremes in his attempt to recognize in every feature and relation of saga, however insignificant, some historical meaning. Henning's criticism of his paper is excellent.

Beneke has proceeded somewhat more methodically than these: he has quite a full outline of the different phases of the problem, and brings out some interesting ideas, yet he, too, is guilty of having fallen short of a really unified and convincing theory. When he has finished, there is something needed to bring the individual parts together.

Panzer has built up an elaborate hypothesis which is above criticism as far as a sense of the whole is concerned, but represents an extreme view, since he is unwilling to see any historical significance whatever in the Siegfriedsaga.

Brunier, who has doubtless studied the writings of all these investigators, does not feel inclined to follow Jellinghaus and find everything in saga historically significant, neither does he agree with Panzer in his opposite theory: rather does he choose an intermediate position between them, and assert that the Siegfriedsaga is a composite of history and fiction. In this respect he is doubtless much nearer the truth than any of his predecessors, most of whom were preoccupied with their theories and overlooked, therefore, one of the essential characteristics of all hero-legends to which Rudolf Hildebrand called attention by his pertinent remark:¹⁶ "Die Heldensage, diese Schöpfung der Volksseele vor aller wissenschaftlichen Pflege des Geisteslebens, ist doch *nicht bloss* der getrübe Niederschlag des wirklich in der Vorzeit Erlebten, sondern in ihrer Ausgestaltung zugleich eine Wirkung des Bedürfnisses, das höhere Bewusstsein, ich sage lieber die tiefere Föhlung, warum nicht kurz sich selbst in die Vorzeit zurückzuführen, ich möchte sagen zurückzuschieben so weit als möglich, womöglich bis auf die gedachten Uranfänge, daher sie sich im Hintergrunde fortsetzt in der Göttersage, womöglich bis zur Weltentstehung."

¹⁶ *Beiträge zum deutschen Unterricht*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 235.

II

LEGEND AND HISTORY

Before entering upon an investigation of the problem, suggested by the title of this chapter, it is necessary to make a careful study of the source material in both saga and history. If any satisfactory results are to be obtained, we must be able not only to find a certain set of motifs persisting in all the versions of the Siegfried-legend, but also to discover a situation in history which shall correspond to it at least in outline. To attempt to find every detail of history reflected in saga, or to interpret every feature of saga as having historical meaning, would be useless, when we consider the process by which the saga developed. Indeed, it would not be surprising, where the northern sagas are concerned, to find many mythical elements entering in, since the lavish use of these elements by Scandinavian poets is a recognized fact; neither should we think it strange, since the early belief of all Teutonic peoples in dragons, griffins, goblins, and the like, had especially fitted them to appreciate the force of such forms, to come across their symbolical use in their saga.

A. Saga.

The oldest literary monument which mentions Siegfried's exploits is the A. S. poem *Beowulf* (Ca. 730). If we observe chronological order, the *Edda* (850-1050) and the *Volsunga-saga* (Ca. 1200) of the north should be mentioned next, although the *Siegfriedslied* or '*Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*,' which first appeared in printed form in the sixteenth century, is probably of much earlier origin. The *Thidreksaga* (Ca. 1250), a collection of sagas containing fragments of Low German songs, represents the North German form of the Siegfried-legend and agrees in its main outline with the *Nibelungenlied* (Ca. 1200), which is of Austrian origin.

In none of these versions do we find a pure form of the Siegfried-legend. All are evidently the result of a fusion, at some early period, of two separate cycles of saga, viz., those of Siegfried and of the Burgundians. How or why this was done, we have no means of knowing. When it happened is only a matter of conjecture; but it must have been long enough after the time of the historical characters involved, so that they

could have become legendary, and thus their real relation to each other would be more or less uncertain in the minds of the people. Allowing at least a century or so to elapse, in order that this change may have taken place (reckoning from 437 A.D., when the Huns almost exterminated the Burgundians), we may assume that the connection of these two stories may have occurred in the sixth century. That this process began on German soil is quite certain, judging from the historical characters involved and places mentioned, such as Gunther (Gundicarius), Giselher (Gislaharius), Gibich (Gibicus) of the Burgundians, the cities of Worms and Santen, the Rhine, etc.; that the saga underwent still further development in the north is also evident from the marked mythological element which particularly characterizes the Scandinavian versions. To make a distinct cleavage between these two cycles of saga is a most difficult task, if not an impossible one, yet a careful study of the versions may assist in reaching some definite conclusions.

That the independent story of Siegfried migrated to Britain during the *Völkerwanderung* is very probable, since we find it mentioned in *Beowulf*.¹⁷ We hear how Sigemund, the Wael-sing, fought and slew a dragon, which melted in its own fire, and gained the treasure which it had been guarding; but no mention is made of the Burgundians. The fact that the hero is called Sigemund instead of Siegfried does not offer any serious difficulties, since it would be easy to confuse one name with the other because of their similarity in form, especially when they belonged to father and son.^{17a} Since this account is only thrown in parenthetically between the parts of another narrative, we cannot expect to find more than the most important feature of it, viz., the killing of the dragon; Siegfried would naturally stand in the background, since *Beowulf* is the hero of this epic.

In the *Seyfridlied* appears a form of the Siegfried-legend which gives the hero a two-fold motive for killing the dragon, i.e., to rescue a maiden and win a treasure. Since all the features of the A. S. poem are included in this, the introduction of the maiden into the plot might mean nothing more than that this is a detailed account of the same story. The poem is

¹⁷ *Beowulf*, l. 885 ff. ^{17a} See, however, H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 122 ff.

very loosely constructed, being composed of two distinct parts which are evidently different versions of the same legend.

The first part, consisting of fifteen strophes, runs as follows: In *Niederland* lived King *Sigmund* who had a son named *Seyfrid*. The boy was large and strong, and so wilful that he gave his parents much anxiety. Wishing to be independent, *Seyfrid* left home, came to a village at the edge of a wood, and there entered the service of a blacksmith. But he was so strong that he drove the anvil into the ground with his powerful blows, and so hard to get along with that his master wished to get rid of him. Knowing that a dragon lived in the forest, he sent the boy past his haunt for charcoal. But *Seyfrid* killed and roasted the monster; bathing himself in the melted horn from its scales, he became invulnerable except between his shoulders. Then the hero went to King *Gibich's* court and won his daughter for a wife, whom he had eight years.

The second part of the poem tells the same story with variations, additions, and even contradictions. In the city of *Worms* on the *Rhine* lived a king named *Gybich*, who had three sons, *Gunther*, *Hagen*, and *Gyrnot*, also a beautiful daughter, *Kriemhild*. One day a dragon came flying along and carried *Kriemhild* to a high cliff in a dark forest, where he kept her for years. He slept with his head in her lap, and hoped to make her his wife when he regained his human form, for he was an enchanted prince.

Seyfrid, son of a mighty king, famed for his strength, was riding in a forest, when his dog scented the trail of the dragon. They followed it to the cliff, where *Seyfrid* met *Eugel*, King of the dwarfs, from whom he learned of his parents, whom he had never seen. *Eugel* tells him that his father's name was *Segimund*, and his mother's *Segelinde*. On being told of *Kriemhild's* captivity, *Seyfrid*, with *Eugel's* help, kills the dragon and rescues her. The treasure which *Seyfrid* found under the dragon's rock did not belong to the dragon, but to *Eugel's* brothers, the *Nybelings*. As the couple start away, *Eugel* prophesies that *Seyfrid* will have his wife only eight years, that he will be murdered guiltless, his wife will avenge his death so fearfully that not a hero will be left on earth, and will suffer violent death. When they reach the *Rhine*, *Seyfrid* thinks of *Eugel's* prophecy and casts the treasure

into the stream, since no one could enjoy it long. Having arrived at King Gybich's court, the wedding takes place, Seyfrid exercises such strict justice, that under his rule the greatest peace prevails. Therefore, he is envied by his brothers-in-law, who find themselves obscured by his brightness. They conspire against him, and Hagen, who is chosen to kill him, stabs him between the shoulders when he is bending over a spring.

In the first part no treasure is mentioned, and Seyfrid finds the maiden at her father's court; in the second, he delivers her from the dragon, finds the treasure, and takes her home. The construction of the poem indicates an early stage in the combination of the two cycles of saga, since the plot is so simple. In this, we can see, as Dr. J. Goebel¹⁸ suggests, that Seyfrid's greatest deed, the slaying of the dragon, is chosen to bring together the two stories.

The following comparative table will serve to demonstrate how closely the other sagas agree with the Seyfridlied in its main motifs.

Since the killing of a dragon is a most heroic exploit, we may say that the above diagram gives in outline the story of a hero named Siegfried, son of Sigmund, who performs a heroic deed, gains thereby a treasure, wins by forcible means, and possibly in connection with his greatest achievement, a maiden named Kriemhild for his wife, and dies some time later at the hand of his relatives who are jealous of him and desire his treasure.

It now remains for us to review the life of Arminius, to see whether the main motifs as given above can be detected in it. If so, we have a sufficiently firm historical basis to justify us in pursuing the investigation of the problem still further.

B. History.

Arminius¹⁹, the first great heroic character of German history, must have been born about 16 B.C. His father was Sigimer,²⁰ a prince of the tribe of the Cheruskans, which occupied

¹⁸ *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Velleius* II, 118.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

COMPARATIVE TABLE

	HERO	FATHER	DRAGON	TREASURE	MAIDEN	MURDER BY RELATIVES	ADDITIONAL FEATURES
Seyfridslied.....	Seyfrid	Sigmund	Present	Present	Kriemhild	Motive: jealousy of brothers-in-law.	
Northern Saga (Edda and Volsungasaga).....	Sigurd	Sigmund	Fafnir	Fafnir's	Guðrún	Motives: jealousy and avarice of relatives.	(1) Sigurd descends from Odin. (2) Brynhild is a valkyrie. (3) Fanciful elements.
Thidreksaga.....	Sigfrid	Sigmund	Regin	Regin's	Grimhild	Motives: jealousy and avarice of relatives.	(1) and (2) of northern saga lacking, and (3) less prominent.
Nibelungenlied.....	Siegfried	Sigemunt	Mentioned incidentally	Mentioned incidentally	Kriemhild	Motives: jealousy and avarice of relatives.	(1) and (2) lacking; (3) less prominent than in the Thidreksaga

the territory²¹ stretching westward from the Elbe beyond the Weser, into the eastern part of what is now Westfalen. This people had no kings; the highest political authority was vested in their princes. Arminius,²² who was qualified by disposition as well as by birth to be a leader of his people, filled this place well.

The Romans, whose government had subdued the country as far as the Rhine, were planning to move their boundary line still farther to the Elbe.²³ They did this by peaceful²⁴ means as far as possible, and built fortresses²⁵ through the land. As long as the relations between Romans and Germans were friendly, the sons of German princes were accustomed to enter into Roman military service. This was true of Arminius, who was given command of the Cheruscan troops.²⁶ About 7 A.D., a new Roman governor, Quinctilius Varus, was sent to 'Germania.' He had previously been holding the same position in Syria.²⁷ He was so unwise in his treatment of the Germans,²⁸ that they soon became restive and discontented. This was especially true of the Cherusicans. Varus, recognizing this fact, moved his available men into the very midst of their country in the year 9 A.D.²⁹ A conspiracy arose among them whose leader was Arminius. But not all of his people were in sympathy with his cause. Segestes, his father-in-law, was leader of an opposed party which was favorable to the Roman government.³⁰ He was also Arminius' enemy for personal reasons, because the latter had carried off and married Segestes' daughter who was already betrothed to another.³¹ Arminius' plan progressed so quietly and carefully, that Varus was lulled into a sense of false security and would not let himself be

²¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

²² *Tacitus*, II, 88.

²³ Kauffmann, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, p. 336.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 337-8.

²⁶ *Tacitus*, II, 10.

²⁷ Kauffmann, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, pp. 342-3.

²⁸ *Velleius*, II, 117.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Dio 56, 18.

³⁰ *Tacitus*, I, 55.

³¹ *Ibid.*

disturbed, even when warned by Segestes.³² Knowing well the hostility between the two men, he doubtless saw in it only an attempt of Segestes to harm Arminius. Since Varus neglected to act, Segestes took matters into his own hands and threw Arminius into chains; in retaliation Arminius' followers did the same to Segestes,³³ and Varus had to be called to settle the matter.³⁴

When the number of insurgents had become large enough to warrant it, plans were perfected for the revolt; in order to scatter the Roman forces, uprisings were to take place in different regions occupied by Arminius' adherents, especially in those which were at the outer edge of the revolting territory.³⁵ The exact truth as to the manner of the Varus battle cannot be determined from the different historical sources, because they disagree; but whether the revolt began in camp,³⁶ or on the march,³⁷ or whether both reports may be true, each concerning a different division of the Roman army, one fact stands out incontestibly—the three Roman legions commanded by Varus were practically annihilated and Varus took his own life.³⁸ To locate the battle field accurately has been a problem to all investigators, but it was in the Cheruscan territory, at any rate; some would place it in the Lippe-Detmold region. Special mention is made of the spoils taken from the Romans.³⁹

This battle in the 'Teutoburger Wald,' as it is usually called, resulted in a more sweeping victory than any of those which followed, and is usually the only one mentioned in connection with Arminius' career; yet had he not followed this with a persistent struggle against Roman rule, the result would have been far different for Germany. Soon after the Varus battle, the remnant of the Roman army which had taken refuge in the fortress at Aliso, retreated to the Rhine.⁴⁰

³² *Ibid.*; Dio 56, 19.

³³ *Tacitus*, I, 58.

³⁴ *Florus*, 2, 30.

³⁵ *Dio*, 56, 19.

³⁶ *Florus*, IV, 12.

³⁷ *Tacitus*, I, 61.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 57.

⁴⁰ *Dio*, 56, 22.

There was no further attempt on the part of the Romans to move their boundary line from the Rhine to the Elbe, but Germanicus, who became governor of Germania in 12 A.D., took it upon himself to punish the German tribes which had taken part in the uprising.⁴¹ He fell upon them with such terrible slaughter and devastation of territory, that Arminius advised his people to take up arms again against the Romans. But Segestes and his party opposed the idea. Evidently the feud between Arminius and his father-in-law had kept pace with their political hostility, for Tacitus tells us that Segestes sent to Germanicus for relief against the violence of his countrymen by whom he was being besieged.⁴² When the Roman general came and rescued Segestes together with a number of his relatives and followers, Arminius' wife Thusnelda was found among them. That she may have been an unwilling prisoner in her father's house is possible—indeed this may have been one of the prime reasons why Segestes' house was besieged—for Tacitus says of her: "With a spirit more like that of her husband than her father; neither subdued to tears, nor uttering the language of supplication."⁴³ We are told that Segestes and his family were taken to Vetera for safety, but Thusnelda was carried to Italy as a prisoner, where she gave birth to a son.⁴⁴

The news of his wife's captivity stirred up Arminius tremendously; he flew about among the Cheruskans and neighboring peoples, calling them to arms against Germanicus and Segestes.⁴⁵ His appeals met with a vigorous response, and even his uncle, Inguiomer, who had heretofore held himself aloof, now joined the confederacy.⁴⁶

Finally matters came to a crisis when Germanicus, after having devastated neighboring territory, entered the land of the Cheruskans, to visit the Varus battle field and bury the bones of the slain which had been lying there for six years.⁴⁷

⁴¹ *Tacitus*, I, 56.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 57.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Tacitus*, I, 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 59.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 61, 62.

Arminius, who was in a state of constant vigilance, led his army against the Romans in such a furious attack, that it would doubtless have been a repetition of the Varus battle had not darkness put an end to the conflict. The result might have been a final victory for the Germans, if Inguiomer had not insisted on storming the camp, instead of waiting until the Romans should come out on soft, boggy ground.⁴⁸ As it was, the Germans suffered heavy losses. From this time there seems to have been a coolness between Arminius and Inguiomer, which finally resulted in the desertion of the latter to Marobodus, the Suevian king, "For no other cause," says Tacitus, "than disdain that the veteran uncle should obey his youthful nephew."⁴⁹ Also Flavus, Arminius' brother, who had been serving in the Roman army, refused to espouse the cause of his fatherland. Tacitus gives us a vivid picture of the interview of the two brothers, with the Weser flowing between them, the night before the battle of Idistaviso. The only result was a heated dispute and probably increased hostility between them.⁵⁰

Yet, in spite of the enmity of kindred, Arminius did not falter. Resolved to try every means of strengthening his forces, that very night he sent to the Roman camp a messenger, who called out in the name of his leader, offering to every deserter a wife and land, and, as long as the war should last, one hundred sesterces a day. This only kindled the wrath of the enemy, however, and incited them to fiercer conflict.⁵¹ On the following day the armies met in battle, but owing to a failure in the carrying out of Arminius' plans, the Germans were routed.⁵²

But Arminius and his allies did not dream of final submission. Upon seeing the Roman soldiers build a mound of German weapons upon the field of battle and place upon it the German arms with the names of all the vanquished nations inscribed below, "people, nobles, youth, aged, all rush suddenly upon the Roman army and disorder it."⁵³ A hand-to-hand

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 63-68.

⁴⁹ *Tacitus*, II, 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, 14-17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, 18-19.

conflict now ensued in which the Germans, hampered in narrow places and unable to wield their immense spears, were no match for the Roman soldiers, armed with swords and in coats of mail.⁵⁴ Germanicus now raised another pile of German arms with this inscription: "The army of Tiberius, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus."⁵⁵ Germanicus believed that the German people were now weakening, and hoped to be able to complete his conquest by the following summer.⁵⁶ But Tiberius sent for him to come home, saying that "The Cheruskans and the other hostile nations, now that the Roman honor was vindicated, might be left to pursue their own intestine feuds."⁵⁷

Germanicus returned to Rome the following year (17 A.D.) with every appearance of having won a complete victory over the Germans. A triumphal arch was raised and in the triumphal procession were the spoils and captives of war, among whom were Thusnelda and her three-year-old son Thumelicus.⁵⁸ What became of the child we are not told. Of one thing we are sure, however, that he was not living in 47 A.D. when the Cheruskans asked the Romans to give them Italicus, son of Flavius, for their king, since he was the only prince left of the royal family of Arminius.⁵⁹ Yet in spite of Germanicus' demonstrations, Tacitus, in summing up the life of Arminius, admits that 'while he was defeated in single battles, he had not been worsted in the general issue of the war, and that without doubt he was the deliverer of Germany.'⁶⁰

Tiberius' statement of his policy seemed almost prophetic: Arminius, recognizing, without doubt, the need of a more closely organized government in order to preserve their national life, sought to have bestowed upon himself the title of king. But this only stirred up the envy and jealousy of the other Cheruscan nobles, and the great mass of the people resisted

⁵⁴ *Tacitus*, II, 20, 21.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 22.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Strabo*, VII, 1.

⁵⁹ *Tacitus*, XI, 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 88.

strongly, even taking up arms.⁶¹ In 19 A.D. Adgandestrius, a Chattiian prince (according to R. Much),⁶² the father-in-law of Flavus made an offer to the Roman senate to kill Arminius, if they would furnish the poison. This the Romans refused to do, but later, as Tacitus tells us, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred.⁶³ With his death the best days of the Cheruscan people were at an end. Only a generation later, as has been noted, the royal family was almost extinct. In the time of Tacitus, about seventy years after Arminius' death, the tribe had so deteriorated that he says: "The Cherusicans, who formerly bore the titles of just and upright, are now charged with cowardice and folly. . . ."⁶⁴

It now remains for us to look through the story of Arminius, keeping in mind the main motives of the Siegfried-legend as given above, and to decide whether or not there is a close correspondence between them. Expressing the result in the simplest form possible, we have the story of a hero named Arminius, son of Sigimer, who performs the heroic deed of freeing Germany from the power of the Romans, gains treasure in the spoils of war, wins by forcible means a maiden named Thusnelda for his wife, and dies later at the hand of his relatives who are jealous of him.

III

SIEGFRIED-ARMINIUS

A study of the old Teutonic names indicates a marked tendency to follow certain definite principles in the naming of children, using as a base the name of one of the parents. (1) inflection through ablaut: *Ada, Oda (Uota)*; (2) through alliteration: *Gibich, Gunther, Gernot, Gieselher*; (3) agreement with either the first or second part of the parent's name: *Deotwih, Deotwind; Amalgardis, Raingardis, Angilgardis*.⁶⁵

The names of Siegfried's kinsmen show a domination of the first part, 'Seg-' or 'Sig-': *Sige* (his great-great-grandfather),⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Tacitus*, II, 88.

⁶² *Zeitschrift f. d. Altertum*, V, 35, 367.

⁶³ *Tacitus*, II, 88.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 326.

⁶⁵ *Die Deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, Weinhold, 78 ff.

⁶⁶ *Volsungasaga*, Chap. I.

Sigmund (his father),⁶⁷ Signy (his aunt),⁶⁸ Sigelinde (his mother),⁶⁹ Sigmund (his son).⁷⁰

On the other hand, in the royal family of the Cherusicans are: *Sigimer* (Arminius' father),⁷¹ *Segestes* (distant relative and father-in-law of Arminius),⁷² *Segimund* (Segestes' son).⁷³ *Thumelicus* (Arminius' son)⁷⁴ is named for his mother, *Thusnelda*,⁷⁵ by alliteration. In the case of Arminius and his brother *Flavus*,⁷⁶ it is certain that their names are not constructed according to any of the above-mentioned principles. Their form would allow the conjecture that they may have been Roman names, yet there are other possibilities: the Cherusicans belonged to a larger group of German tribes called *Herminones* after their god *Irmin*. This name, which means 'shining,' 'brilliant,' 'sublime,' appears as a component part of proper names: *Irmingot*, *Irmingart*, etc. In 'Arminius' it may also echo, as the religious epithet of the most magnificent hero of the race. The change of initial vowel from 'i' to 'a' could have taken place through *ablaut*.^{76a} 'Flavus' may have been derived from the adjective 'flaxen-colored,' as descriptive of its owner. If the above-mentioned suggestions were proved to be correct, there would still be left the possibility that the brothers may have had family names similar to those of their kinsmen. In that case, since there is such a marked similarity of form between the names of the members of these two family groups, the one legendary, the other historical, it would tend to strengthen the theory that Siegfried is Arminius.

A comparison of the personal characteristics of the two heroes is also very important; for whatever other changes legend may make in a historical character, it is not likely to

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. II; *Nibelungenlied*, Av. II, str. 1.

⁶⁸ *Volsungasaga*, Chap. II.

⁶⁹ *Nibelungenlied*, Av. II, str. 1.

⁷⁰ *Skaldskaparmal*, 6.

⁷¹ *Vellejus*, II, 118.

⁷² *Tacitus*, I, 55.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 57.

⁷⁴ *Strabo*, 7, 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Tacitus*, II, 10.

^{76a} Cf. M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgerm. Personen- und Völkernamen*. Heidelberg, 1911.

alter his leading qualities, although it may magnify them. Velleius Paterculus, who was evidently personally acquainted with Arminius, testifies of him: "A youth of noble family, brave hand, quick perception, clever mind, more than barbarians are."⁷⁷ Tacitus says: "Arminius was the incendiary of Germany. . . . Arminius having more influence with them (Cheruskans) because he advised war; for with barbarians, the more resolute a man is, the more he is trusted and preferred."⁷⁸ To be brief, the entire record of Arminius' career is a constant recital of bravery, daring, energy, resourcefulness. That we are dependent upon his political enemies for all that we know of Arminius, is an assurance that their testimony is no exaggeration, for enemies do not flatter. In the *Volsungasaga* it is said of Siegfried (Sigurd): "And where all the most superior men and kings are mentioned in saga, Sigurd must take the lead, as far as strength, aptness, energy, and boldness are concernedNever did he lack in courage, and never did he know fear."⁷⁹ The *Thidreksaga* recognizes his quickness to think and act by calling him "der schnelle Sigfrid."

Tacitus witnesses to Arminius' eloquence and powers of persuasion in different places. After Germanicus had carried off his wife into captivity, Arminius stirred up his people to take up arms, saying: 'An excellent father! a great general! a valiant army, whose many hands had carried off one bit of a woman! That before him three legions fell, three lieutenant-generals; for his method was not by treason. . . . but openly, against armed hosts. . . . Segestes might live upon the vanquished bank; but the Germans would always regard the fellow as the guilty cause of their having seen between Rhine and Elbe rods, axes, and the toga. . . . If they preferred their country, their parents, and their ancient possessions to masters and new settlements, they should follow Arminius who led them to glory and liberty, rather than Segestes, who conducted them to infamous servitude."⁸⁰ The survivors of the Varus battle also told how Arminius held a tribunal, executed the Roman captives, and in proud scorn made a mock

⁷⁷ *Velleius*, II, 118.

⁷⁸ *Tacitus*, I, 57.

⁷⁹ *Volsungasaga*, Chap. 22.

⁸⁰ *Tacitus*, I, 59.

at the standards and eagles.⁸¹ On the eve of a battle with the Suevians after Inguiomer with his followers had deserted to them, Arminius sought to inspire his men by reminding them of 'their liberty recovered, the slaughtered legions, the spoils and arms wrested from the Romans still in the hands of many.' Calling Marobodus (king of the Suevians) a runaway, he described him as one who was 'inexperienced in fighting, a betrayer of his country, a lifesguardsman of Caesar, worthy to be exterminated in the indignant spirit with which they had slaughtered Quinctilius Varus.'⁸²

On the other hand, Sigurd is described thus: "He was bold in speech, eloquent, liked to deliberate with his friends. . . All who heard him were compelled to believe that it could not be otherwise than as he said."⁸³

That both men had eyes full of fire and spirit, is especially emphasized. Velleius says of Arminius: "Out of whose face and eyes shone the fire of his soul."⁸⁴ In the Volsungasaga, when King Hjalprek "saw the sharp eyes which he (Sigurd) had in his head, he was glad."⁸⁵ Fafni said to Sigurd: "You boy with the sparkling eyes";⁸⁶ "his eyes were so piercing that few dared to look under his eyebrows."⁸⁷ Gutthorm had to wait until Sigurd was asleep, before he could murder him, because he could not meet that penetrating look.⁸⁸ In Sigurdarkvida, Brynhild says to Sigurd: "I thought I knew your eyes, but was not sure because of the darkness."⁸⁹ To find any closer agreement of legend with history in the delineation of character than is displayed in the above extracts, would be difficult.

As to the native land of the two heroes, the sources are quite unreliable. The different sagas use different names for the same places, and even the historians' geographical information is vague. Yet by an interpretative method some agreement may be reached.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸³ *Wilkinasaga*, 166.

⁸⁴ *Vellejus*, II, 118.

⁸⁵ *Volsungasaga*, 13.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 30; *Corp. Poet.*, p. 398.

⁸⁹ *Corp. Poet.*, p. 397.

The Cheruskans occupied the land between the Elbe and Weser in the time of Tacitus,⁹⁰ but it is probable that in Augustus' reign they extended even westward from the Weser.⁹¹

"Sinfjotlis Tod" begins: "Sigmund, Wolsungs Sohn, war König in Frankenland"; "Sigurdarkvida on skamma" calls Sigurd "der hunnische König"; in the Volsungasaga, Sige, Odin's son, ruled over "Hunaland."⁹² The Wilkinasaga informs us that Sigmund (Siegfried's father) ruled over the land called "Tarlungen,"⁹³ which is interpreted by v. d. Hagen to mean "Kärlingen," a part of the Carolingian Kingdom. The Nibelungenlied says that Siegfried's home was in Santen, and that his father was king of 'Niderlant.'

It is R. C. Boer's opinion that 'Hunaland' means the same as Saxland (Sachsen).⁹⁴ The Cheruscan territory could be included under any of these three names: Frankenland, Hunaland, Kärlingen. 'Santen of Niderlant' is the most difficult to explain, for it refers to a locality outside of Cheruscan boundaries. It may be that A. Beneke is correct, when he suggests that the later contributors to the saga, having become confused concerning the locality, have associated Siegfried with Xanten, the old *Castra Vetera* of the Romans, which was the central point for all military expeditions in the north at the time when Arminius was in the service of the Romans.⁹⁵ If this could be known with certainty, it would be the best possible proof of the identity of Siegfried and Arminius.

To interpret Siegfried's killing the dragon as a symbolical representation of Arminius' great deed, the liberation of his native land, may seem at first sight rather fanciful. Yet, in order to render a perfectly fair decision on this point, it is necessary to get, as far as possible, the situation out of which the poem developed—the viewpoint of the people for whom it was intended.

The dragon is a mythical being which has figured largely in the early history of different peoples, and has always repre-

⁹⁰ *Tacitus*, I, 59.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 326, N. 2.

⁹² *Volsungasaga*, Chap. I.

⁹³ v. d. Hagen, *Heldensagen*, p. 321, n. 1.

⁹⁴ *Die Sagen von Ermanarich u. Dietrich v. Bern*, R. C. Boer, 301.

⁹⁵ *Siegfried u. d. Varusschlacht*, pp. 23-4.

sented a mighty power, usually harmful. The conception of such a monster seems to have originated in the East, where there were large and deadly snakes; hence the dragon, or serpent, was representative of the principle of evil. Dragon stories are found among all Indogermanic peoples. Also griffins, fabulous creatures, half lion, half eagle, were similar to dragons in their habits; they were supposed to watch over mines of gold and hidden treasure and to abduct maidens and children. In Germanic poetry, the earliest appearance of the griffin, according to Bartsch, is in the 'Annolied' which mentions Alexander's ride through the air on the backs of two griffins. Other similar instances are: the abduction of young Hagen by a griffin in 'Gudrun'; in 'Willehalm' Queen Gyburg dreams of griffins; in the 'Rabenschlacht' Frau Helke dreams that a wild dragon carries away her son; in the 'Heldenbuch' Hildebrand tells his wife that a griffin has carried off the "Berner";⁹⁶ Wolfram mentions in 'Parzival' another saga of griffins which were guardians of gold and precious stones;⁹⁷ in 'Titurel' griffins guard gold treasures;⁹⁸ Konrad's 'Trojaner Krieg' (5860) tells of Schryon's fights with griffins; Konrad von Megenburg represents the griffin as being hostile to men and horses; the Meisterlieder of the Kolmar Ms. use the griffin in a symbolical sense to represent the devil.

In the Bible we find the first mention of the dragon, or serpent, in a symbolical manner.⁹⁹ In Asia the dragon was a symbol of despotism; amongst the Germans, a secret guardian of riches. It was the office of heroes to exterminate dragons and giants from the world. Thor himself fights the 'Midgardsschlange'; the Hindoos have a dragon killed by the god Indra; the Greeks, by Apollo; in the Celtic saga Tristan is the dragon-killer; in the Lombardian saga, Ortnit; in the English saga, Beowulf, Arthur, and Lancelot. The dragon myths of the pagan East took shape in the victories of St. Michael and St. George. With the migration of the latter to the West, it became a story symbolical of the Christian life: St. George represents the servant of God who has on the Christian armor,

⁹⁶ Herzog, Ernst, Bartsch, ed. pp. 11 ff. CX.

⁹⁷ Parzival, 71, 17.

⁹⁸ Titurel, 3348, 8.

⁹⁹ Genesis 3; Rev. 12, 9; 20, 2; Deut. 32, 33.

and is called upon to fight "that old serpent, the devil."¹⁰⁰ Since the dragon-myth has come down through many centuries from the prehistoric past, always associated with the idea of great power and evil, it is easy to see how this came to be used in a symbolical way, just as we speak nowadays, calling a greedy person a 'hog,' a comical one a 'monkey,' a ship a 'monster of the deep.' Yet no one is deceived; we know that such terms are used because the second is an embodiment of that characteristic which we wish to attribute to the first, and because this form of speech is much more striking than to use the simple adjective. If this manner of speaking appeals to us today, much more would it do so to those of earlier times. As a child delights in pictures, so the simple, unreflective mind found greater meaning in a picture-form of some kind than in a mere descriptive word. Especially in poetry, where a particularly fine effect was desired, the poet would not fail to use this manner of speech to a greater or less extent. We do not know whether the songs which Tacitus¹⁰¹ refers to contained any account of a dragon-fight—perhaps not. But to some poetic mind which saw Rome, the great, the powerful nation, supposed to be almost invincible, making steady, victorious progress into the very heart of Germany, and then beheld the hero Arminius come forward and send that proud foe back in final defeat, it pictured itself as a fight with a dragon: Siegfried-Arminius, the undaunted hero, bravely attacks the monstrous dragon, Rome—such an evil power in Germany—and slays him, i.e., kills his political power. Truly, a striking and appropriate figure! Yet it would not deceive any of the poet's hearers. Who did not know of Siegfried-Arminius and the great service which he rendered to his country? Who did not know how Rome had enslaved the freedom of the peoples who were subject to her? How eloquently the dragon-story tells it all to them! And the treasure—for dragons are always supposed to have one—that would, of course be the silver and gold vessels and money taken as spoils after the defeat of Varus. For Arminius makes special mention of "the spoils and arms wrested from the Romans, still in the hands of many."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, by S. Baring-Gould, pp. 266-316.

¹⁰¹ Tacitus, II, 88.

¹⁰² Tacitus, II, 45.

In connection with the subject of these Roman spoils should be mentioned a discovery which has given rise to considerable speculation. (We are indebted to Otto Seek¹⁰³ and Friedr. Wieseler¹⁰⁴ for the information given below.) A large quantity of silver utensils was unearthed near Hildesheim, October 17, 1868, while soldiers were digging preparatory to laying the foundation of a shooting-stand for the infantry. About nine feet below the surface were found about sixty whole pieces and a number of fragments. There were dishes appropriate for table use, drinking bouts, and cooking. In weight, style, type of workmanship, place of inscription, forms of letters and signs, manner of execution of inscriptions, (puncturing or scratching), these vessels give clear evidence of belonging to the Augustan age.

