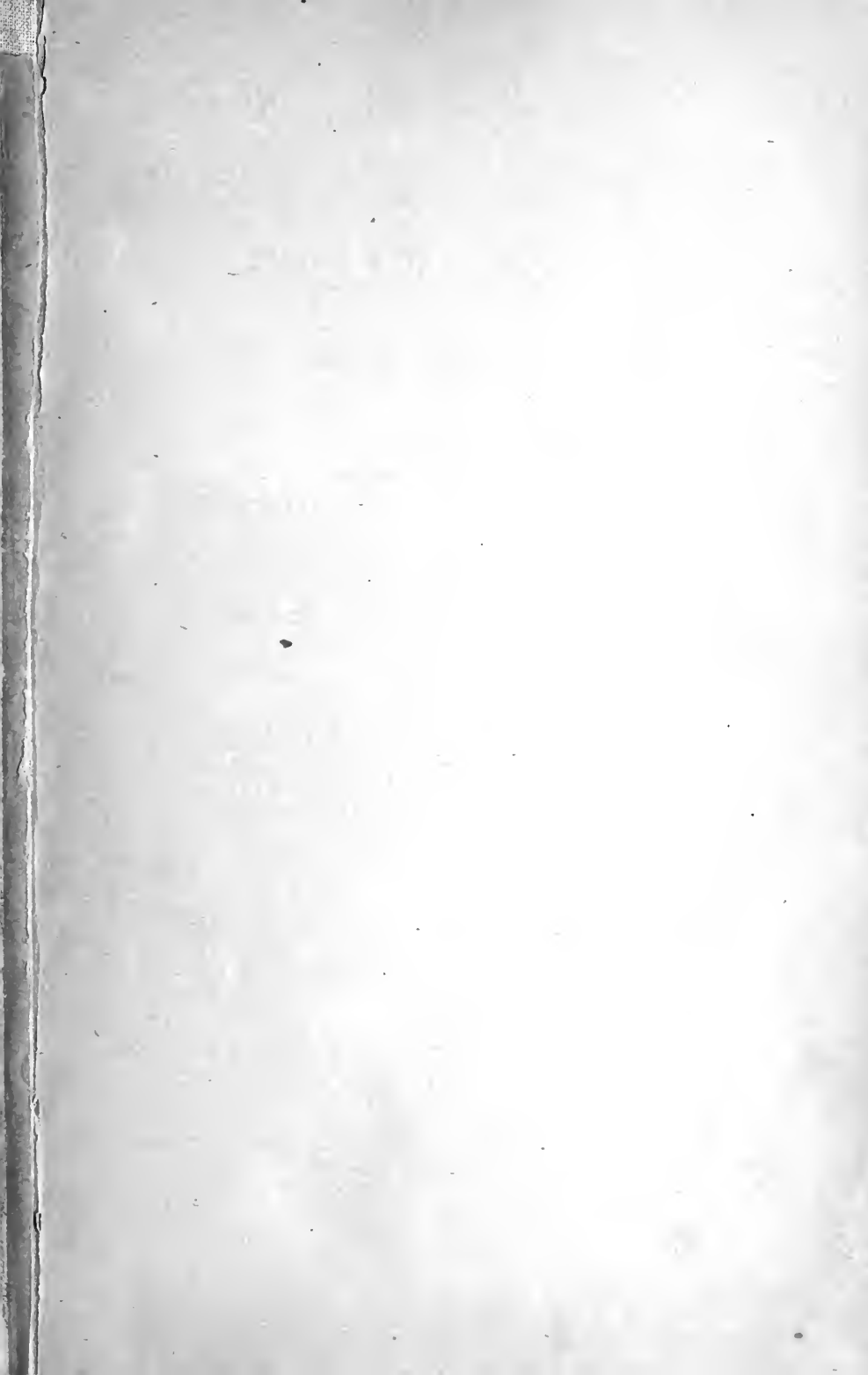


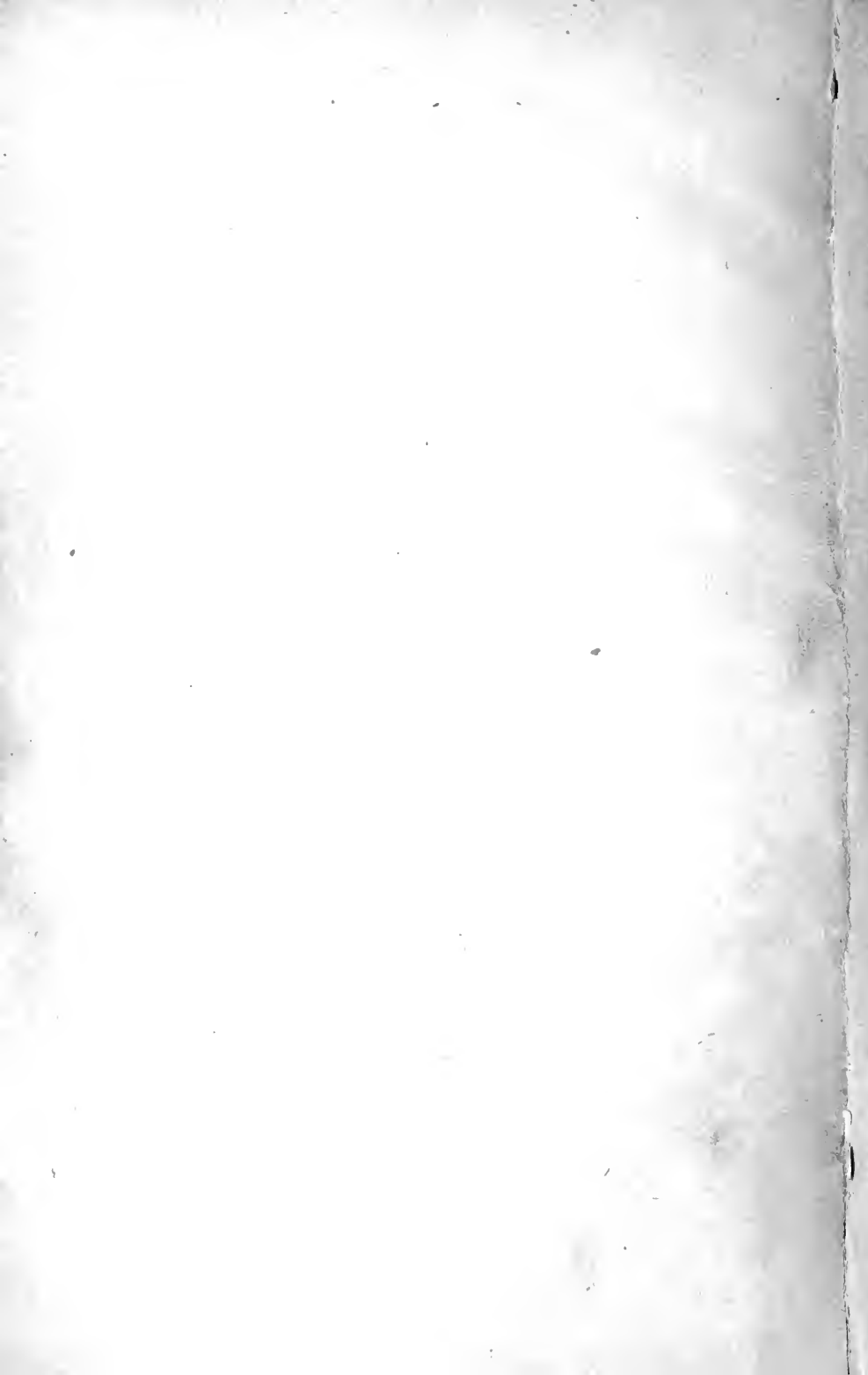
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## ARTURO GRAF (1848-1913)

Vor mehr als acht Jahren, an einem schwülen Junitag, brachte man Arturo Graf auf dem Turiner Friedhofe zur letzten Ruhe. Es war kein endloser Zug; das Volk das den Abgang der Lieblingsdichter Carducci und Pascoli lebhaft betrauerte, schien den neuen Verlust wenig zu beachten; still fuhr die Leiche durch die geschäftigen Gassen der Stadt, und still in ihrem Innern verschlossen die Leidtragenden ihren Kummer und Schmerz um den Heimgegangenen und liessen alle begeisterten Reden und Panegyriken, die der Dichter und Lebensforscher nie gewünscht, schnell in die grosse Leere verrauschen. Als ein Einsamer, in sein gequältes Ich versunken, den Blicken und dem Lobe der Menge abhold, war Arturo Graf ja durch's Leben geschritten. Nach Volkstümlichkeit, dem "plauso della turba sciocca," hatte er sich nie gesehnt. Seinem Berufe als Hochschullehrer und Erzieher der Jugend diente er mit priesterlichem Ernst, ein Geistesführer gewiss, um die Bereicherung des Wissens, den Triumph des Wahren und Schönen, die Verinnerlichung und Vergeistigung des Lebens stets besorgt. Das Gemeine und Niedrige immer fern von sich bannend, zugleich aber ein Geistesaristokrat vornehmster Natur, unfähig dem Willen und der Laune des herrschenden Geschmacks und der Mode zu huldigen, mit dem Weltstrome zu schwimmen; ein Spötter unserer so himmelhochgepriesenen Kultur; "riottoso spirito superbo," wie er sich selbst nannte, rang er vergebens nach einem sich selbst und der armen, zerrütteten Menschheit vorgeschriebenen Lebenszweck.

Zeigte er sich, eine schlanke, vornehme Gestalt, die grossen, klaren Augen tief in dem hageren Kopfe eingegraben, sah man die mächtige Denkerstirne, so erkannte man gleich den Weltentrückten, den immerfort mit dem Befragen des Lebensgeheimnisses Beschäftigten; und man scheute sich ihm zu nahen. War er selbst nicht ein wandelndes, schwer zu befragendes Rätsel? Und durfte man einen leichten Erguss der Empfindungen und Gefühle, die Wärme, das Feuer, die Liebe der unmittelbaren Mitteilung von diesem Einsamen erwarten? Allseitig gab ihm die sinnende Melancholie ein treues Geleit, und führte ihn in alle Spalten und Klüfte, wo Menschen-

jammer und Not, Lebensüberdruß und Ekel tief sich im Frost der Erde einnisten, umdüsterte seine Visionen, bewegte in der tiefsten Stille und Öde die flatternden Träume. So mussten alle Stimmen der Welt, die lauten, die schwachen, die klaren, die wirren, klang- und lebenslos zu ihm gelangen; schmerzvolle Einzelgespräche, einer in banger Ungewissheit, im Dunkeln und im Zweifel tappenden, nach Licht, nach Harmonie und nach Frieden schmachtenden, wunden Seele, Lieder eines persönlichen Leidens und Begehrens gesungen im freudenleeren All, musste sein ganzes Dichten sein. Die Menschen gingen ihre Wege, abseits sann der Dichter über das Menschenschicksal; er versenkte den müden Blick in sein Inneres und hob ihn hinauf ins ungewisse Dämmern des Abendlichtes und schaute wie sich zitternd Stern an Stern entzündete.