It seems to be quite generally believed that this is war booty from the Varus battle: (1) it was found in the old Cheruscan territory, not far from the supposed site of the engagement; (2) there had been no great defeat of the Romans either before or after that of Varus, from which such booty could have been gained; (3) besides, no Roman army had come into that region much later than Germanicus; (4) with the exception of possibly two pieces, it is all Roman silver.

That these utensils had belonged to Varus is believed quite probable: (1) two dishes of beautiful workmanship, with relief-work in the bottom (such were placed on the table simply as show-pieces), and evidently meant to go together, contain, according to Wieseler's judgment, figures of the divinities Rhea-Cybele and Lunus, both of whom were worshipped in Syria, but not in European Greece or Rome. These could have been bought—or appropriated—by Varus during his governorship in Syria.¹⁰⁵ Seek also believes that Varus was the Roman possessor of this silver, but for a different reason, viz., two beautiful cups have inscribed on them the name of Lucius Manlius Bocchus, as an earlier possessor. The fact that Bocchus is a Moorish African name, and the first two are Roman, shows that he must have been a prince of his province who enjoyed Roman citizenship. Since Varus had been

¹⁰³ *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Bonn, 1868.

¹⁰⁴ *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1911.

¹⁰⁵ *Vellejus*, II, 117.

Proconsul of Africa before he was transferred to Asia, he probably got them there. (2) The first two dishes mentioned, together with a Minerva and a Hercules, are evidently antique pieces, dating from about 200 B.C. That they had been the property of a wealthy collector of antique silver is indicated by the fact that the relief work, which is old and worn, has been taken out of the old plate and inserted in a new one. Varus was a wealthy man, as Velleius so emphatically states: "Poor he entered the rich country (Syria) and rich he left a poor land."¹⁰⁶ Doubtless he used these pieces at his banquets to impress the Germans with their splendor. (3) The utensils belonged to some one who had remained in camp for a long time, since no one would take such things along on an ordinary military campaign. Varus had a camp in this region and was more accustomed to the idleness of camp-life than to field-service.¹⁰⁷

Granting that the silver had belonged to Varus, it would of course become the property of the victors. A seeming proof that this had been in the possession of some German is found in two vessels which stand in marked contrast to the others in the quality of execution. A peculiar geometrical design identical with that found on prehistoric pots of Germany, marks them as being of German make; but there is also an evident copying of designs from the other pieces. This would indicate that the maker of the tankards had used the Roman designs as his model.

That this, probably the most valuable part of the spoils, should fall to Arminius, as the prince and leader, would not be strange. Some things would seem to prove that this was so: (1) a number of vessels are more or less mutilated—in fact, only small fragments of some remain. The missing pieces may have been cut off to be used as money ("Hacksilber"), since there was no regularly-established monetary system in Germany then. It is noticeable, however, that the finest pieces remain almost intact. This would show that the German owner must have had an appreciation of their real artistic worth. Who, of the Germans more than Arminius, had been in touch with Roman culture?

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Velleius*, II, 117.

Wieseler, in discussing the probable reasons why these utensils were not dug up and used as trophies of victory after the departure of the Romans, reminds us of the civil strife among the Cheruskans which so closely affected Arminius; his life was full of struggles and dangers—even his relatives became his enemies. Possibly the knowledge that he owned this valuable treasure was the immediate cause of his death. But his murderer failed to find it, after all.

Resuming the work of comparison, a reflection of Thusnelda's abduction may be seen in the rescue of Kriemhild from the power of the dragon. Since the dragon has been interpreted as being representative of the Roman power, the figure may be carried still further by saying that Thusnelda's father Segestes, being a friend of Rome, would be classed with the Romans. Thus, when Arminius carries her away, he is, in a sense, rescuing her from the power of Rome. That Thusnelda was willing to be delivered is certain, since she hated the Roman oppression as much as Arminius did.¹⁰⁸

The names of Kriemhild, Gudrun, and Thusnelda have given a great deal of trouble to students of this question. In the Seyfridslied, the Thidreksaga, and the Nibelungenlied, the name of Siegfried's wife is Kriemhild or Grimhild; only in the northern saga do we hear of Gudrun. Dr. J. Goebel's suggestion seems to shed light upon the problem, viz., that since the *Atlakvida*, a very old Eddic Lay, contains nothing which would indicate any previous marriage of Gudrun with Sigurd, this feature must have been added later, in order to connect the two cycles of saga; also that the magic potion which makes Gudrun forget Sigurd and marry Attila is a device introduced at the same time, to furnish a plausible excuse for her second marriage, since Gudrun does not, like Kriemhild of the *Nibelungenlied*, marry again, in order to be able to avenge the death of her husband; furthermore, that Brynhild is introduced here as Attila's sister (daughter of Budli,¹⁰⁹ Attila's father), in order to supply a motive for Attila's destruction of the Burgundians, i. e., to avenge his sister's death.¹¹⁰

It seems to be a generally accepted opinion that the names Thusnelda and Kriemhild, or Grimhild, are identical. It is,

¹⁰⁸ Tacitus, I, 57.

¹⁰⁹ *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 6 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Brot af Sigurdarkvida*, 10, 14; *Sigurdarkvida en skamma*, 16, 30.

however, true that a comparison of the lives of the two women does not yield satisfactory results. As has already been noted, the slaying of the dragon was evidently chosen to be the connecting link between the two sagas. Thus, Siegfried won for his wife the maiden whom he rescued, who was a daughter of the Burgundian king. Then it would be necessary, granting that Arminius is Siegfried, for some adjustment to be made between the Burgundian maiden and Thusnelda. It must be, judging from the situation as we find it, that the personality of Gibich's daughter is retained, but she is given the name of Thusnelda (Kriemhilde), since we find no trace of the real Thusnelda in the saga.

But how is the name 'Gudrun' of the northern saga to be accounted for? Possibly it is due simply to a confusion of the names of mother and daughter (since Grimhild is Gudrun's mother) in the same way that Siegfried is called by his father's name in *Beowulf*. Another possibility is, that in those early days 'Gudrun' the historical name of Gibich's daughter, may have been preserved in some way—perhaps in a poem which has not come down to us—and that the northern poet, being acquainted with it, chose to give her the real name instead of the transferred one.

The tragedy of both history and legend lies in the circumstances attending the death of the hero. Brunhild is made use of in the plot to bring about Siegfried's death, yet the motive of jealousy and avarice on the part of his kinsmen is continually coming to the surface. Gudrun says: "He excelled all men, as gold does iron. . . . until my brothers begrudged me a husband who was more excellent than all. . . . They could not sleep until they murdered him."¹¹¹ Almost these same words appear in the *Edda*.¹¹²

Fafni warns Sigurd that the treasure of which he is about to take possession will bring death to him;¹¹³ Gunnar proposes to Hagen that they kill Sigurd and make disposition of all his treasure and property;¹¹⁴ Hagen says to Gunther in speaking of Siegfried's hoard:

Hey, solden wir den teilen noch in Buregonden lant!¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ *Volsungasaga*, 31.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹² *Gudrunarkvida*, 11, 1-8.

¹¹⁵ *Nibelungenlied*, Zarnke, p. 117, 2.

¹¹³ *Volsungasaga*, 18.

Again he suggests to Gunther:

Ob Stvrit niht enlebte,	sô wûrde iu undertân
vil der künige lande,	der helt dô trûren began. ¹¹⁶

Gunnar says to Hagen: "Now, wilt thou betray the king (Sigurd) for his wealth? It were sweet to own the hoard of the Rhine, and wield that wealth in happiness and sit and enjoy it in peace."¹¹⁷

Also the tenacity with which the Burgundians hold fast to the hoard, and Kriemhild's constant endeavor to obtain it, serve to deepen the impression already given, as to the part which greed for gold may have played in the murder of Siegfried. In the Dietrichsaga Grimhild asks Attila to invite her brothers to visit them, complaining at the same time that they will not give her a penny of Siegfried's treasure;¹¹⁸ Grimhild thus greets Hagen, Sigfrid's murderer: "Have you brought me the hoard of the Nibelungs?"¹¹⁹ When Hagen refuses to produce the hoard as long as any of the royal house are living, Kriemhild immediately has Gunther, the only survivor, beheaded. Then Hagen says:

den hort den weiz nu niemen,	wan got unde mîn.
der sol dich, vâlândinne,	immer wol verholn stn. ¹²⁰

Unfortunately, only one of the historians who write of Arminius has mentioned his death. But this one, Tacitus, tells us very plainly that "he fell by the treachery of his own kindred."¹²¹ In a few terse sentences is outlined the situation which culminated in the death of Germany's liberator. The plot of Adgandestrius, the Chattian prince, to poison Arminius, the evident jealousy of his relatives of the royal family who, like his uncle Inguiomer, did not wish to recognize his authority or obey him, and thus resisted his claims to kingship—all move along the same line of jealousy that has been observed in the Siegfried-legend.

While nothing is said of the motive of avarice on the part of Arminius' murderers, the fact that the saga has stressed

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132, 3.

¹¹⁷ *Long Lay of Brunhild, Corp. Poet.*, p. 296.

¹¹⁸ *Wilkinasaga*, 334.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 346.

¹²⁰ *Nibelungenlied*, Zarnke, 362, 3.

¹²¹ *Tacitus*, II, 88.

this particular motive so heavily, would seem to indicate that it must have had some historical basis. We know, however, that since the Cheruskans won rich booty from the Varus victory, Arminius would probably have a no insignificant share of it. Perhaps in the Hildesheim treasure lies the sequel to the story of Arminius—the hoard which tempted some of his greedy relatives to take his life.

Gudrun says: "My life was better when I was with Sigurd; we slew kings and took possession of their property; we *gave peace to those who wished it.*"¹²² Siegfried said when dying:

ich behielt iu *lîp unt êre* in *angeslîtcher nôt*,¹²³

Would not the above words apply equally well to Arminius?

Among the prophetic utterances of Brynhild just before she mounts the funeral pyre is one to the effect that all the race of Sigurd is to perish;¹²⁴ Sigurd, when dying, says prophetically:

der mortliche tôt
mag iuch wol geriuwen her nâch disen tagen:
geloubt an rechten triuwen, das ir iuch selben habt erslagn.¹²⁵

How well these prophecies seem to find fulfillment in what Tacitus tells as to the fate of the royal family of the Cheruskans! "The same year (47A.D.) the Cheruscan nation had recourse to Rome for a king; their domestic wars having swept away their nobles, and of the royal stock only one remaining, who resided in the city (Rome), named Italicus. He was the son of Flavus, the brother of Arminius."¹²⁶

A glance at the comparative table above shows that the later versions of the Siegfried-legend have really added very little to the motifs already appearing in the Seyfridslied, and that these later elements are largely mythical or fanciful. The fact that the first two, viz., Sigurd's descent from Odin and Brynhild's valkyrie nature, appear only in the northern saga, is due to the conditions under which the Scandinavian versions developed. The Eddic songs are the oldest, and probably had their origin in the Viking period; the lingual and metric forms

¹²² *Volsungasaga*, 38.

¹²³ *Nibelungenlied*, Zarnke, p. 150, 7.

¹²⁴ *Long Lay of Brunhild*, *Corp. Poet.*, p. 302.

¹²⁵ *Nibelungenlied*, Zarnke, p. 151, 3.

¹²⁶ *Tacitus*, XI, 16.

indicate that they could not have been written earlier than the ninth century.¹²⁷ Since the northern Germanic nations were not Christianized until about the beginning of the eleventh century,¹²⁸ these early songs must necessarily reflect more or less of the old heathen mythology. Although the Volsungasaga was written considerably later (Ca. 1200) it, too, still shows traces of the earlier religion. Taking into account the fact that the Christian religion was forced upon the people of the north by their rulers and thus consisted largely at first of an outward compliance rather than of an inner acceptance, it is easy to understand how the old belief, so deeply interwoven with the whole life of the people, would linger on for a long time after the nation was considered nominally Christian.

Especially that phase of mythology, known as the heroic saga, would tend to persist the longest, since it has a human side. It seems to have been a characteristic element of mythology in general, that the great heroes should be descendants of the gods: Perseus, the hero of Argos, was the son of Jupiter, while his mother was the beautiful daughter of Acrisius; Hercules, the national hero of the Greeks, was also the son of Jupiter and had an earthly mother, Alcmena;¹²⁹ Siegfried, the great Germanic hero, descended from Odin. How such a hero-glorification could occur, is due partly to a natural tendency in human nature to idealize national heroes, and partly to the conception which the people had of the old heathen deities: they lived like men, and were endowed, especially in the Norse mythology, with many human qualities; but they were more powerful than men and invested with superhuman faculties.¹³⁰ The hero, then, who was superior to his fellows in power and achievement, would naturally be supposed to be akin to the gods.

In the valkyrie nature of Brynhild sounds the dying echo of a peculiar feature of the later Scandinavian mythology which is an evident personification of fate, relating usually only to war. The valkyries were not, like the heroes, deified humans, but goddesses of war, who presided over the battlefield, chose

¹²⁷ *The Religion of the Teutons*, de la Saussaye, 194 ff.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 178 ff.

¹²⁹ *Classic Myths*, C. M. Gayley, 108-16.

¹³⁰ *The Religion of the Teutons*, de la Saussaye, 285.

the warriors who were to fall, and decided the victory.¹³¹ Judging from some of the oldest Edda lays, Brynhild is at first no valkyrie, but the daughter of Budli. She says, in relating how her brother Attli insisted upon her marriage, threatening to deprive her of her inheritance if she refused:

In great doubt I hesitated a long time,
Whether I should fight and cut down warriors,
Dressed in armor, in defiance of my brother.¹³²

The Volsungasaga tells practically the same story;¹³³ Budli, when dying, says:

Yet for Brynhild, the helmet is fitting,
A wish-maiden must she become.¹³⁴

This tendency finds still fuller development in one of the Lost Lays of the Lacuna, where Sigfrid rides through the wall of flame and finds Brynhild with sword in hand, clad in helmet and coat-of-mail. She says that she has been in battle with the King of Gothland, her weapons are dyed with men's blood, and she yearns after that kind of a life; if he wishes her, he must be the best of men and slay those who have sought her in marriage.¹³⁵ In the Western Wolsung Lay Brynhild has become a fully-developed valkyrie; she has been punished by Odin for disobedience in "bringing low in battle others than those he wished to fall."¹³⁶ The same story with variations is found in the Volsungasaga.¹³⁷ Thus the motif grew in the northern saga; but in the Dietrichsaga¹³⁸ and Nibelungenlied no vestige remains of this supernatural element except in the superior strength displayed by Brunhild in her mastery of Gunther¹³⁹ and in the contests of strength described in the Nibelungenlied.¹⁴⁰ The character of Brunhild is very plastic; she seems to have no historical connection, but is rather a

¹³¹ *The Religion of the Teutons*, de la Saussaye, 304 ff.

¹³² *Sigurdarkvida en skamma*, 38.

¹³³ *Volsungasaga*, 29.

¹³⁴ *Oddrúnargrátr*, 15.

¹³⁵ *The Wooing of Sigfrid*, *Corp. Poet.*, 313-14.

¹³⁶ *Corp. Poet.*, 158.

¹³⁷ *Volsungasaga*, 20.

¹³⁸ *Wilkinasaga*, 206.

¹³⁹ *Nibelungenlied*, Zarnke, 69, 2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 96, 4 ff.

creation of the poet's fancy, made to assist in carrying out the plot, and thus adjusts herself to meet the need: (1) she serves to give Attila a motive for causing the destruction of the Burgundians; (2) she brings about Siegfried's death. Later, when it is Kriemhild who seeks the death of the Burgundians, in order to avenge Siegfried's fate, and Siegfried's wooing of Brunhild is omitted, the latter takes a place secondary in importance to that of her rival, and simply drops out after she has performed her part in connection with Siegfried's death.

The fanciful element which appears in the northern saga consists in Siegfried's ability to understand the birds, and to change forms with Gunther; his wonderful steed Grani; his magic sword Gram, or Balmung; his horny hide; his 'tarnhût'; and the wall of flame which encircled Brynhild. All of these betray a love of the marvelous, the wonderful, the supernatural—a tendency to use fanciful embellishments—which is especially characteristic of the northern literature. To be sure, the German versions are not entirely free from them, but they have receded farther into the background. The story of Siegfried and his encounter with the dragon, as well as that of his winning the treasure, is not given as a prominent motif, but narrated by Hagen, in order to identify the hero; the fact that Siegfried has a horny hide is learned only when Kriemhild informs Hagen, so that he may protect the vulnerable spot. The *Nibelungenlied* is the literary product of a people who were interested in the pursuits of chivalry. While the subject matter with which the poem deals does not belong to a chivalrous age, the poet has enveloped it in the atmosphere of the times. Richly dressed knights and ladies, gayly caparisoned horses, magnificent feasts, knightly contests of skill and strength—these were preferred to stories of dragons and treasure, gods and valkyries.

Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this paper to establish an interpretation of the Siegfried legend which, excluding the fantastic and improbable, should follow only the lines of research justified by a comparison of the leading motifs in saga with the facts of history. In presenting the theory that the dragon of legend might represent the political power of Rome in Germany, or

still more generally, a heroic exploit, there has been no attempt to follow in the footsteps of earlier investigators and interpret every detail of the legendary account as being symbolical. To do so would be to ignore the nature of the saga and its manner of growth. No poet of the Germanic tribes set for himself the task of reproducing faithfully in the dragon-story of Siegfried every feature of the great deed of Arminius; the legend did not leave the hand of any single person as a finished work. For centuries it passed from mouth to mouth, from place to place, receiving an added touch here, losing something there—always subject to the whim of its transmitter. Thus, names of persons and places changed, causing an endless amount of confusion later on, as in the case of Sigmund, concerning the name of whose kingdom no two sagas agree. Subject to the influence of different ages and peoples, the saga mirrored faithfully the beliefs, the fancies, the interests of each; so the mythical fanciful element of the north had to give way to the Christian, chivalrous tone of the *Nibelungenlied*.

Furthermore, the combination of the two originally separate stories has caused still greater confusion: characters have evidently been created to bridge over the difficulties incurred by this union. Thus we see Brunhild a prominent figure in the northern saga; but when later other motifs entered and made her less necessary, she became secondary in importance and disappeared quietly, after having caused the death of Siegfried. The character of Kriemhild is enigmatical: only in name does she seem to resemble Thusnelda. She, too, must be more or less of an invention, to bind the sagas together and assist in carrying out the plot. As Brunhild recedes into the background, Kriemhild comes to the front and becomes chief among the women characters of the *Nibelungenlied*.

But the features which have remained steadfast through all the changes must be an echo of history, must be the vital element which no whim or fancy of the poet could set aside. They loomed up so mighty and powerful, that by the very force of their singularity they demanded recognition. So Siegfried, the center around which everything else revolves, and to whose glory all must contribute, remains the same matchless hero. That he must be a character whose counterpart is to be found in history seems incontestible. This being true, he finds his

prototype in Arminius: both are of noble birth; the names of their kinsmen have the same characteristic syllable; in personality they are strikingly alike; Arminius' great, patriotic act is expressively symbolized in the dragon-fight of Siegfried; in the Hildesheim discovery is doubtless the treasure—the war booty from the “Varusschlacht”; since there seems to be a certain blending of Thusnelda with Gibich's daughter, it does not seem illogical to see in the rescue of the latter from the dragon a symbol of the abduction of the former; both heroes are the victim of jealousy and greed on the part of their kinsmen. Surely it can be said of Arminius as well as of Siegfried: “He towered above all men in stature, nobility, and manly beauty, in nearly all old sagas where the strongest, and most celebrated, as well as mildest heroes and princes are mentioned: and his name goes in all tongues from the north to the Greek Sea, and so will it endure, as long as the world stands.”¹⁴¹ Like the great national heroes of other races Siegfried-Arminius has attained his immortality by his tragic death, and his memory as a national liberator has been revived and will be whenever the struggle for liberty and the preservation of Germanic nationality repeats itself in the course of history.

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¹⁴¹ *Wilkinasaga*, Chap. 166.

HEREDITY AS FATE IN GREEK AND ELIZABETHAN
DRAMA

"Personal identity cannot be denied between parents and offspring without at the same time denying it as between the different ages (and hence moments) in the life of the individual." The Note-Books of Samuel Butler.

As Professor J. A. Thompson says in the opening sentence of his scholarly work on Heredity, there are no scientific problems of graver human interest or importance than those of heredity. The modern dramatist was quick to recognize this fact. Since the issues of every individual life are shown now to be chiefly determined by the nature of its particular organism, and that organism in all its essential features has been transmitted through a long line of ancestors, Ibsen and his successors saw that it is true in a new and particular sense that character is destiny. Today we know that we can no longer disregard the facts of heredity in any adequate and just interpretation of events in the past, of conduct in the present, or of forecasts of the future. While no one should seek to underrate the extraordinary potency of environmental and functional factors in the widest sense, all these influences of food, climate, housing, scenery, associates, and the like; of education, exercise, occupation, or the lack of them—all these act upon an organism whose characteristic nature, if not rigidly fixed, is at least determined, let us say predetermined, by its heredity. Herbert Spencer's dictum that "Inherited constitution must ever be the chief factor in determining character" might be taken as the theme of many a play since 'Ghosts.'

In the naturalistic drama, as we should expect, we find emphatic use made of the laws of heredity; but even the most romantic of writers, like Rostand in 'L'Aiglon,' is not averse to basing his tragedy upon the same principles. We find, however, that Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Brieux, and Shaw are particularly preoccupied with the theme of heredity, which with them operates as fate even more ruthlessly than the inherited evil that motivates Greek drama. There are some interesting parallels that might also be drawn in Shakespeare. Unmerited suffering is certainly a characteristic of both Greek and modern drama; the doomed households of Orestes and Oedipus are not unlike those in Ibsen's 'Brand' and 'Ghosts,'

Strindberg's 'Miss Julia,' Hauptmann's 'Before Dawn,' and Galsworthy's 'The Pigeon.' It can be shown, moreover, that the cases of Hamlet, 'Cain,' Beatrice Cenci, and 'Mme. Sand' are not altogether dissimilar. How far, indeed, the doctrine of personal responsibility for disaster or success is valid today is a difficult problem, but one inextricably bound up in questions of heredity; for there is no longer any doubt that some children are "born good" or "born bad," just as surely as some are born strong or weak, clever or stupid, blonde or brunette, redhaired or blue-eyed. And if they have an innate deficiency of control in some direction, if they are always energetic or the reverse, if they exhibit specific degeneracy, have a general constitutional weakness, or are diseased in disposition, the attitude of personal blame is no more appropriate than if they had inherited color-blindness or haemophilia. Nurture should attempt to correct deficiencies of nature, but it is of no use to expect impossibilities of adaptability, nor to find fault with creation because of a certain unlucky ancestor lurking in the upper branches of one's family tree. The initiatives of moral character are undoubtedly transmissible, and whether we will or no, in the end we have to thank some parent or progenitor for our kindly disposition, our dreamy temperament, our mental alertness, or our strong sense of humor. The duckling that is hatched by a hen, no matter how carefully reared, is nevertheless a duckling still, and Sir Thomas Browne may still admonish us to pay tribute to heredity rather than to environment: "Bless not thyself that thou wert born in Athens; but, among thy multiplied acknowledgments, lift up one hand to heaven that thou wert born of honest parents, that modesty, humility, and veracity *lay in the same egg*, and came into the world with thee."

To arrive at any satisfactory definition of the term heredity is perhaps impossible, but it is advisable to note a little more fully some of the deeper implications of the idea before attempting to take up concrete manifestations. If, for example, innocent children suffer for the mistakes of parents and of ancestors whom they have never seen, it is clear that the general question of tragic guilt and of justice is involved; and who will deny that the destiny that overtakes such luckless descendants, while not to be viewed now from a theological standpoint, is as fatalis-

tic as any in Greek tragedy? How far the ancient idea of fate is related to the general problem of injustice becomes then a pertinent consideration, as well as a careful comparison between fate and its modern counterpart, heredity and environment. In fact the parallel is striking between the more significant plays of the Greek dramatists and many of the tragedies of today, in which the modern protagonist is made even more the victim of earlier sins. 'Poetic justice,' as an artistic corrective for all such injustice, also has a bearing upon the discussion. A thorough study of these various concepts would of course carry us too far afield; one could follow the ramifications of the idea indefinitely, taking up such topics as religion, God, immortality, etc. But let us at least glance at some of the more obvious of these relationships.

It is significant that the close of the year 1918 saw three of our most popular plays dealing directly and unequivocally with fate: Channing Pollock's 'Roads of Destiny,' Maeterlinck's 'The Betrothal,' and Barrie's 'Dear Brutus.' As Maeterlinck puts it, in his admirable essay 'The Star' (in 'The Treasure of the Humble'), today the idea of destiny is again awakening in men's minds, and the sorrows of today are no less potent than those of the tragedies of yore, though now we have approached nearer the mystery and look life's terrors in the face. Today, seeking to avert the causes of future disasters, it is fatality itself that we challenge. Though we find ourselves still in the abysses of night, awaiting what has to be, and though the will itself is seen to be but destiny's ripest fruit, something is already known to us; we have discovered a few of Fortune's ways. Slowly there rises above humanity's smiles and tears and silences the shrouded face of the destiny of today.

"Of the veil that formerly covered it, a minute corner has been lifted, and there, where the veil is not, do we recognize, to our disquiet, on the one side, *the power of those who live not yet*, on the other, *the power of the dead*. The mystery has again been shifted further from us—that is all."

But while today great stress is laid upon the power of the future to affect our lives, especially in regard to the instinct of fatherhood and motherhood and all that it will in time unfold, we continue to emphasize chiefly the grip that the past must ever exert upon the present through its hereditary rule, no succession of monarchs by "divine right" ever having possessed

a might so rigid and supreme. And this view of necessity, of fate, in human life is not confined to any single body of art; it has been a characteristic of the most tragic masterpieces of antiquity, and is the diapason of great drama still. While modern tragedy makes use of it chiefly in terms of inherited diseases of the body and the mind, the Greek attitude was very similar, and even the greatest of the Elizabethans set forth the same underlying thought.

The student of Shakespeare does not go far before perceiving that the master-poet's view of life cannot be bounded by a moral code nor explained in the common terms of justice; adequate rewards do not follow good deeds desired or done, nor does punishment invariably overtake those who do ill. It was this recognition of the injustice of deserts that so disturbed the good Dr. Johnson when he maintained¹ that the great dramatist seemed to "write without any moral purpose," that he made "no just distribution of good or evil"; though the Doctor's perpetual honesty forced him to add² that "a play in which the wicked prosper, and the virtuous miscarry, may doubtless be good, because it is a just representation of the common events of human life."

It is easy to agree with Dr. Johnson's contention that Shakespeare should not have suffered the virtue of Cordelia to perish in a just cause, and pleasant to be soothed into the optimistic attitude of the audience which always rises "better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted virtue."³ But the definition of poetic justice bears within itself a certain confession of its untruth to life; for if it be "an ideal distribution of rewards and punishments such as is common in poetry and works of fiction, but seldom exists in real life,"⁴ then it is obviously contrary to experience.

The insoluble problem of injustice in the world is undoubtedly at the root of most of the ideas which are grouped under the term Fatalism. It is possible to regard every happy conclusion, every reconciliation in life or in the drama, as an excep-

¹ Preface to Shakespeare's Plays, p. 1.

² General Observations on the Plays of Shakespeare: On Lear.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Century Dictionary.

tion, a divine gift, contrary to the usual course of events; and such an outwitting of fate is productive of pity as well as joy in the beholder because he reflects on the unhappy conclusion so common to the majority, and, inclusively, to himself.

Pessimism need not follow such a realization of the injustice in the world, but it invariably does so at first. Humanity everywhere seems to be paying seventy times seven for its mistakes of ignorance and its heritage of weakness; the innocent suffer constantly with and for the guilty. Retribution, the nemesis of the inescapability of an effect from every cause, seems to operate indiscriminately, paying no heed to the unconscious by-standers or to the defenceless unborn. That which we, for lack of clearer vision, call accident or chance is lying in wait for the unwary at every turn; and even the wisest and the strongest and the kindest of us need not expect to go for long unscathed. Perhaps, indeed, the gentlest and the best must submit to suffer most. There is such a bringing to naught of humanity's most cherished desires, its most exalted aspirations; such a sense of futility even in realization, that we can understand the pessimist's attitude; we can appreciate the Puritan's efforts to ignore this world's pleasures altogether in contemplation of a future realm where justice alone strikes the final balance; we can perceive a logic in the theosophist's explanation that our relative position here and now is but a resultant of our efforts in previous lives. Until one finds a view of life which, like Shakespeare's, is broad enough to include a universe where something reigns more permanent than the shifting moral codes of mortals and more important than to be concerned with material rewards and penalties, we shall be tempted, too, to take refuge in the arms of a fictitious or poetic justice.

Shakespeare himself was stirred profoundly by the spectacle of evil, and it was no easy triumph, we may be sure—if, indeed, it was a triumph at all—that won for him a final serenity and peace. In the later romantic plays themselves there is still accident and chance, ill luck and fortune, and though they may seem to be no longer blind, they are the same agents of fate that appear in the more sombre tragedies and in the earlier comedies and histories. Here, finally, one may regard Fate as a synonym for God. At any rate the idea of fate becomes not so much that of a ruthless destiny imposed from without, nor on

the other hand is it to be conceived altogether as a nemesis administering just punishment for sins committed by man's free choice. Prospero is its type, guiding, teaching, forgiving all, and bringing ultimate happiness.

Now while such a conception of fate is as far removed from mere poetic justice as justice itself is transcended by mercy, it may, by its very satisfaction of such scruples as Dr. Johnson's, be just so much farther removed from actuality. Upon closer analysis, in fact, one feels that Shakespeare, far from holding the mirror up to nature in his last plays, abandons his former point of view, refusing to insist that like causes produce like effects. With increased maturity, he makes chance more the mainspring of the action than with 'Romeo and Juliet,' where so many unhappy coincidents occur. In all three of the dramatic romances Fate as Providence acts as the accomplice in a multiple restoration after a multiple apparent destruction. Prospero is the omnipotent god of 'The Tempest.' Passions of penitence, surprise, and joyful reunion transform as if by magic the multitudinous woe of 'The Winter's Tale.' And 'Cymbeline' is a succession of unhappy and happy accidents: Imogen in her wanderings finding her lost brothers' cave, the poison being transferred innocently by Pisanio to his mistress, she being buried exactly where the Roman army should encounter her when she wakes from her trance, with other casual links of the same sort in a chain, not of cause and effect, but of coincidence. Whether Shakespeare in these plays, as Professor Thorndike has admirably shown, was following the popular Beaumont-and-Fletcher type, or, as Professor Dowden argues, had really changed his point of view, is immaterial here. But it is certainly not often that we are made to see, as in 'The Tempest,' Fate as God, working through chance, coincidence, and accident, towards a happy ending that seems both logical and just. It is only by a sublimation of any definition of fate that such a conception becomes possible. Fate as immutable, inevitable, fore-ordained, expressed by such terms as Destiny, Necessity, Determinism, or Predestination, is a thing apart from and outside of God. So modern a writer as H. G. Wells⁵ has said of it:

"God is within nature and necessity. Necessity is a thing beyond God—beyond good and ill, beyond space and time, a mystery everlastingly impene-

⁵ 'Mr. Britling Sees It Through,' chapter 13.

trable. God is nearer than that. Necessity is the uttermost thing, but God is the innermost thing. Closer He is than breathing and nearer than hands and feet. He is the Other Thing than this world. Greater than Nature and Necessity, for He is a spirit and they are blind, but not controlling them. . . . Not yet."

What is this but the ancient Greek distinction, expressed by the three implacable Sisters, separate and apart from the gods? But even the Greeks admitted the control of other, if lesser, fates. In addition to the Parcae were the gods and goddesses themselves, who frequently and often quite casually intervened to change the outcome of an action. Similarly in early Norse literature we find not only the figures of the Norns—Urd, Verdanda, and Skuld, corresponding to the Greek Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, each with specialized functions, controlling her own province, respectively, of the Past, the Present, and the Future—but tribes of lesser norns, who, although amenable like the gods to the decrees of the major Norns, seem able to dispense both good and evil destinies. Indeed, it is hard to detect any difference between these Disir, or lesser norns, and the Roman goddess of chance or fortune, called Fortuna, or her Greek counterpart, Tyche. Though a lesser norn than the Parcae, she is made equal in power with the other gods and goddesses, and like them may be propitiated. We still retain the idea of the manifold quality of Fate, though today as of old we may be said to regard its major aspects as three-fold, calling them by the names of Heredity, Function, and Environment. The implications may still be made to correspond to the older designations, Heredity applying more to the effect of the Past, Function to the operation of the organism in the Present, and Environment relating to the adaptations that will affect the Future.