Dieser sonderliche Mann, der einen Deutschen zum Vater, eine Italienerin zur Mutter hatte, in Griechenland das Licht der Welt erblickte, in Rumänien die Kindheit verbrachte, in Süditalien, am heiteren Gestade Neapels, gründlichen und ernstesten Studien oblag, sein Lieblingsfach Philologie und Literaturgeschichte mit einigen Streifzügen in die Nachbargebiete der Jurisprudenz und der Medizin ergänzte und bald nach Norditalien wanderte, wo er in noch jungen Jahren, in der vollsten Blüte seiner Geisteskräfte, vielbewundert, eine Lehrkanzel an der Universität Turin innehatte,—dieser treue und gewissenhafte Hüter der Wissenschaft, der den Beruf als Dichter und Apostel der Kunst heilig auffasste und, eine nie zu beschwichtigende Unruhe in seinem Innern, an dem Zusammenstoß contrastirender Kräfte litt—die Rassen wollen keinen Frieden in meiner Brust schliessen hat er einst geklagt—verbrachte das ganze Leben in selbstquälerischem Befragen, gebeugt vor dem grossen Lebensgeheimnis, und streute in die Welt seine Klagen aus und presste sein seufzendes nimmer zu unterdrückendes "Warum?" aus der beklommenen Brust. Warum dieser Pulsschlag des Menschen, dieses Scheinen der Sonne, dieser Himmel voller Sterne, diese Erde voller Leiden; warum Licht, Bewegung, Liebe, all das Irren und Streben der Sterblichen im Laufe der Jahrtausende, wenn Auflösung und Tod, das Endziel aller Dinge ist? Was bin ich? Was seid ihr, irrende, funkelnde Gestirne?

O voi fulgide stelle, onde il fiorito  
 Etra spavilla, e voi diffusi e strani  
 Nembi di luce che nei gorgi arcani  
 Maturate dei soli il germe ignoto;  
 E voi, pallide Terre, e voi, crinito  
 Randagio stuol delle comete immani,  
 E quanti siete, astri del ciel, che in vani  
 Cerchi solcate il mar dell' infinito;  
 Un astro, un mondo al par di voi son io,  
 Travolto in cieco irresistibil moto,  
 Non so ben se del caso opra o d'un dio.  
 Folgorando pel freddo etra m' addentro,  
 Vita, lume, calor, sperdo nel voto,  
 E dell' orbita mia non veggo il centro.

“Meglio oprando obliar, senza indagarlo / Questo enorme mister de l'universo,” mahnte Carducci, allein unser Dichter lieh selbst dem Kinde aus der Schaar seiner auf den Fluten eines uferlosen Meeres wogenden “Naviganti” sein banges Befragen: “Perchè si leva / Ogni mattina perchè poi la sera / Tramonta il sol?”<sup>1</sup> Einen hohlen Schädel, der ihm wie Faust entgegengrinst und gewiss immer noch den “gran pensier arcano” in sich schliesst, stellt er zur Rede: “Was denkst du von der Welt” “dimmi, per Dio”—Träumt man noch im Grabe? Ist sein Schlaf in der finsternen abscheulichen Nacht ohne Ende?”

Dieses ewige, gewaltsame Erforschen des Unerforschlichen, dieses beständige Werfen des Senkbleis der Vernunft in die nie zu erreichenden grundlosen Tiefen, das beharrliche Grübeln über dem “fatal secreto,” dem “empio mistero,” diese Unfähigkeit des Verstummens gegenüber dem stummen Walten und Wirken der Natur, musste auf die Dauer jede frische, schöpfe-

<sup>1</sup> Ein ebenso schmerzvolles Befragen im *Giobbe* Rapisardis

E che mi giova  
 Questo ver ch' acquistai? Vero?  
 . . . . . Vano miraggio  
 Del mio vano pensier non è poi questo?  
 Che sei tu? Che son io? Perchè si nasce?  
 Donde si viene? Ove si va? Tu taci  
 . . . . .  
 O notte, o abisso,  
 O mistero infinito, io mi profondo  
 Tu te. Per questa immensa ombra in che vivo  
 Fuor che il mio vano interrogar non odo.

rische Dichtungskraft lähmen und die Leier zum Gesang des eiteln Lebenskampfes mit einem einförmigen Grundton stimmen. Wäre dem Dichter die Gabe verliehen gewesen, sich mutig, mit jeder Schärfe der Abstraktion, originellem, tiefem Denkvermögen, in die Welt der Ideen und Begriffe hinaus zu wagen, so hätte er dem furchtbaren, zermalmenden Rätsel nicht die Schatten allein, sondern auch Licht und vielleicht auch ein Ziel im labyrinthischen Gange der Menschheit abgewonnen; an unserem stetigen, von dem Pulsschlag unseres Lebens selbst bedingten Emporrichten und Auflösen von Weltsystemen hätte er segensreich leidend und forschend mitgewirkt. Wie die von Sturm bewegten Wellen rauschen seine Klagen dahin: sie reissen uns nicht mit, und nur in der Brust des Dichters ward die Tragödie durchkämpft, die uns Alle hätte erschüttern und überwältigen müssen. An die eiserne Türe der letzten Mysterien klopft er verzweifelt, und nicht Gewalt und nicht Vernunft vermögen ihn von diesem Abgrunde zu entfernen. Sein Dasein wird ihm zur Last; der Himmel will über ihm zusammenbrechen, er fühlt sich wie in einem engen Kerker eingesargt; alle Lebensquellen drohen zu versiechen; der qualvollen Sellenangst musste ein dumpfes Brüten folgen; die Augen mussten sich regungslos in die unermessliche, fürchterliche Leere öffnen, denn jede Träne war bald verronnen, und trocknete gar zu bald. Über diese Welt voll Schatten und Finsternis wölbt sich die grössere, geheimnisvollere, verlorene Sternenwelt; und Herr dieser im ewigen Kreislauf rollenden Welten ist doch nur das blinde Schicksal.

Quand'io contemplo da quest' erma altura  
 Ove sospira tra' ginepri il vento,  
 Sfavillar senza fin lo smarrimento  
 Degli astri accesi nella notte oscura;  
 Vinto da uno Stupor, da uno sgomento  
 Di cieca, ignota, universal sciagura  
 Che sempre fu, che interminabil dura,  
 Il cor nel petto avviluppar mi sento  
 E penso le infinite anime erranti  
 Nell' abisso de' cieli e senz' aita  
 Cacciate, offese, piangenti, preganti;  
 E imploro la pietà d'una infinita  
 Forza che il tronco maledetto schianti  
 E la radice onde fiori la vita.

War aber in Arturo Graf der helle, durchdringende Verstand doch nicht von solcher Schärfe und strengen Logik, um die höchsten Lebensprobleme mit der Ruhe und Besonnenheit des Philosophen aus ihrem Chaos zu entwirren, und zeigte sich bald und bitterlich die Ohnmacht alles Befragens und Erforschens, so rächte sich die gedemütigte, grübelnde Vernunft durch ein entschlossenes Eingreifen in die Arbeit der bildenden Phantasie. Ihr störendes Werk ist in allen lyrischen Ergiessungen des Dichters bemerkbar; sie brach die Schwingen zum hohen Flug, sie ersetzte das Unbewusste durch das Bewusste; dämmte den freien Fluss der Empfindungen und goss ihr kaltes Eis auf jede Glut der Leidenschaft. Willig fügte sich aber der Dichter der despotischen Macht seines Verstandes, und nie hat er über die so ständig und so unbarmherzig geübte "carneficina" der Instinkte gejammert; er gewöhnte sich früh alle seine inneren Regungen zu belauschen und zu bewachen; er gebot sich selbst, in jeder Lebenslage Mass und Beschränkung.

Über die Rechte des Herzens gab er stets der Stimme der Vernunft den Vorzug. Er sah vor allem in jedem Glaubensbekenntnis das leuchtende Licht des Intellektes; lobte den "Heiligen" Fogazzaros, der noch am Sterbebette den Seelsorgenden einschärfte grosse Achtung vor der Vernunft zu tragen, und lebte in dem Wahn seine logische Welt vollkommen unabhängig von der phantastischen in sich zu bergen, so dass er, je nach Bedarf, bald zu dieser bald zu jener greifen dürfte. Rühmte ja der Held seines "Riscatto," der so viele Züge seines eigenen Wesens trug: "Fantasia e ragione sono in me egualmente operose ed autonome; nè meno mi compiaccio d'esercitare l'una che l'altra, nè mai mi fu difficile uscire dalla realtà per vagare nel sogno, o uscire dal sogno per rientrare nella realtà."

So schuf er sich sinnend seine Träume, wenn sie nicht unmittelbar vom Himmel fielen, und wanderte durch die Lebenshalle wie durch einen Wald voll Geheimnissen und Rätseln. Er hatte als Knabe bereits, wie sein Aurelio, "il sentimento immaginoso ed inquieto delle cose che furono, delle vite spente per sempre, del tempo irrevocabilmente fuggito" und brauchte wahrhaftig nicht seine Einbildung mit der Lektüre phantastischer Bücher zu erhitzen oder sich selbst die in seiner jugendlichen Rede "Über den poetischen Geist

unserer Zeiten" empfohlenen Grundsätze ("La poesia vive in gran parte di misteri; essa ha bisogno di una certa oscurità e d'una certa dubbiezza, perchè la fantasia non si esercita liberamente che sulle cose dubbie ed oscure; ella ha bisogno del mito . . . ") aufzuzwingen, um auf die düsteren Gegenstände der Mehrzahl seiner Dichtungen zu verfallen; dem Träumer, der überall Mysterien witterte und Legenden und Mythen als Hauptgegenstand seiner kritischen Studien wählte, boten sie sich von selbst.—"Âme aux songs obscurs. / Que le Réel étouffe entre ses murs," fand er oft, wie Beaudelaire, im Gefühl des Grausens und des Unheimlichen eine Erleichterung. Und er schwelgte in der Darstellung dunkler Visionen; führte seine Muse taumelnd über alle Gräber und Gräfte ins Reich der tiefsten Schatten, der wildesten Trauer der Natur. Die Toten grollen den Lebenden und nehmen ihnen Sprache und Gebärden. Und wie die ruhelosen Geister der Abgeschiedenen reden die Statuen, die Säulen, die Glocken; Undinen summen unter den stillen Wellen des Sees ihr trauriges Lied; Geisterschiffe erscheinen und verschwinden mit beängstigendem Spuk; abgestorbene Gestirne stürzen und durchkreuzen die Bahn der noch lebenden Sterne.

Todesschauer durchwehen sein Herz; er sieht überall auf der schönen, blühenden Erde den Mantel des Vergänglichen ausgebreitet. Geheimnis ist wohl Alles hienieden, der Tod allein ist greifbar und verständlich. So lässt der Dichter in seinen bangen Liedern mit Vorliebe die Harmonien des Todes fortrauschen. Die Welt ist ein Trümmerhaufen, eine Nekropole ohne Ende, auf welche Medusa mit finsternen Blicken herabschaut. Es gibt kein Verweilen; alles ist dem unbarmherzigen, raschen Hinschwinden geweiht, alles stürzt in die Abgründe des Todes. Ein kaum merkbares Zittern der Liebe, ein Schein des Glückes, das Blühen und Lachen eines Augenblicks, das Blitzen eines Lichtstrahls und dann das rettungslose Versinken und Auslöschen ins Schattenreich, die Ruhe des Grabes, Schweigen und Vergessenheit. Es scheint als ob der Dichter in den kräftigsten Jahren sich als Lebensaufgabe das ewige Schauen ins blasse Angesicht des Todes vorgenommen hätte, und mit Gewalt Gram und Pein in sein armes Innere gejagt, um würdig das hohe Lied der Vergänglichkeit anzuschlagen und den Stillstand aller Welten zu betrauern. Er



klammert sich an ängstliche Visionen: "Città sommerse, inabissate prore, / Inutili tesor buttati al fondo, / Tutta una infinità di cose morte"—"Sfasciarsi i mondi negli spazi io scerno, / E l'oriuol del tempo odo che suona / L'ore nel vuoto e i secoli in eterno."

Diesem verhängnisvollen Hinwelken und Absterben musste auch seine sonst so reiche Gefühlswelt anheimfallen. Die Wärme schwindet. Es ist tiefer Winter in der nach Licht und Liebe schmachtenden Seele, ein Schütteln des Frostes:

Un torbo ciel che mai non si serena,  
Una tetra, deserta orribil scena  
Dal gelo ingombra della morte: è questo  
Il paesaggio dell' anima mia.

"Bisogna riconciliarsi con la morte, cacciar dall' animo quest' avversione, vincere questo terrore," sagt sich gebieterisch der Held seines "Riscatto"; der Gedanke an die Allgegenwart des Todes wird ihm aber selbst zur erdrückenden Last; er findet ihn unerträglich; empfindet mit Schrecken, mit eisigem Schauer seine vernichtende Macht; und will doch von ihm nicht ablassen; will ewig "im Kopf und im Herzen die Tränen aller Lebenden, das grosse Schweigen der Toten, tragen; und befiehlt den "strazio," "l'agonia," seines "chiaro e fisso, attonito pensiero."

Es ist ein stetes Martern und Zerfleischen seines Verstandes, mehr als eine Hölle seiner Gefühle und Empfindungen, was er erleidet. Mit dem "Pensiero dominante" Leopardis und der gewollten Verneinung des Lebens, der Verkündigung des allgemeinen Weltleidens, und Übels kämpfte die leidenschaftlich nach Leben, nach Liebe, nach Glück, nach freiem Erguss und voller Mitteilung sich sehrende, gepresste, blutende Seele des Dichters. Arturo Graf mildert und entkräftet die Tragik dieses Ringens; dem starren Bilde des Todes möchte er eine erstarrte Welt von Gefühlen entgegensetzen, Tod gegen Tod, und keine Stimmen, keine Seufzer des unterdrückten, erstickenden Herzens sollten die feierliche Grabesstille zu unterbrechen wagen.

Schatten um uns, und Schatten, nie zu lichtendes Dunkel in unserer Herzentiefe: "Bujo cielo coperchia ed intomba / Terra e mar"—"Buja è l'anima mia . . . / Freddo è il mio cor"—"Il mio povero cuor fatto è di pietra." Wie oft in den einge-

flochtenen Wehmutskränzen steckt die scharfe Spitze des winterlichen Frostes! Es dringt bis zu den Knochen "il gelo della cruda pietra"—"Che gel sent' io dentro dell' ossa"—"mi s' agghiaccia il cor." Kein Dichter des Südens liess sich so gründlich wie Arturo Graf von der Macht einer sibirschen Kälte erfassen. Er hat einer förmlichen Wollust des Erfrierens Ausdruck gegeben. Schliesslich gewöhnte er sich in die Abgründe seiner Seele wie in eine lautlose Stille und Öde ohne Wunsch, ohne Reue, klag- und bewegungslos zu blicken. Und er ertrug diese Leere, die Seelenmüdigkeit und Mattheit; alle Schrecknisse der traurigen Daseinswüste vermochten die Kraft seines Sinnens und Dichtens nicht zu brechen; alle Triumphe und Vernichtungen des Todes brachten keine tödliche Wunde in sein qualvolles Innere.

Solo in quel vuoto ed in quel bujo sento  
 Il perduto mio cor che vibra e pulsa  
 Sempre più stretto in sè, sempre più lento;  
 Con un lieve rumor d'ala che frulla  
 Con una stanca ansietà convulsa, •  
 Più lento ancor . . . più lento . . . più nulla.

Ein enges und immer engeres Zusammenschnüren des müden Herzens, ein stilles, resignirtes Begleiten des Verglimmens und Schwindens des Lebenssterns.

Das Gefühl der Nutzlosigkeit des Lebens einerseits und andererseits der Trieb sich in die höheren Geistesfluren hinaufzuschwingen, "salir l'eccelse e rovinose cime / con l'ansia in core e la baldanza in fronte" das gab dem scheinbar gedämpften, stumpfen Drama des Innern ein immer erneutes Leben. Mochte auch das Endergebnis des Kampfes das unvermeidliche "Che val?" sein, wozu der tolle Lauf, das eitle Streben? Je weiter der Kreis des Horizontes, den du umfassest, desto grösser die Finsternis deiner unzulänglichen Vernunft. Das "tedium vitae," diese aus der Seelentiefe wie aus einer "palude accidiosa e tetra" langsam emporgestiegene Dunst- und Nebelwelt war nimmer zu durchbrechen und zu verscheuchen. Wie ein ätzendes Gift empfand es Grafs Ulyss in den Sehnen und Nerven, und eine neue Welt will er befahren, neue und unbekannte Reiche und Völker kennen lernen, enttäuscht jedoch, durchzieht er mit den traurigen Schiffsgenossen die neue Bahn; überall die gleiche Leere, und immer

und immer die gleichen bitteren Welten, jenes öde, finstere, unermessliche Meer.

Süss nannte es Leopardi, in diesem Meer des Unendlichen Schiffbruch zu erleiden; der Sturm seines Innern schien sich zu legen, wenn sein Auge von seinem einsamen Hügel über die endlosen, unbegrenzten Flächen schweifen konnte. Von diesem Gefühle des Unendlichen kannte Arturo Graf, ganz im Gegensatze zu den Dichtern der Romantik, niemals die Wonne, sondern immer nur die Angst und den Schauer. "Ah com' è formidabile alla piccolezza e infermità nostra quel pensiero dell' infinito e dell' eterno," klagte bedrückt der Held seines "Riscatto." Tatsächlich sah er sich selbst wie schwebend zwischen dem Abgrund der Vergangenheit und dem Abgrund der Zukunft, ein bleiernes Gewicht lastete auf seiner Seele; und es verdunkelte sich der sonst so helle Verstand. Dieses Meer ohne Ende, wo sich die Stunden im ewigen Lauf der Zeit senken und senken; dieser "formidabile azzurro," das sich über das ewige Einerlei des Lebens, und die Arbeit der Tage, der Jahrhunderte, der Jahrtausende wölbt, dieser monotone Rhythmus der eilenden und nimmer rastenden und nimmer abschliessenden Zeiten!

Blass, verzweifelnd und stumm wandern auch seine Damaiden durch die Schatten der toten Geschlechter. Gäbe es endlich Ruhe und Frieden bei den Abgeschiedenen! Der Dichter grübelt über einen Tod, der eigentlich nicht tötet, sondern nur Formen ablöst, um neue Formen zu erschaffen; verfolgt das Phantom eines Lebens, das immer schwindet und immer dauert, "nasce di morte per pascere la morte"; verdoppelt mit Bedacht seinen Schauer und seinen Lebensüberdruß, und malt sich eine noch unfassbarere Unendlichkeit.—"Muta e rimuta la fatal vicenda." Weit aus unnahbarer Ferne winkt dem müden Geist das buddhistische Nirvana, die Auflösung alles Seins, die Verflüchtigung des Welträtsels.

Immer fällt bei diesem Weltschmerzlicher die kühle und gemessene Ruhe auf, mit welcher er über alle die gedachten Abgründe und selbstgeschaffenen Freudengrüfte, ohne Gram und ohne ein Beben blickte. Er mag sein Leid und seinen Schmerz "il disperato / dolor che m' urge e mi dilania il verso," unerträglich nennen, und die finstersten Züge dem grausamen Antlitz der ihn begeisternden Muse leihen, nach Schatten jagen,

in seinen Vorstellungen des Grausigen schwelgen, und sich wirklich weit mehr für das Hinwelken und Absterben als für das Aufblühen und Gedeihen der uns umgebenden Natur empfänglich zeigen, den Frühling besingen, "intesa solo a preparar la morte," seine innere Qual ist doch nie bis zur überwältigenden, düsteren, vernichtenden Pein gestiegen. Tiefe Risse und Spaltungen bleiben seiner Seele erspart. Leicht konnte er die geschlagenen Wunden mit zarter Hand verbinden und heilen. Dieses rätselvolle, nichtsnutze Leben schien ihm doch wert gelebt zu werden. "Era dentro di me una sorgente inesausta di forza riparatrice, una indomabile volontà di vivere," gestand sein Aurelio. Die Fähigkeit Aurelio's jeden Taumel, alle Ausschweifungen der Phantasie rechtzeitig bändigen zu können: "Sempre vidi sopra il loro disordine levarsi la severa luce della ragione, e assidersi la corretrice forza della volontà," war ihm selbst in hohem Masse zu eigen. Und er durfte mit seinem Helden bei allen schlagenden Gewittern und wütenden Stürmen, das ruhige Gleichgewicht, die volle Gesundheit des Leibes und der Seele rühmen: "Della sanità del corpo m'assicurai facilmente: di quella dello spirito con alquanto più di studio e di fatica; ma da ultimo m'assicurai anche di questa. Nessun mancamento dell' intelletto, nessun vizio della volontà, nessun disordine della fantasia; ma una ponderazione armonica, e un moto equilibrato di tutte le energie della psiche."

So waren ihm die Dämonen gnädig, und rissen ihn nicht fort mit der verheerenden Gewalt mit welcher sie Lord Byron und Lenau fortrissen. Die zündende Wirkung dieser Grossen musste ihm aber versagt bleiben. Wo kein wirkliches Glühen und Aufbrausen, keine Aufwallungen der Leidenschaften ein blutendes Dichterherz zu erwärmen, zu erheben und zu begeistern vermögen, und alle Furien immer gebändigt bleiben, die Vernunft nie das kleinste Opfer ihres lauten, herrischen Waltens über die göttliche Unordnung und das teuflische Toben der Instinkte zu bringen gewillt ist, muss die Schöpfung ihren stärksten Odem entbehren. Die Leidenssymphonie der Menschheit schlägt keine gewaltigen, erschütternden Akkorde und klingt in gar zu gedämpften, matten Tönen aus. Die wahren Naturlaute fehlen. Und nie aus tiefster Seele klagt der Mensch den erbarmungslosen Göttern seine Not.