This plurality in the old idea of fate, together with variations in its intensity running all the way from pitiless and inexorable Destiny, Necessity, or Retribution, to that of simple Luck, Success, or Fortune, and their opposites, is doubtless due to the recognition of the different external factors which determine events and affect character. Hence the term fate may well include all those elements which are distinct from freely determined individual causation, if such there be, or in opposition to it. Moreover, what seems accidental, no matter how trivial,

may be the means by which a fixed destiny is evolved; what we at first call chance, far from being the opposite of fixed destiny, is often seen later to be its agent. Such a conception of the idea of fate leads to the inclusion of a multitude of elements hard to classify and impossible always clearly to differentiate. While the modern scientific terms heredity and environment best indicate the scope of the inquiry, there are dilutions of the fate idea which would carry us still farther afield. One could make infinite categories of deterministic causes, examining the extent to which, irrespective of the volition of the individual, they affected human lives. For any complete consideration of fate it would be necessary at least to glance at the use made of such things as supernatural agencies, involving divine and evil interventions, angels, devils, witches, magic, curses, blessings, dreams, potions, portents, prophecies, previsions, and premonitions; forces of nature, such as storms, temperature, cataclysms, and the like; economic elements, like food, clothing, fuel, shelter, and occupation; physiological and mental predispositions, in which are involved such factors as sex, charm, bodily beauty, strength, health, deformity, wounds, idiosyncrasies, and disease; social agencies, including race, country, caste, family, government, education, etc. Let the investigator be warned, however, that a recognition of all these factors as outside of character and in part determining it, does not imply necessarily the inability of an individual to overcome one or all of them when they are adverse or actively antagonistic. The determination of the exact proportion between fate and free will in human endeavor is beyond the range of this or of any valid discussion. One might, however, point out the many instances in such accepted exponents of free will as Shakespeare and his fellows where there is clearly expressed a belief in fate or where a direct appeal to it is made by one of the characters. It should be noted at least how frequently fate plays a large part in the structure of the whole action, then as now. In Shakespeare, in fact, the characters who most boldly jest at fate, boasting of the immunity conferred by their unhampered wills, are three of his most distinctive villains—Cassius, Edmund, and Iago; yet Cassius acknowledges elsewhere that his "rash humor" is inherited from his mother,⁶ while Edmund denies responsibility for his bastardy and its unfair limitations

⁶ IV : 3.

of his ambitions, much as Richard III protests against the deformities of his body.

The idea of fate, in various forms, has persisted in tragic and in comic drama from the earliest times to the present day, though it has been the tendency to ascribe to the Greeks a pre-eminent appropriation and use of it. But a certain determinism in their philosophy is surely no more predominant than the "crass casualty which obstructs all" in the novels of Hardy and Conrad, or the iron causation that is operative in the dramas of Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and Hauptmann, Brieux, Galsworthy, Phillips, Hankin, and Dunsany. Nor is it difficult to find traces of the same point of view in certain plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English drama, as well as the Seventeenth-Century drama of Spain, while the various fate-tragedies of the Germans, which followed Lillo's 'Fatal Curiosity,' are but a decadent off-shoot of the same unquenchable belief in fate. Even the 'tearful comedy' of France and the 'sentimental drama' of England is analogous, with its easy obliteration of responsibility for past misdeeds on the ground of irresistible compulsion or of quite excusable ignorance.

It has been too often assumed that the Elizabethan dramatists—with the exception of Ford, who is distinctly fatalistic—particularly the writers of tragedy, and most of all Shakespeare, were free from this predilection to refer to causes external of individual volition the downfall of their protagonists. Critics have frequently tried to show that the suffering of these characters is not undeserved, that each is guilty of some tragic fault, even Cordelia, Desdemona, the Duchess of Malfi, and the rest; a fault which is alone sufficient to bring about the eventual ruin. It has been well asked⁷ whether this is not an erroneous conception; whether the destruction of Hamlet or of Othello is any more clearly an internal evolution from character than that of Oedipus. In the greatest of the Elizabethan tragedies there is still a strong insistence on the principle of blind accident intervening to destroy the innocent and on malignant evil overwhelming the good. An astonishingly large number of lines could be quoted to show how firmly fixed in the minds of the great dramatists was this idea of an unjust arbitrament of

⁷ Lewis Campbell, in his 'Tragic Drama in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Shakespeare,' pp. 29-31.

human destiny from without. Nor does Christianity, either at its advent or at its resurgence in the time of the Reformation, seem to have modified in any appreciable degree the ancient beliefs in Destiny and Fortune; there are apparently as many references to doom and fate in the Elizabethan and the modern drama as in the era before Christ. Sometimes fate is present in a general sense of inevitability, of insistent compulsion from without similar to that in Thomas Hardy's universe, where life is not only a meaningless and ungoverned thing, but actually suggestive of predestined evil—"of a power not ourselves that makes for unrighteousness," a malevolence driving poor humanity before it too persistently and effectively to be fortuitous; sometimes it occurs as the casual influence of circumstance or personality, quite preventable if its significance could be foreseen, but usually not so because of limitations common to all humanity, even the best. Shakespeare produced his most powerful effects by the presentation of suffering almost wholly undeserved, the result not only of malice but of trivial accidents, and at first sight horridly meaningless in its outcome. He dared, as Schopenhauer glories in saying, to face the facts, to set forth the inscrutable spectacle of man prostrated by a will stronger but by no means kinder than his own. He made it clear that the innocent suffer, and the unjust powers prevail, so far as this world and this life are concerned; and of a spiritual recompense, in spite of a host of hopeful and painstaking commentators, we catch often only a glimpse.

Yet the environment of Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists, strongly impregnated as it was with the religious influences of the Reformation, was unusually favorable to a belief in an omnipotent God who could work miracles of healing and transformations of character. But the Bible itself, which was so frequently quoted by even the least devout of the dramatists of that time, had too many passages showing the "jealousy" and the "cruelty" of God to make acceptance of "happy endings" easy for them in their more thoughtful representations. True, it was a time when, if ever, optimism should have been prevalent and belief in a happy fortune supreme. Chance played an important rôle in many events. The victory of England over the Armada, which marks the beginning of the greatness of the national drama, was due more to the accident

of the annihilating tempest than to the superiority of England's ships. Luck beckoned from the new El Dorados, boundless opportunities were opened, alluring rewards were promised everywhere, whether one turned pirate or poet. Almost anything might happen, and it was felt that the outcome would be joyous. This dominance of luck and destiny in life found an increasing reflection in the dramatic romances and tragicomedies which tended to replace the more logically ordered tragedies and comedies of the mid-Shakespearean era.

On the other hand, this optimistic point of view found a check in the censorious Puritans' insistence upon an inexorable law of cause and effect, especially with regard to penalties for evil. The unquestioned acceptance of the literature of the Jews as inspired gave sufficient authority for this insistence. The Hebrews, like the Greeks, believed in the compelling force of laws of retribution, operating to affect a family for generations, and they did not seek to deny the universality of this far-reaching curse. The Old Testament is full of examples of the working of this law. Against the stern second commandment given Moses, that "the iniquity of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation,"⁸ Ezekiel indeed had ventured to remonstrate, maintaining that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son";⁹ likewise Jeremiah¹⁰ repudiated the saying, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." None the less the idea of inherited disaster permeates the older Scriptures, persisting until the time of Christ, where it became embodied in the historic question, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?"¹¹ The Messiah either would not or could not give a direct answer to that important query, and it has remained to vex philosophers and theologians ever since.

In Greek tragedy there are still some of the most powerful exemplifications of the workings of the principle of inherited evil. The Nemesis of Aeschylus attacks innocent members of a tainted household as well as the guilty. It is a relentless

⁸ Exodus xx: 5.

⁹ Ezekiel xviii: 20.

¹⁰ Jeremiah xxxi: 29.

¹¹ John ix: 2.

pursuer of sinful individuals, but again and again it operates as an undistinguishing, unscrupulous, fore-damning curse, however clearly originating from evil parents, which affects generations yet unborn. The characteristic plot of Aeschylus, as of Sophocles, is the tracing of some such curse or hereditary taint through two or more generations. The form of his art is more objective than that of our psychological modern drama, largely because the outcome of his plots was known in advance to his audience; but in his more poetic, and frequently lyrical, way he seems to have been trying to say the same thing which we express today with different terminology, better scientific analysis, and more realistic technique. A curious parallel exists between the families of Oedipus and Alving (in Ibsen's 'Ghosts'), for example, a parallel which reveals a closer resemblance between the content of the Greek and contemporary drama as a whole than that between either of them and the Elizabethan; for the Elizabethans were not interested in tracing the effects of hereditary guilt, basing the ruin of their protagonists instead upon self-originating defects of character. The fatality of birth and the taint of blood is rarely glimpsed by them, though it is not wholly absent; but with the Greeks it was the theme of what are generally regarded as the two greatest trilogies—the Oresteia of Aeschylus, comprising the 'Agamemnon,' 'The Libation-Bearer,' and 'The Eumenides,' and the three related plays of Sophocles—'Oedipus the King,' 'Oedipus at Colonus,' and the 'Antigone.'

The children of Oedipus were brought up with the curse of their family staring them in the face; their conduct is influenced by this knowledge of future doom; it breeds in them a fatalistic despair: their ruin is inevitable. With the other trilogy, the Oresteia, the theme throughout is also the destruction of a family because of the original defection of its head. In the same way the whole human family, according to the Hebraic Genesis, was doomed to punishment and sorrow because of Adam's disobedience with the apple. The theft of nectar and ambrosia by Tantalus was more god-like than stealing the fruit of an apple-tree, but the attitude of Adam was less insolent. The descendants of both were cursed, however, though the less offense is visited by the more extensive punishment. In the Aeschylus story there is an attempt to show that each time

another transgression takes place it is due to individual guilt, but there is always a reference to the earlier fault and to its perpetual effectiveness as a curse, blasting all the descendants, just as with Adam's fall. But a means of reconciliation is denied in neither case. Orestes becomes the scapegoat for the sins of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, his father and mother, and also for Tantalus, his great-great-grand-parent, in a way somewhat analogous to the sacrifice of the innocent Christ or the Titan Prometheus for the benefit of the whole human race.

As with the Hebrew Job, there were cases among the Greeks where prosperity, though unaccompanied by impiety or presumption, was still punished. Hence the affirmation is untrue that, according to the theological concepts of Aeschylus, only the guilty are punished. Nor can it be contended any more than with Shakespeare that innocence and justice are protected and rewarded. Antigone, Iphigenia, and Prometheus clearly contradict this assumption, and, in a less degree, Orestes and Eteocles. The whole notion of an ancestral curse, however mythologically expressed, inculcating as it does ineradicably vicious inclinations in the descendants of a doomed house, may truthfully exhibit the remote and immeasurable effects of sin, but it cannot help at the same time connoting a more or less hopeless fatalism so far as the descendants are concerned.

Evil having once overtaken a household, with the vengeance-working Erinyes or Furies squatting on the roof-top, it is difficult indeed to cleanse the premises. Sorrows continue to come, not singly, but in battalions:

"Evils are like a surge
Where billows billows urge:
Each peers three-crested o'er the wave that's gone,
Thundering abaft the helm,
And threatening to o'erwhelm
The frail defence that braves that waste alone."¹²

The evil becomes more and more chronic, augmented from time to time by further acts of crime which are themselves prompted by the Erinyes and by the fatal predisposition of the descendant, unless and until a hero arises who can act with unselfishness and be guiltless of impiety and presumption. Orestes is pre-

¹² Aeschylus, 'The Seven Against Thebes,' 11: 755-9.

sented in such a light. But we have no reason for believing that the son of Agamemnon, Orestes, who is completely vindicated in his deed of vengeance, is any more the possessor of these rare qualities than the equally heroic son of Oedipus, Eteocles, who is not so justified. Orestes, acting under the explicit jurisdiction of Apollo, slays his guilty mother, with the full approval of the Chorus, which says that "his deed was good." Eteocles, with no guidance except the uncertain advice of the timid Chorus, wholly at a loss as to which course honor urges him to pursue, avenges the treason of his own brother and at the same time valiantly defends his city, knowing that death will doubtless be his reward. The Chorus wavers to the end, not knowing clearly whether his deed was good or evil. But why should the killing of a traitorous brother be more reprehensible than that of a murderous mother, as in Orestes' case? The ancient dramatists' unavailing endeavor to harmonize the two concepts of destiny and guilt is thus apparent in this problem as well as in the treatment of Oedipus.

If any distinction can be drawn, the cursing of the descendants of Tantalus is more terrible than that which dooms the offspring of Laius; for while Orestes finally redeems his household, the crimes which he expiates are more atrocious and premeditated than those committed by Oedipus and his children. The history of the hereditary sins of the Tantalidae reads even worse than the pedigree of the criminal family of Zola's Rougon-Marquart novels. Through sons and grandsons the evil works, until Orestes, like Shakespeare's Richmond or Macduff, conquers his evil adversary because he himself is pure. The fact that he is guiltless is shown by the admission of Apollo that it was he who compelled the son thus to avenge his father's murder by the expedient of committing matricide; and one recalls that Hamlet was also supernaturally impelled, by his father's ghost, to kill his uncle in revenge. By this old law of justice, to remedy one wrong, one equal to it had to be committed. But because the final avenger is humble, the curse, so far as the Aeschylean version is concerned, is stayed. Though made mad for a season, Orestes is at length purged of the shedding of a guilty mother's blood, the pursuing Furies are placated and transformed, and the hereditary contagion is guaranteed to spread no further. Such is the theologically orthodox solu-

tion offered by Aeschylus in his most complete treatment of heredity, the trilogy of 'Agamemnon,' 'The Libation-Bearers,' and 'The Eumenides.'

Sophocles could not conclude his Oedipus trilogy quite so happily. Unable to share the optimism of his predecessor and unwilling to manipulate the gods so as to account for otherwise inexplicable facts, he makes us feel that the world is not a symmetrically moral one. He knows that while guilt is ordinarily punished, innocence is frequently left unaided and ruthlessly destroyed, with little if any spiritual compensation. He appreciates the fact that pain and misery are the lot of those who are blameless, equally, if not more than, with those who are impious and merciless. He sees that an inscrutable injustice resides in the world, and that it is behind, beyond, and above the gods, if such there be. And he shows us Antigone, Oedipus, Deianeira, and Philoctetes suffering pain and disaster for which they are not primarily responsible and which they do not, humanly speaking, deserve. As with Aeschylus, much of the desolation he depicts finds its origin in hereditary causes beyond the control of his characters. Where Aeschylus could show contributory personal defects for the disruption that occurs, this poet is by no means sure that sorrow can be referred to the individual's own fault. His is therefore a blanker fatalism than that of the more elemental poet, but, strange to say, it does not leave us in a more despondent mood than the more clearly moralistic drama. There is a manly facing of facts and a general tone of good cheer in spite of the manifest seriousness of life. Those of his protagonists who leave this world do so with regret, and as a rule do not express morbid opinions as to its futility or objective reality. Like the Shakespearean figures, none of them regard their future state with elation nor even with confidence; to them, all beyond is uncertain, except that life's fitful fever will be over; and they do not know whether the inequalities here will in any way be amended there.

The most signal example of the irony of fate is to be found in this dramatist's 'Oedipus the King,' where the very oracles connive to mislead the parentally cursed monarch, and in the 'Antigone,' where the long-suffering, though guiltless, daughter (grand-daughter) of the innocently incestuous queen is rescued, like Juliet, just too late. Like Oedipus, Antigone, as the child

of unconsciously criminal parents, must be punished for them. Birth into this ill-starred family was sufficient to destroy. She too dies as a sacrifice to previously offended holiness, which thus works out a vicarious retribution through blameless descendants, as it did according to the Jewish law. True, she takes her own life, but only when she has been incarcerated to starve slowly to death. It may have been a rash thing to do—and the critics who censure her will likewise censure Juliet—but it is no more so than the equally defensible conduct of Oedipus, whose self-blinding is as inevitable as Othello's suicide.

In their previous deeds also both Antigone and Oedipus acted with reasonable piety, and what freedom of choice they had, they used with discretion. But whereas Oedipus can stay or leave the feared city of his adoption, can kill or allow himself to be killed by the stranger who rushes at him, and can marry or not marry the queen of the city which he has cleansed (though if he does the natural thing he will fly, only to his ruin, to kill his father, and to marry his mother), Antigone's choice lies only between two clearly perceived evils; for she can either defy the edict of the state by giving her brother's corpse its burial rites, or dishonor him by honoring the law against traitors. Whichever decision she makes will commit her irretrievably to a reprehensible deed, the causes of which were wholly beyond her volition and her desert. Since the destructiveness that follows her choice of what seems to her right is due to events that preceded her birth, it is hard to see how she can be called rash. Oedipus, too, takes the only sensible action possible when told that he will be guilty of parricide and incest; he does his best to avert the catastrophe by leaving his supposed father and mother at Corinth and faring far away. In the story no blame is attached to him for defending himself from attack upon the highway. Nobly he rids his adopted city from the scourge of the sphinx, and marries the widowed queen. What was there precipitate in this? Possibly he erred in thinking he had averted the prophesied calamity, but if one is not to strive against an evil he has been warned against, then we have a blind and horrible fatalism indeed which makes of life a thing much worse than immediate suicide. The fact remains that, presumptuous or not, in doing his best to nullify the inherited curse, he lives to find himself the slayer of his father and the

husband of his mother. If it be held that though he slays his father unknowingly, he does so with rashness, in contempt of oracular warnings, like Macbeth, his attitude of apparent disregard arises from a belief that he has drawn the sting from the prophecy of future ill by his honest efforts to combat it. If it is claimed that his later attitude, and that of Jocasta, is that of defiance against the holy oracles, let us ask whether it was impiety to doubt the prophecy of parricide when it became known to him that Laius' son had been left to perish in infancy and that his supposed father Polybus had died a natural death. Even his disbelief of the seer is counted against him, but why should he believe a prophet when the word of the god at Delphi has apparently been nullified? To the Greeks, indeed, this disbelief was sin, and made him impious.

But whatever be our view as to the presence of tragic guilt in 'Oedipus the King' or 'Antigone,' even if we grant that they are tragedies of impiety or of rashness, it is demonstrable that they present the insistent percolation of an inherited curse. Whatever faults may be in evidence are common family traits. If all of Oedipus' children seem to inherit his rashness, neither theirs nor his is equal to the primary act of Laius in begetting Oedipus. We do not know why this man was bidden to remain childless, but the cause for this prohibition of the natural issue of marriage may have been some taint of blood that would communicate itself to generations following. Some such reason is likely. Oedipus at any rate suffers from an irritability that is hard to account for unless it be due to dread. And as with him, so with his sons and daughters, the terrible prophecies that overhung all youthful days must have set up a reaction of fear that, irrespective of any tainted blood, might well lead to an unquiet mind, a restless soul, and deeds impetuously wrought. Oedipus is fully conscious of the terrible heritage that he must leave to his children because of their unfortunate parentage, the daughters especially being abhorred and forced to "wither childless and unwed." But he unhesitatingly imputes their ills and his to those who gave them birth. The problem here certainly suggests the one more biologically treated in 'Ghosts,' where also the guilt is wrought by the sinful father against the helpless son.

Euripides, closer to the romantic drama of Shakespeare and Calderon in the realistic representation of human beings

than to Aeschylus or Sophocles, follows in their footsteps when he shows virtuous children suffering for the sins of their parents. In two of his strongest plays, 'Hippolytus' and 'Medea,' he portrays a passion so extreme that it brings about the death of children at the hands of a parent. Medea kills her two boys in a jealous fury; Theseus less directly sends Hippolytus to death. The children in both cases suffer for the sins of their fathers, perishing because of earlier parental iniquity as surely as Oswald Alving or Oedipus the King.

Hippolytus recognizes that his doom is due to the ancestral curse which overhangs his family, descending from father to son: "Dire curse of my father!" he exclaims¹³ "—Sins, long ago wrought, and that lingering vengeance which pursues the guilt by my progenitors committed, and my kindred who are stained with recent murders, terminate in me, no longer now suspended. O ye gods, why do ye punish me who had no share in those enormities?" The question of such injustice has always been pertinent, but the answers have never been satisfactory from the moral standpoint. While it is just, no doubt, that Theseus should suffer for his early proud conquest of the Amazons and the ravishment of their virgin queen, it is indeed difficult to see why the offspring of this forced union should have to endure the severest penalty himself, except that, like the self-destruction of Theseus' wife Phaedra, only so can the father's heart be tortured most. One questions, however, whether the pain accruing to some one else, even if it be to one's illegitimate son, could ever have penetrated the fibres of these ancient Greeks quite so deeply as suffering borne in person; yet upon this assumption of an altruism by which an offender was made to writhe most through witnessing the agony of those dear to him, the whole moral justification of hereditary punishment seems to rest. But when he by whom the offence cometh is dead, as is frequently the case, surely the futility of the innocent sacrifice is apparent. And if the children of the sinful fathers and mothers are to be made wretched arbitrarily while the wrong-doers themselves escape with much less rigorous penalties, hereditary punishment as a moral deterrent must always fail, and the case for any poetic justice in the matter crumbles away. The fact that, none the less, the children are universally made to suffer

¹³ 1377 ff.

for certain sins of the fathers has, of course, been accepted by biological science, but the justice of afflicted innocence is never likely to be admitted by mankind, nor were such victims deemed by Aristotle suitable figures for artistic representation. The clear-sighted Greek dramatists, however, like the rationalistic framers of the old Hebraic statutes and the stern-eyed Scandinavian playwright of our own epoch, knew that undeserved pain was too common to be neglected in their art, and they voiced the unpleasant doctrine unflinchingly. But such recognition does not serve to mitigate the pity of a ruthlessness so impersonal towards the guiltless. The Chorus, in 'Hippolytus,' generalizing as usual, tries to evade the issue by putting the responsibility, like the Persian Omar, not upon human frailty at all, but upon Those who have made men frail. For Theseus himself, like Phaedra of accursed family, is held to be irresponsibly impelled by Venus in his original rape. But the last words of Hippolytus are still a protest against his undeserved calamity, whether wrought by Love or not: "Woe, woe, for a son by the doom of his sire all marred and undone! . . . O ye gods, why do ye punish me who had no share in those enormities?"¹⁴

The adage that "blood will tell" has hardly a stronger parallel in the Greek than in a passage in the 'Hecuba' of Euripides, where the Trojan Queen speaks of the tremendous potentiality, amounting to inevitable fate, which lies in the heritage of noble birth: "How strange, that evil soil heaven-blest with seasons fair, bears goodly crops, while the good, if it faileth of its dues, gives evil fruit; but always among men and caitiff nothing else than evil is, the noble, noble, nor 'neath fortune's stress marreth his nature, but is good alway."¹⁵ The Chorus, as well as Hecuba, stresses the same point in prior comment on Polyxena's heroic acquiescence in her death-doom: "Strange is the impress clear-stamped upon men, of gentle birth."¹⁶ And Sophocles' insistence on the evil heredity of the house of Oedipus is no stronger than that of Euripides, who has Oedipus maintain:¹⁷ "Sons I begat . . . and destroyed, passing to them the curse of

¹⁴ 1348 ff.

¹⁵ 592 ff.

¹⁶ 379.

¹⁷ 'The Phoenician Maidens,' 1595 ff.

Laius, . . . by the finger of God . . . fated." So Sophocles had said in the 'Oedipus at Colonus,' when Antigone refers his evil to the former generation:¹⁸ "Those ancient wrongs thou didst endure from father and from mother." So, too, in his 'Antigone',¹⁹ the Chorus says, "Fierce shows the maiden's vein from her fierce sire." Consequently there should be no doubt that the Greeks recognized the operation of laws of heredity so far as regards the transmission of a curse and undesirable traits. The fatality of love is apparent also, in their attribution of greater power to Venus than to Zeus. The Nurse in Euripides' 'Hippolytus'²⁰ says Venus "is no goddess, but somewhat more than God"; and his Helen in 'The Trojan Women'²¹ pleads her case in the name of "that Goddess" Venus, who makes even Zeus, "who ruleth all the Gods beside, her slave."

In other plays of Euripides heredity also acts as fate. Misery comes to the orphans of the champion of mankind in 'The Children of Hercules' solely because their sire was who he was; they are persecuted vicariously by their father's ancient enemy. Similarly in 'Hecuba' and 'The Daughters of Troy' an evil destiny overtakes the last of the children of Priam and his queen because they are of the family of the conquered royal pair. Indiscriminate retribution as the result of alliance by blood with those guilty according to either military or moral law is common also with the personages of other literatures. Among the Hebrews were the famous cases of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,²² Achan,²³ Hazor,²⁴ Haman,²⁵ Daniel's accusers,²⁶ and many others. The children are made slaves or slain because their fathers have rebelled, and while the Jewish idea was that they should be punished together with their sires on account of their evil taint, in the Greek treatment it is rather because of fear lest they grow up to be avengers of their fathers' doom, thus repeating the original rebellion. Such practical heed to the law of heredity has always been paid in savage warfare.

¹⁸ 1196.

¹⁹ 471.

²⁰ 360.

²¹ 946.

²² Numbers xvi.

²³ Joshua vii: 24.

²⁴ Joshua xi.

²⁵ Esther ix: 10.

²⁶ Daniel vi: 24.

In 'The Madness of Hercules' the hero, his family destroyed, argues the impossibility of his ever attaining peace since his parentage is admittedly sinful: "It boots not to live," he complains.²⁷ "First, I am his son, who, with blood-guilt stained from murder of my mother's aged sire, wedded Alcmena who gave birth to me. When the foundation of the race is laid in sin, needs must the issue be ill-starred." This is one of the most straightforward affirmations in Greek drama of the curse of evil heredity, however physically perfect the child may be, and of the inability of even the best environment to triumph over it. An accursed inheritance stains all the good that Hercules may will or do; super-human though he is, he cannot triumph over the effect of the infidelity responsible for his conception. And a similar tendency to infidelity descends from Zeus to him. Through most of the other Greek plays runs a similar strain of present woes due to peculiar or perverted parentage.

With Seneca, the Roman goddess Fortuna rules rather than the Parcae; but the plots, with the exception of the 'Octavia,' are the familiar ones of the Greeks, the far-reaching curse of hereditary evil being still the dominant theme. The frequent liaisons of gods with the daughters of men continue to work woe with the children, just as was the case with the sons of God who came in unto the daughters of the Jews²⁸ to such an extent that God ordained a Deluge to cleanse the earth of their troublesome progeny. It seems always to have been a perilous miscegenation, whether the offender be Zeus or Apollo or Jehovah's Princes, working more widespread mischief than the intermarriage of an heroic Othello and a spotless Desdemona.

In the main, however frequent may be the allusions to fate, fortune, and destiny, the Elizabethan dramatists, like most of the other dramatists who lived between Seneca and Ibsen, were not primarily interested in fate as a controlling factor in their plays, nor were they really concerned with the inheritance of a family curse, whether theological, as with the Greeks, or biological, as with the naturalistic drama since Ibsen. Hereditary destiny, traceable to a primal transgression and tainting successive generations, failed to appeal to them so much as the continuity of cause and effect in a single individual's action and in

²⁷ 1256 ff.

²⁸ Genesis vi: 1-5.

the actions of his living associates. They were too profoundly engaged with their objective present, and with its rapid expansion, to seek to determine what elements lay behind a specific human weakness. Character to them was destiny, but they did not probe the past to find how a particular individual happened to be born with a temperamental defect or a predisposing tendency to crime, procrastination, or credulity. Those who were guilty of violent acts usually were made to suffer personally, whether they themselves were chiefly to blame or not; and when they did so, the spectators then and since, trained as we have been under the canon of poetic justice, have accepted their punishment as normal. But there were many exceptions in the great body of Elizabethan drama as well as in the plays of the Greeks when the innocent also suffered and when the prime offender seemed to escape with the lightest penalty. Some there were, resembling Ibsen's Oswald—the poor mad Toms and the piteous jesters of the court, yes, and even to a degree the Richards too—whose "ghosts" of a decadent past were too strong to give them a fair chance to break away from their evil heredity. There were some, like Hamlet, whose environment unfitted them to do the very thing that Fate required; but how quickly could their keen natural endowments have pierced Iago's villainy; how easily could the Othellos have solved the problems of all the Hamlets! This is the inexplicable fact that gives us pause. For if life is a "struggle to be what we are not, and to do what we cannot," as Hazlitt said, then surely Fate has made Hamlets of half mankind, and he was not to blame. This is the real fatality of character: to find oneself born a Hamlet when all one's needs cry out for an Othello.

While such a humanitarian view of life as ours was foreign to Shakespeare, it may well be that he glimpsed some of the complexities which puzzle the scientist today, hesitating to apportion guilt at all, either to "this man or his parents." The evidence of such an attitude on the master-poet's part is not indeed conclusive, but an analysis of his major plots affords rational grounds for speculation. Richard III is born into the world so physically defective, so handicapped by his deformity in competition with his normal fellows, that he claims immunity for using whatever means are expedient to gain his ends. Richard II, too delicate and sensitive to rule, is forced by fate to

do so, to his own and others' woe. Romeo and Juliet, tangled in the web of old paternal feuds, with an impetuous ardor which in others has been held in high esteem as proof of honest love, are forced by the sins of their fathers to die unblessed, untimely thrust from life. Brutus, incurable idealist to the end, suffers a deficiency in his temperament which cannot be remedied until too late, while Cassius plainly lays his own "rash humor" at his mother's door. Hamlet, nurtured in the seclusion that best develops scholarship, has not the gift for action, but in spite of the philosophic temperament that unfits him for the deed, he does at last kill a king. Ophelia, too, inherently inept to meet the malignant situation into which she is thrust, seems to partake of her father's sad futility.²⁹ Othello, born of another race and color, is compelled to rely upon trusted dependents, only to be trapped and tortured. Lear's elder children, brought up under the domination of their vain and irascible father, exhibit traits in common with his nature, Cordelia alone remaining to manifest the softer and sweeter attributes of her sire, together also with some of that rashness and lack of tact which he possessed. Edmund, too, like Richard, born amiss, must make his wits do battle for his bastardy. Macbeth, inheriting a florid imagination unfit for men of action, is impatient for power beyond his natural compass, and is wrecked by the violence of his desire. Timon, credulous and generous to a fault, because of his oversanguine temperament undergoes a natural reaction to the other extreme, becoming a misanthrope. So the plots go, the characters fooled to the top of their bent by what in others is esteemed a virtue; for, give Othello Hamlet's wisdom, and endow Hamlet with Othello's will to act, or let Brutus change places with Macbeth, Cordelia with Juliet, and the catastrophe may be averted. As it is, the events that face the particular protagonists, which they go to meet undaunted though unprepared, are just the ones with which they are least fitted

²⁹ Cf. Lowell: 'Shakespeare Once More,' on Hamlet:—"There is a kind of genealogical necessity in the character—a thing not altogether strange to the attentive reader of Shakespeare. Hamlet seems the natural result of the mixture of father and mother in his temperament, the resolution and persistence of the one, like sound timber wormholed and made shaky, as it were, by the other's infirmity of will and discontinuity of purpose. . . . As with Hamlet, so it is with Ophelia and Laertes. The father's feebleness comes up again in the wasting heartbreak and gentle lunacy of the daughter, while the son shows it in rashness of impulse and act, a kind of crankiness of . . . essential feebleness."

to cope. The line in *Lear* is in a larger sense pertinent to all: "Change places, and, handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?";³⁰ the frailty of human nature is a common inheritance, so much so that it ill behooves any to blame another. The plots of these great tragedies are intertwined with hereditary causes, though too remote to catch poetic eyes that searched for active conflicts in the present rather than deal with some pre-natal past, unsuitable for objective representation. But, marred in the making, as so many of these fellow-protagonists were in life, well might they echo Omar's line, "What! did the Hand then of the Potter shake?" or *Lear*'s vehement disclaimer, "None does offend, none I say, none."

However obscurely treated, to modern eyes these tales of the past, Greek and Shakespearean, but especially the former, are tacit recognitions of the power of parents to shape the destinies of their descendants. Unconscious though that influence may be, how can it be denied that all the way from Oedipus to Romeo, and from Hamlet to Oswald Alving, the child inherits his potentialities for health or weakness, triumph or decay, from his progenitors? A certain birthright have we all in the evil of the ages; the characters of unnumbered ancient souls must affect each modern mating and its progeny. But to some the stars have been bright with blessings, to others the family-tree has been decrepit from the hour of its first inauspicious planting. And while a star-crossed seedling may be indeed improved by careful nurture, yet the best of soil and showers and sunshine can only arrest, not prevent, a decay once begun. With human beings, as in the vegetable world, the finest kind of an environment cannot deflect the development of the dominant characteristics inherited through generations; blood will tell, whatever the surroundings. It was Burns who piquantly summed up the case for heredity over environment in the two lines,

"An insect's an insect witha',
Though it crawl in the curl o' a queen."

It is our stern business to learn how to leave a better heritage to the children of the future. In this endeavor the modern dramatists are earnestly allied.

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³⁰ iv: 6.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. *Ascher, Aschermittwoch*

No satisfactory explanation has hitherto been advanced for forms such as *Aschermittwoch*, *Ascherbrod*, *Ascherkuchen*, *ascherfarb*, and the like, in which an *r* appears in the place of the expected *n*. F. Mentz, in an article entitled "*r* für *n* in unbetonter Silbe,"¹ cautiously suggests the possibility of the phonetic change of *r* to *n* in this group of words, but Kluge, in the latest edition of his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1915), takes no notice of this attempt at explanation. In fact, Kluge does not even try to account for these *r*-forms, but contents himself with listing the earliest instances known to him, which are of the sixteenth century. It is thus to be inferred that the explanation suggested as far back as 1854 by Jacob Grimm is also not convincing to Kluge: "es muss schon ahd. und mhd. neben dem gewöhnlichen f. *ascâ*, 'asche' ein in der bedeutung ihm nahe liegendes m. *ascari*, *aschære*, *ascher*, *escher* gegeben haben, das sich alleinstehend nicht, nur in den mhd. zusammensetzungen *aschervar* und *ascherkuoche* aufzeigen lässt."²

The word posited by Grimm can now be cited from the pre-Lutheran German Bible,³ in the forms *aschar*, *ascher*, *üscher*, equivalent to the Latin *cinis*. The latter word is as a rule translated by *der asche* (wk. masc.); the feminine *die asche* also occurs, but less frequently than the masculine. In the Books of the Maccabees, finally, which are by a new translator, the forms *aschar* and *ascher* are to be noted:

Aber es was an der selben stat ein turn funffzig daumelen: habent allenthalben aschar dar an getragen (. . . aggestum undique habens cineris, *Vulg.*), 2. Macc. 13, 5. Only the first printed edition, based on a MS. now lost, has this spelling: the oldest dated MS., *B* (Egerton 855 of the British Museum) has the form *ascher*, while all the rest spell *aschen*. A few verses later (2. Macc. 13, 8), MS. *B* is the only witness for the form

¹ *Zeitschr. für deutsche Wortf.* XV, 237 (1914).

² *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, I, 584.

³ There are, as is well known, quite a number of pre-Lutheran translations, mostly incomplete. The following references are to the translation first printed in 1466. and reprinted in 1904-1915 as *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, hrsg. von W. Kurrelmeyer, Tübingen, Bibl. des Litt. Vereins.

ascher: gottes altar des feur und ascher heylig was (. . . *cujus ignis et cinis erat sanctus*). Here all the others have *aschen*.

A third form, *äscher*, is introduced by *Sb*, *Sc*, the Augsburg editions of 1487 and 1490. In the following passages the text is in the spelling of the 1466 edition, the readings of *Sb* and *Sc* are in parentheses:

misch drei mos simeln, vnd mach brot vnder den aschen (dem äscher, *Sb*), Gen. 18, 6. wie daz ich bin ein gestúp vnd ein asche (äscher, *Sb*), Gen. 18, 27. der altar wirt zerrissen, vnd der asche (äschen, *Sb*, äscher, *Sc*) der da ist auf im der wirt vergossen, 3. Kings, 13, 3. Vnd der altar wart zerrissen, vnd der aschen (äschen, *Sb*, äscher, *Sc*) wart vergossen vom altar, v. 5.

In addition to the noun *aschar*, *ascher*, *äscher*, several instances of the adjectives *äscherig*, *äscherin* (*Vulg.*: *subcineritius*) may be cited. Only the first instance occurs in the oldest texts,⁴ the others are introduced by *Z*, the first edition of Zainer (Augsburg, ca. 1475):

Effraim ist gemacht esschrig brot: er kert nit wider, Hos. 7, 8. vnd machten vngehefelte äscherige brot, Exod. 12, 39. wie ein äscherigs brot ausz gersten, Judges, 7, 13. ein klein äscherin brot, 3. Kings, 17, 13. vnd sach zu seinem haubte ein äscherin brot, 3. Kings, 19, 6.

As far as I know, the earliest dated instance of *äscherig* is cited in Fischer's *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* (I, 340): An der aehscherigen Mittechen (1343). The following instances of *Aschermittwoch*, from dated documents, antedate those given in the dictionaries:

vnd reit am aschermittwoch von dannen, *Fontes rerum Siles.* IX, 42:1464. der kaiser ist dannoch am asstermitwochen zu Venedig gewesen, *Fontes rer. Austr.* XLVI, 85:1469.

Like *Mittwoch*, *Aschermittwoch* occurs also as a feminine noun: bis uf die aschermittwoch, *Publ. aus d. Preuss. Staatsarchiven*, LXVII, 641:1480. noch der aschermittwoch, *Fontes rer. Lusat.*, III, 207:1509–1520. An instance of the form without *er* may likewise be of interest: fritag nach Eschmittwoch, *Fontes rer. Austr.*, XLVI, 348:1475.

⁴ Hosea is the work of a new (third) translator, whilst the Books of the Maccabees, in which the only instances of *aschar*, *ascher* occur, are by the fourth translator. Cf. Vol. X, pp. x-xii of the edition cited.

2. *Alrânen* = 'Karten spielen'

The noun *alrân* 'Alraun' is found in both Middle and Old High German, usually in the sense of *mandragora*. Jacob Grimm considered the primitive meaning of the word to be that of a divining, prophesying evil spirit.⁵ A reminiscence of this older meaning is preserved in the verb *alrânen*, occurring in the court records of Zürich of the year 1459:⁶

Es klagt Heini Sâler, confinis Heini Stapffer, uff Hansen und Heini die Waldman, gebrüder: Es habe sich gefügt, da sy uff ir meisterstuben werint, da redte Negely: "Welichs wil alrânen?" Dem antwurte er: "Ich machte. Welichs wil me?" Da redte Hensly Wiss, der were ouch da: "Ich wil och."

There is no further description of the game that is now begun. Finally one of the players is unable or unwilling to pay his losses, and after a quarrel the party breaks up. On the way home, the complainant is told by several who had witnessed the game:

"Saler, du bist ein torchtig man, das du kartest " Da redte er: "Wieso?" Da antwurtind sy im: "Da sind ettlich hinder dir gestanden. Die hand allweg betüt, was du in dinen karten hast gehept."

Other allusions to this tipping off of the player's hand recur in the depositions of the various witnesses, e.g.:

"Welicher hinder mir statt und betüt, was ich han, so ich karten, ich hab es als ungeren. . . ." "Heini Saler, warumb redest von mir, ich stande hinder dir und betütete, was du in dinen karten heigest gehan?" "Wenn ich also tûn, so hat er daz; wenn ich also tûn, so hat er iens!"

The verb *alrânen* is not again used in the course of the testimony: it is therefore impossible to determine whether it denoted some particular game at cards, or card-playing in general. The development in meaning was probably: 'to prophesy' > 'to divine' > 'to try one's luck.'

It may also be noted that the two instances of *karten* above cited are considerably earlier than those recorded in the dictionaries.

⁵ *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 376: . . . *alrâna*, heutzutag *alraun*, ist aus der bedeutung eines weissagenden teuflischen geistes endlich in die der wurzel (*mandragora*), aus welcher man ihn schneidet, übergegangen.

⁶ *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Bürgermeisters Hans Waldmann*, Hrsg. von Ernst Gagliardi, Basel, 1911, pp. 27 f. [Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte, Neue Folge, II. Abt., 1. Bd.]

3. *Das Grüppi* = Die Grippe

Epidemics of the grippe are recorded as far back as the year 1357, but the name itself is assumed to be of comparatively recent French origin. The *NED*, for example, records the earliest English instance under date of 1776:

An epidemic cold seems to have spread itself from London to Barcelona. In passing through this kingdom [France], it has obtained the name of 'grippe'—a term significant enough from the nature of its attack on the throat.

French lexicographers, quoting the word from Voltaire, connect it with the verb *gripper*. Kluge points out that the German word is recorded at the end of the eighteenth century in the form *Grips*, with the definition 'Influenza, russische Krankheit.' According to M. Vasmer,⁷ the term is of Russian origin, being derived from *chripü*, 'Heiserkeit,' and *chripëti*, 'husten.'

Whatever be the ultimate origin of the term, the German word, in the spelling *das Gruppi*, appears more than two centuries earlier than the French *la grippe*. The instance in question is from the Latin Chronicle of Anton Tegernfeld, of Mellingen, Switzerland, who wrote between 1512 and 1525, this particular reference being to an epidemic of the year 1510:

Husten, pfypsi, gruppi jm land. Tussi et pituita laborant homines utriusque sexus et languebant, aliqui nominabant hunc languorem in vulgari *das gruppi* vel *pfippsi*.⁸

The context establishes beyond a doubt that the grippe or influenza is here referred to. Stalder⁹ records "das Grüpi, Grüppi, Kränklichkeit, vorzüglich ein Rheumatism," for Lucerne, which adjoins the Aargau, where Tegernfeld lived. The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (Frauenfeld, 1882 ff.) records the forms *Grupi*, 'Rheumatismus im Hals, Nackenstarre' (Aargau, Bern), and *Grüpi*, 'vorübergehendes, zeitw. auch epidemisches Unwohlsein, Unpässlichkeit (wie Husten, Schnupfen, usw.)' for

⁷ *Zs. f. deutsche Wortf.* IX, 21.

⁸ *Argovia, Jahresschrift der historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau*, XIV, 233 f., Aarau, 1884. With regard to the lack of umlaut, it may be noted that our author, in referring to one and the same person, writes *Georg an der Flu* (p. 236), *Georgium an der Flü* (ib.), and *Georgium an der Flu* (p. 239).

⁹ *Versuch eines Schweizerischen Idiotikon*, Aarau, 1812.

the Aargau and the Four Forest Cantons. The editors connect the word with the verb *grüpen*.

The difference in the stem-vowel of *Gruppi*, *Grüppi* on the one hand, and *Grippe*, on the other, is of little moment: compare, for example, the variant forms *gigelen*—*gügelen*, and *Giger*—*Güger*, cited by Stalder (I, 445). In the matter of gender it may be noted that the Italian *grippe* is masculine, and thus stands closer to the German word than to the French from which it is usually derived: Non vo' prendere il grippe o un mal di petto.¹⁰

The other term, *psippsi*, is the equivalent of the NHG. *Pips*, English *pip*, Ital. *pipita*, French *pépie*, all of which descend from the Latin *pituita*, found in our passage: Tussi et pituita laborant. Koerting defines this etymon as 'Schnupfen, Pips der Hühner,' with the added remark: "nur die letztere Bedeutung ist im Romanischen erhalten." Tegernfeld, of course, used it in the first sense of 'Schnupfen.'

4. *Lantmansweise*

Lexer¹¹ treats the expression *in lantmansweise* under *lantman*, defining it as 'durch den mund von landsleuten, vertraulich, gerüchtsweise.' Without actual quotation of the passages, he then gives five or six references to fifteenth-century documents. To these I am able to add a considerably larger number, which have been combined with those of Lexer in the following list:

1. so ist uns auch in landmansweyse für kumen, wie daz . . . (*Chroniken*,¹² I, 435: 1407).
2. uns ist in lantmansweise fürkumen, wie daz . . . (p. 437: 1408).
3. daz wir in lantmansweise vernomen haben, daz . . . (II, 39: 1421).
4. als ir uns yetzo nächst etlich läuff des hofes in lantmanswise und nit für ein aygenschaft geschriben . . . (V, 357: 1418).
5. nu sint uns lantmansweys flügmär yeczto fürkomen, wie daz . . . (p. 94: 1431).

¹⁰ *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Firenze, 1893, VII, 605.

¹¹ *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, I, 1826.

¹² *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jh.*, Leipzig, 1862 ff.

6. daz uns lantmanswyse fürkumen ist, daz . . .¹³ (1444).
7. Also hed in Lanmanswiese an vns gelanget, wie . . .
(*Fontes*,¹⁴ XX, 117: 1457).
8. Vns ist auch hie im landmansweise ankomen, der konig von Polan werde . . . (XLII, 227: 1458).
9. Item lanndtmansswaise lauttet es, daz . . . (p. 259: 1458).
10. Es kumpt an uns lantmansweis, wie . . . (p. 329: 1461).
11. Item vns ist in landmannswiese gesagt, . . . (XLIV, 149: 1461).
12. Item es ist in landmannesweise an vns gelangt, das . . . (p. 204:1461).
13. Do wir nun zu nacht an die herberg komen, hab wir in lanndtmansswiss verstanden wie das . . . (II, 383: 1471).
14. Wir verstanden in lanndtmansweise, das . . . (*ib.*).
15. Ouch so kumpt vnns in Landtmanss Wise für, wie . . .¹⁵ (1499).

Practically all of these documents are letters or reports to princes or free cities, in which a certain *Kanzleistil* is to be expected, and the earlier instances are from a comparatively limited area: Numbers 1-5 are dated Nuremberg or Augsburg; No. 6 is from Ulm; Nos. 7-12, dated Torgau, Eger, or Weimar, are addressed to the Dukes of Saxony; Nos. 13 and 14 mention Bozen and Chur, while No. 15 was written at Basel.

To come back now to the meaning of the phrase: the context in every instance permits of the interpretation 'gerüchtsweise'—*cf.* particularly No. 4—whereas the definition 'durch den mund von landsleuten, vertraulich,' while possible in a few of the instances, is not at all probable. A study of other similar expressions found in the same texts will yield additional evidence for this statement:

16. Is ist landkundick euch wissentlich und awzufuren mit briefin und segiln, wie . . . (*Fontes*, XLII, 15).

¹³ *Urkunden und Schreiben betreffend den Zug der Armagnaken (1439-1444)*. Hrsg. von Ernst Wülcker, p. 58. [Neujahrs-Blatt des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt a.M. für das Jahr 1873.]

¹⁴ *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. 2. Diplomataria et Acta. Wien, 1855 ff.

¹⁵ E. Tatarinoff, *Die Beteiligung Solothurns am Schwabenkriege*, Solothurn, 1899, p. 93.

17. Vnd irem bosen furnemen, darinne sie vngetruwelich, als landkundig ist, . . . gewest sind (p. 129).

18. das solh new ketzerey . . . bey euch sein, lantbrecht¹⁶ worden ist (p. 395).

19. Aber wir vernemen nu landsag, wie . . . (p. 492).

20. diesz alles ist mich durch sage mer ankomen (XLIV, 271).

21. Wiewol die hochgeboren fürsten . . . als wir vernemen irer zwitracht vnd geprechen . . . vereynt sein sullen, sein doch lantmer dabey, wie die Behm dem jungen herren stark zu ziehen (XLII, 73).

22. Ewer schreiben, mir yeczund geschehen, dorjnn ir berurt, wie ir in landtmer verhort, das . . . (XLIV, 609).

These expressions, and particularly the last, are so clear in their composition, and so similar in their use to *lantmansweise*, that the conjecture at once suggests itself that we have here a corruption of *lantmersweise*. The popular etymology which introduced this change was aided by the fact that unaccented *n* and *r* in these combinations are phonetically very similar. This has been clearly shown by F. Mentz,¹⁷ who, in addition to numerous forms in which an *r* has taken the place of an *n*, also cites a few instances of the opposite tendency: *Brückensweiler* for earlier *Bruckhartsweiler*, *Liebenzweiler* for *Liebertsweiler*, *desentieren* for *desertieren*.

There is accordingly no obstacle to the conjecture that *lantmansweise* is the corruption of an earlier *lantmersweise*.¹⁸

5. *Einen Tag oder zehn*

Under the numeral *ein*, Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* has the following statement (III, 114):

3) bleibt der redende unsicher bis wohin die zahl von der einheit aufsteige, so fügt er dem *ein* die partikel 'oder' bei und

¹⁶ This word, not recorded by Lexer or Grimm, occurs also in *Wiltolt von Schaumburg*: Es ist lantprecht und unverborgen (Bibl. Lit. Ver. L, 141).

¹⁷ "r für n in unbetonter Silbe," *Zeitschr. f. deu. Wortf.*, XV, 234-240.

¹⁸ After the expression *lantmansweise* had once become crystallized, it was of course able to develop further. Compare, e.g.: wol ist vns in lantmans sage zu uersteenn wurdenn, dwile der herzog . . ., *Urkunden und Acten betreffend die Belagerung der Stadt Neuss am Rheine (1474-75)*. Hrsg. von Ernst Wülcker, p. 101. [Neujahrs-Blatt des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt a.M. f.d.J. 1877.]

lässt die höchste wahrscheinliche zahl folgen, z.b. *ich bleibe einen oder zehn tage aus* will sagen: nicht über zehen, bestimmt aber die eintretende zwischenzahl nicht. *ich zahle einen oder drei gulden* stellt dahin, lässt die wahl, ob einer, zwei oder drei gezahlt werden.

Where the numerals are consecutive, or almost consecutive, it is of course difficult to disprove the validity of the above definition: in the case of the higher numbers, however, it may be shown conclusively that the meaning is not 'one, or two, or three, . . . or ten,' but 'approximately ten,' '*ungefähr zehn.*' The context of some of Grimm's own examples bears out this interpretation:

e.k.f. gn. wolle dem armen mann jährlich ein gulden oder funfzehn zu geben gnädiglich verschaffen (*Luthers Briefe*, V, 302).

Is it not perfectly clear that Luther is suggesting an annual pension of *about fifteen florins*, and not *one, or two, or three, etc.*? Similarly in the following citation from *Simplicissimus*, to which I have added the context:

Ehe wir aber vor den Wald kamen, sahin wir ohngefähr einen Bauren oder zehen, deren ein Theil mit Feuer-rohren bewehrt, die übrige aber geschäftig waren, etwas einzugraben (ed. Keller, p. 94). On the next page the same peasants are again referred to: . . . hatten obgedachte Bauren angetroffen, fünff davon gefangen bekommen und die übrigen todt geschossen.

The only possible interpretation of *einen Bauren oder zehen* is *ungefähr zehn Bauren*. Most of the remaining examples cited in the *DWb.* may be similarly explained. An even more unequivocal instance is cited by Lütcke in an article written as far back as 1839:¹⁹ Lass doch die Dirne einen Tag oder zehn bei uns bleiben, Gen. XXIV, 55, = *dies saltem decem* of the Vulgate, and *ὡσεὶ δέκα* of the Septuagint. The passage appears in this form in the first edition of Luther's translation (1523), and

¹⁹ "Ueber die unbestimmten Zahl-Adjectiva der Deutschen Sprache," in v.d. Hagen's *Germania*, III, 60 ff. Strange to say, Grimm entirely ignores Lütcke, despite the fact that the latter's article is referred to in Hildebrand's *Volkslieder*, cited by Grimm, col. 114. Schleicher's *Sonneberg*, and *Zs. f. deu. Mundarten*, II, 253-57; III, 128, likewise cited by Grimm, are not accessible to me.

is one of the earliest cited by Lütcke or Grimm. The locution may be traced back into the fifteenth century, however, and that, too, in examples which are perfectly unequivocal:

das ir . . . vil darrasholtz von stundan last furen uff den marck vnd ein fuder zeungerten oder zweintziger, damit man darrassen mug (*Fontes*,²⁰ XLIV, 225: 1461).

das man ein pfert oder dreyhundert hienyden auch gebrauchen mochte (p. 432:1462).

wollet noch ein tag oder acht harren (*Fontes*, XLVI, 66: 1468).

. . . ein trinckgelt in die canzelei gern geben, den gesellen einen gulden XL oder L oder was herrn Steffan gut bedunckt, doch uber 1^e gulden nit (*Publ.*²¹ LIX, 134: 1470).

auch so wer die pfingstrechnung bis jar fur, do ein gulden oder zehentauesent von gefiell, die man . . . (p. 237:1471).

so bringen wir ein gulden oder zehentauesent mit uns hinein uf das myndst (p. 239:1471).

und uns dann gechling not geschee, das uns ein gulden oder VI^m werden möcht (p. 373:1472).

und behalten die partheyen dennoch in solchen grossen sachen ein mensch oder X^m zu were an den grenitzen (p. 733: 1474).

das zu Polen und zu Beheim, auch in eurer gnaden erblanden, ein mensch oder XX^m an den grenitzen weren (p. 734:1474).

so ist sich ein tag oder acht, bis man sich samelt, zu leiden (p. 750:1474).

welt ich gern ein tag oder vier ruen. Die erzt setzen fur acht, ich getrau aber, es sei als lang nit not (*Fontes*, XLVI, 346: 1475). The editor, not understanding the locution, proposes the reading *zwier* in place of *vier*.

Ich hett ouch uwern gnauden die böltz einz tages oder vierer ee geschickt (Steinhausen,²² I, 178:1477).

das euch ein gulden oder IIII^e werd uf das mynst (*Publ.* LXXI, 267:1483).

All but one or two of these examples are from the correspondence of the Elector Albrecht Achilles, a worthy forerunner of Luther in the use of idiomatic German. That *ein gulden oder zehentauesent*, or *ein mensch oder zwanzig tausent* could possibly mean 'one, or two, or three men or any intermediate number up to 20,000,' no one will want to assert,—the expression merely intends to indicate an *approximation* to

²⁰ *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. 2. Diplomataria et Acta.

²¹ *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven*.

²² Steinhausen, *Deutsche Privatbriefe des Mittelalters*.

the highest number given, not a *gradation* through all the intervening ones. It is to be noted, moreover, that the locution never occurs in the form *éinen oder zehn tage, éinen oder drei gulden*, as posited by Grimm, but always in the order *einen tag oder zehn, einen gulden oder acht*. Furthermore, it is at least an open question whether the *ein* is to be taken as a numeral or as an article. In the Low German dialect of to-day, for example, the locution has the form *en stück of acht*, in which the *en* is entirely atonic, whereas the numeral would be *een*. The *acht*, on the other hand, has the chief stress.

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BURKHARD ZINK

A WANDERING SCHOLAR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

An interesting introduction to the autobiographical accounts of the life of the wandering scholar is to be found in the *Chronik* of Burkhard Zink.¹ Zink's wanderings, which took place between the years 1407 and 1415, antedate those of Johannes Butzbach by some seventy-five years, and those of Thomas Platter by a full century.² As compared with the accounts of these later *scholares vagantes*, the significant portion of Burkhard Zink's autobiography, that concerned with his school-life, is somewhat brief; it comprises but five pages. A translation follows:³

"In God's name I am going to write the following book, relating how I, Burkhard Zingg, lived since childhood, and the adventures that befell me.

"My dear mother died in childbirth in the year of our Lord 1401; God have mercy on her, amen. I was then four years old,⁴ and had two brothers, John and Conrad, and a sister, Margaret.⁵ It should be mentioned that our father was called Burkhard Zingg. He was an industrious man who traded with Styria, and had property at Memingen near the grave of Man-gold, next to Mrs. Beckin who was a widow but who later took another husband named Kipfenberg. A blacksmith has since bought our father's house, and to this day many smiths, who

¹ *Chronik des Burkhard Zink*, in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte* (Leipzig, 1866), V, 122-28; Oefelius, A. F. *Rerum Boicarum Scriptores*, etc. (2 vols. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1763), I, 247-49.

² Becker, D. J. *Chronica eines fahrenden Schüler, oder Wanderbüchlein des Johannes Butzbach*, aus der lateinischen Handschrift übersetzt (Regensburg, 1869).

Heman, J. K. R. *Thomas und Felix Platter, zwei Lebensbilder aus der Zeit der Reformation und Renaissance, von ihnen selbst entworfen. Aus der Schweizerdeutschen . . . übertragen. Part II* (Gütersloh, 1882); Monroe, Paul. *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904).

³ The original is in Middle High German.

⁴ *Chronik*, 313: "als ich gehort han von meinem vater, so bin ich geporen worden in dem jar, als man zalt von Christi unseres lieben herrn gepurt 1396 jar, wie ich dann darvornen im buech nach lengs anzaigt han."

⁵ "do was ich vier jar alt und hett drei geschwistergit, zwen brueder Johannes und Conraden, und Margreten unser schwester."

make scythes, live in that same street. I remember well that we lived there.

"In 1404 my father married again, a woman whose father was called Hans Schmid of Krumbach, a smith and an upright man. She was a proud, young woman, who did not like us children, but resented us and treated us badly; but she was very dear to our father, and pleased him well, as young wives often do please fat old men.

"In 1407, when I was a lad of eleven years, I left Memingen, my father and all my friends, and went away with a scholar.⁶ I was also a scholar,⁷ for I had gone to school four years. We went together in Krainland toward Wend, to a market-town called Reifnitz, which is a trading-center in Krainland, about six miles from Laibach toward Croatia. I remained in that country seven years, and went to school there, for my father had a brother who was a pastor in a village called Rieg.⁸ Rieg is a

⁶ Cf. Platter's experience with the "Bacchant, Paul" (Monroe translation, 94): "He promised that he would take me with him, and in Germany would place me in a school." Butzbach (*Chronica*, 14-15): "While this was happening to me, our neighbor's son, a great student, returned from a foreign school. He attached himself to my father, and requested that I be put to study with him. He promised that, with him, I would in a short time make greater progress in learning, elsewhere, than I would here in years."

⁷ It is hardly probable that Zink became a "scholar" at eleven years of age. Technically speaking, he became a "shooter," i.e., a younger student who "fagged" for a scholar. Cf. Monroe, *op. cit.*, 34-37; and Schmidt, K. *Geschichte der Pädagogik* (4 vols. in 3. Cöthen, 1873-78), II, 316. Platter (Monroe translation, 95): "On the way I had to beg here and there for myself, and give also to my Bacchant, Paul." Butzbach (*Chronica*, 42-3): "When we reached a hamlet, he sent me into it to beg, and waited for me at the opposite end. If I came out with empty hands, he beat me severely, and cried: 'Well! by God, I'll teach you how to beg, and fight soon enough!' But if I got possession of anything good, he took it all, and I received at most only what he left. So things went throughout the entire time that I was with him. Yes, distrustful as he was, he often made me rinse out my mouth with warm water, and then spit it out, to see whether I had eaten anything good while begging." Platter (Monroe translation, 109): "Paul had taken another bacchant to live with him, called Achacius, from Mainz. I and my companion Hildebrand had to serve them both. But my companion ate almost all; then they went on the street after him, so that they might find him eating; or they commanded him to wash out his mouth with water, and to spit in a dish with water, so that they saw whether he had eaten anything."

⁸ In an earlier section (*Chronik*, 104) Zink mentions the places he visited during this period of his wanderings. "Am ersten als ich von Memingen aus-

large, beautiful village, and five other villages belong to it, Göttenitz, Pausenbrunnen, etc. My master had been pastor of the same for thirty years, and had come there from Ortenburg with Count Friedrich's wife. She had made him priest, for he had been her secretary. She was a von Teck. The Dukes of Mindelheim, Duke Ulrich, Duke Friedrich, and Duke Lutz, who was afterwards Patriarch⁹ in Friul for a number of years, were brothers of this same lady of Ortenburg. My master, my father's brother, sent me to board with an honest fellow called Hans Schwab, who was Count Friedrich's master-builder at Ortenburg, and who built at that time the lower house at Ortenburg at the foot of the mountain.

"When I had been with my master at Reifnitz seven years, he would indeed have brought me to honor, and would have done handsomely by me. He wished to send me to the University of Vienna, but I did not want that, and left him against his wishes, and so he gave me nothing. I was then a scholar of eighteen years, and went to Memingen and thought that I should now remain with my father, and be a young gentleman. But things had changed almost entirely, for my father and step-mother had separated, my brothers were dead, and my sister had married. And the inheritance I should have had from my mother had been given by my father and my other friends to my sister, for we children had our own property, and had separated from our father, with our maternal inheritance, when he married again. When I was with my master in Wend, my friends thought that I would never leave him, and that he would look out for me; and in order that they might make a better settlement upon my sister, they gave her more. And now that I had arrived, I desired money like other young fellows, but there was nothing for me, and no one was glad to see me; indeed, I was very sorry that I had not remained with my master, and got ready and went back into the country on the

schied . . . kam ich gen Mindelheim, Landsperg, München, Wasserperg . . . Reitwang . . . Wägingen, Saltzperg, Gallein, Ratstat, über ein perg haist der Tauren Werffe, Mauterndorf, Gmünd, über den Kutzperg in das land ze Karnten, Friesack, Clagenfurt, sant Veit, Villach, da bin ich gewesen ain halb jar bei ainem burger, der hiess Truckenprot; Spitalin, Traburg, Lienz, ze Ortenperg . . . über den Kranperg in Krainland, Radmasdorf, Krainperg, Laibach . . . "

⁹ "priarch."

instant. But when I arrived, I came like hail on a helmet.¹⁰ My master was dead, and had given his property to his children and other people. He had four children. So I had returned in vain, and had wearied myself for nothing; there was not a heller's worth of property for me. It served me right, for had I remained with him, it would all have been mine.

"As I had tired myself out in vain, I got to my feet again, and returned to Memingen where the inn-keeper was at home. No one was pleased to see me; my friends paid no attention to me. Then I went to a kindly man who came from a village to the city. I conducted his two boys to school, remained with him a year and taught his boys.¹¹ In truth, I was in love with a little girl, and the longer I went to school the more unwillingly I did so, and finally I determined not to go to school at all, but wanted to learn a trade, for my sister's husband was an honest and rich weaver. Then I reflected upon the matter, and considered how his helper had a very good living, and that this trade would please me, and that I wanted to learn it. So I left school. My brother-in-law would have taught me gladly, but my other friends would not let me learn it, so I decided to learn another trade. Then, since I would not have anything else, my friends advised me to learn the furrier's trade, which was a good, honest trade. So I let myself be persuaded, and bound myself out to a furrier at Memingen, called master Jos, who has since been a watchman at the Kempten gate. When I had been with that master fourteen days, I had enough of him. It made my back ache, and I could not satisfy him at all. Then I went to my sister, and told her that I did not want to remain any longer with the furrier, but would go back to school. This pleased my sister and her husband also, for he would have liked to make a preacher of me.

"Then I prepared to leave, and took my school-books, and asked my sister and her husband for a little travelling-money. They gave me six shillings and no more. With that I set out the same day for Waldsee. I spent the night at the free lodging-house, for I had but little money. It should be mentioned that

¹⁰ "da kam ich gleich als der schaur an die helm," i.e., in vain.

¹¹ Butzbach (*Chronica*, 55): "After that we set out again, and finally were accepted in the school at Eger, and there we both received employment with wealthy families, to assist the boys with their studies."

when I left the furrier, my friends had to give him seven pounds, which they had promised him for teaching me. After spending the night in the lodging-house at Waldsee, I arose early in the morning, and went across to Biberach. There I met an honest man (he was a very rich man, and had been a cobbler, but was not practicing his trade), who would, for God's sake, take care of me for a year or more, and I was to go to school, but I had to get my food for myself. I went to school fourteen days, but was ashamed to beg;¹² and when I left school, I bought a loaf of bread for one penny,¹³ and cut bits from it; and when I came home and my master asked me whether I had been in the town for bread, I answered "yes." Then he said: "They give very willingly here to the poor scholars." This went on until I had not a penny left, but I would not beg. A scholar told me what a good school there was at Ehingen, and wanted me to go with him, so I did. I went with him to Ehingen, where there were many big bachants running all over the city in search of bread.¹⁴ When I saw that the old and big scholars went about and sang for bread, I went with them and succeeded; with four others I begged enough for my needs, and was no longer ashamed of it, and obtained enough so that I ate well.¹⁵

"When I was at Ehingen, and had been in the school half a year, a big student came to me, and asked whether I would go with him to Ballingen where there was a very good school. He said he would help me get a good position there, and would aid me and advise me. He so carried me away with his pleasant speech, that I went with him to Ballingen which is a little town a mile from Hohenzollern. When we reached Ballingen, we remained there a year; I went to school, but my comrade deserted me, and gave me neither help nor advice. So I went to a

¹² *Ibid.* (*ibid.*, 42): "While we moved about in this manner, from place to place, I did not mind the fatigue of the journey as much as I did the begging for bread, which I hated from the bottom of my soul."

¹³ "so kaufet ich ain laib prot umb 1 dn," i.e., 1 denier.

¹⁴ Platter (Monroe translation, 102): "Once there were in the city (Breslau), so it was said, several thousand bacchants and shooters, who supported themselves wholly by alms."

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (*ibid.*, 100): "Those of us shooters who could sing went in the city to sing, but I went begging." *Ibid.* (*ibid.*, 110): "While there (Ulm) I often had the greatest hunger, and was fearfully frost-bitten too, because I often went about in the dark till midnight to sing for bread."

poor man, a smith, named Spilbentz. I was with him for a time, and escorted his boy to school. After that I went to an inn-keeper who gave me all of my board, so that I did not need to beg. Later, I left this place, and went to Ulm, where I remained for a whole year with the city piper, one Hans von Biberach, who treated me well. I took his boy to school. He has since become a piper. I begged my bread.

“In 1415 I left Ulm, and returned to Memingen. My brother-in-law was delighted to see that I was somewhat chastened, and persuaded me to go to Augsburg. He wanted to have me consecrated an acolyte, but I remained for a short time only at Memingen. Later, I went to Augsburg in which city I entered the service of a rich, industrious shopkeeper, named Ulrich Schön, who some years previously had been ruined and reduced to poverty. I was with him a year, and left school entirely. Once, at a carnival, I rode down a boy near St. George’s; and fearing the boy’s friends, I left there and went to Nürnberg. With the shopkeeper I went to many fairs in Bavaria and elsewhere.

“And so I went to Nürnberg, where I remained three years with a respectable and wealthy man named Cuntz Beham, who was situated on the market-place, at the corner near the chapel of Our Blessed Lady of Salzburg, and sold iron. He had married the daughter of a worthy man named Schultheiss of Bernheim, who was situated right behind the monastery of the Friars Preachers, toward the hay-market. He was a rich man, and sold wine.

“After that I went to Bamberg, where I entered into an agreement with a man called John Frank, who was an attorney of canon law, and kept an inn also. I stayed with him half a year, and then went to Würzburg. At the time I was there, a quart of good wine cost a penny, or a heller, and they sold fourteen measures of wine for a Bohemian florin, as a matter of fact. It should be mentioned that on the day of my arrival at Würzburg, the Bishop of Würzburg, who had been away, returned. He had been to a large village to punish a nobleman named Seckendorf, who had plundered the town, and had burned down the church and tower into which the peasants had fled for refuge; some four hundred perished in the flames. So I

was told at the inn by two soldiers named Zwiffel and Leicht, who had been there when the deed was done.

"In 1419 I returned to Augsburg and entered the service of a rich and influential man named Jos Kramer. He was a master builder, yet he was a member of the weaver's gild. He did not practice his trade, however, for he had no need of it. He carried on trade in hides with Styria, and other business with Venice as well. He had probably 100 bales of barracan.¹⁶ I had charge of all his trade with Venice, Frankfurt, and Nürnberg. He was indeed a fine man, and treated me well. God in heaven reward him, and preserve his soul."