Es ist kein kräftiges, mutiges Entsagen, und auch keine Empörung des bedrückten Innern, keine Anklage, kein Ballen der Faust gegenüber einer blinden Macht. Ein dunkles Schicksal waltet, das lasst gewähren ihr Sterblichen, "rifiuti del ciel." Und es tut der Empfindungswelt des Dichters keinen Eintrag, wenn doch zuweilen in diesen Gesängen der Trotz der Titanen und Himmelstürmer verherrlicht wird, wenn der Dichter, der die Schicksale des Teufels im Wandel der Jahrhunderte mit kritischem Scharfsinn verfolgte und eine Geschichte des prometheischen Mythos entwarf, in würdigen, schönen, keineswegs schmach tenden Stanzas die von den besieigten Titanen mit Riesenschwung und mächtigem Sinn emporgerichtete, von den rührigen Zwergen trotz ihrer aufbauenden und vernichtenden Wut unversehrt gelassene Stadt, oder die qualvolle, still und hartnäckig befolgte aushöhlende Arbeit des in den Bergeseingeweiden begrabenen, von den Göttern verwünschten und vergessenen Titanen schildert, bis eines Tages:

. . . con formidabil ruina  
 Si squarcia il fianco dell' eccelsa mole,  
 E roteando l'ascia adamantina  
 Il risorto titan s' affaccia al sole.  
 Biondi campi di spiche ci mira e denso  
 D' arbori il giogo e il mar senza alcun velo,  
 E con un grido di letizia immenso  
 Sveglia la terra e fa tremare il cielo.

Selbst seine Verdammten bequemen sich, ohne sonderlichen Groll, der ihnen auferlegten ewigen Strafe, und man fragt sich, ob sie wirklich jener Ruhepause bedürfen, welche der Dichter ihrem Martyrium gönnt, dem "l'uom s'avvezza alla lunga a poco a poco / Anche all' inferno" ("Il Riposo dei Dannati").

So müssen wir auch die von der herrschenden Vernunft gewollte, endlos ausgesprochene Verdammnis aller Lebensgüter die angenommene Todestrauer Grafs nicht so ernst nehmen. Denn wie sollte aus der Herzenswüste und aus der ewigen Erstarrung der Gefühle Poesie und Kunst, irgend ein tätiges Lebenswerk entspringen? Die allmächtige Vernunft hat zum Glück auch bei Arturo Graf ihre Niederlagen erlitten. Das arme gepresste Herz schuf sich, seiner Gebieterin zum Trotz,

seine stille Welt lieblicher Täuschungen; holte sich sein Grünes unter dem Frost der Erde, ein dämmerndes Licht aus dem Reich der Schatten und der finsternen Wolken. Wir finden jene Widersprüche, welche übelwollende Kritiker dem alternen Dichter vorwarfen natürlich und menschlich, leicht erklärlich den Übergang von den düsteren Medusaliedern zu den resignierten Morgana- und Waldliedern. Beteuert er ja die Einnerungen vergangenen Glücks unauslöschlich in sich zu tragen. Schwanden sie rasch und sanken in das Leere, all seine Lebensfreuden, so hat er sie doch einmal genossen; es bleiben die "care memorie" die "immagini belle." "Il luminoso e blando sogno" will nicht von ihm lassen; und er denkt an den "caro tempo de' dolci sospiri," an das Traumgeflecht der Liebe, das "dolce errar di pria." Verliess ihn seine "compagna . . . gentile e cara" von der harten Schicksalshand entrisen, so trägt ihn die nie zu stillende Sehnsucht zu ihr; noch redet er sie an "Vedi la vita mia com' è smarrita."

Das eingesogene Gift und alle die Taumelsäfte haben das beabsichtigte Zerstörungswerk nicht vollbracht. Mitten im Grame, im "tedio" und "livore" der Seele, keimt unverwüstlich die Hoffnung, und es lebt die Liebe, die Teilnahme an den dunklen Schicksalen der Menschheit, der Wunsch eine Besserung unserer Leiden zu erzielen, den Schlamm der Erde von sich abzuschütteln. Sein Amt, die immer rege unternommenen wissenschaftlichen Studien brachten eine wirkungsvolle Ablenkung von hämmernden Todesgedanken, und mit den Schmerzen und Enttäuschungen wurden ihm auch die stillen Freuden einsamer, selbstloser Gelehrtenarbeit reichlich zu Teil. Er konnte die süsse Extase seines Mönchs Ekkehardt, dem ein Jahrhundert der Betrachtung Gottes rasch wie wenige Stunden schläge verfloss, mitempfinden, und fiel ein heller Sonnennstrahl auf seine düster beschattete Lebenskammer, so erheiterte sich sein Gemüt; die Bitterkeit schwand; und es drang jubelnd zu ihm die Schaar süsser Erinnerungen.

Oh dolcissimi sogni! oh rimembranze!  
Come, degli anni trionfando, ancora  
Di letizia e d'amore il cor m' inondi

Muss ihn die Nachwelt bloss als Sänger des geheimnisvollen Lebensdunkels und der unheimlichen Grabesnacht kennen? Und soll sie sein Bild einzig als das eines an seinem

Lebensglück gänzlich Verzweifelnden, ewig in tiefster Schwermut Versunkenen, so rettungslos schwarz umflort bewahren? In seinem Schrei, "Oh Natur, Natur" ist so viel Sehnsucht nach Leben, ein heimliches Segnen der schaffenden und vernichtenden Gottheit verborgen! Und mag es auch gering und schwach, mag es auch mit allen Übeln und Leiden erfüllt sein, jedes Leben ist jedem Naturgeschöpfe willkommen, "insaziabilmente / . . . Ogni tua creatura, / Brama e chiede la vita"; am Rande des Abgrundes schmachtet das zarte Blümchen auf dem zitternden Stengel, und öffnet sich "invocando il cielo." Der Glaube an eine sittliche Weltordnung hatte in dem Dichter immer festere Wurzeln geschlagen; und sang er auch von der Unmöglichkeit eines Fortschritts der Menschheit, die er in einem auf die endlosen Fluten des Meeres geworfenenen, von den "scogli d' impietrato gelo" bedrängten, erstarrten, Schiffe versinnbildlicht, so zweifelte er doch nicht an dem Triumph der Wahrheit über die Lüge. Gerechtigkeit und Freiheit erschienen ihm kein leerer Wahn. Es musste sich auf Erden jedwede Schuld rächen.

Sich selbst, dem über die Mysterien des Lebens Brütenden, dem über die Traurigkeit der Welt Trauernden, gab er im Zwiegespräch zwischen Lazarus und Christus eine scharfe Rüge. Warum wohl schlagen die Wellen immer an das felsige Gestade, warum kreisen die Himmelskörper, und eilen die Stunden, fallen die Reiche? Oh du "anima accidiosa, anima sbigottita," antwortet der Heiland dem Kranken; stehe auf, verlasse dein Grab, und gehe. Ich kam um euch zum Lichte, zum Leben, zur tätigen Arbeit zu rufen. Ein plötzlicher Lichtstrahl muss auch am trüben Himmel der in banger Ungewissheit den unbegrenzte Ozean befahrenden "Naviganti" durchbrechen. Die alte Welt wird stürzen. Und eine neue Sonne wird unsere Leiden bescheinen. So konnte der Dichter seinem trostlosen "Che val?", wozu die Höhen erklettern, wenn du doch sinken und fallen musst? sein Sehnen nach einer Besserung der Menschheit entgegenstellen, die Leier aus welcher er die Töne menschlicher Vergänglichkeit und des eitlen Welttruges entlockte mit einer schwungvolleren vertauschen, das mit unverhofftem Sehnen angestimmte Lied der Wiederauferstehung entgegenstellen.

Sorgon nei cieli dagl' imi  
 Campi le vette lustrali.  
 Che stai? se impavido sali  
 Ancor, da te, ti redimi.  
 In alto, in alto! nel vivo  
 Aere che purga e ristora;  
 Là dove splende l' aurora  
 Di nuovo giorno festivo.  
 Bevi, salendo, alle fonti  
 Cui non fallisce la vena;  
 Mira dall' alto la scena  
 Degli allargati orizzonti.  
 Chiedi al silenzio divino,  
 Chiedi all' oracolo ignoto,  
 La voce di quel remoto  
 Che pur n' è tanto vicino.  
 Chiedi alla luce del sole  
 La verità nuda e pura  
 Cui non offusca e snatura  
 Nebbia d' amare parole.  
 Sappi che nulla si nega  
 A un desiderio immortale,  
 Che la tua anima ha l' ale,  
 E che nessuno la lega.

Das Eis der erstarrten Lebensquellen konnte doch zum Schmelzen gebracht werden. Die gelöschten Sterne am Himmel kehrten funkelnd dem trüben Blick wieder. Und auch der Schauder des Todes war überwunden. Wohl sind wir Staub und Asche; aber unter dieser Asche lodert eine nimmer zu löschende Flamme. So bereits in den Medusaliedern. Sterben? Wer spricht von Sterben; wer befürchtet die schnell dahineilenden Schatten? Befreit von ihrer Erdschwere, in leichtem, hohen Fluge hebt sich auf ihren Schwingen die Seele und durchkreuzt die unendlichen Räume. In die fallenden Trümmer des Welt wirft der Dichter sein entschlossenes "non morrò, non morrò"; mächtig regt sich in ihm, wenn die Luzerner Glocken in den hellen Lüften schwingen, die Sehnsucht nach Unsterblichkeit.

Die Hülle des Skeptikers und des ewig Verneinenden mochte ihn auf die Dauer bedrängen; alle Ideale drohten zu zerrinnen, wenn er als Beschwichtigung seiner inneren Zweifel, an einem Wendepunkte des Lebens, nicht ein Glaubensbekenntniß gewagt und verkündet hätte. Und er verfasste ein gedrungenes



Schriftchen "Per una fede," das nur diejenigen überraschen konnte, welche mit dem intimen Wesen des Dichters und Gelehrten nicht vertraut waren. Der Glauben der Väter war ihm früh geschwunden—"Morta è la fede; a che più la vorace / fiamma di vita nel tuo grembo occulti? ("Medusa"); hingewelkt oder weggerissen waren alle Frühlingsknospen und Blüten; es blieb eine Dürre in der Seele; und wir sehen den Dichter selbst mit der Askese der Brahmanen und Buddhisten nach einem "Nirvana" alles Seins schmachtend; immer grösser und bedrohlicher ward ihm das Reich der Schatten. Gewiss, wie er jeder Mystik abgeneigt war, war ihm auch das Sehnen nach dem Unendlichen kein Bedürfnis des Geistes; allein die Angst vor der Auflösung alles Endlichen und dem Stillstand alles Lebens plagte ihn und nahm ihm jede Ruhe. Die Idee einer göttlichen Vorsehung, mitten im Schiffbruch des Glaubens an die kirchlichen Dogmen, war seinem Aurelio wie ihm selbst geblieben. Und es kamen Zeiten wo dieser Imperativ des Göttlichen mit dröhnender Stimme Genugtuung verlangte nach der langen Entbehrung. Die Seele erbebte. Wie rette ich mich? Wer gibt mir den Glauben wieder?