Although it lacks the details supplied by Butzbach, and Platter, this brief account is worthy of a place in the literature of the wandering scholar. It is the first autobiography of its kind, of which the authorship is known. Furthermore, in its simple, naïve fashion, it compresses within small compass the tale that is told by Butzbach, and Platter. It indicates the essential features of that life: the wanderings from school to school, the hardships endured by the scholars, and the small amount of learning actually acquired by these vagabonds.¹⁷

There is nothing in the tales of Zink, Butzbach, and Platter that suggests the rollicking, carefree life of the *goliardi* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although many of the same difficulties in obtaining food and shelter were experienced by the earlier wanderer—*Exul ego clericus, ad laborem natus*¹⁸—he seems also to have enjoyed a large measure of wine, women,

¹⁶ "er hett wol 100 fardel barchat." Barchat=barracan (camel's-hair cloth), from the Persian *barak*.

¹⁷ There is no explicit statement to that effect in this portion of Zink's narrative; it must be inferred from the character of his school-life. In a later section he admits that he had learned to write; "nun kan ich doch ain wenig schreiben." Zink was then twenty-four years old (Chronik, 129).

Butzbach (Chronica, 132): "On the entrance examination (at Deventer) I could answer nothing . . . I was assigned to the seventh grade to learn the elements of grammar with the little boys." At that time Butzbach was twenty.

Platter (Monroe translation, 117): "When I entered the school, I could do nothing; not even read Donatus. I was then eighteen years old."

¹⁸ Carmina Burana, in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1847), XVI, 50:

Exul ego clericus
ad laborem natus
tribulor multociens
paupertati datus.

and song.¹⁹ But these later-day members of the *familia Goliae* do not mention such happy moments, and in that sense they do not appear as true "sons of Goliath." Indeed, it would be difficult to find a place for them among those earlier students who were classed with the *joculatores*, *bufones*, *histriones*, and other *ribaudi*, by the Church Councils of the thirteenth century.²⁰ The autobiographies mentioned indicate that in the *bacchantes* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a new type of wandering scholar had appeared to replace the *vagabundi*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8:

Dum juvenus floruit,
licuit et libuit
facere quod placuit,
iuxta voluntatem
currere, peragere
carnis voluptatem.

Ibid., 233:

Bachi, qui est spiritus, infusio
gentes allicit bibendi studio
curarumque tedium
solvit, et dat gaudium.

Ibid., 235:

In taberna quando sumus,
non curamus quid sit humus,
sed ad ludum properamus,
cui semper insudamus.

²⁰ In the twelfth century the wandering scholars enjoyed clerical privileges. Friedrich Barbarossa, in 1158, extended the *Privilegium scholarium* to those who journeyed from place to place in the pursuit of learning. By the opening of the thirteenth century, however, they had fallen into disrepute, because of their riotous mode of living. Many Council decrees rescinded their "ancient" privileges, and assigned them to a place between the laity and clergy. Furthermore, all classes were forbidden to receive and entertain members of the *secta vagorum scholarium*; and heavy fines were imposed upon those who violated this canon.

See the following Councils: Sens, 1223; Treves, 1227; Tours, and Chateau-Gonthier, 1231; Magdeburg, 1261; Mainz, 1261, 1310; Salzburg, 1274, 1292, 1310; St. Pölten, 1284; Würzburg, 1287; Cahors, Rhodéz, and Tulle, 1289; Bremen, 1292; Cologne, 1300. Bédier, J. Les Fabliaux, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Paris, 1893), XCVIII, 351; Ducange, C. Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, IV, 85 (Art: *goliardus*); Faral, E. Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Paris, 1910), CLXXXVII, 43; Hampe, T. Die fahrenden Leute in der deutschen Vergangenheit (Leipzig, 1902), 51; Hefele, K. J. Conciliengeschichte nach den Quellen, etc. (8 vols. Freiburg, 1873-90), V, 952, VI, 70-1, 79, 170, 230-1, 250, 264, 265; Hergenröther, J. A. C. Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte (2 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902-4), II, 709-10; Hubatsch, O. Die lateinische Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters (Görlitz, 1870), 14, 95.

whose mode of life is so clearly reflected in the *Carmina Burana*, and in a certain number of the *fabliaux*.²¹

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²¹ Bedier, *op. cit.*; *Carmina Burana*, *op. cit.*; Edéstan du Méril. *Poésies populaires latines du moyen age* (Paris, 1847); Faral, *op. cit.*, 32-43, 263-67; Gabrielli, A. *Su la poesia dei goliardi* (Cittá di Castello, Lapi, 1889); Hubatsch, *op. cit.* Langlois, C. V. *La littérature goliardique*, in *Revue politique et littéraire* (1892), II, 807-13; and (1893), I, 174-80; Pernwerth von Bärnstein, A. *Ubi sunt, qui ante nos in mundi fuere?* (Würzburg, 1881); Symonds, J. A. *Wine, Women and Song* (London, 1899); Wright, T. *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841).

DIE BEDEUTUNG DER EPISODE IN
HEBBELS DRAMEN

Mit Ausnahme von 'Gyges und sein Ring' enthalten alle der bedeutenderen Dramen Hebbels, Judith, Genoveva, Maria Magdalena, Herodes und Mariamne, Agnes Bernauer und die Nibelungen-Trilogie Episoden; in den weniger bedeutenden dagegen, Der Diamant, Ein Trauerspiel in Sizilien, Julia, Michel Angelo,—eine Ausnahme ist der Rubin—und in den am weitesten gediehenen Fragmenten Moloch und Demetrius fehlen diese gänzlich. In Hebbels Dramen sind die Episoden sehr enge mit der Handlung verknüpft, viel enger als dies in den Werken Shakespeares oder Schillers der Fall ist. Man denke an die Pförtner-Episode in Macbeth oder an die Berta-Episode in Fiesko, wie locker sind sie nicht mit der Handlung dieser Dramen verbunden. Sie könnten gestrichen werden und die Tragödien blieben im Wesentlichen bestehen; zum Verständnis des ganzen sind sie nicht nötig. In den Hebbelschen Dramen dagegen haben die Episoden einen innern Zweck, eine besondere Aufgabe. Eine Prüfung derselben darauf hin ergibt, dass sie zur Hervorhebung der Idee oder zur Charakterisierung entweder der Zeit oder auch dieser oder jener Person dienen. Weiter ist auf ihre Stelle im Drama zu achten. Es zeigt sich, dass sie immer dort stehen, wo sich ein Umschwung im Geschehen anbahnt, oder eine Wendung im Schicksal der handelnden Personen stattfindet. Letzlich ist auch darauf zu sehen, ob die Episoden die Handlung verlangsamten oder beschleunigen.

Die Tragödie "Judith" beruht auf der Idee, dass die Gottheit in ausserordentlichen Weltlagen unmittelbar in den Gang der Ereignisse eingreift und durch Menschen Taten vollbringen lässt, durch welche die Menschheit auf eine höhere Stufe gehoben werden soll. Eine solche erstand als Holofernes, der Repräsentant des Paganismus, das Volk der Verheissung, den Vertreter des Monotheismus, zu erdrücken drohte.¹ Das Werkzeug, welches sich die Gottheit auserkor, um ihren Plan zur Hebung der Menschheit zu verwirklichen, ist die schöne und jugendliche Hebräerin Judith.

¹ Vgl. *Briefe*. Bd. 2 S. 35 (Zitate aus Hebbels Werken sind Werners Historisch-kritischer Ausgabe entnommen) und Werner, *Hebbel*. Ein Lebensbild. S. 156 2. Aufl. Berlin 1913.

Im 3. Akt von Hebbels Drama findet sich die Danielepisode. Sie dient zur Hervorhebung der Idee. Der Gott Israels greift hier direkt in den Weltlauf ein. Dem stummen Daniel wird plötzlich auf kurze Zeit die Sprache verliehen. Er verhindert, dass der ruchlose Plan des Bruders, die Tore der Stadt Bethulien zu öffnen, zur Ausführung gelangt. Durch das Sichselbstaufopfern der Judith, das ist der Plan der Gottheit, soll den Bedrängten die Rettung kommen. Die Idee des Stückes wird durch die Danielepisode bekräftigt und hervorgehoben.

Weiter dient diese Episode noch zur Charakterisierung der Zeit, "sie zeigt, dass das geschaffene Leben noch nicht so weit entfesselt war, um der unmittelbaren Eingriffe der höchsten göttlichen Macht enthoben zu sein und sie entbehren zu können."² Sie steht an der Stelle im Drama, wo sich im Leben der Heldin und im Schicksal ihres Volkes die Entscheidung vollzieht. Die entsetzliche Not ihrer Volksgenossen, noch mehr ihre Feigheit zwingt Judith die Tat auf. Aus eigener Kraft kann ihnen die Rettung nicht kommen. Sie sieht, hier kann nur ich helfen. Ihre Aufgabe wird ihr zur Pflicht.

Die Handlung wird durch die Episode beschleunigt. Judith erscheint unter dem Volk, sie sieht das Entsetzen und die Verwirrung, die hier durch das Daniel-Wunder hervorgerufen wurde. Unter den Männern ist keiner, von dem die erlösende Tat zu erhoffen wäre. Fünf Tage höchstens kann die Stadt sich noch halten, selbst dann wird man das Opfer des Herrn, den heiligen Wein und das Oel, unter die Bewohner verteilen müssen. Jetzt gilt es rasch zu handeln. "Ich hab' ein Geschäft bei dem Holofernes. Wollt ihr mir das Tor öffnen lassen?" fragt Judith die Umherstehenden. Ihre Bitte wird ihr alsbald gewährt.

In der "Genoveva" dient die Einführung des Juden (II, 5) einem andern Zweck als zur Hervorhebung der Idee. Die unmenschliche Behandlung, die ihm seitens des Burggesindes zu teil wird, charakterisiert die grausame Zeit des frühen Mittelalters. In einer Kapelle wird Messe gelesen, draussen steinigt das brutale Gesinde den Juden. In diesem Bilde liegt die Zeit. Treffender konnte sie nicht geschildert werden. Vom Christentum hat sie nur die äusseren Formen angenommen; der Geist und das Wesen desselben ist ihr fremd.

² Briefe. Bd. II. S. 33.

Der Dichter hat aber noch eine höhere Absicht. Hier am Schlusse des 2. Aktes sollen wir einen Blick in Golos Seelenzustand tun.³ Noch ist das Gute in ihm mächtig. Die Leidenschaft hat ihn noch nicht völlig in ihrer Gewalt. Er nimmt sich des verfolgten Juden an. Aber nicht aus Mitleid mit ihm, sondern aus dem Gefühl der inneren Verwandtschaft. "Jedem Sünder fühl ich mich verwandt." Er ist sich seiner begangenen Frevel bewusst und ahnt die noch kommenden. Er weiss, dass er eben so schuldbeladen ist wie der Jude. Er besinnt sich hier noch einmal auf sich selbst. Es folgt in III, 10 die grosse Szene vor dem Bilde Genovevas, in der Golo die Herrschaft über sich selbst völlig verliert. Wir fühlen jetzt ist er rettungslos verloren.

Schon aus der Bedeutung dieser Episode geht hervor, dass die Handlung durch sie verlangsamt wird. Sie ist, wie wir sahen, zum Teil Seelenschilderung. Sie folgt auf eine Szene (II, 4), in der es Genovevas Reinheit und Hoheit gelang, die schon heiss lodernde Leidenschaft Golos zu besänftigen und das fast machtlos gewordene Gute in ihm wach zu rufen und zu stärken. Für den Augenblick ist er gerettet. Im 3. Akt betritt er dann den Weg, der ihn ins Verderben stürzt.

In "Maria Magdalena" hat die knappe, unscheinbare Episode mit dem Knaben in III, 3 eine doppelte Aufgabe. Nicht Leonhard, wie es scheinen möchte, sondern Klara ist die Hauptperson. In ihrem Innern vollzieht sich, während Leonhard mit dem Knaben verhandelt, ein völliger Umschwung. Von nun an ist sie eine andere, sie würde Leonhard jetzt nicht mehr heiraten, selbst wenn er sich ihr anböte. Sie ist von innen heraus erstarrt. Was sie jetzt noch tut, das geschieht mechanisch, wie geistesabwesend. In ihrem Zustand erinnert sie stark an Mariamne, die wie Klara von innen heraus erstarrt und erstirbt.

³ Die Lesbiaszene im 2. Akt von "Gyges und sein Ring" hat eine ähnliche Bedeutung. Da sollen wir einen Blick in Gyges momentanen Seelenzustand werfen. Kandaules schenkt ihm die schöne Sklavin Lesbia, um aus der Art, wie er das Geschenk aufnimmt, seine Gefühle für Rhodope zu erkennen. Durch die Weigerung das Geschenk anzunehmen, noch mehr aber durch den Vergleich, den Gyges zwischen der Königin und der Sklavin anstellt, erhält der König die Gewissheit, dass Gyges die Königin liebt. Als Episode kann diese Szene jedoch nicht betrachtet werden, weil sie zu eng mit der Handlung verknüpft ist.

Die kurze Episode dient auch zur Charakterisierung Leonhards. Vor seinem Verschwinden von der Bühne sehen wir noch einmal die Gemeinheit dieses Menschen. Bei Gelegenheit des Blumenstrausses, den ihm der Knabe von der Bürgermeisterstochter gebracht hat, fragt er Klara mit teuflischer Grausamkeit nach der Bedeutung einzelner Blumen: "Nicht wahr, die da bedeuten Reue und Scham?" Antworten kann sie ihm nicht, sie nickt nur.

Durch diese Episode wird die Handlung verlangsamt. Klara ist zu Leonhard gekommen, um ihn zu bitten, sie zu heiraten. Nach vielen Ausflüchten erhält sie ein Nein zur Antwort. Durch das Erscheinen des Knaben wird die Unterredung unterbrochen, die dann nach seinem Abgang von Leonhard durch das Bemühen seine Handlungsweise zu entschuldigen fortgesetzt wird. Diese Episode steht da im Drama, wo in Klaras Schicksal sich die Wendung zum Ende hin vollzieht. Ihre letzte Hoffnung wird an Leonhards Weigerung zu nichte. Für sie gibt es nur noch den Tod. Aber auch Leonhards Schicksal ist besiegelt. Kaum hat Klara ihn verlassen, da erscheint der Sekretär und fordert ihn zum Duell, aus dem er (Leonhard) nicht zurückkehrt.

Die Tragödie "Herodes und Mariamne" enthält zwei Episoden, die des Artaxerxes in IV, 4 und die der Heiligen drei Könige in V, 8. Zweck der ersteren ist, die Zeitatmosphäre wiederzugeben. Wieder haben wir eine jener von Hebbel mit solcher Vorliebe gewählten Übergangszeiten. Die jüdische und die orientalisches-heidnische Kultur neigt sich dem Niedergang, das Christentum, das eine neue Weltanschauung und Menschenbewertung mit sich bringt, ist im Anzug.⁴ Die untergehende Kultur sieht in dem Menschen nur ein Werkzeug, er ist ihr eine Sache, ein Ding, weiter nichts. Artaxerxes ist ihr getreues Spiegelbild. Am Hofe des Satrapen war er eine Uhr, der an seinem Pulse die Zeit abmass. Zu Herodes gekommen, will er ganz unbewusst, diese Tätigkeit fortsetzen, so sehr ist er Sache, Werkzeug. Und er ist weit davon entfernt, dies als entwürdigende Schmach zu empfinden. Seiner Zeit fehlt die Achtung vor der Individualität. Der Persönlichkeitsbegriff ist ihr noch fremd. Diese Episode hat für die untergehende,

⁴ Vgl. Walzel. Hebbelprobleme. S. 64 (Leipzig 1909).

orientalisch-heidnische Kultur symbolische Bedeutung. In dem Uhrenmenschen findet sie ihren schärfsten Ausdruck, ihre ausgeprägteste Form.

In scharfem Gegensatz zu Artaxerxes steht Mariamne. Die Tragödie ihres Lebens beruht darauf, dass Herodes sie zu einer Sache erniedrigt, ihr das Selbstbestimmungsrecht abspriecht. "Ich war ihm nur ein Ding und weiter nichts." Sie aber will als Persönlichkeit geachtet und behandelt werden. Artaxerxes und sie stellen die beiden Extreme der Menschenbewertung dar. Er ist Sache und ist damit zufrieden; sie geht in den Tod, da ihr Gemahl sie nicht als eine sichselbstbestimmende Persönlichkeit anerkennen will.

Und dennoch geht es nicht an, Mariamne etwa als die bewusste Vertreterin eines neuen Prinzips aufzufassen. Vom Menschen und seinem Persönlichkeitswert hat sie dieselben Anschauungen wie Herodes auch. Sie behandelt Alexandra und Salome so, wie Herodes sie. Für sie haben die beiden keinen selbständigen Wert, sie sind ihr auch nur Sache.

Der Konflikt zwischen den beiden Gatten ist nichts anderes als der Zusammenprall zweier starken Persönlichkeiten und keineswegs ein Kampf zwischen Vertretern von zwei einanderentgegengesetzten Anschauungen. Hebbel stellt diese Episode an eine bedeutsame Stelle im Drama. Mariamne hat eben die Gewissheit erhalten, dass Herodes sie zum zweiten Mal unter das Schwert gestellt und somit als Persönlichkeit vernichtet hat. Die Nachricht von der Rückkehr des totgesagten Gemahls empfängt sie mit den Worten: "Der Tod! Der Tod! Der Tod ist unter uns!" Sie weiss, für sie ist das Ende da.

Die Handlung wird durch diese Episode verlangsamt. Indem sie nach der wichtigen 3. Szene steht, in der Soemus Mariamne sein furchtbares Geheimnis verrät, gewährt sie uns eine Ruhepause vor den ergreifenden letzten Szenen des Aktes, die das Fest und die Rückkehr des Herodes schildern.

In der letzten Szene der Tragödie lässt der Dichter die Heiligen drei Könige erscheinen; damit weist er hin auf die Idee. Wie die Artaxerxes-Episode für die alte, untergehende, so hat diese für die neue, aufgehende Kultur eine symbolische Bedeutung. Die hereinbrechende Zeit, in welcher der Mensch aufhören wird bloss Sache zu sein, kündigt sich an. Herodes ist ihr gegenüber machtlos.

In seinem Märchen-Lustspiel "Der Rubin" benutzt Hebbel die Episode des Aufsehers der öffentlichen Hunde in I, 4, 5 zur Beleuchtung orientalischer Kulturzustände.⁵ Der hungernde Hakam will sich bei den vom Staate gefütterten Hunden zu Gaste laden. Der Aufseher aber duldet nicht, obwohl die Hunde die Speise nicht anrühren, dass Hakam davon esse. Ihm sind die rüdigen Tiere mehr als der darbende Mensch. Wir sehen hier wieder die orientalische Geringschätzung des Menschen. Die auf die bedeutende 9. Szene zueilende Handlung wird durch diese Episode einen Moment aufgehalten. Sie steht an einer wichtigen Stelle im Drama. Im Leben Assads tritt bald eine folgenschwere Wendung ein. In der 9. Szene kommt der verhängnisvolle Rubin in seinen Besitz. Fortan ist sein Geschick eng mit diesem Stein verknüpft.

Kein Drama Hebbels enthält so viele Episoden als "Agnes Bernauer." Sie lassen sich leicht in zwei Gruppen einteilen. Die wichtigere ist, meines Erachtens, die, deren Aufgabe es ist, den Charakter des Herzog Ernst zu beleuchten. Er soll uns menschlich nahegebracht werden, und es soll uns zum Bewusstsein kommen, dass er kein Tyrann, kein grausamer Wüterich, sondern ein edler, grossmütiger Mensch ist, der notgedrungen und mit wehem Herzen den schweren Weg der Pflicht geht. Diese Episoden stehen immer da im Drama, wo eine Krise herannaht, und ein entscheidender Schritt getan wird. Die andere Gruppe charakterisiert das Mittelalter. Ein sattes, farbenreiches, vom wärmsten Leben durchpulstes Bild des mittelalterlichen Lebens mit seinem Aberglauben und seinen Turnieren und Festen, aber auch sozialen Misständen wird durch sie entworfen.

In der ersten der Herzog Ernst Episoden III, 2, 3, 4 meldet Stachus den Meister aus Köln an, der den Zierat für die Totenkapelle der Herzogin Elisabeth bringt. Ernst ist nicht damit zufrieden; sie ist ihm zu kraus, der Sinn nicht leicht verständ-

⁵ In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auf die Petrowitsch-Szene in Demetrius III, 1 hinweisen. Wir werfen in dieser Szene einen Blick in slavische Kulturzustände. Der Bauer Petrowitsch ist in Moskau erschienen, um sich am toten Zaren zu rächen. Dieser hatte die Freizügigkeit der Bauern abgeschafft, und dieselben somit erst recht zu Leibeignen gemacht. Zu den Episoden kann diese Szene aber nicht gezählt werden, ihre Verknüpfung mit der Handlung ist eine zu enge.

lich. "Gräber sollen stillschweigen oder so reden, dass auch der Geringste sie versteht." Es ist ersichtlich, welche Charakterzüge des Herzogs hier ans Licht gebracht werden sollen: seine Schlichtheit und Frömmigkeit. Vor dem ersten Schritt, den Ernst gegen Albrecht tut, wird er von dieser gewinnenden Seite gezeigt, in III, 6 folgt dann die lange Unterredung mit Preising in welcher der Entschluss gefasst wird, die Ritterschaft zu einem Turnier nach Regensburg einzuladen, um ihr die Verlobung Albrechts mit Anna zu verkündigen.

Diese Episode verlangsamt die Handlung. Ernst ist in seinem Kabinett, der Zerfall Bayerns—"Das war Bayern einst, und das ist Bayern jetzt!"—erfüllt ihn mit tiefem Schmerz. Anstatt seines Kanzlers, den er erwartet, wird der Meister aus Köln angemeldet. Der Entwurf für den Zierat der Kapelle wird nun geprüft und verworfen. Erst nachdem dies geschehen ist, erscheint Preising und jetzt schreitet die Handlung weiter.

In IV, 2 wird ein Bauer mit einer ungeheuer grossen Aehre, die er dem Herzog zeigen will, angemeldet. Das väterliche, menschlich-schöne Verhältnis, das zwischen dem Landesvater und seinem Volke existiert, wird so dargelegt. Voll Vertrauen ist der einfältige Bauer gekommen, er oder seinesgleichen werden wohl schon oft vom Herzog in Audienz empfangen worden sein. Dieser muss ein freundlicher, leutseliger Herr sein, der seine Untertanen mit Liebe und Nachsicht behandelt, bei dem sich eine grausame, übereilte Tat nicht denken lässt. Bald wird er aber durch die traurige Lage in seinem Lande zu einer Tat gezwungen, gegen die sich sein ganzes Empfinden auflehnt. Die Frage, ob man ihn beschuldigen könne aus Übereilung oder aus persönlicher Rache zu handeln, wird vom Kanzler verneint. Als Herzog, der das Beste seines Landes will, nicht als Ritter und Vater spricht er die Worte: "Im Namen der Witwen und Waisen, die der Krieg machen würde, im Namen der Städte, die er in Asche legte, der Doerfer, die er zerstörte; Agnes Bernauer, fahr hin!" (IV, 4).

Hier wird die Handlung durch die Episode beschleunigt, Preising ist im Begriff ein versiegeltes Dokument, welches das Todesurteil Agnesens enthält, zu prüfen, als Stachus eintritt und die Ankunft des Bauern meldet, zugleich aber auch die Kunde von dem Tode des kleinen Adolf bringt. Die Nachricht und das Todesurteil machen einen tiefen Eindruck auf ihn.

Während er noch liest, erscheint Herzog Ernst im Kabinett. Es folgt hierauf die lange 4. Szene, in welcher Ernst mit Preising alle Vorwürfe, die ihn treffen könnten, sorgfältig prüft und dann wird das Todesurteil unterzeichnet.

In V, 4, 5 sehen wir den fürsorglichen Fürsten; Ernst ist mit Rittern und Reisingen auf offenem Felde, da erblickt er in der Nähe eine Bauernhütte. Er geht auf sie zu, um zu sehen, wie die Leute leben. Seine Teilnahme an dem Geschick des gewöhnlichen Volkes tritt uns in dieser Handlung entgegen. Selbst das Geringste entgeht ihm nicht. Er, der für die Lebensweise seiner Untertanen ein Interesse hat, wird auch wohl die höheren Interessen des Landes zu wahren wissen. So trifft er bald (V, 9) die Vorbereitungen zum letzten Gewaltstreich gegen seinen Sohn. Wieder hat Hebbel uns seinen Helden kurz vor dem bedeutsamsten Schritt seines Lebens menschlich näher gerückt.

An dieser Stelle erfährt die Handlung eine Verlangsamung. Agnes ist im Kerker, "im Vorhof des Todes." Preising ist bei ihr erschienen und verspricht ihr Rettung, falls sie Albrecht entsage. Seine Versprechungen, wie seine Drohungen bleiben erfolglos. Es bleibt nichts andres übrig als die gewaltsame Lösung der Ehe. Umgeben von Häschern verlässt Agnes das Gefängnis. Es dauert nicht lange, bis Preising seinem Herzog die Meldung von ihrem Tode bringt. Vor ihrem Abgange aus dem Kerker bis zum Bericht ihres Todes musste einige Zeit verstreichen, sie wird durch die Episode ausgefüllt.

Zu den Episoden, die das Milieu schildern zähle ich I, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16 und IV, 5. Sie gewähren uns einen Blick in das intellektuelle und soziale Leben der Zeit. Der Übergang vom Mittelalter in die neuere Zeit wird geschildert. Wir stehen am Anfang der Renaissance. Der Bader Bernauer beschäftigt sich mit einem griechischen Buch (I, 8, 12). Das Streben des gemeinen Bürgers nach Bildung wird veranschaulicht. Schärfer aber betont Hebbel das soziale Leben in den Episoden I, 13, 15, 16; etwas von den Kämpfen der Patrizier mit den Zünften klingt aus ihnen an unser Ohr. Das Standesgefühl ist stark entwickelt; die Stände stehen sich feindlich gegenüber. Auf sozialem Gebiete finden grosse Umwälzungen statt. Und doch fühlen wir, dass diese Zeit die Heirat eines Fürstensonnes mit

einer Baderstochter nicht dulden wird. Das Herkommen und die Vorurteile der Stände sind noch zu stark.

Was von der Stellung der Herzog Ernst-Episoden im Drama gesagt wurde, gilt nicht von den Milieu-Episoden; sie stehen nicht wie die ersteren an bedeutsamen Stellen—vor einem Umschwung in der Handlung oder einer Wendung im Schicksal dieser oder jener Person. Etwas Allgemeingültiges über ihre Stellung lässt sich nicht feststellen. Auffallend ist allerdings, dass diese Episoden vorwiegend auf den ersten Akt beschränkt sind. Doch ist dies aus dem Charakter des ersten Teils des Dramas zu erklären, er ist ausschliesslich Liebesdrama. Die Schilderung der Zeitverhältnisse und des spätmittelalterlichen Lebens nimmt einen breiten Raum ein. Albrechts tolle Liebschaft ist aus den Zeitverhältnissen zu erklären, in ihnen findet sie einen geeigneten Nährboden.

Die Nibelungen-Trilogie spielt wiederum in einer Übergangszeit, wir erleben die letzten, gewaltigen Zuckungen des Heidentums und die Anfänge des Christentums.⁶ Sie baut sich auf den Gegensatz zwischen Heidentum und Christentum auf. Das Kreuz wird in ihr zwar verehrt, doch so, dass man sich's neben einer Wodanseiche gefallen lässt. Äusserlich sind die Burgunden, ich denke hierbei hauptsächlich an Hagen und Kriemhild, Christen; innerlich noch Heiden.

Die Episoden in diesem Stücke debattieren an erster Stelle die Idee. Sie heben den Gegensatz hervor, der zwischen der absterbenden und kommenden Zeit besteht. In IV, 8 (des 2. Teils) ermahnt der Kaplan Kriemhild und ihre Mutter Ute zur Entsagung und christlichen Demut. Noch eindringlicher verkündigt er in der Domszene am Schlusse des 2. Teiles die christliche Lehre der Demut und der Vergebung. Hier tritt der Gegensatz zwischen Heidentum und Christentum besonders scharf hervor. Der Vertreter des Christentums ruft der nach Gericht und Rache verlangenden Kriemhild entgegen: "Gedenke dessen, der am Kreuz vergab." Sie achtet der Worte nicht. An den alten Anschauungen festhaltend und Rache fordernd geht sie hinüber in den 3. Teil des Dramas. An dieser wichtigen Stelle (Ende des 2. Teils) zeigt der Dichter auf den Zwiespalt hin, an welchem die Welt der Nibelungen leidet.

⁶ Vgl. Walzel. Hebbelprobleme. S. 64 (Leipzig, 1909).

Die Worte, besser die Charaktere, des Kaplans und der Kriemhild sind dessen schärfster Ausdruck.

Durch IV, 8 wird die Handlung verlangsamt. In der langen 6. Szene hat Hagen durch geschicktes Fragen Kriemhild das Geheimnis von Siegfrieds verwundbarer Stelle entlockt. "Nun ist dein Held nur noch ein Wild für mich," ruft er ihr nach, als sie ihn verlassen hat. Da treten der Kaplan und Ute auf, zu denen sich dann Kriemhild gesellt, er richtet die erwähnte Mahnung an die beiden Frauen. In den folgenden Szenen drängt Hagen förmlich zur Jagd, die Verfolgung der Dänen und Sachsen scheint ihm weniger nötig. Er hat ein andres Wild im Auge und das soll ihm nicht entgehen. Sein Racheplan reift rasch der Ausführung entgegen.

Diese Episode steht an einer wichtigen Stelle im Drama, kurz vor dem Auszug zur Jagd. Kriemhild ist unruhig, eine dunkle Ahnung kommenden Unheils erfüllt ihr Gemüt. Sie möchte Siegfried warnen, ihm sagen, dass Hagen das Geheimnis weiss, es fehlt ihr aber der Mut dazu.

Die Idee verkörpert auch die kurze Pilgrimagepisode in IV, 20 des 3. Teils. In ihr kommen die grossen, sittlichen Mächte des Christentums—die Askese und das freiwillige Dienen—zur Darstellung. Bei Hagen erntet der Pilgrim, trotz anfänglicher Milde, Spott und Hohn. Dietrich, der Hauptvertreter der christlichen Idee hat nur Lob und Bewunderung für die Handlungsweise des Pilgrims. Wieder bringt der Dichter an einer wichtigen Stelle im Drama einen Hinweis auf die sich bekämpfenden Weltanschauungen. Der letzte Akt bahnt sich an. In der 23. Szene bringt Dankwart die Kunde von dem Mord der Burgunden und Hagen schlägt Otnit den Kopf herunter. "Jetzt seid ihr aus dem Frieden der Welt gesetzt und habt zugleich die Rechte des Krieges verwirkt!" Mit diesen Worten besiegelt Etzel das Schicksal der Burgunden.

In ihrer Wirkung auf die Handlung hat diese Episode Ähnlichkeit mit der Artaxerxes-Episode in "Herodes und Mariamne." Wie jene so verlangsamt auch diese die Handlung. Vor der grausigen Tat Hagens wird noch einmal durch den Pilgrim auf die Idee des Stückes hingewiesen. Die Nibelungen sitzen an der Tafel im Saale Etzels. Da tritt der Pilgrim ein und bittet um ein Brot und einen Schlag. Hagen gibt ihm beides; während sie noch an der Tafel sitzen, erscheint Dank-

wart mit blutbedecktem Panzer und meldet den Mord der Burgunden. Jetzt begeht Hagen seine grausige Tat.

Ausserdem dienen die Episoden der Nibelungen-Trilogie noch zur Charakterisierung der Zeit. Kriemhilds ungestümes Verlangen nach Gericht und Rache in der Schlusszene des 2. Teils schildert so recht die wilde Zeit, in der Rache für erlittenes Unrecht die heiligste Pflicht ist. Das Auge-um-Auge und Zahn-um-Zahn besteht noch ungemildert.

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PARADOX AND ANTITHESIS IN STEVENSON'S
ESSAYS: A STRUCTURAL STUDY

I

An unusually keen characterization of the essays of Robert Louis Stevenson has been given by Professor W. L. MacDonald in the course of a suggestive comparison of Stevenson and Lamb. In his article entitled "Charles Lamb, the Greatest of the Essayists," which appeared in the Publications of the Modern Language Association for 1917, Professor MacDonald wrote: "As against the 'crude, unlicked, incondite things' of Lamb the essays of Stevenson at once impress the reader as being elaborate, complete, *finished* pieces. . . . The impression of impromptu is never gained from reading an essay by Stevenson. He nails himself down to his subject and seldom if ever allows himself to digress. He is even chary of illustrative anecdote, and never abandons himself to the mood of the moment. When a reader picks up a volume of Stevenson's essays, he knows pretty well that he will be adequately repaid for half an hour's reading, but he knows also that his delight will be the disciplined, chastened pleasure derived from reading a lyric or a drama."¹

Even those who might modify Professor MacDonald's estimate in some of its details must recognize, I believe, that "finished quality," productive of "the disciplined, chastened pleasure derived from reading a lyric or a drama," of which he spoke. In fact, the phrases just quoted seem so exactly applicable to "Aes Triplex," "Crabbed Age and Youth" and "An Apology for Idlers"—essays which one would select as essentially characteristic of Stevenson—that they fairly challenge further analysis and definition. And the very fact that one instinctively questions the assertion that Stevenson "nails himself down to his subject" adds zest to the study. What is it in Stevenson's essays, with their informality and all their wealth of material that must be granted, which yet gives them the finished quality that amounts, according to Professor MacDonald, almost to austerity?

The answer to the question is to be sought primarily in the structure of the essays, and this structure parallels so interestingly the structure of the typical lyric as it has been set forth

¹ Vol. 25, p. 570.

by Professor Erskine that I venture to take his definition of the latter as my point of departure.

"Speaking broadly," Professor Erskine writes in his discussion of lyric form, "all successful lyrics have three parts. In the first the emotional stimulus is given—the object, the situation, or the thought from which the song arises. In the second part the emotion is developed to its utmost capacity, until as it begins to flag the intellectual element reasserts itself. In the third part, the emotion is finally resolved into a thought, a mental resolution, or an attitude. The process of such a lyric illustrates the natural transition from a stimulated emotional state to a restoration of the normal condition of mind."² The stimulus, he notes, remains throughout the lyric "distinct in the foreground, giving rise to the emotion and controlling its development."³

The most obvious element of Stevenson's essay style which analysis brings out is one which seems at first hardly compatible with such structural development as is here described. This element is opposition in its various forms. Time and again Stevenson takes as the theme of his essay some pair of opposites, age and youth, idleness and industry, or life and death, and in his handling of the theme fairly revels in contradiction, antithesis, paradox, no one of which suggests lyrical development. And it is impossible to discount his use of opposition as a superficial mannerism. This is made evident by a cursory glance into his philosophy; for, as Stevenson's really discerning critics have insisted, his philosophic optimism owed its uncommon quality to his recognition of the evils, inconsistencies and contradictions of consciously intellectualized life;⁴ the truth or the inspiration which he tried to convey was one which could best be conveyed by showing up those very contradictions. Gilbert Chesterton, who naturally has taken an especial interest in Stevenson's paradoxes, puts it as well as it can be put: "The faith of Stevenson, like that of a great number of very sane men, was founded on what is called a paradox—the paradox

² John Erskine, *The Elizabethan Lyric*, N. Y., 1903, p. 17.

³ P. 11.

⁴ On this aspect of Stevenson's philosophy, see J. H. Muirhead, *Robert Louis Stevenson's Philosophy of Life* (in *Philosophy and Life*, London, 1902), and review of the *Fables*, *Spectator*, Vol. 75, p. 299 (Sept. 7, '95).

that existence was splendid because it was, to all outward appearance, desperate. . . . He was an optimist because to him everything was heroic, and nothing more heroic than the pessimist. To Stevenson, the optimist, belong the most frightful epigrams of pessimism. It was he who said that this planet on which we live was more drenched with blood, animal and vegetable, than a pirate ship. It was he who said that man was a disease of the agglutinated dust. And his supreme position and his supreme difference from all common optimists is merely this, that all common optimists say that life is glorious in spite of these things, but he said that all life was glorious because of them."⁵

Without a doubt paradox was of the sum and substance of Stevenson's philosophy and for this reason a fundamental element in his style; and paradoxical thinking, whether pessimistic or optimistic, is not ordinarily conducive to lyrical development, nor to development of any kind.⁶ Moreover, thinking in terms of antitheses seldom results in anything so thoroughly sane and even practical as Stevenson's essays. The antithetical habit of thought is rapidly, and no doubt rightly, falling into disrepute as a more or less diseased mode of thinking that fails to function practically. Alfred Adler has shown it to be especially characteristic of the neurotic temperament;⁷ Professor Dewey has

⁵ G. K. Chesterton, *The Characteristics of Robert Louis Stevenson* (in *Robert Louis Stevenson—Bookman Biographies—James Pott, N. Y.*), pp. 18-19, 26-27.

⁶ Cf. MacDonald on the relation of "apophthegms of 'sheer wit'" to the essay proper. *The Beginnings of the English Essay* (in *University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series*), p. 77.

⁷ "One finds regularly apparent that the neurotic always apperceives after the analogy of a contrast, indeed, that usually he only recognizes and gives value to relations of contrast. This primitive mode of orientation in life which corresponds to the antithesis as set forth in the categories of Aristotle and to opposites in the Pythagorean table originates . . . in the feeling of uncertainty and illustrates a simple device of logic. What I have described as polar, hermaphroditic opposites, Lambroso as bipolar, Bleuler as ambivalent, leads to this same method of apperception which works according to the principle of opposites. One should not fall into the common error of regarding this as an essence of things, but must recognize in it the primitive method of procedure which measures a thing, a force, or an event, by an opposite which is fitted to it." *The Neurotic Constitution*, tr. B. Glueck, J. E. Lind, N. Y., 1917, pp. 24-25.

recently condemned a type of such thinking as testifying to "the existence of a desire which is not capable of translation into specific means and ends through intelligent action."⁸ But that Stevenson's use of paradox and antithesis resulted in essays almost perfect in structural development and thoroughly wholesome and invigorating in their implications is an indisputable fact which must be accounted for.

Now it is noteworthy that antithesis when viewed by the logician, not as anything absolute and complete in itself, but as a stage in a typical thought process, loses all suggestion of sterility; in the course of its natural development the antithesis shows a vitality not evidenced in the "cross section," which is all that ordinarily appears. And the clue to Stevenson's peculiar use of antithesis lies in the fact that in his essays he gives, or rather makes the reader carry on in his own mind, this process of natural development. For an exposition of the process it is necessary to turn to the logic of the subject—to the theory of antithesis as it has been set forth by Professor Alfred H. Lloyd.

According to Professor Lloyd's theory it will always be found, when two terms are used in antithesis, that each one of them has two different meanings, the more obvious meaning—narrow and exclusive—and the less obvious, implicit meaning—broad and inclusive. Given the larger interpretation, each term will be found to include in itself the other term to which it was, in its narrow sense, opposed. Hence there is in any antithesis the means of its own resolution. Antithesis may, in fact, be considered a stage in the process by which concepts take on successively broader and more inclusive meanings.

The truth of this theory is evident if we trace the history of any of the common pairs of philosophic opposites. After the moralists have for a time thought of good and evil as standing in absolute antithesis there arises not only a practical but a theoretical consciousness of the mixture of the two. A subtle transposition, an interchange of values, takes place—as an extreme instance witness Whitman's assertions of the indifference of good and evil or Nietzsche's system of transvaluation. A similar transposition is constantly taking place in the metaphysical realm in respect of the mind-matter antithesis. Good

⁸ *A New Social Science*, *New Republic*, Vol. 14, p. 294. (Apr. 6, '18).

and evil, mind and matter, are becoming larger and larger concepts as they come to include their one-time opposites.

The following passage from a somewhat technical paper of Professor Lloyd's is well worth quoting here, as it serves to epitomize his theory and at the same time presents illustrations which are especially serviceable in a study of Stevenson's use of antithesis.

"The terms of any antithesis can not but be relative. . . . But each term being relative, neither one can be without the character of the other. The relative is always the mixed. Wherefore the terms of an antithesis reproduce each other; and, emphatically, this is not to say that each implies the other only by contrast. What it says is, again, that each has in its own right or in its own nature the character of the other. In fact, the reproduction must be seen as not only of each term by the other, but also in its entirety as of the antithesis itself by each term. Each term has that within itself whereby, as if internally, it harbors the very antithesis as a whole of which, externally it is only one member. . . . Since the terms of any antithesis are thus reproductive, each reproducing the other and so harboring within itself both itself and its opposite, they must always have double meanings. The antithesis and the reproduction make this duplicity absolutely necessary, for where each is on both sides each must get, besides its first meaning, the one-sided meaning, a second meaning that is adequate to the both-sidedness. The opposition of life and death affords a simple but not at all peculiar illustration. Here the distinction is a reproductive and so transposable one, but only if the terms of the transposition have new meanings. Briefly to indicate the new meanings there are the life that is simply before death or is the mere absence of death and the life that is superior to death; there are, on the other hand, the death that is only the cessation of life and the death that belongs to life itself, not merely to its cessation, if the life be not superior to death. And, as of life and death, so of knowledge and ignorance, rest and motion, reality and unreality, external and internal, and so on. Also, in general, the duplicity must always have this form: a local, narrow, one-sided meaning, to begin with, and then a meaning big and deep enough to take both sides up into itself."⁹

⁹ The Logic of Antithesis. *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*, Vol. 8, pp. 281-282.

Paradox, which always involves antithesis, is, of course, one of the most poignant means of bringing out the dual meanings of the terms, since, through its apparent self-contradiction, it forces the reinterpretation of one at least of the opposing ideas, forces an acknowledgment of the larger meaning that makes sense out of its nonsense.

What appears in the following analysis of the essays is instance on instance of the process by which the terms of an antithesis outgrow their narrow opposed meanings and take on the larger inclusive meanings which involve the resolution of the antithesis.¹⁰ Such being the normal development of the antithesis, it gives to the essays the structural wholeness, the peculiarly complete, finished quality which is under consideration. Resuming the parallel between the form of these essays and the form of the typical lyric as Professor Erskine describes it, we find that the stimulus appears in the essay as some antithesis, so definite that it almost partakes of the concreteness of the lyric stimulus, and this antithesis "remains in the foreground"; in the course of the essay the antithesis is developed, not by the ordinary logical method that we might expect in the prose treatise, but through the subtle emotional and intellectual development of a new point of view, involving the reinterpretation of the terms; finally the whole is resolved, like the lyric emotion, into "a thought, a mental resolution, or an attitude." And, if antithesis indicates, as it seems to do, a state of consciousness somewhat out of the normal, the parallel may well be carried further by applying to the essay Professor Erskine's statement that the process of the typical lyric "illustrates the natural transition from a stimulated emotional state to a restoration of the normal condition of mind."

II

In the analysis of the essays, "Aes Triplex" may well be considered first. Not only is it an almost perfect specimen of the peculiar structural development to be discussed, but it

¹⁰ The fact that an antithesis has completed its life cycle and been resolved does not mean, of course, that it will not be reproduced on a different plane. Certain fundamental antitheses seem to persist throughout the ages, in spite of their frequent resolutions, but, according to Professor Lloyd's theory, the content of the terms changes with the completion of each cycle.

happens to deal with the very antithesis, life and death, which Professor Lloyd used as the illustration of his theory cited above.

To take up the essay paragraph by paragraph:

The first paragraph holds up death as the supreme catastrophe of human experience. It is treated as the negative pole of the life and death antithesis, though as a matter of fact the other term of the antithesis is not explicitly stated as yet. The attitude presupposed at the opening of the essay is the conventional one of fearing death and loving life. But before the first paragraph ends there appears the germ by virtue of which the antithesis is developed into something very different; this germ is the suggestion of error in the conventional attitude. The real evils of death, aggravated by artificial ceremonial and sentimental eloquence, have gone far, Stevenson says, to "put humanity in error." The error, he states further, is error in theory, not in practise.

In the second paragraph he states definitely the difference between theory and practise—"Although few things are spoken of with more fearful whisperings than this prospect of death, few have less influence on conduct under healthy circumstances." He gives the striking illustration of the South Americans who live on the sides of volcanic mountains with never a thought of the danger they are courting.

In the third paragraph Stevenson shows, by citing numerous dangers of the most ordinary business of life, that these apparently foolhardy South Americans are quite typical of ordinary mankind; shows convincingly that in practise man does not spend much time fearing death or clinging to life.

Paragraph four, by means of telling figures, stresses the recklessness of the most ordinary journey through life.

After thus making the point that the fear of death has very little influence upon a healthy mortal Stevenson returns to the theoretic antithesis, stating very definitely that there is something the matter with it, that life and death are really not felt to be the positive and negative extremes that had been assumed. "The love of Life and the fear of Death are two famous phrases that grow harder to understand the more we think about them."

In paragraph six there is a new and significant departure. The riddle, it seems, is to be solved only by considering the meaning of the terms of the antithesis. We talk about fearing

death and loving life when all the time we take chances that belie our words. The trouble is, Stevenson says, that "we confound ourselves with metaphysical phrases, which we import into daily talk with noble inappropriateness. We have no idea of what death is, apart from its circumstances and some of its consequences to others; and although we have some experience of living, there is not a man on earth who has flown so high into abstraction as to have any practical guess at the meaning of the word *life*." And right here appears the duplicity of meaning characteristic of the antithesis, the double meaning of the word *life*. "We may trick with the word life in its dozen senses until we are weary of tricking; we may argue in terms of all the philosophies on earth, but one fact remains true throughout—that we do not love life, in the sense that we are greatly preoccupied about its conservation; that we do not, properly speaking, love life at all, but living." The two meanings of the word *life*, the narrow one, and the larger one which Stevenson names *living*, might almost be paraphrased in Professor Lloyd's own terms, "the life that is simply before death or is the mere absence of death and the life that is superior to death."

In the seventh and eighth paragraphs Stevenson repeats that much of the ordinary talk on the subject is nonsensical, and describes again the attitude of the sane man toward life and death. But here he does more than describe; by his illustrations he has worked us up to the point of sympathy with his position where it is safe for him to generalize in a slightly didactic tone. "As courage and intelligence are the two qualities best worth a good man's cultivation, so it is the first part of intelligence to recognize our precarious estate in life, and the first part of courage to be not at all abashed before the fact. A frank and somewhat headlong carriage, not looking too anxiously before, not dallying in maudlin regret over the past, stamps the man who is well armoured for this world."

The ninth paragraph is devoted to making the moral just drawn a thoroughly social one, showing that self-interest and social feeling are at one in this matter: "And not only well armoured for himself, but a good friend and a good citizen to boot," is the theme that is developed.

The lesson has been drawn, the larger view has been attained—the conception of life as living, unparalysed, unin-

fluenced by the thought of death; but the complete resolution of the antithesis remains for the last paragraph. Aware that he has been intellectualizing, moralizing, even to the danger point, Stevenson closes by telling us that this is all just quibbling anyway. The whole thing seems to explode, but the nature of the explosion is worth noticing. It consists of paradoxes that clinch the new point of view, the larger interpretations of *life* and *death*, by showing the both-sidedness of the terms, showing that "each has in its own right or in its own nature the character of the other."¹¹ "And, after all, what sorry and pitiful quibbling all this is! To forgo all the issues of living in a parlour with a regulated temperature—as if that were not to die a hundred times over, and for ten years at a stretch." And later, "And even if death catch people, like an open pitfall, and in mid-career, laying out vast projects, and planning monstrous foundations, flushed with hope, and their mouths full of boastful language, they should be at once tripped up and silenced: is there not something brave and spirited in such a termination? and does not life go down with a better grace, foaming in full body over a precipice, than miserably straggling to an end in sandy deltas?" In other words, why fuss over this opposition between life and death? There is no opposition. From the new point of view, what is frequently called living is really dying or worse, and what is frequently called dying is really living. Obviously this must end the essay.

It takes but a little generalization to bring out clearly the structural correspondence of this essay to the typical lyric.¹²

¹¹ See above, p. 544.

¹² An interesting parallel between the lyric and the essay has been drawn by Professor C. B. Bradley in a paper entitled *The English Essay;—Its Development and Some of its Perfected Types*, referred to by MacDonald in his *Beginnings of the English Essay*. "We shall agree, I presume, that not all short pieces in prose, nor even all short pieces of genuine merit are worthy to be called Essays in any such discussion as this. Unless the interest be of an abiding sort, unless matter and manner are completely fused in one, and the whole is invested with a fadeless power and charm—unless the writing be literature—we have something other than a true Essay. Within this narrowed and charmed field of prose, the Essay, to my mind, seems to be in essence a Prose Poem, confined for the most part to motifs that may broadly be called lyrical, and standing to lyrics proper much as the novel stands to the epic, or as the prose drama stands to drama in verse." "Brevity, simplicity, and singleness of presentation, the strong play of personality, the subjective charm, the delicate touch, the

First there is the stimulus, the ordinary life and death antithesis, with death the negative pole; no sooner is the stimulus introduced, however, than there appears the germ of future development, the contradiction between theory and practise. Then follows the development, emotional and intellectual, necessitated by this contradiction; in the course of this development the reader is made to sympathize with those who practise rather than with those who preach, and is told to look again at the antithesis from his new point of view; he finds that this new point of view involves a reinterpretation of one at least of the terms of the antithesis; then he is told definitely that the attitude which he has acquired is one good for him and for society. The final stage consists in the clinching of the new interpretation by the intellectual resolution of the antithesis, the resolution that completes its life cycle and brings about what might well be called a more normal state of mind. Throughout the process the antithesis remains in the foreground of consciousness.

The fact that this one essay expresses so perfectly the logic of antithesis and hence attains a structure comparable to that of the lyric would not be of especial significance were it not that a number of the most characteristic of Stevenson's essays show, to a greater or lesser degree, the same kind of development. It is worth while to examine two more of them in some detail.

"Crabbed Age and Youth" deals obviously with the age and youth antithesis. The situation which furnishes the stimulus is much the same as that in "Aes Triplex." "There is a strong feeling in favor of cowardly and prudential proverbs. The sentiments of a man while he is full of ardour and hope are to be received, it is supposed, with some qualification. But when the same person has ignominiously failed and begins to eat up his words, he should be listened to like an oracle." So Stevenson gives the antithesis as ordinarily accepted, with age the positive, youth the negative pole. But here again there is the germ of future development: the ordinary position is felt to

limited range of theme and of treatment; and the ordered beauty through exclusion of all disordered moods and fiercer passions—these flow directly from the presence and dominance of the lyrical element, and these are the constant features of the essay." University [of California] Chronicle, Vol. 1, No. 5 (Oct. '98), pp. 392, 393-394.

be unsatisfactory; the word *cowardly* in the very first sentence makes the reader ashamed of his position, aware that something is wrong.

The second paragraph shows the discrepancy between theory and practise in this matter of prudential proverbs.

Paragraph three focusses the reader's attention again definitely on the proverbs of old men concerning life, and states that one pole of the age and youth antithesis is as good as the other—already there is a hint of the indifference that always appears with the both-sidedness of the terms. "It is held to be a good taunt, and somehow or other to clinch the question logically, when an old gentleman waggles his head and says: 'Ah, so I thought when I was your age.' It is not thought an answer at all, if the young man retorts: 'My venerable sir, so I shall most probably think when I am yours.' And yet the one is as good as the other: pass for pass, tit for tat, a Roland for an Oliver."

Then, just as in "Aes Triplex" Stevenson showed that it was necessary to stop and examine the phrases "love of life" and "fear of death," so here he says—paragraph four—that it will be well to look at opinions, and see what they really are. In this and the several succeeding paragraphs he shows that opinions are but stages on the way to truth, each stage appropriate to its own time, youth or age.

Up to this point Stevenson has not relied primarily on paradoxes, showing the interchangeableness of the two terms, to reconcile the opposition; he has tried to accomplish his end by considering the opposed sets of opinions from the relative or functional standpoint. In paragraphs eight, nine and ten, however, he gives the typical paradoxical resolution, though in terms of prudence and imprudence rather than age and youth. What is commonly called prudence is really imprudence, he says, and vice versa. "It is customary to say that age should be considered, because it comes last. It seems just as much to the point, that youth comes first. And the scale fairly kicks the beam, if you go on to add that age, in a majority of cases, never comes at all. . . . To be suddenly snuffed out in the middle of ambitious schemes, is tragical enough at best; but when a man has been grudging himself his own life in the meanwhile, and saving up everything for the festival that was never

to be, it becomes that hysterically moving sort of tragedy which lies on the confines of farce. . . . We should not compliment a hungry man, who should refuse a whole dinner and reserve all his appetite for the dessert, before he knew whether there was to be any dessert or not. If there be such a thing as imprudence in the world, we surely have it here." . . . "Nay, by managing its own work and following its own happy inspiration, youth is doing the best it can to endow the leisure of age. A full, busy youth is your only prelude to a self-contained and independent age; and the muff inevitably develops into the bore."

In paragraph eleven he repeats that the true wisdom is to be always seasonable; in paragraph twelve, he shows paradoxically that the errors of youth are, in a sense, not errors at all: "All error, not merely verbal, is a strong way of stating that the current truth is incomplete. The follies of youth have a basis in sound reason, just as much as the embarrassing questions put by babes and sucklings. Their most antisocial acts indicate the defects of our society."

In paragraphs thirteen and fourteen he brings the matter to a conclusion by showing the absolute indifference of the terms of the antithesis. "In short, if youth is not quite right in its opinions, there is a strong probability that age is not much more so." There are two sides to every question. "Age may have one side, but assuredly Youth has the other. There is nothing more certain than that both are right, except perhaps that both are wrong. Let them agree to differ; for who knows but what agreeing to differ may not be a form of agreement rather than a form of difference?"

The essay might perhaps end here, but again Stevenson is afraid of being too didactic, and again he closes with an admission of the ridiculousness of his whole procedure. And this admission he makes by means of a number of paradoxes. "I suppose it is written that any one who sets up for a bit of a philosopher, must contradict himself to his very face. For here have I fairly talked myself into thinking that we have the whole thing before us at last; that there is no answer to the mystery except that there are as many as you please; that there is no center to the maze because, like the famous sphere, its centre is everywhere; and that agreeing to differ with every ceremony

of politeness, is the only 'one undisturbed song of pure concert' to which we are ever likely to lend our musical voices."

In "An Apology for Idlers" Stevenson handles the antithesis of idleness and industry, or, to use his own word, busyness. The stimulus is here introduced with the statement that even in an age when an industrious life is conceded to be the only respectable kind, "idleness, so called, which does not consist in doing nothing, but in doing a great deal not recognized in the dogmatic formularies of the ruling class, has as good a right to state its position as industry itself." Already the two meanings of *idleness* are suggested.

The first two paragraphs are given to stating the situation and apologizing for his attempt, or at least stating its difficulties.

Paragraphs three and four, with the ensuing dialogue between the truant and Mr. Worldly Wiseman, develop the antithesis by raising a certain kind of idleness, idleness in youth, to the level of its opposite, industry.

Then in paragraph seven, in considering the two meanings of industry, or of its associate *fact*, Stevenson criticizes the narrow, exclusive one. "A fact is not called a fact, but a piece of gossip, if it does not fall into one of your scholastic categories. An inquiry must be in some acknowledged direction, with a name to go by; or else you are not inquiring at all, only lounging; and the workhouse is too good for you."

Paragraph eight shows, characteristically, that each of the terms, *idleness* and *busyness*, is, in a sense, its own opposite. "Extreme busyness, whether at school or college, kirk or market, is a symptom of deficient vitality; and a faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity. There is a sort of dead-alive, hackneyed people about, who are scarcely conscious of living except in the exercise of some conventional occupation." By this time Stevenson is pleading the cause of idleness not only in youth, but throughout life.

Paragraph nine brings out the social side of the morality involved: "But it is not only the person himself who suffers from his busy habits, but his wife and children, his friends and relations, and down to the very people he sits with in a railway carriage or an omnibus. Perpetual devotion to what a man calls his business, is only to be sustained by perpetual neglect of

many other things. And it is by no means certain that a man's business is the most important thing he has to do. To an impartial estimate it will seem clear that many of the wisest, most virtuous, and most beneficent parts that are to be played upon the Theatre of Life are filled by gratuitous performers, and pass, among the world at large, as phases of idleness."

Then follows the characteristic conclusion, paragraph ten, beginning, "And what, in God's name, is all this pother about? For what cause do they embitter their own and other people's lives?" and continuing, to show that the ends of busyness are of so little importance that, we are led to infer, there is no use talking longer on the subject.

Although "Aes Triplex" is undoubtedly the most perfect specimen, the three essays considered show certain common characteristics that warrant the use of the word *type*. All deal with ordinary antitheses, expressing at the outset a vague dissatisfaction with the prevailing attitude toward the antithetical terms. In the course of their development, through subtle emotional and intellectual appeals, frequently in the form of paradox, all work up to the new point of view which resolves the antithesis. Then, the antithesis being resolved, all close with the logical concession that the whole thing is negligible anyway; the antithesis has lived its life, and done its work, and it is allowed to die. All exemplify the essentials of the logic of antithesis, the equalization of the poles through the development of dual meanings, these dual meanings always involving the paradoxical fact that one pole, in one of its meanings, is the equivalent of the other in one of its meanings.

Many other of Stevenson's essays show the same characteristics, though not so fully developed. Excluding the travel essays and those that are biographical and critical as of essentially different types from the more intimate essays being considered, it would be fair to name as the best known and most typical of Stevenson, "Virginibus Puerisque" in its four parts, "Ordered South," "El Dorado," "Walking Tours," "The Lantern Bearers," "A Christmas Sermon," and "Pulvis et Umbra." A very brief discussion of these will suffice.

"Virginibus Puerisque" is difficult to handle in this connection because it consists of four parts, very loosely connected, yet not all of them sufficiently complete in themselves even to

demand titles of their own. But it is fair to say that the general trend of the group is to show, in one way and another, that there is no real antithesis between ordinary life and love. The first part concludes with the statement that "marriage is like life in this—that it is a field of battle, and not a bed of roses." The second part is more clearly antithetical in form. Stevenson discounts the idea that marriage is a panacea for all ills and at the same time he decries the hesitation of his youths and maidens who hold aloof. He reconciles hope and fear in the larger conception, which he calls faith. "On Falling in Love," the third part, helps to do away with the general antithesis between ordinary life and love, but the only structural suggestion of the antithetical type is to be found in the conclusion, which levels things down considerably by bringing the positive term *love* down from its pedestal. The fourth part, "Truth of Intercourse," which is, I think, the only part which remains in the reader's mind as a definite unit, deals with the proposition that it is easy to tell the truth, and proves the converse, by showing truth to be a much more complex, a much larger thing than ordinarily supposed, the usual conception of truth appearing as little more than falsehood.

"Ordered South" differs from the other essays discussed in that its form is on the whole narrative. There is in it relatively little opportunity for the subtle determination of the reader's attitude to which Stevenson was given, and little for open moralizing. Yet the essay is in its entirety simply the resolution of an antithesis. The first three paragraphs tell of the joys which the invalid anticipates and experiences at the beginning of his season of banishment. The next two tell of his disappointment when he realizes that he has lost the power of thoroughgoing enjoyment. Then the last seven show the peculiarly rare quality of the joys that do come to the invalid, and leave the reader with the feeling that there is full compensation for what is lost. It is interesting that this essay, in which Stevenson drew a somewhat conventional moral in a very explicit way is the one that he later had to modify by a foot-note, in the interests of honesty, as he tells us.

"El Dorado" handles the antithesis of the attainable and the unattainable, or of achievement and aspiration. It seems, Stevenson says, as though attainment was the greatest thing

in life, and then he goes on to show that what gives attainment its value is really the aspiration involved. He closes with a paradoxical sentence that shows how each of the terms of the antithesis owes its value to the quality of its opposite which it contains. "To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labor."

"Walking Tours," being on the whole a descriptive rather than a philosophic essay, is not so strongly characterized by the antithetical mode of thinking as some, and yet the strain is marked. Stevenson begins by paradoxically contradicting the ordinary conception of a walking tour and gives his own conception, very different, and to his mind very much better. "It must not be imagined that a walking tour, as some would have us fancy, is merely a better or worse way of seeing the country. There are many ways of seeing landscape quite as good; and none more vivid, in spite of canting dilettantes, than from a railway train. But landscape on a walking tour is quite accessory. He who is indeed of the brotherhood does not voyage in quest of the picturesque, but of certain jolly humours—of the hope and spirit with which the march begins at morning, and the peace and spiritual repletion of the evening's rest." After getting his reader into a state of mind thoroughly sympathetic with his conception, he drives home the fact that this is not anything that the ordinary practical mind would justify, by his inimitable conclusion, holding up finally even wisdom and folly as absolutely indifferent. "You lean from the window, your last pipe reeking whitely into the darkness, your body full of delicious pains, your mind enthroned in the seventh circle of content; when suddenly the mood changes, the weathercock goes about, and you ask yourself one question more: whether, for the interval, you have been the wisest philosopher or the most egregious of donkeys? Human experience is not yet able to reply; but at least you have had a fine moment, and looked down upon all the kingdoms of the earth. And whether it was wise or foolish, to-morrow's travel will carry you, body and mind, into some different parish of the infinite."

"The Lantern Bearers," with its division into four parts, is, like "Virginibus Puerisque," structurally different from the more unified essays, but the theme which determines the

thought development is that given in the opening sentence of the second part: "It is said that a poet has died young in the breast of the most stolid. It may be contended rather, that this (somewhat minor) bard in almost every case survives, and is the spice of life to his possessor. Justice is not done to the versatility and the unplumbed childishness of man's imagination."

"A Christmas Sermon," again very straggling in its structure, moves toward the resolution of the paradox stated in the opening sentence of part four. "To look back upon the past year, and see how very little we have striven and to what small purpose; and how often we have been cowardly and hung back, or temerarious and rushed unwisely in; and how every day and all day long we have transgressed the law of kindness;—it may seem a paradox, but in the bitterness of these discoveries, a certain consolation resides."

In "Pulvis et Umbra" it is, of course, from the strongest possible statement of all that is contemptible in man's position that Stevenson derives the highest ground for commendation.

III

Though the consideration of some of these last essays has had small structural significance—has resulted in little more than a repetition of what the critics have said about Stevenson's philosophy—it nevertheless indicates that the type of thought development found in the three essays analysed in detail was to some extent a determining factor in the structure of most of the intimate essays. It is significant that this type of development is most perfectly manifested in the essays which would, I believe, be acknowledged as the most perfect structurally. A cursory comparison of Stevenson's essays with some others in which antithesis and various forms of opposition appear may help to define the peculiar quality of Stevenson's method.

In such a comparison it is scarcely necessary to take up special instances of essays that are interspersed with occasional paradoxical remarks, now on one point, now on another. Stevenson's method is altogether different, each of the typical essays being in effect the development of a single antithesis, though with some verbal variations. Nor is it necessary to

consider the prose treatises which reconcile two opposing views by presenting a third which involves the good points of each of the others; some such treatises exemplify admirably the real logic of antithesis, but they are intellectual treatises far removed from the intimate essays in which Stevenson's delightful paradoxes are to be found. A nearer approach to the thing that Stevenson does appears in certain essays of Bacon's on subjects similar to some of Stevenson's.

For example, Bacon's essay on "Youth and Age" may fairly be compared with Stevenson's on the same theme. Bacon's essay opens with a somewhat paradoxical remark, "A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have not lost much time." But instead of going on to develop the paradox, Bacon says at once that this is seldom the case. He then takes up the virtues and the faults of youth and age, balancing them over against each other, showing in what youth excels and in what age excels. He closes with reference to the paradox with which he began, but with a reference anything but paradoxical in its tone or its implications, simply an enumeration of the types of people who "have an over-early ripeness in their years." Again, in his essay "Of Death" Bacon, like his successor, tries to get people away from the prevailing conception of death as a thing to be feared. He begins much as Stevenson does in "Aes Triplex," stating the situation and telling the reader that the fear of death has been unduly increased by tales. Further, he calls attention to the fact that this fear cannot really be so very great, since "there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters" it; this is much in the vein of Stevenson, who says that in practise men do not fear death so much as their proverbs would imply. But after this point Bacon simply proves by examples and other forms of ordinary argument that death is not to be feared, making no use of the life and death paradox that is the substance of Stevenson's essay.

Lamb's "Popular Fallacies" in some ways suggest Stevenson. In them there is the same sort of "inversion of the copy-book moral"¹³ that is characteristic of Stevenson. Lamb, like Stevenson, contradicts certain widely accepted sayings. But

¹³ The phrase was applied to some of Stevenson's Fables by a reviewer in the *Academy*, March 19, 1898, Vol. 53, p. 329.

he does not ordinarily contradict them by using paradoxically the very truth which they contain. The difference becomes evident if we read simply the opening sentences of these "Popular Fallacies." "That Handsome is that Handsome Does" commences, "Those who use this proverb can never have seen Mrs. Conrady." "That we should rise with the Lark,"—"At what precise minute this little airy musician doffs his night gear, and prepares to tune up his unseasonable matins, we are not naturalists enough to determine. But for a mere human gentleman—that has no orchestra business to call him away from his warm bed to such preposterous exercises—we take ten, or half after ten (eleven, of course, during this Christmas solstice), to be the very earliest hour, at which he can begin to think of abandoning his pillow."

"A Bachelor's Complaint" has rightly been cited as an essay even more paradoxical in tone than the "Popular Fallacies," where one naturally looks for paradox. Here Lamb begins, it is true, with a real paradox that determines the trend of the essay: "I cannot say that the quarrels of men and their wives ever made any great impression upon me, or had much tendency to strengthen me in those anti-social resolutions, which I took up long ago upon more substantial considerations," he says in the second paragraph. "What oftenest offends me at the houses of married persons where I visit, is an error of quite a different description;—it is that they are too loving." This is surely a Stevensonian paradox, and in the qualification which follows there are suggested the dual meanings of the word *love*: "Not too loving neither: that does not explain my meaning." But in the development of the essay all the stress is put on the smaller meaning of the term, the meaning which he repudiates but which led him to use the word *love* in his initial paradox. The essay as a whole does not give the resolution of an antithesis through the gradual development of a larger conception.

In conclusion: Stevenson's use of paradox is, I believe, unique. He stresses the paradoxical element, but without any of the superficial cleverness that tempts the writer given to occasional apophthegms; he takes his antithesis seriously at the same time that he takes it playfully, and he makes of it a whole essay. By developing the antithesis according to the laws of

its own logic he denaturizes it as it were. And the peculiar form of Stevenson's most typical essays is determined by this very logic of antithesis, a logic that has room for all the subtle emotional appeals and all the wealth of illustration that we recognize in his essays even while we acknowledge their remarkably "finished" structural integrity.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

*GESCHICHTE DES NEUHOCHDEUTSCHEN REIMES
VON OPITZ BIS WIELAND* von Friedrich Neumann.
Berlin, 1920. xvi+394 pages.