Ahi dura cosa aver nella smarrita  
 Anima il sogno d'una eterna idea;  
 Volere il nume e non trovar la fede!

Erhebe die Stirne in allen Schicksalwirbeln und gib deiner Hoffnung Flügel! Der Dichter suchte, überlegte, schwankte; schliesslich meinte er mit Gottes Beistand, seine "piccola face . . . dentro a questa immensurabile sfera d' ombra" entzündet, seine Bekehrung vom Unglauben zum Glauben vollbracht zu haben, eine Bekehrung, die allerdings nicht im Entferntesten mit derjenigen Manzoni's zu vergleichen ist. Denn sie geschah ohne ein heftiges Ringen, ohne eine tiefe innere Erschütterung. Nur leise, leise, und mit der ausschliesslichen Macht des Willens wurde an der bestehenden Welt gerüttelt. Kein Werk der Offenbarung, sondern die Frucht einer Gedankenarbeit. Und weil der Dichter in dem waltenden Übel "sterminato, tenace, formidabile," doch immer ein wohlthätig, alldurchdringendes, geisterhebendes Gut annahm, weil er, instinktiv, wie er sagte, die moralischen Werte des Lebens als die einzig Bestehenden anerkannte, an einer

gerechten und weisen Ordnung niemals gezweifelt, vor dem krassen Materialismus und Positivismus, dem er selbst, irrend und forschend in seinem dunklen Drange, eine Zeit lang huldigte, eine heilsame Abwehr suchte, so geriet er unvermeidlich auf eine Religion, die höchste Güte, höchste Moral, höchste Gerechtigkeit, und höchste Intelligenz bedeutete.

Die Auffindung, oder besser die Konstruktion dieses Glaubens musste wiederum die Vernunft allein, mit dialektischer Schärfe und Folgerichtigkeit besorgen. Und nichts kennzeichnet mehr die Grundanschauungen und Anlagen des Dichters als der scharfe Widerstand, den er der von Pascal anerkannten Macht des Gefühles entgegensetzte und die von ihm verlangte Umkehrung der Maxime: "C'est le coeur qui sent Dieu, et non la raison."—"Io ho bisogno di una credenza che appaghi la mia ragione" unterwarf sie, jede innere Not mildernd, seinen Lebensbedürfnissen. Die Religion musste so beschaffen sein, dass sie ohne ein Verbluten des Herzens, selbst ohne ernste Aufopferung seinen eigenen tiefsten Wünschen willfahrte,—"dev' essere"—eine Ummodelung war erforderlich; sie sollte frei, beweglich, dogmenlos sein, den Ballast unnötiger Mythologie sollte sie von sich abschütteln. Die schonungslose Aufrichtigkeit, mit welcher Arturo Graf dieses sein Glaubensbekenntnis an den Tag legte, ist gewiss bewunderungswürdig; es berührt uns aber peinlich, wenn der so Edelgesinnte den utilitaristischen Zweck der ihn leitenden und ach! immer noch von Aussen wirkenden Gottheit mit dem unermüdlich wiederholten: "Io ho bisogno—Io ho bisogno—Io ho bisogno" so sehr hervorhob.<sup>2</sup> "Dentro a questo mistero bisognerà che io congegni la mia credenza."

Die ersehnte Anpassung musste erfolgen. Er dachte sich eine Religion, welche den freien Willen im Menschen forderte und niemals hemmte, die Wissenschaft ermutigte, alle tätigen Energien anstachelte, den Frieden gewährte, zu einer wirklichen Erhebung des Lebens führte; eine Religion, die sich mit dem moralischen Weltgesetze einer hienieden und im Jenseits

<sup>2</sup> Ins Vage und Unbestimmte verliert sich zum Teil die Rechtfertigung, die er seinen Kritikern zu geben gedachte: "Sentii il bisogno di considerarli (die moralischen Lebenswerte) altrimenti che come una pura illusione che non regga alla critica; il bisogno di sottrarli al computo incerto del tornaconto e della opportunità."

wirkenden nur das Gute erzeugenden geistigen Macht deckt: "Di là dalle nostre leggi, di là dai nostri ordinamenti, di là dalla nostra infida e titubante giustizia, è un' altra giustizia, più diritta e sicura, che tramezza e corregge la nostra." Und mit diesem Phantom eines ersonnenen Glaubens gab er sich zufrieden—"questa fede mi basta"—jede Sehnsucht war gestillt; die blasse Stirne lächelte einem Lichtstrahl entgegen; im Schoosse dieses Überzeugungsscheines ruhte das Unerforschliche—"mi piace d' essere persuaso."

Immer grösser ward dann die Teilnahme des Dichters an religiösen Problemen, selbst die Herzensergießungen eines Zanella schätzte er so gut wie die Glaubensevangelien eines Fogazzaro, er versah die Übersetzung des vielgelesenen Buches Chambers-James "Unser Leben nach dem Tode" mit einer eingehenden Vorrede worin er seinem Glauben eine weitere Stütze bot. Da Alles im ewigen Buche des Seins niedergeschrieben werden muss und Nichts sowohl in der physischen wie in der moralischen Welt verloren geht, so hat die Seele wohl ein Recht auf ein weiteres Bestehen; Unsterblichkeit, ein Fortschreiten von Tätigkeit zu Tätigkeit in einer lichterem Lebenssphäre ist ihr zugesichert.

Ein tiefes Ergründen dieses mit aller Sorgfalt zusammengezimmernten Glaubens war natürlich nicht Sache des Dichters, der niemals nach dem Ruhme eines selbstschaffenden Philosophen gestrebt. Genug, wenn er im Sturme der Zeiten und im drohenden Schiffbruch aller Ideale and Ziele eine Stütze fand und den schwachen, zitternden Schimmer eines leitenden Lebenssterns. Mit dem Begriff des Guten musste die Religion zusammenfallen. Die höchste Kraft des Denkers musste sich in der Erwägung der ethischen Werte des Lebens erschöpfen. Auch für Amiel, der in manchen Zügen seiner Denk- und Empfindungswelt an Graf erinnert, war Hauptbeschäftigung seines Lebens, Grundlage seines philosophischen Forschens, die Feststellung moralischer Prinzipien, welche allein dem leidvollen Menschendasein Trost und Gedeihen zusichern könnten. Eine unersättliche Neugierde aber, der immer rege Wissensdrang, das Bedürfnis, das immer drohende Gefühl der Leere und Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen—mit der Last immer wachsender Kenntnisse zu ersticken, näherten Arturo Graf mit gleicher Teilnahme den verschiedenartigsten, oft sich wider-

sprechendsten Weltssystemen. Er nippte an allen Bechern der Weisen und übersäete seine Schriften mit Belegen aus allen Grundwerken der führenden Geister aller Zeiten.

Keine Gedankenströmung blieb ihm fremd. Und je nach der herrschenden Weltanschauung, mit einer Biegsamkeit, die in dem Dichter der erstarrten "Medusa" überrascht, gab er seinen eigenen leitenden Ideen bald diese, bald jene Färbung. Er selbst mochte das Gefühl des Unstätigen in diesem ständigen Wechsel am schmerzvollsten empfinden. Die Pole der Schöpfung wankten. Die Irrlichter am Himmel mehrten sich. Selbst von dem Getriebe der Occultisten und Spiritisten hat sich der Dichter eine Zeit lang hinreissen lassen. Reuevoll bekannte er, lange unter dem Joch der Materialisten und Positivisten ("quel materialismo è veramente la maggiore vergogna del passato secolo") gestanden zu sein, und schwang sich dafür zu den aetherischen Höhen des freisten Idealismus empor. Wie sehr er die Macht naturalistischer Theorien empfand, welche dem Geiste die Gesetze der Materie vorschreiben und eine unentrinnbare erbliche Belastung in den Individuen und in den Geschlechtern verkündigen, bezeugt, mehr als die in den ersten kritischen Schriften dem Wahne dieser Theorien dargebrachten Huldigungen, sein Roman, "Riscatto," worin er mit aller Entschlossenheit und mit der schliesslichen Betätigung der alles heilenden Liebe den Helden dem drohenden Verderben entreisst.

Der Einsame, der Menge und jedem Getümmel und Getöse so gründlich abgewendet, hat es nicht gescheut, in bewegter Stunde, auch an dem Streben und Sehnen der Socialisten lebhaften Anteil zu nehmen. Nicht dass er den gewaltsamen Bruch mit dem Bestehenden, die Gährung der Empörten, nach Gleichheit aller Stände Verlangenden billigte; seine grenzenlose Achtung für alle moralischen Lebenswerte, der Adel seiner Seele, das Bedürfnis Menschenjammer zu lindern, bewogen ihn zu einem Befürworter des bedrängten Volkes, freilich mehr in der Richtung seines Freundes De Amicis, als in derjenigen Tolstois. Selbst das Beispiel Victor Hugo's wirkte. Und eben aus diesem Drange zu erleuchten, zu reinigen und zu veredeln, den Hilfslosen seine Stütze zu bieten, erklärt sich die Masse der Maximen, Aphorismen und Gedankensplitter, womit er, während seiner Lebensneige zumal,

die Gefilde der Literatur seiner Heimat überflutete.<sup>3</sup> Denn, das ist gewiss, das Befremdendste in diesem an Gegensätzen so reichen Mann, dass, wiewohl er einerseits mit gebrochenem, erfrorenem Herzen, in wehmütsschwangeren Gesängen sich und seinen Mitmenschen die Grabesstille gebot, er andererseits eine kaum zu hemmende Redseligkeit entwickelte, sich auch in den stillsten Winkeln seiner Geistesinsiedelei einen Katheter zur Belehrung und Beratung der Menschheit errichtete, und mitunter das Reich des Vergänglichen in eine pädagogische Erziehungsanstalt umwandelte. Handle, meide, wähle, erwäge!—Auch musste die Kunst stets die ordnende Disziplin dieses Raisonnements anerkennen. Mit welchem Nachteile für ihre Unmittelbarkeit und Frische ist leicht zu übersehen. Aurelio's Vater stirbt; eine Welt geht unter; man erwartet ein Schluchzen, ein lautes Aufschreien der wundgetroffenen Seele. Und was anders vernehmen wir als das Ausklingen der letzten Lebensregeln, welche jener Treffliche dem fernen Sohne hinterlassen?—“*Prosperi in lui la divina virtù dell' amore*” u. s. w.