The author tells us in the preface that the work under discussion was practically completed at the outbreak of the war. So the task was done in times of peace and security; but even if we take this into consideration, we are impressed by the magnitude of the undertaking, the devotion to learning, the infinite care in the sifting and presentation of details, and above all by the courage of the author and the publisher, who immediately after the armistice took up and carried to successful completion their interrupted labors. The appearance of the book at this time is a gratifying proof that German scholarship is still alive, and we may hope for a speedy recovery in spite of the great adversity of present conditions. Neumann's work represents, moreover, very decided progress in the particular field with which it deals. A large amount had already been done in the treatment of individual authors and, in a few instances, smaller groups of authors; but here we have for the first time a comprehensive study of the development of the German rhyme during the period which marks the transition from Middle-High-German to the language of the nineteenth century and the present. The results of Neumann's investigation in their entirety, especially as regards the numerous details concerning the quality of certain vowels, will be fully comprehended by only a smaller number; but every German scholar will appreciate the large, outstanding facts, by the able presentation of which a great deal of light is shed on the present status of German speech sounds, and on the successive stages of development which they underwent in the transition from the Middle-High-German.

Purity of rhyme in the German language is to-day much less of a problem than it was two or three centuries ago. Neumann points out that the individual standard of a given poet, though he may rank high in his time and country, is by no means a reliable criterion. A rhyme must indeed be pure not only to the ears of the poet, but must appeal as pure to all of his readers and hearers who are capable of esthetic enjoyment of his verses. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the German language had not yet evolved any real unity, and a common standard of pronunciation did not exist. Hence authors differed greatly in actual usage, being strongly influenced by the manner of utterance prevailing in the native province of each. Neumann shows that regional standards, each possessing aside from common features its particular, dis-

tinguishing traits, may be ascribed to three regions which in those days were leading in poetic productiveness and literary excellence, and he has centered his efforts on these fields without entirely ignoring less important districts. He uses the comparative method throughout, in fact the only way of profitable approach. The resulting main groups are the poets of Silesia, of Upper-Saxony and of Lower-Saxony. In this latter group, he, of course, considers only authors who wrote in High-German. It is very commendable that Neumann does not confine himself to the investigation of the practice which prevailed with the leading poets of each group, but includes a goodly number of the lesser lights, in order to prove that certain standards possessed a general validity in a particular region, and so to establish his curves, if I am permitted to use this term here. The geographic and chronological boundaries of his investigation, he has determined wisely, and it does not matter that in several instances he has not been able to resist the temptation to go beyond his limits, where adjoining territories held some special allurements, as, for instance, in the case of Schubart and Schiller.

Since the treatment of the various \bar{e} -sounds by different authors furnishes some of the most important data for classification, Neumann has set out with the consideration of these sounds. He distinguishes six different \bar{e} -sounds: \bar{o} , \hat{e} , \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{e} , \bar{a} . The following illustrations will serve to make clear the basis of distinction. I \bar{o} , hören, Ohg. *hōran*, *hōrren*; II \hat{e} , lehren, Ohg. *lēren*; III \bar{a} , erklären, Mhg. *erklāren*, *klār* < Lat. *clārus*; IV \bar{e} , begehren, Ohg. *gēron*; V \bar{e} , erzählen, Ohg. *zellan* < *zaljan**; VI \bar{a} , prägen, Ohg. *brāhhen*, Mhg. *prachen*. Differentiation between \bar{a} and \bar{e} seems hardly necessary. The \bar{o} -sound was not rounded during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and so it coincided with the Mhg. \hat{e} ; the other four sounds were open. The Silesian poets who at all lived up to the prevailing standards scrupulously distinguished between the open and closed e -sounds wherever they were long in quantity. All short e -sounds had become open. In the Silesian dialects \bar{e} and \bar{e} developed along sharply differentiated lines, but this fact is not reflected by the usage of the poets.

Neumann believes it to be the prevalent view that the poets of the earlier Nhg. period failed to make any consistent distinction between the open and closed e -sounds. However this may be, he hardly proves his point by referring to Minor. The passage in question in Minor's "Metrik" is not concise enough in its language to admit of a definite inference in regard to the particular poets and period which he had in mind. To be sure, he maintains: "Die verschiedenen e-Laute werden von keinem modernen Dichter unterschieden, auch nicht von Wieland, dessen Mundart sie doch scharf auseinander hält." But he states expressly in regard to Opitz: "Aber in Bezug auf die

verschiedenen Vokale weist er sich als sehr feinfühlig; er verbietet *ehren: nehren, lehret: bescheret*, weil hier *e* auf *η* reimt, während *lehret: verehret* zu gestatten sei. Er reimt auch in der Praxis nur geschlossenes *e* mit geschlossenem und offenes mit offenem, aber nicht wie unsere heutigen Dichter beide unter einander." Minor does accordingly in this particular full justice to Opitz, and it seems very likely that he had in mind poets of a period later than those chiefly considered by Neumann, when he referred to "moderne Dichter."

The unusual position allotted to "gegen" by the Silesians, Neumann explains in my opinion correctly. Though the expression *ai dĕ kĕnĕ gĭn* or *kumma*, etc. is not in vogue in all parts of Silesia, the leading poets of both the Silesian Schools hailed from regions where the idiom is prevalent to this day, and is freely used even by the relatively well educated. One still frequently hears: "In die *kĕnĕ* kommen," etc., hybrid expressions which resulted from the effort to bring terms of dialectic origin in conformity to the literary language.

The Nuremberg poets of Opitz' time are less consistent in their treatment of the different *ĕ*-sounds, but they follow the same general line of cleavage as the Silesians, grouping closed *ö, œ, ê, ě* and open *æ, ě, ä*." Sigmund von Birken, however, deviates considerably from the general practice.

Zesen, a representative of the Upper-Saxon group, draws the line between *ě: ě*, a distinction not made by the Silesians. Frequently the consonant or consonants following *ě* seem to have a decided influence. An important difference between the Silesians and the Upper-Saxons, for instance, reveals itself in the treatment of the groups *-ör, -ĕr: -ĕr* and *-ör, -ĕr: -ĕr*. The Silesian poets did not bind either group. Of the Upper-Saxons, Fleming, Zesen, Schoch and Hunold use in their works, or that part of their poetic works examined by Neumann, no combinations from group I; the others, with the exception of Gellert and Lessing, do so but very sparingly, while we find numerous instances of combinations from group II in the rhymes of all Upper-Saxon poets. The combinations *-ĕl: -ĕl* and *-ĕl: -ĕl*, on the other hand, we do not find, except in the rhymed verse of Gellert and Lessing, who use both combinations freely. These two also make no longer any distinction between *-ön, -ĕn, -ĕn, -æn*. The outstanding feature is that *ö, ê, ě* coincide for the Upper-Saxons, while they are distinguished by the Silesians. The poets of the former group again are differentiated from one another by the degree of precision and consistency with which they separate *ě* from the above mentioned *ĕ*-sounds. In the technic of the Silesians there prevailed clearness and uniformity; the open and the closed sounds were held apart. The Upper-Saxons approximated such a distinction only in varying degrees; for

the poets of this group who wrote after 1700, the boundaries were more and more obliterated, until at last they disappeared entirely.

In the practice of the Lower-Saxon poets there existed a great deal of diversity. Neumann has dealt with a number of them individually. He finds that one group distinguishes between open and closed \bar{e} , though the pronunciation of these sounds differed in a large number of words from that in vogue at that time in Upper-Saxony and Silesia; another group does no longer differentiate between the open and closed \bar{e} -sounds. Here we find, especially in the views of Schottel, the strongest tendency towards this process of levelling which has resulted in the virtual obliteration of distinction between etymologically different \bar{e} -sounds which prevails at the present. It must, of course, be borne in mind that \bar{o} was ultimately established as a rounded vowel, a development foreshadowed by the attitude of the Lower-Saxon poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in their treatment of this sound.

Considering geographic position and cultural relations, we are not surprised to find that the East-Prussian poets stood very close to the Silesians. Neumann shows that the Nhg. poets of the period under consideration all distinguished two groups of \bar{e} -sounds, the closed and the open, but the mode of pronunciation of a large number of words differed in different regions, and only the Silesian, East-Prussian and some of the Upper-Saxon poets were at all consistent in their poetic usage.

In central Germany *eu: ei, ü: i, ö: e* were not distinguished. The Lower-Saxon poets made a distinction in their actual pronunciation and keenly felt the difference in quality, but in their poetic practice they followed the example of the other two groups. The Silesians apparently tried to avoid the combination *eu: ei*.

Opitz, Lohenstein, and to some extent Hofmannswaldau, bound *o: u*. The other Silesians and the Saxons do not entirely avoid the combination, but instances are after all rare. *Umsonst* or *umsunst* was an especial favorite. Opitz, Lohenstein and Hofmannswaldau furnish also the most numerous instances of $\bar{o}: i$ combinations, which fact finds an easy explanation in the dialectic pronunciation of \bar{o} in a large number of words in *-nn* and *-mt*, in Silesia still in vogue at the present day.

Those sections of Neumann's work which deal with the quality of the different vowels, especially of the etymologically distinct \bar{e} -sounds, are in my opinion, the most valuable and difficult part of the entire investigation. One may not agree with him in some details, but the main results will certainly stand. We have here an appraisal of the purity of rhyme in a

large number of poets, made according to a uniform standard by one and the same observer. The results are therefore clear and admit of easy comparison. I fully agree with Neumann that it is an entirely mistaken mode of procedure to measure poets of the past by the standards of the present, or of an earlier and totally distinct period, and accordingly label their rhymes as pure or impure, as has been done in a number of instances. Neumann raises repeatedly specific objections, so for instance against Minor's valuation of Goethe's rhymes. It is indeed not well permissible to judge Goethe by the standards of the present, or even by those prevailing in northern and central Germany in his time. The poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in general must necessarily be judged by the standards of these periods, and since uniformity did not exist, one must seek to determine the norm for which each individual poet apparently strove, *i.e.*, the one which was valid in his native province; only thus a correct estimate is possible. Some knowledge of the living dialects and the history of their development is indispensable for this purpose. Neumann, it would seem, was well equipped for his task, if I may judge by the knowledge he shows in regard to some of the dialects with which I myself am familiar, more particularly those of Silesia and Upper-Saxony.

The common standard of the literary language in any given territory reflects the underlying dialects usually to a considerable degree, and so many a strange combination of rhymes finds a natural explanation. In Northern Germany, where Low-German prevails as the language of every day, the influence of the native dialect upon poetic diction was rather small, and here the orthography of the language asserted itself more strongly than elsewhere.

Neumann has treated at length the quantity of vowels in the masculine as well as in the feminine rhymes. The Upper-Saxons, particularly Zesen, approximate here most closely the recognized usage of the present. One chapter is devoted to the treatment of vowel+r+consonant, in which combination considerable difference existed. Any one at all familiar with the pronunciation of different regions recognizes at once that differences in quantity in a number of cases still prevail, though a common standard has been established and is generally adhered to by the poets of to-day. The same is true of the treatment of certain consonants or consonant combinations. It seems superfluous to enter here into details.

It becomes clear from Neumann's investigation that the linguistic usage which formed the basis of the Upper and Lower-Saxon poets came most closely to the present norm. The rhymes of Zesen, Rist and Hagedorn, for instance, do not only represent the highest degree of perfection attained at that time,

but sound also very tolerable to the ear of the present generation. The estimate which Belling has put on Lessing's rhymes, Neumann utterly rejects, designating them outright as crude. And one must admit that this seemingly harsh verdict is not without good reasons, whether one applies the present day standard or that valid in Lessing's time in Saxony and Northern Germany in general. Neumann also deals in a briefer manner with the poets of Southern Germany. Here it is interesting to observe that the standards of Northern Germany quite strongly asserted themselves, even with the Swiss authors.

Frequent reference to poetic theory, as in the case of Opitz, Zesen, Harsdörfer, etc. and to the grammarians of those days sheds additional light upon the standards of pronunciation which then prevailed. It is only natural that theory and practice, even where carried on by one and the same individual, do not always agree. In some cases, certain statements were taken *verbatim* from the work of some predecessor, and hence were apt to possess little dynamic value; but above all the living language of a given poet exerts a more potent influence than abstract theories of pronunciation, though they may be his own.

There is abundant evidence that Neumann has made conscientious use of all the literature which has any bearing on his investigation. His presentation of his subject is a very valuable contribution in this field and such a respectable piece of work that he really did not need to offer the apology that it is the performance of a student. A certain lack of unity of form and style does not impair the intrinsic value of his accomplishment. In spite of the great inherent difficulty, the book is typographically nearly perfect, as far as I can judge without actual collation. It is a curious incidence that Neumann furnishes a pretty illustration of the fact that pronunciation, or orthography, or both are in a continual state of flux. Up to page 161 he spells *Flemming*, then, remembering the correct spelling, he writes *Fleming*, relapsing only once (p. 176) into phonetic orthography. A complete index of authors and topics makes the great mass of details presented easily accessible, and the attentive reader will find in Neumann's work light on many phases of present-day pronunciation.¹

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¹In recognition of the scientific value of his work Dr. Neumann has since been awarded the 'Scherer-Preis', which is given triannually for the best contribution to Germanic Philology.—Editor

HANS HECHT : ROBERT BURNS; LEBEN UND WIRKEN
DES SCHOTTISCHEN VOLKSDICHTERS. Heidelberg,
1919. vii+304 pp.

Modern study of Burns may fairly be said to have begun with the publication in 1893 of Angellier's *Robert Burns* (1. *La vie*; 2. *Les oeuvres*) and the Henley-Henderson *Centenary Burns* in 1896-7. During the next twelve years James C. Dick made two important contributions with his *The Songs of Robert Burns* (1903) and *Notes on Scottish Song*, published posthumously in 1908. In addition to these, Molenaar's *Robert Burns' Beziehungen zur Literatur* (1899), Meyerfeld's *Robert Burns: Studien zu seiner dichterischen Entwicklung* (1899), Anders' *Neue Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns* (*Archiv*, 1907), and Otto Ritter's important studies, chief of which are the *Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns 1773-1791* (1901) and the *Neue Quellenfunde zu Robert Burns* (1913), have all laid the serious student of Scottish literature under heavy obligation. And now comes another work, far and away the most notable since the *Centenary*, which will demand the attention of all who are interested in Burns's life and work.

Professor Hecht is admirably fitted to make such a study as he has just given us. His *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts* (1904) made it possible for the first time to speak with assurance concerning certain important phases of Herd's work as a collector. In its more limited field this book was as contributory as Dick's accurate reprinting of the interleaved copy of the *Scots Musical Museum*, which Allan Cunningham had drawn from and lied about for Cromek's *Reliques* (1808), and which, except in this almost worse than useless form, was virtually unavailable. But without the evidence of this earlier publication one would be in no doubt as to Professor Hecht's right to speak authoritatively concerning Scottish literature; the most cursory examination of his latest book would convince one of that.

The purpose of the present volume appears succinctly stated on page 2: "Es wird hier der Versuch unternommen, die Persönlichkeit und die Werke des schottischen Nationaldichters aus dem Ganzen seiner Umgebung und der zeitgenössischen Literatur heraus darzustellen und zu erklären." To this end the author has examined virtually all the material that has any bearing on the subject. The selective bibliography (pp. 290-297) could hardly have been better; it includes all that is important, and omits the many "appreciations" of Burns which have but slight interest outside of Scotland.

One's first impression on closing the book is that Professor Hecht has given us the best study of Burns that has yet appeared. Not the most extensive, nor for details concerning

particular poems the most useful; it makes no attempt to supercede the notes in the *Centenary*; but the one which best states the facts of the poet's life and accomplishment. Taking nothing for granted, referring constantly to the sources from which he draws, and summarizing adequately the results of such minute studies as those of Ritter, he has succeeded admirably in obtaining the results which he desired.

The plan of the book is simple. Seven of the nine chapters are primarily biographical; the other two (V: Die Kilmarnock Gedichte, 1786, and VIII: Burns als Liederdichter) give excellent statements of fact, and in addition furnish us with sane and illuminating criticism.

Chapters I and II (Alloway, 1759-1766; Mount Oliphant, 1766-1777) are perhaps the least contributory in the book; the incidents are clearly recorded, but in the nature of the case there is little that is new or capable of being treated in a new way.

Chapter III (Lochlea und Tarbolton, 1777-1784) continues the biographical narrative, and in addition introduces the larger question of Burns's literary ancestry. On this matter the author is conservative, feeling that recent students, particularly "source hunters," have been inclined to over-emphasize Burns's indebtedness to his predecessors.

Chapter IV (Mossgiel und Mauchline, 1784-1786) treats the beginnings of Burns's local fame, gives an interesting description of Mauchline and its environs, discusses illuminatingly Burns's quarrel with the Kirk and the resulting satires, and comments briefly on the poet's religious faith, Professor Hecht concluding that "Ihm, dem Kinde eines ausgesprochen sentimentalischen Zeitalters, war wie Faust, Gefühl alles." (68) Here appear for the first time the figures of Jean Armour and of the shadowy "Mary Campbell," or "Highland Mary." Concerning Jean's most famous rival for Burns's affection, the author is even more skeptical than the editors of the *Centenary*: "Auch die Anekdote in dem von Burns für Riddell hergestellten Kommentar zu Johnson's *Museum*, auf die Cromek seine Erzählung aufbaut und die Henley und Henderson in ihrer grossen Ausgabe noch für authentisch hielten, ist in dem durchschossenen Exemplar nicht mehr vorhanden. Die betreffende Seite fehlt, und es läßt sich die Vermutung nicht unterdrücken, dasz wir die rührende Szene am Ufer des Ayr einem wohlmeinenden, aber recht schwachen dichterischen Einfall Cromek's verdanken. Wären nicht einige Lieder und die erwähnten Briefstellen vorhanden, so könnte man ruhigen Gewissens den ganzen Vorfall mit Stillschweigen übergehen. So bleibt der Schatten einer Frauengestalt, die um diese Zeit durch das Leben des unersättlichen Mannes hindurch gegliitten und deren Tod ihm später zum Gegenstande wehmütiger Erinner-

ungen geworden ist,—nicht weniger, aber auch nicht mehr. Der Stern, der die Stunde beherrschte, hiesz Jean, nicht Mary.” (81)

Chapter V (Die Kilmarnock-Gedichte, 1786) though continuing the chronological narrative, is primarily a study of the volume which established Burns's reputation: its literary ancestry, the facts of publication, its reception by critics and general readers, and its position in the literature of the century. The actual history of the book is clearly set forth, and Professor Hecht's conclusions concerning the question of Burns's originality seem to me sane and accurate. He disregards, of course, the "Purely Scottish" theory that would see in Burns only the last of a line of vernacular poets, avoids the danger of allotting too much importance to the English sentimental influence, and sums up his position thus: "Es kann kein Zweifel darüber obwalten: die Kilmarnock-Gedichte sind hundertfältig mit der Vergangenheit verflochten, Generationen von Dichtern haben den Boden vorbereitet, auf dem sie entstanden sind, ein ganzes Volk hat sie mit der Eigenart seines Geistes angefüllt. Besteht danach Carlyle's Wort von dem Wunder der Erscheinung Burns, zu Unrecht? Ist es der Quellenforschung, die Strophe um Strophe und Zeile um Zeile unter die Lupe genommen hat, gelungen, das scheinbar Unerklärliche zu erklären, es nach den Gesetzen von Ursache und Wirkung begreiflich, ja selbstverständlich zu machen? Die Antwort auf beide Fragen musz verneinend lauten.

"Die Erkenntnis des Fortwirkens einer grossen Tradition bei einem Dichter, der mit den höchsten schöpferischen Eigenschaften begabt ist, führt uns nur bis zu dem Punkt, an dem des Walten seines Genies einsetzt, haben wir aber die Schwelle überschritten, so stehen wir unter der Herrschaft transzendentaler und daher unmeszbarer Gewalten. So war es mit Shakespeare, so mit Burns. . . . Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet sind Burns' Kilmarnock-Gedichte als Gedichtsammlung das gröszte Ereignis in der englischen Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. In keiner anderen Sammlung, auch nicht in den *Lyrical Ballads* von 1798, wird die unwiderstehliche Gewalt der Inspiration so unmittelbar empfunden, wie in dieser: sie wirkt mit der Selbstverständlichkeit und der Macht eines Naturereignisses." (101, 102)

Chapter VI (Edinburgh, 1786-1788) takes the poet through his two winters in the capital city. The best things—and here Professor Hecht has done more for one's understanding of Burns's position in Edinburgh than many writers who have assumed a knowledge of such matters on the part of their readers—are the descriptions of the physical appearance of the city, the account of Edinburgh life, and of Burns's friendships.

Chapter VII (Ellisland, 1788–1791) is an adequate chronicle of the poet's last farming adventure, and an introduction to the important matter of his connection with the *Musical Museum*, which is one of the main themes in the following section.

Chapter VIII (Burns als Liederdichter) is perhaps the most informing in the book. That Burns had a definite purpose in his song-writing seems to the author certain: "Er wollte Schottland ein neues Volkslied schaffen, seinen Landsleuten zu dem groszen Bestand der alten Melodien, die sie sangen und nach denen sie tanzten, die passenden Worte auf die Zunge legen, so, dasz die Gemeinschaft sich im Liede finden und vereinigen könnte, dasz ihr in Stunden des Frohsinns, des Schmerzes, der Nachdenklichkeit, der patriotischen Erhebung der rechte, treffende, befreiende Ausdruck nicht fehle." (208) The author divides the songs into three groups: (a) those composed before 1787; (b) those which he contributed to the *Museum* (1787–1792); and (c) those he sent to Thomson for his *Select Collection*, between 1792 and the end of his life. Passing rather rapidly over the first, Professor Hecht gives us a clear account of Burns's connections with the two famous collections. He makes much of his interest in Scottish music, a phase of his work which most people except Dick have slighted, points out clearly the sources of information from which Burns drew, says that Burns "als Kenner schottischer volkstümlicher Lieder neben den besten Autoritäten seiner Zeit steht, ja sie vielleicht noch übertrifft," (226) and concludes with a few pertinent generalizations concerning this whole phase of Burns's work: "Dick zieht einmal einen hübschen Vergleich zwischen Schubert und Burns: man habe von Schubert gesagt, er hätte, wäre er am Leben geblieben, die ganze deutsche Sprache in Musik gesetzt. Ähnlich dürfe man von Burns sagen, er hätte, wäre er am Leben geblieben, die ganze schottische Musik in Verse gebracht (*Songs of R. B.* 370). Nicht nur die schottische Musik, kann man hinzufügen, sondern alles, was das Herz des Schotten bewegte, auch Charaktere, Sitten und Gebräuche, denn das Bedürfnis zu schildern, dem Gefühlsmomente epische Züge beizumischen, macht sich in seiner Lyrik stark bemerkbar." (252) "Doch fehlen Lieder der feinsten seelischen Selbstzergliederung, die etwa ein handlungsloses Sichhineintraümen in Naturstimmungen zum Gegenstand gehabt hätten. Es fehlt die lyrische Naturbetrachtung als Selbstzweck, es fehlt, bis auf verschwindend geringe Einzelzüge, in der Lyrik Burns' der Aufstieg zum Metaphysischen, der Fortschritt vom gestalten Eindruck zum Symbol, wie in Goethe's *Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh*, endlich haben wir keine Spur von dem Romantisch-Visionären, wie es etwa Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* auszeichnet. Burns' Lyrik ist vielmehr ausgesprochen unromantisch. Sie meidet das mystische Dämmerlicht, sie baut keine neue Welt in das blaue Wun-

derreich der Phantasie, sondern sie haftet an dem klaren Realismus ihrer Hauptquelle: dem schottischen Volksliede und volkstümlichen Liede. Nur aus der deutlichen Einsicht in seine weitgehende Abhängigkeit von diesen Quellen läßt sich die Reichhaltigkeit seines Vollbringens als Lyriker begreifen. Burns durchdrang und vollendete, was Generationen für ihn vorbereitet hatten. Doch tut seine Kennerschaft seiner Meisterschaft keinen Eintrag. Er hatte das Glück, eine noch lebendige Tradition vorzufinden, deren reinstem Wesen er durch seine bäuerliche Abstammung nahestand, den hohen Sinn, die nationale Bedeutung dieser Tradition zu erkennen, die begeisterte Ausdauer, sich in ihre technischen Eigentümlichkeiten bis in die äussersten Kleinigkeiten zu versenken und die geniale Grösze, das Überkommen zu bewahren und doch zu verjüngen, die alten Weisen nicht vertönen zu lassen und doch ein neues Lied zu singen, im Ganzen ein Eigener zu bleiben." (254, 255)

Chapter IX (Dumfries. Das Ende. 1791–1796) brings the story to a close. Professor Hecht at once takes issue with those biographers who see chiefly tragedy in the closing years of Burns's life. "W. E. Henley beginnt den äusserst skizzenhaften letzten Abschnitt seines Essays über Burns mit den Worten: 'Ich möchte die Dumfries-Periode mit aller mir möglichen Kürze behandeln. Ihre Geschichte ist eine Geschichte des Niederganges (*decadence*).' . . . Das sind harte und wie ich glaube ungerechte Urteile, die einer unvoreingenommenen Prüfung der Tatsachen, wie sie uns hier obliegt, nicht standhalten können." (258) He then tells the story of the last five years, not glossing over their unhappy side, but maintaining that they show Burns's lyric power and mental vigor undimmed, despite the breakdown of his health. Pointing out the importance in the poet's spiritual development of the French Revolution, and of the resultant awakening of liberal thought in Scotland, the author says: "Erst diese Verbindung des Heimatlichen mit den umfassenden Weltgedanken rief die drei machtvollen Gesänge hervor, die uns als die edelste Reife des sein ganzes Leben durchziehenden Kampfes für Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit erscheinen und die man als die reinste Widerspiegelung seiner Anteilnahme an dem aufrührendsten Ereignis der Dumfries-Periode stets im Zusammenhang auf sich einwirken lassen sollte."¹ (279)

One famous incident of this period, the purchase in 1792 of the cannon which Burns sent to the French revolutionists, seems to Professor Hecht possibly apocryphal: "Die ganze Episode ist dokumentarisch nicht genügend beglaubigt, gehört aber

¹The three songs, according to Professor Hecht, are, "Scots Wha Hae," "Is There, for Honest Poverty," and "Does Haughty Gaul Invasion Threat?"

zum eisernen Bestand des Kanons der Burnsanekdoten. Sicher ist nur, dasz die kühne Tat des Dichters, wenn er sie begangen hat, von seiner vorgesetzten Behörde nicht bemerkt, oder nicht beachtet wurde." (274)

One misses from Professor Hecht's work a discussion of Burns's command of English, a disputed point concerning which some persons still need edification; one misses a summary of Burns's position in the whole stream of 18th century English and Scottish poetry. I wish too that the author had seen fit to take up the matter of Burns's fame south of Tweed, and to give us a few paragraphs on the universal elements in Burns's poetry, those qualities which make it appeal to a Swiss or an American, as well as to a Scot. But despite these omissions—and perhaps it is too much to hope that any one book can ever state the whole case for Burns—Professor Hecht's study seems to me the best book to which to turn for a statement of the important facts of Burns's life and work. It should be made generally available in an English translation.

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SCHÜTTE, GUDMUND: VOR MYTISKE KONGERAÆKKE. Studier fra Sprog og Oldtidsforskning, Nr. 105. V. Pios Boghandel, København, 1917.

This study is one of a series in which Mr. Schütte attempts to penetrate the chaos of the early genealogies of the Danish chronicles. The results of the investigation can be summed up in the thesis: The Danish genealogies contain far more mythic elements than has usually been supposed, and in these elements we find the same development of religious belief that we know from historical and archeological evidence.

The author has based his work on the genealogies of *Saxo*, the *Leire Chronicle*, the ballad *Dansk Kongetal*, and the Wessex genealogies. The field covered is so vast and the material so elusive that, as the author states, he cannot hope for finality in the conclusions. The study does, however, throw new light on the whole field, and must be carefully considered by future investigators.

I shall first give briefly a summary, without comment, of the results the author believes to have established, tabulating the characters he believes to be of mythic origin.

Saxo A has Humble as progenitor. He is probably connected with the Aud-Humbla of the *Edda*. Huala of the Wessex genealogy probably should be *Humla. We seem to have a common Gothonic progenitor parallel to the Gallic war-god Camulos and the Irish hero Cumal. In *Saxo* this mythic figure has been confused with the Humble of the *Hervararsaga* and of the *Lay of Angantyr*.

In the group Hermod, Fridlev, Frode Fredgode, Hjarne Skjald, Hogne, Hedin, all are gods in disguise. Hermod is a Danish representative of Odin as Sigmund is a Swedish. He is the Herman or Hartmuot king of Normandy mentioned in the *Rabenschlacht* and *Kudrun*. The story of his death is a sacrificial drama: Odin's representative sacrificed to Odin—Odin to Odin. So also in the *Kudrun*. Hartmuot=Odin carries off and marries Kudrun the Odin priestess; Hêrwic=Odin slays Hartmuot and replaces him as god-representative.

Frode and Fridlev=Frey. The Frode-peace is the ritualistic festival during the Frey sacrifice. Hjarne Skjald is a divine figure probably Brage. He reappears in the Hjadning legends: O. N. Hjarrandi, O. E. Heorrenda, M. H. G. Hôrant. Place names give evidence of his worship. Here belongs also the Hjadninga-víg, which represents the ever recurring sacrificial act.

Helge, Hrolf Karl, Thora, Yrsa, Adisl, Skuld,—all are mythic except Hrolf Karl, who probably is a Thor's priest. Helge=the Holy One wins Thora at Thorsö, a place holy to Thor. Parallel is the story (*Saxo* Bk. 3) of the Norwegian Helge wooing Thora, daughter of the king of the Finns, and winning her through the help of Hader. Another parallel is Snorre's account of Kong Hölge of Haalogaland and his daughter Thorgerd Hölga-brud. The names indicate the incest motif known from the Helge, Thora, Yrsa legend. The incest motif is of religious importance, cf. the Sigmund (=Odin) and his relations to his sister. Still another parallel is Helge of Norway's wooing Helga, daughter of Ingjald, (*Saxo* Bk. 6), and winning her through the aid of Starkad=Stark-haðr=Hader=Hoðr. The legend is based on the same legend as the one cited above. Helge=Thor; Thora=Thorgerd Hölga-brud. Place names confirm this conclusion.

Yrsa, Adisl, Hrolf. Yrsa=Irpa, sister of Thorgerd Hölga-brud (Detter: Z.f.d.A. 32, 394); Hrolf has nothing to do with myths. Adisl, however, is connected with the mythic Yrsa, and, in the *Leire Chronicle*, with Rakke, Hlér, and Snio—clearly mythic figures. Adisl=Ansegis, the Franco-Saxonian progenitor. This common-Gothonic figure has been combined with the human king Ad(g)isl of Sweden.

Hundekongen (i.e., the Dog-king) and Kong Hane. The legend of the Dog-king has been classed by Ollik as a late comic legend. However, its connection with Adgisl=Ansegis shows that it must be a very old tradition connected with early sacrificial rites. Hund and Hane (=dog and cock) were regular sacrificial animals. The prevalence of the H- initial also confirms the mythic origin of the legend.

Eyr and Ler (*Saxo* Bk. 2)=Aegir and Hlér, gods of the sea, sons of Fornjot, the storm giant. Hesca, mentioned with

them, is probably of the Fornjot family. Or is Hesca = Esca diminutive of Ansegis? Snio = Snjór, the son of Fornjot. Place names indicate the worship of these figures. Röde, or Röd, (*Saxo* Bk. 7) because of association with Snio probably belongs here.

Höder and Balder, of the well-known Balder story, are purely mythic figures. Hader, son of Hlenne (*Saxo* Bk. 6), the slayer of Starkad, is identical with Balder's opponent. Hader slays Starkhader, i.e., the god slaying himself to himself. The killing takes place at (H)roling heath, probably the place holy to Rotho *Hroði or *Hrauði, i.e., "the destroyer" or "the famous," the god invoked by Starkhad. *Hroliung probably *Hroiskelda. *Hrode = Frode, Frey.

The Siklings: Yngwin, Sigvald, Sigar, Sigvald are Odin representatives brought at a late date into the heroic legend. The syllable Sig-, the home near Sigtuna, the death of Hagbart and Signe by hanging—all point to Odin and Odin ritual.

Summarizing we have the following results bearing on the development of religious faith.

1. The impersonal divinity, f. ex. the sun, the heavens, etc. No representative in heroic legend.

2. The god as animal or giant. Numerous figures heading genealogies: Adisl, the Dog-king, Snio, Ler, etc.

3. The god in human form, often with name disguised because of tabu. The gods Nerthus, Njord, Frey, and Freya, Helge = Thor, *Hrode are represented by Frode, Fridlev, Helge, Hader. These figures by confusion are at times placed before those of group 2 in the genealogies.

4. Odin immigrated from the South at end of Scylding period. The late position of Odin and Thor have prevented their undisguised names from appearing in legend.

The investigation aims to open a new approach rather than establish final results. This the author has accomplished.

The detailed conclusions seem to me to rest on very meager evidence. Probably the weakest point in the argument is the identification of Adgisl with Ansegis. It is not easy to say that it is wrong; but the author has given no proof, merely his opinion, that the identity is real. And on this identification rests the argument for the mythic origin of Yrsa, and the whole explanation of the Helge-Yrsa legend, likewise that of the Dog-king. The whole study suffers from too daring identifications, f.ex. Heska = Eska = Ansegis (probably); Röde = Son of Fornjot. For both of these contentions we have nothing but the author's word; he gives no proof. But in spite of such weaknesses, the author has, as I have already stated, opened a new approach to and a new view of the genealogies; and his work must be considered by any future investigator.