Nie genug konnte Arturo Graf von der ihn beseelenden Kunst sprechen; als Dichter vor Allem wollte er gelten; er hütete treu in seinem Innern die heilige, leuchtende und reine Flamme; und regte sich die Göttin, so schwanden die Tränen, es senkte sich Frieden in seine Brust. Von seiner Knabenzeit bis zu den letzten Lebenstagen schuf er Verse; mit dem Dichtungsgruss wollte er scheiden; mochte dann sein Leib zusammenbrechen. Und mit zitternder Hand “*dalle bugiarde lusinghe / sciolto lo spirito ignudo . . . nell' ora muta e declive,*” schloss er das letzte Buch seiner eignen Vergangenheit und schrieb auf das letzte Blatt sein “*Finis.*”

Begeistert, gerührt, von seinem Numen hingerissen, beteuerte er einmal, dass seine Reime rein aus seiner Seele flössen—“*Siccome sgorga nell' ime convalli un' acqua natia.*” So flossen sie in der Tat, selten aber mit voller Ursprünglichkeit, ohne den Druck und die Bewilligung der über Alles gebietenden

<sup>3</sup> Ein Nachklingen und selbst ein Wiederholen der Gedanken anderer war unvermeidlich. Für den *Ecce Homo* war oft *La Rochefoucauld* massgebend: “*Non sarà mai savio veramente chi qualche volta non sappia essere un tantino matto.*”—L. R. “*Qui vit sans folie n' est pas si sage qu'il croit,*” u. s. w.

Vernunft. Diese "lacrymae rerum" vermengtem sich gleich bei ihrem Entstehen mit den Tränen des Verstandes. Wissen wir ja wie der Dichter nur leise, leise und immer zagend an die Türe seines Herzens pochte, um desto rascher und vertrauensvoller dafür jene seiner Vernunft aufzuschliessen, und kennen wir ja seine Anklagen gegen die Ohnmacht der Gefühle. Seines "giusto temperamento" das sich nie gehen liess, der "padronanza di me stesso," wie seines Ordnungssinnes und seines hellen, disziplinierten Geistes freute sich Aurelio, des Dichters Ebenbild, zur Selbstzucht aller drohenden Ausschweifungen der Phantasie immer bereit. Ein sinnender, grübelnder Dichter, stets besorgt, seine Kunst dem Wirbel und dem Sturme und gewalttätigen Drange der Affekte zu entziehen, jede Willkür, jede freie Improvisation scheuend. Denn das Kunstwerk, sagte er, offenbart sich nicht plötzlich; "sempre più appar manifesto che l' opera d' arte . . . diviene, si fa, o almeno si compie e si determina in quella che il senso e l' intelletto l' apprendono."

Darum sollte auf die Technik die höchste Sorgfalt verwendet werden. Jede Nachlässigkeit der Form schadet dem Inhalte. Es ist erstaunlich wie peinlich dieser Dichter der "vanitas vanitatum" bedacht war, seiner innerlichen Kunst und Poesie ein vornehmes, würdiges äusseres Gewand zu verleihen, wie er jede Unebenheit mied und alles erwog, alles sichtete, alles harmonisch abzurunden trachtete. Im Bestreben massvoll zu erscheinen, kannte er wirklich kein Mass. Er ersparte sich keine Mühe der Selbstbeobachtung. Frei sangen die Vögel ihr heiteres oder wehmütiges Lied; er beichtete der Lerche, die sorgenlos ihr "semplice stornello" zwitschert, seine Mühen, die "acre fatica"—"picchio, ripicchio, tempero, cesello."—Wie man Diamanten schneidet, "come il sottile intagliator la chiara / gemma sfaccetta" wollte er das Sonett, alle Verse bearbeitet wissen; erhellen sollte sich "il pugnace pensier,"—"denso e forte, nitido e lucente / Nel rigor di sua forma adamantina" sollte das Kunstwerk ans Tageslicht treten. Man denkt an den vom französischen Dichter erteilten Rat: "Sculpte, bine, cisèle, / Que ton rêve flottant / Se scelle / Dans le bloc résistant;" und man fragt sich wie in der steten Sorge, ja nur den passendsten Ausdruck zu treffen, die lebensvolle Ursprünglichkeit und Naivität hätte bewahrt werden

können. Was anders fordert Arturo Graf vom jungen Dichter als ein redliches Bemühen "in concreare, in modellar la forma," so dass ". . . del travaglio cancellata l'orma, / Arte s'affermi e paja altrui natura?"

Tatsächlich finden wir nirgends grössere Korrektheit als bei ihm, eine tadellosere Glätte der Form, mehr Klarheit, Durchsichtigkeit und Gedrungenheit des Verses. Und wiederum überrascht uns diese Genauigkeit und Schärfe der Linien und der Umrisse, dieses Flüchten von dem dämmernden Schein ins helle Tageslicht, in dieser Welt von Schatten und Finsternissen, der dunkelsten Ahnungen und erschreckendsten Mysterien, mit gespenstigem Spuk und Grausen, welche seine Phantasie befangen hielt. Kein grösserer Verrat an der romantischen Empfindungswelt wurde je ausgeübt als durch diese scheinbar romantische Poesie im klassischen Gewande.

Ein mystisches Versenken, die Sehnsucht nach dem Unendlichen, wir wissen es, lag nicht in der Natur des Dichters. So sehr er es liebte sich mit dem Schleier des Geheimnisvollen zu umhüllen, die Welt des Konkreten und Fasslichen hatte doch bei ihm vor der Welt des Grenzenlosen und Unförmlichen den Vorzug. Wie behagte ihm die sonnig heitere, milde, ganz in den Rahmen des Natürlichen und Reellen eingeschlossene Kunst eines Goldoni! Und wie schnell bereit war er all das Verschwommene und Unklare der Symbolisten, Praeraffaeliten und Aestheten zu verurteilen! Die Neuesten brauchten die unendlichen Räume um sich nach Belieben auszudehnen; sie vergötterten das Unbestimmte und Nebelhafte und wieder das Bestimmte, scharf und hell begrenzt Greifbare; ihre Träume brachten sie weit vom realen Leben. Dass sie unsere Vision verhärtet und erweitert, unserer Gefühlswelt neue Gebiete aufgeschlossen, wollte der Dichter nicht anerkennen; und er vergass sein eigenes phantastisches Schwelgen, wenn er ihnen vorwarf den tollen Spuk der Romantiker wieder ins Leben gerufen zu haben: "tutta la vecchia fantasmagoria romantica di castelli merlati, di chiostrì silenziosi, di cavalieri armati cavalcanti per cupe foreste . . . , di santi rapiti in estasi."

Der stille Träumer verlor sich ungern in die stille Märchenwelt. Er erkannte aber in den erforschten Mythen die Macht des Symbolischen und sann ununterbrochen über Legenden und Themen, welche die grössten Dichter beschäftigten und den

tiefsten Blick in die tiefsten Geheimnisse des Weltalls boten. Immer waren es Ideen und Probleme, weit mehr als Gefühle und Empfindungen, welche seinen Geist fesselten. Und unvermutet wandelten sich die von ihm versuchten Wiederbelebungen eines Prometheus, eines Orpheus, eines Faustes, eines ewigen Juden, eines Don Juans, so lebendig auch stellenweise der kurze dramatische Dialog floss, so edel und schön und anmutig die Verse klangen, in Gedankenexkurse um, welche eben mehr beweisen und überzeugen oder überraschen als hinreissen und erschüttern. Wenig half ihm auch die versuchte Umgestaltung der bekannten Motive, die gewollte Pointe—Don Juan versöhnt sich in der Hölle mit der Schaar seiner Geliebten und lebt vergnügt im ewigen Feuer fort, eine bereits von Beaudelaire halb ersonnene Phantasie—Ahasverus und Faust, der eine sich nach einem unmöglichen Tode sehnd, der andere bereits mit dem Leben versöhnt, begegnen einander und vertrauen sich gegenseitig was sie im Innern bewegt—Mephistopheles mit einem melancholischen Anstrich, fröstelnd an Leib und Seele (*l'inverno è nel mio corpo*), will das Böse und schafft unvermerkt das Gute, von Stufe zu Stufe emporgehoben, versöhnt sich schliesslich mit Gott und rettet seine Seele. (An eine Rettung Mephistopheles' dachte einst selbst Göthe, und auch Victor Hugo trug sich mit dem Gedanken die Transfiguration Satans zu besingen)—die Kühle aller Gedankenpoesie musste das Herz dieser rhapsodischen Gesänge treffen; die bewusste Absicht musste den Schwung und die Kraft des Symbolischen lähmen.

Weit besser gelang ihm die dichterische Schöpfung wenn er die hohe Flut der Schicksale der Menschheit verliess um seine inneren Regungen im Labyrinth seiner Brust zu belauschen. Ihm selbst, so wenig wie dem jungen Dichter, dem er als Mentor sass, war zu raten; *“audacemente il volo / . . . attraverso i secoli fatali” / pel vasto ciel, dall' uno all' altro polo*” zu wagen. Ein kleines, geräuschloses Erdreich wollte seiner Muse besser behagen als ein so grosses Universum. Zum Idyll der Seele und nicht zum rauschenden Gesange der *“Légendes des siècles”* war seine Leier gestimmt. Nur sollten rasch, gegen den eigenen Willen, wie das poetische Bild sich hob der erste Flug der Phantasie, die unmittelbare Rührung des Herzens festgehalten werden, ohne auf die weisen, ordnenden Gebote einer höheren Instanz der Besonnenheit zu warten;



das Bildliche und wirklich Gestaltende hätte das ruhig Beschreibende ersetzt.

Denn es mangelte Arturo Graf wahrhaftig nicht an Zartheit des Empfindens, an jener von ihm besungenen "*fragranza delicata e forte*," welche die Seele nur durch den Tod einbüsst. Ein Nichts konnte den so hart und empfindungslos sich stellenden Dichter rühren, Phantasmen wecken und entzünden. Eine einzige Tonwelle brachte ein ganzes Wogen und Fluten in sein Gemüt. Und mehrfach sind seine Lieder auf musikalische Eindrücke und Stimmungen zurückzuführen. Der Zauber eines festen und doch weichen, melodischen Rhythmus erstreckt sich auf die Mehrzahl seiner Dichtungen. Wie einschmeichelnd, lieblich, sinneneinlullend ist sein "*Studentanz*," "*la danza leggera dell'ore infinite / Che sempre . . . / . . . fuggenti, pel mite / Sereno si van dileguando. . . Sen vanno fra gli astri, sen van per l' azzurro / Aeree, fugaci, fluenti*"! Wie reine Wortmusik hört sich manches Getändel seiner Traumdichtung an und wirklich hätten mehrere seiner phantastischen Visionen eher in Noten als in Worten einen geeigneten Ausdruck gefunden.

Nie hat der Dichter innigere Töne angeschlagen als in elegischen Rückblicken auf sein Leben, worin er leise auf eigene Erlebnisse, das Vorüberrinnen von Zeit und Glück mit jedem Wellenschlag andeutet, und den Drang zum ausführlichen Erzählen und Ausmalen erstickt. Mag er's auch einen armseligen Trost nennen—in der Vergangenheit zu stöbern. "*Quello ch' è stato è stato / Quello ch' è morto è morto*"—Verwehen, Zerstreuen, Verklingen, Absterben, das leise Sinken all der dürren Blätter des Lebens. Keinen anderen Inhalt kennt ja das treueste Buch der Erinnerungen. Auch die Wonne der Wehmut ist dem sinnenden und hoffenden Pessimisten bekannt; und die Träne floss auch, wo die Erstarrung aller Gefühle am tiefsten beklagt wird; die einfachste, als Kind bereits vernommene Arie, welche ein "*Organetto*" nachseufzt, das leise Schluchzen einer Note auf der Flöte wecken eine Welt von Erinnerungen, und fort strömen die Tränen—"*piover ti senti giù dagli occhi il pianto*"—"mi sgorga dagli occhi il pianto; / il cor nel petto mi trema"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Natürlich war auch die Erinnerung an die Verse Leopardis reger: "*Odo sonar nelle romite stanze / L'arguto canto, a palpitar si move / Questo mio cor di sasso.*"

Und nur die verklungene Liebe entlockt dem Dichter Töne und flüstert den elegischen Nachgesang. Ins Reich der Schatten wandern die, die sein Herz gewonnen; als Schatten kehren sie still wandernd in die Grabesnacht. So still auch einst im Lenz des Lebens, so sanft, so leise der Schritt! Wie schnell flog nun alles vorbei! Von Liebeswonne und Liebesentzücken konnten diese Ergiessungen so wenig wie von Stürmen der Leidenschaften und herbem, schneidenden Weh berichten. Über der Macht der Empfindungen stand prüfend und richtend die Macht des Grübelns. Aurelio nimmt endlich wahr, dass etwas Ungewöhnliches sich in seinem Herzen regt; er betastet seinen Puls und stellt sich selbst zur Rede; "Più d' una volta già avevo pensato all' amore, e la fantasia mi si era accesa in quel pensiero. L' idea che il sogno potesse ora divenire realtà mi colmò di deliziosa inquietudine. 'Sei tu innamorato' ripetevo a me stesso, e tutto a un tratto il cuore, uscendo di perplessità, mi rispose: 'Sì sei.'" Wunder der Beharrlichkeit, der treuen Fürsorge und Hingebung muss auch Viviana vollbringen um den geliebten Mann unverlierbar an sich zu fesseln, das Werk der Wiederbelebung und der Erlösung der Seele durch die allmächtige, über alles triumphierende Kraft der Liebe nicht scheitern zu lassen. Der Sieg der Liebe kommt mehr dem Willen und der Absicht des Dichters als dem freien Walten und Ausatmen der Seele zu Gute. Eine wohlklingende aber gar zu schwache Leier, welche alle die Töne der glühendsten Leidenschaft, der paradisischen Wonne und Extase entbehrt, schlägt Graf's Orpheus in Plutos Reich um Euridice zurückzugewinnen, den Triumph der Liebe über Tod und Hölle zu verherrlichen<sup>5</sup> und den Fürsten der Unterwelt zu überzeugen: "Ciò che si vivo fu, Pluto, non muore."

Wo Pinien und Zypressen in feierlichster Stille das dunkle Geheimnis der Welt hüten, in menschenleeren Tälern, in der Waldeseinsamkeit, vor allem, wo wild die empörten Wellen des Meeres die Ufer umbrausen und Wolken ziehen das Himmelslicht verhüllend, da regen sich mit lebendigem Schaffensdrang die Träume des Dichters. Mochte auch Graf, wie Lenau und Leopardi, das finstere Walten der Natur anklagen, die keine

<sup>5</sup> Ueber die verschiedenen Bearbeitungen des Themas *L'amore dopo la morte* lieferte Arturo Graf einen schönen Aufsatz.

Stimme für das Menschenherz besitzt, und blind und unerforschlich über alle Schicksale waltet. "Velata dea che formi, agiti, domi / Con odi arcani e con arcani amori, / Io non intendo ciò che tu lavori"; den Gram seiner Seele hat doch die Göttin teilnahmsvoll selbst getragen, betrauert hat sie ihn doch oft genug mit ihrem eigenen Leid und Schmerz und den dichten Schleier ihrer Schatten, "la gramaglia/delle spioventi rame" auf die hohen Gipfel, auf die steil emporragenden Felsen und die einsam zum Himmel strebenden Fichten gezogen und ausgebreitet; sie bewegte über die Waldesfläche "tutta viva di aneliti secreti," die irrende, seufzende Seele des Windes; ordnete den schweigsamen Lauf des Mondes, bleich wie eine Verblichene still leuchtend über allen Wipfeln; sie bot ihm zur Linderung des Erdenwehes und zum eifrigen Nachsingen die Lieder anderer Dichter, die nur in ihrer Empfindungsfülle schufen, darunter die wunterschönen Waldlieder Lenaus, worin der mitten im Tode ewig dauernde Lebenswechsel gerühmt wird:

In dieses Waldes leisem Rauschen  
Ist mir, als hör' ich Kunde wehen,  
Dass alles Sterben und Vergehen  
Nur heimlichstill vergnügtes Tauschen.

Und sie erschloss ihm die tiefe träumerische Stille und Ruhe verlorener, waldumkränzter Bergseen, sowie das ruhelose Toben des Meeres, ("Et ton esprit n'est pas un gauffre moins amer"—so auch Baudelaire), und gab dem "voraginoso / Mare sterminator," das alle Wut der Elemente entfesselte, beängstigend genug um alle erforderlichen düsteren Visionen wachzurufen, ihren Segen.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Gewiss verliert die Kunst Grafs ihre Wirkung wenn sie in eine bloss schildernde Poesie verfällt. Zu oft ist das Bestreben bemerkbar alles auszusprechen, alles ausführlich anzugeben, anstatt leise anzudeuten. Jede Konzentration wird dann vermieden. Der Dichter vermag nicht über seinem Werke zu stehen. Er dekorirt anstatt wirklich zu schaffen und zu bilden. Er übt eine unnötige Detailmalerei aus, strebt nach voller Deutlichkeit und Genauigkeit, häuft Beiwörter auf Beiwörter. ("il gotico traforo"—"il gotico altare"—"la jonica ruina"—Die Gräfin stirbt und Aurelio eilt zur Toten: "Corsi al letto, le presi la mano . . . povera mano *affilata e bianca*, come frenando le lacrime" u.s.w.) Wissen und Skrupeln des Gelehrten bringen mitunter unliebsame Stockungen in die Arbeit des Dichters (Der Held des *Riscolto* irrt in den Ruinen der Termen Caracallas: "Salii per una scaletta,

Auch die Kritik, welche einen beträchtlichen Teil der Lebensarbeit Arturo Grafs ausfüllte, musste im intimen Bilde, im literarischen Essay, in der feinen sorgfältig, ausgeführten psychologischen Analyse ihre Stärke aufweisen. Die grossen Synthesen, so umfassend auch die unternommenen Studien sein mochten, mussten diesem Geiste fremd bleiben. Es regten sich in ihm die Forschungsfreude und Wissensbegierde eines Renaissancemenschen; und ein Universum hätte er gern in seinem Erkenntnisdrang umfasst—"E quanto ha il mondo e tenebre e splendori / E mutevoli aspetti e forme erranti, / Si dipingon nell' egra anima mia"—Unablässig war er bestrebt seinen Bildungskreis zu erweitern; überraschte Jeden mit seiner Vielseitigkeit und Belesenheit; im Gebiete der literarischen Gelehrsamkeit waltete and schaltete er wie ein König, das Entfernteste rückte er mit seiner Forschung nahe. Er hat, ohne eigentliche Quellenstudien zu unternehmen,

in cima alle mura, là dove lo Shelley pensò e compose molta parte del suo Prometeo disciolto"). Auch wirkt mit der unvermeidlichen Monotonie des Grundtones dieser Lyrik die Wiederholung einiger Motive und Bilder lästig. (Per la selva folta e scura . . . / Passa come un raccapriccio di paura / Un gran brivido di vento"—"Passa talor lieve nell' alto, a volo / Una nuvola bianca e fuggitiva"—"E sol lieve sopr' esso, a quando a quando / Passa una bianca e vagabonda vela"—"Sotto un cielo d' acciaio brunito / Sullo specchio del mare infinito / Passa grave la bionda nave"—"Via per l'intermine piano / La negra vela mi tragge" . . . u.s.w.) Einige bei schwacher und matter Inspiration gereimte Spielereien, sowie die nicht genügend assimilierten, im eigenen Geist verarbeiteten Einflüsterungen einiger Lieblingsdichter: Dante, Petrarca, Foscolo, Leopardi, Prati, Aleardi, Giusti, Lenau, Heine, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Baudelaire, Shelley, Wordsworth, Longfellow, die zuweilen zu wörtlichen Wiederholungen ganzer Verse nötigten, hätten wir gerne preisgegeben.—Unbegreiflich war mir immer das beharrliche Ironisiren im dichterischen Schaffen dieses zur Ironie und zum Scherze so wenig geeigneten Grüblers über Welträtsel. Die schmerz- und leidverklärende Laune, die sich zum Spiele und zum Traume der Phantasie gesellt, war im Grunde innige Wehmut, ein Zurückpressen fließender Tränen. Nannte er sich ja selber einen Dichter "che mai le labbra non porse al riso" ("Sulle mie labbra avvelenate il riso / Per sempre inaridi"); so wenig zieme ihm die Maske des heiteren Spötters, so ungeschickt, schwang er die Geißel des Satyrikers. (Gelungen sind ihm nur die humorvollen Schlusswendungen einiger schönen Parabeln, die er seinen Lebensmaximen beifügte.) Die gewollte heinische Würze in der Lyrik der letzten Jahre ist wohl befremdender als das Heinisiren Carducci's; und es rächte sich die Muse, welche die ständigen Kontorsionen der Seele, das gezwungene Lachen nicht leidet, indem sie über diese Produkte eine eisige Kühle aussoss.

die Kleinarbeit des Philologen nie gescheut und stets die strengste wissenschaftliche Methode befolgt. So gewöhnte er sich früh an ein systematisches Sammeln und Sichten; und brachte Licht, volle Sauberkeit, volle Ordnung, die bequemsten Einteilungen in seinen Tempel des Wissens. Die Werke reiften langsam nach, und nahmen seine ganze Geduld und Besonnenheit in Anspruch. Musste die Phantasie in dieser mühevollen Fahrt nach der Aufsuchung der Wahrheit und der Feststellung geschichtlicher Tatsachen im Banne gehalten werden, und zwangen ihn Berufspflichten, Neugierde und Herzensdrang die verschiedenartigsten Gebiete zu durchwandern, mit allen auch den entgegengesetzten Geistes- und Lebensrichtungen vertraut zu sein, so war es begreiflich, dass er das regste Interesse, die intimsten Sympathien gerade der Erforschung jener phantastischen Legenden und Überlieferungen, der Welt des Geheimnissvollen und dunklen Glaubens die "fantasiosi esaltamenti del senso del mistero" widmete, die seiner eigenen Empfindungswelt am nächsten standen.

Anfänglich stand er unter der Macht der Naturalisten, Positivisten und Materialisten, und verbeugte sich tief vor den kritischen Dogmen Taines. Auch ihm schwebte als Ideal eine "critique scientifique" vor, die zum eifrigsten Studium von Rasse und Milieu spornte, und keine Versenkung in die einzig schaffende Individualität zuließ, ohne "lo studio della coscienza sociale," wie es in einer der frühesten akademischen Reden des Dichters hiess. Dann kamen die unheilvollen Regungen der Lombrosianer, Psychophysiologen, Neuro-pathiker, und Erblichkeitsphantasten,<sup>7</sup> und manche anderen Schwankungen musste der Kritiker und Forscher erfahren, je nach den philosophischen Anschauungen, die sich im Lauf der Jahre seinem Geiste aufdrängten; nicht so allerdings, dass er wetterwenderisch in der Ausübung seines kritischen Amtes verfuhr, die eigene Urteilskraft schwächte, das Innere in dem Bestreben, auch das Äussere zu ergründen, vernachlässigte.