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DEUTSCHE GRAMMATIK VON HERMANN PAUL, VERLAG VON MAX NIEMEYER, 1916-1920. Band I, Lautlehre, pp. iv, pp. 378. Band II, Flexionslehre, pp. 345. Band III, Syntax (Erste Hälfte), pp. 456. Band IV, Syntax (Zweite Hälfte), pp. 423, Band V, Wortbildungslehre, pp. 142.

Wilmanns by an untimely violent death was denied the joy of completing his grammar. Paul, in spite of old age, severe sickness, blindness, and the horrors of war has brought his life's work to a fitting close by finishing his grammar, which is now accessible to us all in the form of five handy volumes. He reached the goal only by the skin of his teeth, but on the other hand under the most favorable circumstances possible. He finished this book at the end of a long life in which he had schooled himself in large ambitious enterprises for his last and crowning work. Grimm wrote his great grammar at a time when little was known. Paul completed his at the close of a great period of linguistic activity in the full light of its rich literature. Another circumstance favored Paul. The extensive linguistic literature of our time consists of countless monographs treating of different phases of language development, so that the vast literature is accessible only to comparatively few in the largest seats of learning where there are adequate library facilities. Paul by his industry and comprehensive intellect spanned the entire range of the subject, presenting to students of the language in a narrow compass a view of the entire field. It's a book that ought to be a blessing to many.

As the writer first glanced at the volumes of the new work lying on his table and examined hastily the flimsy binding and the wretched paper that bore the evident marks of war, the question darted through his mind: "Is it the same old Paul, the Paul of the "Beiträge," of the "Prinzipien," and the "Wörterbuch," etc., or does it bear the traces of weakness and suffering? The fifth volume or word-formation is good in quality, but much smaller than the other volumes. This represents a real loss to us but the other volumes are amazingly complete. The writer has read them several times and still re-reads them to secure added enjoyment. At first he often proceeded with breathless interest, sometimes much disappointed at Paul's complete silence on many points and at the same time greatly pleased, for Paul is often more eloquent by his silence than other scholars in their choicest expression. It is absolutely impossible for this man to talk when there are no facts. Paul's many silences are among the most instructive portions of his book. Wherever he talks, there are formidable stacks of facts back of him. This explains his attitude toward Daniel Sanders. It has always been fashionable to speak slightly of Sanders. While

some men speak thus just to show that they are real scholars, Paul, who has more grammar in the tip of one of his little toes than these men have in their entire body, refers to Sanders frequently and has now and then a kind word for him. Although the two men are antipodes—Paul, one of the leaders in the historical method, and Sanders with little sense in his nature for history—their minds meet in their profound respect for facts. Sanders's dictionary has evidently been a great help to Paul, and he has generously acknowledged it.

In reading and re-reading parts of the Grammar which are especially interesting the writer has time and again been impressed by the total lack of personality in its style, as in all of Paul's other works. The thought is never colored by the feeling of the author. The man, back of the words, never becomes visible. There are none of those outbreaks of personal feeling against an opponent which are so common among German scholars. Even where there is a rare display of such feeling, it is only seemingly personal. For instance, where he remarks rather petulantly that some of the arbitrary rulings of Professor Siebs in his "Bühnenaussprache" are not worthy of respect he is not at all unfriendly to the stage pronunciation, indeed, recognizes fully its beneficent influence, but to him, who all his life has studied only facts and recognizes only natural forces, it is sometimes difficult to recognize an arbitrary regulation of the language. It was the *scholar*, not the *man*, who spoke. The language here, as elsewhere, is absolutely objective. Long ago Paul, the man, became lost to the world. He lives entirely in his work, in his cause. He never writes down sentences under the impulse of a sudden idea, but throughout a long period of study they ripen like apples on a tree. As his facts grow, his thoughts take form. His language is simple and lucid, because the author is constantly in touch with facts. Language is usually obscure because the thought has not taken definite shape and the facts have not become luminous. If it were not for this marvelous lucidity and precision, one would be tempted to say, looking at the stacks of facts in the background: "Another German plodder!" It has unfortunately become fashionable since the war to say that German science has been overestimated, that German scholars are mere plodders who collect facts for more gifted peoples to use. Of course Paul *is* a plodder, a monstrosity of industry. Such vast collections of facts, arranged in such orderly fashion, are rare, but on the other hand it is as plain as an axiom that his is one of the best and largest minds that have ever worked in this field of study. The stamp of a peculiar genius is to be plainly seen in his work.

The last thought suggests at once the name of Wundt. Is it going to be Paul, or Wundt? For years that has been the

absorbing question in the life of the writer, who for a long time fought a furious battle within himself. That question has been settled by Paul's last book. Wundt, the psychologist—another German plodder and genius—has in the last years made a tremendous stir in language circles. He has affected Paul as much as he has other scholars, although it is not probable that Paul is conscious of this fact, to judge by his own words upon different occasions. There are still many points which separate them, and one mighty chasm that can never be bridged—one is a linguist, the other a psychologist. But when—even in case of persons connected by the closest ties—did two minds ever blend, and what a pity it would be if they did? Each mind instinctively defends its own, but at the same time unconsciously in its struggles with its opponent re-adjusts itself to the new facts that present themselves. Wundt has studied the growth of the sentence psychologically. With a boldness that startles Paul he seeks to penetrate the darkness that hides the origin of things, but after all Wundt is not a mere visionary, he too has facts back of him, and here Paul can follow him. Where Wundt calls attention to the old verbless appositional type of sentence, still to be found in the present stage of the language, Paul with his well-trained mind not only follows but calls attention to the fact that this primitive type of sentence may still in spite of its severe simplicity express accurately all that is now expressed in intricate, hypotactic form with a principal verb and a principal proposition in connection with a subordinate clause, introduced by a subordinate conjunction: *Ende gut, alles gut=Wenn das Ende gut ist, so ist alles gut.* Paul in talking of the evolution of the sentence never uses Wundt's phraseology, nor does he emphasize the same things and look at them from the same angle, and yet he might truthfully say: "I have already said all these things." But there is often a great difference whether we accent one word or another in a sentence, and the angle of vision often becomes important. For years the writer has been gradually assuming the Wundt angle of vision. When the learned German literature since 1914 laden with good things arrived at the close of the war, it brought many surprises. The Wundt conception had been gaining ground steadily in Germany during the great world struggle and in some scholars, especially Professor Deutschbein, had assumed a shape somewhat similar to that which it had assumed in the writer's mind. Professor Deutschbein had been writing an English grammar and the writer preparing the new edition of his large German grammar, which will soon go to press. Will it be Wundt? Wundt has given us much, but he has also given us very little. One could surely never construct a system on the basis of the meagre

materials that Wundt has given us. We surely could also never apply his method; but he has pointed out the *direction* many will go, and that is, after all, very much indeed for one man to do. For the present moment, it may be Wundt, but tomorrow it will be Paul. We shall continue to learn from him and to employ his method. We shall, however, probably put the emphasis in a different place, change our direction and our phraseology slightly, and if we be true to our calling, emancipate ourselves in part from both men and become independent searchers for the truth.

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A *SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE*. By Walter C. Bronson. Revised and Enlarged. D. C. Heath and Company.

A *HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE*. By Percy H. Boynton. Ginn and Company.

That the revaluation of American traditions is no longer wholly in the hands of the journalists has been proved more than once in the course of the past twenty-four months. During that time, not to mention the Cambridge History volumes, there have appeared four noteworthy books on American literature: the collection of *American Poetry* by Boynton, the *Century Readings* by Pattee, the revision, more recently, of Bronson's handbook, and now Boynton's *A History of American Literature*—all of them carefully done and boding well for a revival of interest in the literary expression of our people.

The revision of Bronson's handbook has led to an expansion of the last twelve pages to seventy, a bringing of the bibliography up-to-date, and an addition of extracts from Franklin to Parkman. Whatever one's judgment as to the sphere of a book approximately one third of which is composed of names and dates, there is no denying that such criticism as it contains, while austere, is acute, and that the bibliography is valuable because it is accurate and extensive. The extracts now appended from nineteenth century writers are so meager, however, that the manual should be supplemented by some book of selections as full as Pattee's.

Boynton's *American Literature* provides a stimulating criticism of one or two cardinal works by each major writer, a large number of well-chosen extracts, and bibliographical lists that give chapter for chapter available editions and that include magazine articles. A feature of the book is the recognition that it accords to the significance of periodicals; there is appended a "relatively complete and compact 'Who's Who' of

American periodicals since 1800." One should be grateful, furthermore, for the three literary maps and the chronological charts which Mr. Boynton has supplied.

The tone of Mr. Boynton's little volume is invitingly contemporary and unparochial. Recurrently we meet with post-bellum allusions: "Godwin, who combined all this machinery into a kind of literary 'tank' for the conveyance of a didactic gun crew" (p. 104); "diplomats from Irving . . . to Brand Whitlock" (p. 118); Trumbull's hopes for America were like those of "a boy scout in uniform dreaming of the day when he and his fellows may develop into Leonard Woodses and Pershings" (p. 164). Throughout the author has written in so suave and readable a style that one may confidently class the book with those newer textbooks which are accurate and scholarly without being unimaginative and turgid.

In the matter of proportion Mr. Boynton has shown himself somewhat conservative—the middle of the book opens on Whittier. Glancing down the list of chapter headings, one feels that the attention awarded Crèvecoeur alone is out of perspective. Why not as well give James Bryce a chapter? Further reading suggests that perhaps Mr. Boynton's chief infelicity, particularly when we contrast his style with Mr. Bronson's, lies in his inadequate compression where economy was necessary. The author's ability in pregnant phrasing should have applied itself as assiduously in the purely expository as in the more gossipy sections. Certain topics are hardly played up enough for the convenience of the teacher. For instance, the chapter on the *Poetry of the Revolution* bears on the subject only indirectly. On page 110 it is misleading to give the student the idea that Cooper and Bryant were of the Knickerbocker School in the sense of close association with that group which the author employs later in the chapter when speaking of "complacent Knickerbockerism." Mr. Boynton's misgiving on page 158 about his previous classification of these two important authors hardly effaces the early impression that he has given. With the Mathers he is patronizingly sympathetic. Not until he discusses Franklin does the author really hit his stride. The Hawthorne chapter is underdone, compared, for example, with the thoroughly meditated chapter on Bryant; Bret Harte could have been hit off as well as Sill in the same space. A curious exoticism in a generally well-tempered book is the medicated statement that Mark Twain "died of angina pectoris."

Much, on the other hand, here first receives its due in a textbook. Note, for example, the attention given the sprightly Sarah Kemble Knight; Charles Brockden Brown and the early American novel. One might observe further that Mr. Boynton has rightly shifted emphasis from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to Mrs. Stowe's novels of New England life; that he has given due space

to Poe's journalistic experience; and that he has furnished fresh criticisms of Whittier's poetry, adequate appraisal of Joaquin Miller, and apposite chapters on the contemporary drama and poetry. Historical perspective is a feature of his criticisms. As was to be expected, the author of *London in English Literature* has borne in mind the influences of and reactions against English contemporaries. When these things are considered, together with the inviting style of his book and its allurements to direct study, one can truthfully say that Professor Boynton has put into the hands of young students the most effective antidote for what he termed in *The Nation* (Vol. CII, 478-480) "The American Neglect of American Literature."

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HORACE IN THE ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Caroline Goad, dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Yale University, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1918.

THE INFLUENCE OF HORACE ON THE CHIEF ENGLISH POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Mary Rebecca Thayer, dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Cornell University, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1916.

Among studies in comparative literature, a systematic examination of the use of classical authors by English men of letters is desirable. Hence are welcome two painstaking investigations of Horace's influence which derive their importance largely because the Latin poet as an author of lyrics, a satirist, and a critic touched life and literature at many points, and also because he was familiar to most writers of modern English literature. Of the two studies herein reviewed, the less bulky though not less careful—Miss Thayer's—is the more interesting for two reasons, namely, that the investigator exhibits clearly a sympathy with Horace himself and that at the same time she shows precisely how he affected the romantic poets.

Miss Goad has treated a period where the influence of Horace is more obvious, that is, the eighteenth century. In arrangement of material, her method was similar to Miss Thayer's: introduction, critical discussion of the separate writers, and a bulky appendix of passages which are useful for reference and which increase substantially the number of specimens quoted in previous sections of the book. Like Miss Thayer she failed to treat authors whom the reader wishes to know about; she left out, for instance, Gray, Goldsmith, Churchill, Burke, Cowper, and Gifford. According to her evidence, Sterne and

Richardson used Horace little. Smollett used him freely, however, though he was not sensitive to the beauty of his lines. Fielding incorporated the thoughts of Horace thoroughly, and digested them with his own material. Defoe is omitted on account of his infrequent use of "classical allusion of any kind." The letter-writers Chesterfield and Horace Walpole so far overcame their fear of becoming pedants through the use of Latin quotations as to employ the commonplaces "to wonder at nothing" and the like. Johnson was amply acquainted with Horace, and Steele also, to a less degree. Swift knew him well, but was of a very different temperament. Of the essayists indeed, Addison was his chief interpreter, because he was fond of his criticism, his satire, and his poetry in the Odes. While he traveled in Italy, he bore Horace constantly in mind. (Miss Goad is enthusiastic over the kinship of temper between Addison and Horace.)

Of the poets, Prior offered a parallel in his life more than in his poetry. He had nothing like the range, following him chiefly in *vers de société*. Rowe imitated him somewhat. Gay dealt with him sparingly, particularly in the latter part of his life. Pope was the chief poet to employ his material and inspiration. He was a maker of phrases, and therein resembled him, even if he was not so amiable as that Horace depicted by Anne Allison in the *Atlantic* (1909).

On page 12, Miss Goad remarks, "The choice of writers that should represent adequately the interest of the eighteenth century in Horace has been guided by two aims: first, to make a study of Horace's appeal to the greatest minds of the century, and, secondly, to choose the authors in whom that appeal would strike an answering chord. So that those writers in whom is already apparent the romantic element that was to have its fruition with the dawn of the nineteenth century have not been taken into consideration." It may be ungracious to quarrel with the choice, but the implication cannot be allowed to pass, that is, that the romantic poets did not appreciate Horace. Miss Thayer's thesis proves the opposite to be the case. Moreover, the inclusion of sentimentalists like Richardson and Sterne is hardly compatible with a sweeping rejection of the romanticists.

Miss Thayer's study likewise raises a question as to limitation. The reader would like to know about the poets Campbell, Moore, and Arnold.

Miss Thayer points out in Shelley the Greek temper, which contrasts with the Augustan mood of the early eighteenth century. It follows therefore that Shelley would be chiefly interested in Horace's Odes, and by reason of his own sense of artistry, in his style. Keats might have been similarly affected if he had known Latin better, but as the case is, his use of Horace

is negligible. Browning was well acquainted with him, but showed little of his influence. Normally he employed him only to suit the character of the person presented, as in *The Ring and the Book*. Coleridge is not to be closely associated with him, but unquestionably he appreciated Horace's position as a writer. Byron and Tennyson overcame schoolboy prejudices against him. The former, however, could not fully appreciate Horace; he was himself a trifle too bitter; he lacked grace and poise. Still he valued his satire and literary criticism. Among the seven poets considered by Miss Thayer, Tennyson ranks second in showing the influence of Horace. His works bear many resemblances, echo him frequently. But what should be especially emphasized is that Wordsworth was affected most.

Recently it has been necessary to insist that Wordsworth was not only romantic and realistic, but classical. It is a familiar fact that his earliest poetry ran true to the couplet-form of the eighteenth century. His Platonism is known to everybody. J. W. Tupper in an article, *The Growth of the Classical in Wordsworth's Poetry* (*Sewanee Review*, XXIII), has called attention to other classical tendencies in Wordsworth. L. N. Broughton has also examined his relations with Theocritus. Nevertheless one cannot insist too often that in attacking the faults of the romantics, we may altogether overlook their close relation to Latin and Greek authors. Miss Thayer has done well accordingly to put stress on Wordsworth's connection with Horace. One characteristic of Horace lies in his autobiographical references. These interested Wordsworth greatly, and by force of tradition encouraged him in his own tendencies—perhaps to excesses of which Horace would not have dreamed. The English poet was by no means disposed to revolt against the good of the past. Opposed to hindrance in the enlarging of the scope of poetry, he did not wish to break with the past or to destroy it. Thus an important trait of his—love of autobiography—found support in Horace, though it was not associated with equal urbanity. He liked in the Latin author a fondness for little items of humbler life, the touch of outdoor nature, the content with moderation in circumstance and incident, and at the same time he found some parallel in the esteem which was enjoyed by Horace in the Roman state and that which he presumed should be his own in England. The relations between Horace and Wordsworth are the basis, in fact, for the most important contribution in the two dissertations.

The following references in Miss Thayer's thesis are easily rectified: on p. 35, reference to p. 26 should be pp. 30-31; on p. 93, that to p. 88 should be p. 92; on p. 101, that to p. 88 should be p. 92.

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MODERN PUNCTUATION: ITS UTILITIES AND CONVENTIONS, by George Summey, Jr. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1919.

The ordinary manual of punctuation, of the sort that issues in a steady stream from the press either separately or annexed to textbooks on English composition, has nothing to do with scholarship. It is a mechanical copy of traditional rules, many of which are practically obsolete, many others entirely too arbitrary and sweeping to fit the facts. Extremely rare is even the effort to find and present fundamental principles. The hopeless practise of taking up each mark separately, of lumping together the period that closes the sentence with the period that denotes the abbreviation, the dash for parenthetical matter, for anacolouthon, and for omitted letters in a word, and of carefully separating the use of comma, semi-colon, and colon to perform the same function in a compound sentence, reveals the prevalent point of view. And yet the subject of our modern English system of punctuation, especially on its historic and comparative sides, is full of fascinating problems that call for scholarly investigation, most of them untouched. No one has thought it worth while, for example, to examine how the elocutionary system of punctuation, based wholly on pauses, of the ancients and the Elizabethans passed over into a system based mainly on logical and grammatical structure; or why the German language has entirely disregarded in its punctuation the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive elements, whereas modern English has steadily broadened its application and is today insisting more and more strictly upon its observance; or why in our own day the colon, the curves, and the exclamation point have waned while the comma and the dash have waxed. Punctuation is a parergon of the written language, but one inextricably intertwined with its every aspect, from orthography and grammar to rhetoric and style, and one capable of betraying many of its secrets. Perhaps just because of the unaccountable neglect by scientific students of the whole subject, a neglect that has permitted mere custom to rule almost unhampered by reflective self-consciousness or any effective "schoolmastering," it may yet be found to lead, more directly than some of the well-trodden paths of approach, to a knowledge of the innate tendencies and the genuine individuality of our language.

The treatise on *Modern Punctuation* by Dr. Summey is therefore a most welcome innovation among recent manuals on its subject. Its treatment is fresh and original, discriminatingly up-to-date without being unreasonably radical, and thruout, altho it does not attempt any historical or comparative investigation, scholarly in its attitude. Especially refreshing is the

thoro way in which it lays the ghost-rules which, like the "ghost-words" of earlier dictionaries, are so dear to the hearts of the writers of the textbooks. That clauses in common dependence must be separated by semi-colons, that semi-colons must be used between members of a compound sentence whenever any of them contain commas, that a comma must be placed between a long subject, or one ending in a finite verb, and its predicate, that all quotations, save only short phrases, must invariably be preceded by a comma or other mark, and must begin with a capital, that the ellipsis of the verb must always be marked by a comma,—all these are summarily disposed of. With regard to the last-mentioned hoary dictum Dr. Summey says justly, "As a rule, a comma standing for an omitted verb will defeat the very purpose of the omission." In rejecting another highly exaggerated rule which is a universal favorite of the textbooks, namely that transposed elements require to be set off by commas, Dr. Summey is perhaps too sweeping when he says, "If so-called transposed elements are pointed, the decisive reason is not transposition," and his examples are unfortunately selected. When he declares (p. 89) that in "A man bold enough to try it may succeed" and "A stone rolling down a mountain gathers no moss," the elements "bold enough to try it" and "rolling down a mountain" are unpointed altho transposed, one wonders just what would be his idea of the normal position of these phrases. His main contention, that transposed like normally placed modifiers need pointing only when non-restrictive, is certainly valid; but he should add that they permit it even when restrictive. The rule of transposition is in fact not quite dead. It has entirely lost its binding sanction, but may still be cited in defence. When Max Beerbohm writes, "An exquisite talent like Whistler's, whether in painting or in writing, is always at its best on a small scale. On a large scale it strays and is distressed," he is not at liberty to put a comma before the normally placed restrictive phrase "on a small scale," but surely he might have done so after the equally restrictive "On a large scale," just because it is transposed. But we can only be grateful to Dr. Summey for the thoro refurbishing he has given not only to the ancient rules but to their traditional illustrations. In the method which he describes as proving dead rules by dead specimens, the student is too often confronted with such sentences as these: "Philosophers assert, that Nature is unlimited in her operations; that she has inexhaustible treasures in reserve; and that knowledge will always be progressive;" or "He was courteous, not cringing, to superiors; affable, but not familiar, to equals; and kind, but not condescending, to inferiors." Of the latter Dr. Summey declares, "Such a sentence ought to be cited only by way of warning."

Equally independent in judgment, and often admirable in expression, are some of the other numerous criticisms on previous treatises. "Those who frame prohibitions with regard to punctuation apparently assume that there is nothing between debauchery and total abstinence." "Blanket rules are misleading." "The term afterthought is a makeshift. It does not mean a thing forgotten till the last second, but an expression of parenthetical character placed at the end of the sentence." There is a decided improvement over previous definitions when the purpose of employing punctuation marks is thus stated at the beginning of the volume: "to show at a glance the relation, the relative weights, or the nature of the words they set off," altho here I should like to add, "or of their junctions." As should long ago have been done, Dr. Summey includes under punctuation the use of capitals, of italics, and also of paragraphing. Some of his most original pages are those that show the relation between the movement and structure of the paragraph as a whole and the punctuation within it,—a highly promising field, which might be extended to poetry by studying the effect of the line and stanza units on the punctuation of verse. Likewise to be recommended is Dr. Summey's treatment of many particular disputed questions. There has been no clearer or more sensible presentation of the much vexed case of the series with one conjunction (the "men, women, and children" vs. "men, women and children" controversy), or of the puzzle presented when an adverbial group follows a conjunction at the beginning of a phrase or clause, or of the much muddled situation where 'namely' or related words are used before an example or list. All these are discussed with admirable freedom from either hidebound traditionalism or dogmatic radicalism. Nor must mention be omitted of the plan and arrangement of the book as a whole. The order of the chapters is by the different occasions for punctuation and not by the different points used,—that is, by reason and not by rote.

A close reading of the book suggests a few criticisms, most of them of distinctly minor importance. In a manual of punctuation we should surely not find a sentence punctuated as follows (p. 43): "These [illustrations] are given in manuals of punctuation without warning, as examples of good punctuation."—From the list of authorities detailed in the Introduction is omitted the *Queen's English* of Dean Alford, referred to more than once in the pages that follow; and likewise Fowler's *King's English*, incomplete but admirably independent in judgment and helpful in illustration.—Dr. Summey's choice of terminology in general is decidedly good, and some of his innovations, such as "quotes" for quotation marks and "curves" for marks of parenthesis, are distinct improvements; but the terms "editorial points" for the quotes, brackets, and ellipsis dots,

and of "etymological points" for the apostrophe, the abbreviation period, the hyphens, and the ellipsis dash—even tho the latter has been used before—are hardly convincing. Would not "orthographical" be a better substitute in this connection?—On p. 112 we read that "subordinate or independent parenthetical clauses with or without conjunction may be set off by commas, dashes, or curves." But is it ever permissible to set off merely by commas a genuinely independent clause without conjunction? When Max Beerbohm says, for instance, "In one of his books (I do not remember which, though they too, I suppose, are all numbered) Mr. Andrew Lang tells a story that has always delighted and always will delight me," he might have reduced the curves to dashes, but no further; and certainly commas are excluded when the parenthesis calls for a question or an exclamation mark. The treatment of the restrictive or non-restrictive distinction is not, I think, quite up to the level of the other sections of the book, altho far in advance of the usual perfunctory handling given to this fundamental and increasingly important principle of modern English punctuation. The doubtful thesis that clearly non-restrictive groups are sometimes properly left unpunctuated is supported by illustrations that seem badly chosen. The first sentence (p. 87), "Which has proved wiser, as we look back, Johnson who ridiculed Gray's poetry, or Boswell who sat up all night reading it?" can hardly be cited as containing "clearly non-restrictive" relative clauses. Manifestly the writer does not mean that the unrestricted Boswell has proved wiser than the absolute Johnson; he is merely appealing from Philip drunk to a lesser Philip sober. On another page (p. 114) we read of "a sort of restrictive parenthesis,"—surely a contradiction in terms. Quite rightly Dr. Summey has extended the restrictive principle far beyond the usual narrow limitation to the relative clause and has applied it to all sorts of modifiers. In one case perhaps he might have extended it still further. In distinguishing between alternative and appositional *or*, he explains, of course correctly that appositional *or*, connecting two names for the same thing, usually requires the comma, but he remarks that this is not always the case: one should say "a quotation, or citation" unless one means to suggest that the terms stand for different things, but Mrs. Atherton may speak of "the heroic or goddess type of woman" without the comma, because, says Dr. Summey, "it is clear that only one type of woman is meant." Is not the restrictive or non-restrictive distinction a better criterion here? Naturally the addition of a synonym is usually non-restrictive, but when it is added for the purpose of defining or limiting the idea expressed by the first word it is felt as restrictive, and hence properly left unpunctuated.

But the feature of the book which to the present reviewer seems least satisfactory is Dr. Summey's denial of any distinction between grammatical and rhetorical punctuation. When he labors at considerable length to disprove the validity of John Wilson's familiar division, and more than once recurs to the argument later in his manual, his customary lucidity apparently abandons him, and much that he urges seems quite beside the point. He even finds in the distinction highly destructive consequences for both the arts upon which it is based, when he says, "If it be held that a point is grammatical without being rhetorical, it is necessary to divorce grammar from thought and to make rhetoric include only the unusual or highly emphatic." To which it need only be replied that two things may be perfectly distinct without being mutually exclusive. Like morality and religion, grammar and rhetoric are inextricably intertwined in practise; but when either one of them tries to monopolize the domain of the other there are apt to be dangerous consequences. The old distinction, that grammar deals with things right or wrong, on the principle of correctness, and rhetoric with the better or worse, on the principle of adaptation, is still perfectly legitimate and has a useful application in the field of punctuation. It is perhaps true that no punctuation marks should be called purely grammatical or purely rhetorical; but the grammatical uses, which can be regulated, may helpfully be kept separate from the rhetorical uses, which can merely be illustrated. Especially does the teacher find, by bitter experience, that he must first of all instill the minimum that is obligatory before he can successfully inculcate the maximum that is desirable. Confronted so often by punctuation that is patently ungrammatical, he must teach the student who writes "Milton composed many poems in his youth. The best known being *Lycidas* and *Comus*" that he is committing as heinous a solecism as when he doubles the negative or dangles the participle. Quite properly he may add that there are some writers who will commit the solecism on purpose, as Kipling does for the sake of flippancy when he writes, "That letter made Agnes Leiter very unhappy, and she cried and put it away in her desk, and became Mrs. Somebody Else for the good of her family. Which is the first duty of every Christian maid"; but one of the uses of grammar is to furnish flippant writers with solecisms to commit. Of course the principle of adaptation guided by taste and feeling may suggest the avoidance of many things that grammar could not denounce as incorrect, and may even sanction bad grammar for a purpose; but the thousand shades of emotion or nuances of thought aimed at thru rhetorical pointing, so many of which are suggestively exemplified in Dr. Summey's pages, are one and all variations—nearly always exaggerations—of the normal

grammatical punctuation. Rhetoric may over-ride grammar at its pleasure, but its effects are conditioned by the grammar it over-rides, or else it merely postures in a vacuum.

Dissent tho we may from the position that Dr. Summey has taken at the outset of his manual, we cannot charge him with any lack of consistency in its development. In accordance with his opinion that punctuation "is concerned not with grammatical but with rhetorical classification," he thruout frankly limits himself to the rhetorical aspect of his subject. Even of what he calls "etymological pointing" he says (p. 139), "The present chapter is not a compendium of rules. Its purpose is only to point out the more usual customs, with the rhetorical considerations applicable to whatsoever set of styles one may happen to follow." Perhaps we should merely be grateful for what is by far the most satisfactory treatment of one important side of punctuation; but one cannot but regret, at least from the standpoint of the searcher for a usable textbook, that Dr. Summey's philosophy did not permit him to provide his brilliant exposition of the rhetoric of punctuation with the solid if less exciting substructure of its grammar and orthography.

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A GUIDE TO RUSSIAN LITERATURE. By Moissaye J. Olgin. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. 8vo., xiv+323 pages.

The book under review, casually opened, suggests the textbook or biographical dictionary. It contains between its covers notes on about fifty writers, arranged in three chronological groups, each preceded by a general survey. The temporal limits of the book are 1820-1917. Although Russian literature begins with Lemonosov (1711-1765), who has aptly been called the Peter the Great of Russian letters, this Guide to Russian Literature begins with the much later Pushkin. The reason, though not stated by the author, is that Russian literature, as far as it is of interest to the western world, starts with this great poet. Yet, within the bounds which the author has thus set himself there are, however, very flagrant omissions. He has not limited himself to writers of *belles lettres*, but has included even those who have written on social, economical, and political questions. His omission, therefore, of political writers, such as Herzen (1812-1879), who has justly been called the Russian Voltaire, Bakunin (1814-1876), the founder of modern anarchism, and of Kropotkin, the theoretician of the anarchist movement, cannot be excused. Nikolai Chernyshevky (1828-

1889), who has to his credit, in addition to numerous political and economic writings, the epoch-making novel *What Is to Be Done*, has also been overlooked. It is still more inexcusable for an author of a handbook to Russian literature, who claims to be of Ukrainian birth, to omit the great Ukrainian poet Shevchenko (1814-1861). The ground covered, however, is less important than the way in which it is covered. The treatment is disconnected. The paragraphs in the general surveys of the three periods, into which he divides the Russian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are brief and perfunctory. The biographical and critical notes on the individual authors and on their individual works are superficial and unoriginal. The only passages worth reading are the judgments of Russian critics, which the author has rendered into English without, however, giving the sources on which he has drawn.

The author's lack of critical acumen is best proven by his denial of foreign influence on the Modernist or Symbolist movement in Russian literature, on a school, which, as he himself admits, is a "total deviation of Russian literary tradition," and "stands out as something apart in Russian literature." As a matter of fact, the writers of Russia, as of all other countries of Europe, turned for inspiration to France, where the literature of the last century reached its highest perfection. Towards the end of the century, however, Russia partly repaid its debt to France. The introduction of neo-Christian ideas into French literature was due to the influence of Russian writers. The author's failure to admit foreign influence on Russian literature must be accounted for by his ignorance of literatures other than his own. His unfamiliarity with French literature may be seen from the fact that he calls Villiers de l'Isle-Adam¹ a poet and refers to Flaubert's *St. Anthony's Trials* (instead of *The Temptation of St. Anthony*).

The author apparently has a way all his own in translating foreign titles into English. He gives English equivalents to the original Russian titles with total disregard of the titles under which they have already appeared in English. This brings the present reviewer to point out the fundamental fault of this so-called *Guide to Russian Literature*. A book written in English with the avowed aim of assisting English readers in their study of Russian literature must present mainly if not wholly that part of Russian literature which is accessible in English garb, and submit a list of English translations of each work under the different titles under which it has been introduced to English readers. From the book under review, however, the reader will gain no idea as to whether a Russian work in which he has become interested is or is not accessible to him in his own lan-

¹The name is misspelled in the book.

guage. Even if it is to be had in an English version, he is apt not to recognise it under the title which the author of the *Guide* has given it. The claim of the author that his book is to serve as a guide also to publishers and translators is absurd. Even these gentlemen must first know whether or not a Russian work already has been translated before they will venture to present it to English readers.

The author's transliteration of Russian names is as unsatisfactory as his translation of Russian titles. The present reviewer has elsewhere protested against the Babel in the English rendition of Russian words, as may be found in American newspapers and magazines (cf. "The Gloom and Glory of Russian Literature," *The Open Court* of July, 1918). The sound *ch* (as in *church*) is preceded in the book under review by the letter *t* if it is not initial. This lack of uniformity is still more evident when we find the forms Soloviov and Solyviov on one and the same page (p. 161). This, however, may be a typographical error, as is the word *batting* (man's soul is painfully *batting* against the day). Errors of idiom and of punctuation likewise abound. The first names of authors are not given except where it is necessary to distinguish between two authors with the same family name. We thus have Alexey Tolstoi and Leo Tolstoi. Now why in the name of heaven our author insists upon giving this great Russian writer a non-Russian name while he himself clings to his Russian name of Moissaye is not altogether clear.

The appendix on juvenile literature in Russia is rather juvenile. His personal reminiscences, with which this section starts, are out of place, and his suggestions for English translations of Russian fairytales are superfluous.

Withal the book makes a very bad impression, and every admirer of Russian literature will be sorry for this so-called *Guide to Russian Literature*. What puzzles the present reviewer most is the way in which this book has been advertised. To call it "the most comprehensive and authoritative introduction to Russian literature and Russian thought accessible in any European tongue" is simply absurd. The statement of the publishers that "there are few men in Europe or America who write with equal authority on the whole subject of Russian life and literature" suggests a credulousness on their part which borders the pathetic.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

New York



1875



1875

PD The Journal of English and
1 Germanic philology
J7
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