Seine Unabhängigkeit wie sein Gleichgewicht hat er im Strome der Zeiten und im Wechsel der Ideen bewahrt. Wie

<sup>7</sup> Im *Riscatto* ist das Selbstgeständniss: "Erano da poco venuti in luce, e avevano fatto chiasso, i libri del Ribot e del Galton sull' eredità fisiologica e psicologica. Li lessi con grande attenzione, e così quanti libri di consimile argomento mi vennero nelle mani.

seine Dichtung aber musste auch seine Kritik eine Zerstreuung aller Lichtstrahlen, die wir vergebens um einen Brennpunkt sammeln möchten, erleiden. Sie entbehrt einer festen philosophischen Grundlage, einer kräftigen inneren Struktur. Die wirksamste, zündende Flamme fehlt; es fehlt die belebende Gewalt der Seele, jene blitzartige Intuition, welche De Sanctis in hohem Maasse besass, und die die kritische Nachschöpfung sowie das Kunstwerk selbst belebt. Ein sicheres Erfassen des Charakteristischen im Individuum, sowie der Hauptmomente der Geistesentwicklung bedrängte die übermässige Liebe zum sorgfältigen Prüfen und Anordnen der Detailforschung. Das Bedächtige, kühl Erwägende seiner Natur widerstrebte jedem kühnen Zusammenfassen und Zusammendrängen; verlangte ein ruhiges, mit sicheren Belegen allseitig gestütztes Analysiren, ein Nebeneinanderreihen von Tatsachen, das sich nur schwerlich zu einem organischen Ganzen gruppirt, und oft sich mit einem gar zu passiven Nacherzählen begnügen musste.

Die unternommenen Mythen- und Legendenforschungen, die stoffgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen boten dem Dichter und Kritiker eine gefährliche Klippe. Das Fremdartigste, oft aus ganz entgegengesetzten Richtungen fliessenden Lebensquellen entsprungene musste sich einheitlich zusammenfügen, eine stetige Entwicklung zeigen, eine Geschichte bilden. Da hätten die grössten Genies vergebens nach Einheitlichkeit gerungen. Arturo Graf gewöhnte sich bald, Glied nach Glied seine Kette von Beobachtungen und Urteilen abzuwickeln. Er breitete alle seine Schätze aus, und kümmerte sich wenig, rasche Überblicke über das Gewonnene und von seinem Geiste Beherrschte zu bieten. Ein Bruchstück folgt dem andern, alle zwar völlig ausgearbeitet, schön und rund abgeschliffen, aber doch Bruchstücke, mögen sie sich auch wie hellstimmernde Perlen ausnehmen. Sein letztes Werk über die "Anglo-mania" zeigt am deutlichen dieses vom spröden Stoffe gebotene Verfahren des Zergliederns und sorgfältigen Beschreibens und Nebeneinanderstellens geschichtlicher Resultate.

Der Dichter und Forscher hat sich auch nie andere Kräfte zugemutet als die, die er eben besass, er hat nie nach einer grossen Literaturgeschichte gestrebt, und war selbst vom genialen und in seiner Art unübertrefflichen Werke De Sanctis, besonders was die Darstellung des Mittelalters betraf, un-

befriedigt. Er hielt sich an das Episodische, die Ausmalung einzelner Bilder. Und wo er, vom Zwange widerstrebenden Stoffes befreit, eine intime engbegrenzte Welt beherrschen, sein feines Empfinden, den sicheren Blick, die Schärfe seines Verstandes aufweisen konnte, gelangen ihm vortrefflich Zeitgemälde und Essays, die auch für die zukünftigen Forscher einen unverlierbaren Wert besitzen; man denke an seine Studien über das "Cinquecento," an die feinsinnigen Analysen der besten Komödien jenes Zeitalters, die Charakteristik des "Scicentismo," die Untersuchungen über Dantes Dämonologie, über die Psyche und die Kunst Manzonis und seines Lieblings Leopardis, welche letzteren natürlich als lose Studien, nicht als ein organisches Werk aufgefasst werden dürfen. Ich wüsste auch nicht wer den Geist des kampfmutigen Verfassers der "Frusta" besser getroffen als Graf selbst in der gedrungenen, noch kurz vor seinem Tode entworfenen Skizze, bei Anlass der Forschungen Piccionis.

Ein müßiges Getändel war ihm so verhasst wie der leere und windige Prunk der Rhetoren und Aestheten. Mangelt es ihm ab und zu an Tiefe, so ist er immer von erstaunlicher Klarheit und Durchsichtigkeit. Nie verläßt ihn die Ruhe, die innere Fassung; auch begnügt er sich nicht mit einem hastigen Berühren der Dinge und verlangt nicht nach dem Nervenreiz moderner Tageskritiker. Um dieser Ruhe willen, um volle Objectivität zu wahren, hält er mit seinem persönlichen Empfinden zurück und zerstreut und verflüchtigt die eigenen poetischen Bilder, die sich seiner Phantasie aufdrängen. Und doch ist ein Mitschwingen seiner Seele bei der Mehrzahl der unternommenen kritischen Studien unverkennbar. Die Kritik ist ihm mehr als eine Zerstreung; sie ist ihm eine moralische Pflicht; sie konnte ihm Trost bieten; konnte ihn zum eigenen dichterischen Träumen und zur Selbstschöpfung aufmuntern. "Scrivendo," sagt er im Geleitwort seiner Studie "Prometeo nella poesia," ". . . molti giorni passai pieni di varie, indimenticabili emozioni. Sentiva nell' anima una espansione salutare, un calore benefico quali d' una giornata di primavera. . . . Provava una dolcezza austera e ineffabile a porger l' orecchio alle voci dei poeti. . . . Quante volte non m' apparvero come in una visione la cima nevosa del Caucaso, e il punito indomabile, nella gloria della sua passione. Perchè dovrei tacerlo?

Da quelle vivificanti contemplazioni uscii sempre rinvigorito e migliore."

So wird man auch nicht leicht vom dauernden Bestandteil der literarischen Kritik die Hauptwerke: "Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo," "Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo" hinweg denken können; ein intimer Reiz liegt in diesen Fragmenten und Exkursen, und etwas von der Fabulirlust unserer Ahnen befängt uns wenn wir, von diesem helllichtigen Geiste geleitet, mit ihrem Sehnen und Sinnen so gründlich vertraut werden. Ein Wunderbares für unsere Phantasie, und für den Forscher von Legenden und Mythen eine Quelle immerwährender Anregung. Nur trete man nicht mit einem Gefühl der Voreingenommenheit an diese Blätter heran, und harre geduldig auf die kleinen Entdeckungen. So fand ich selbst zu meiner Beschämung beim Wiederlesen der mit Unrecht vernachlässigten Studie "Nel Deserto" eine Fülle der feinsten Beobachtungen, die mir früher entgingen, und die sich auch der bewandertste Kenner mittelalterlicher Askese zu Nutze machen könnte.

Bescheidenheit war Grundzug des Wesens dieses Dichters, und nichts konnte ihn mehr anwidern als die Sucht einiger Modernen, um jeden Preis originell, geistreich, verblüffend erscheinen zu wollen. So wenig wie er sich zu einem Verkündiger eines alleinseligmachenden Evangeliums der Poesie und der Kritik berufen fühlte, so gering war auch seine Teilnahme für die orakelsprechenden Dutzendkritiker und improvisierten Genies unserer Tage und ihr leichtfertiges Hinrichten, Segnen und Verdammn. Und was in seiner Aestetik als fremdes Beiwerk, die beständige Rücksichtnahme auf ethische Grundsätze, störend wirkte, gereichte seinem Charakter zur Zierde. Keine Handlung, die nicht von der reinsten Stimme des Gewissens geboten wäre, kein heisserer Wunsch in dem einsamen Manne als eine moralische Erhebung und eine gestärkere Geisteserziehung der Menschheit. In den Verordnungen der Hochschulen suchte man bloss eine Stütze für das äussere Leben, das sich aller Kräfte bemächtigte, und er trat in einer denkwürdigen Rede energisch für die Rechte des Innenlebens ein; Erziehungsanstalten sollten in keine Beamtenfabriken umgewandelt werden, einem höheren Zwecke



sollten sie dienen; "tutelare, aiutare, incitare, liberare la personalità."

Hinab in den reissenden Strom der Menschheit liess er sich nicht ziehen; wenn es aber Not tat, hat er sein Scherflein zur Linderung der Qualen seiner Mitleidenden beige-steuert, bereitwillig, grossmütig; unbesorgt wenn er auch seine Einsiedelei mit einer Theatertribüne vertauschen musste, wo er einmal vor Tausenden,—es war seine letzte Rede—die weise Mahnung, das zertrümmerte Messina ja nicht wiederaufzubauen in die Luft erschallen liess. Er konnte, so tief sich oft die Stacheln des Schmerzes und des Lebensüberdrusses in seine Brust senkten, nur Milde, nur Güte, nur Wohlwollen von sich ausstrahlen. Nie suchte und holte man bei ihm vergebens Rat. "È uno dei' miei poeti . . . uno dei miei maestri . . . da lui ebbi conforto e consiglio," so ein Dichter von unsagbarer Innigkeit und Gemütstiefe Giovanni Pascoli. Vieles von seinem Lebenswerke wird wohl der Vergänglichkeit verfallen, nicht unsonst aber, still und sanft, glomm und verglomm sein Lebensstern.

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## THE VERB FORMS CIRCUMSCRIBED WITH THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE IN THE BEOWULF

The purpose of this investigation is to study the Verb Forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in the Beowulf as to their State, Origin and Use.

A glance at our bibliography will show that in the past a number of investigators have tried to explain the verb forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in various periods of the English language.

Their method of procedure has usually been as follows. First, they counted instances of the use of the inflected and uninflected participles; and, finding that the same participle occurred sometimes with and sometimes without inflection they concluded, that the presence or the absence of inflection of the perfect participle did not involve a difference in meaning. It was merely an arbitrary matter depending upon the proximity or the relative position of the perfect participle to the word which it modified. (Smith § 138, Note) Second, by grouping the circumscribed forms over against the simple forms i. e. the perfect and pluperfect vs. preterit, they tried to explain the use of the circumscribed forms. The result was they found that the circumscribed forms in the period of the English language they were investigating corresponded in the most cases to the modern English circumscribed forms. However, there were some instances that could not be explained (Anglia xviii, 389).

Thorough as these investigations are and as useful as they are, their results are not satisfactory. As to the inflection of the perfect participle, we find the same participle in the same relative position to the object or the subject, inflected in the one case and uninflected in the other. As to the uses the method indicated above fails to explain a number of them.

The reasons why these investigations could not arrive at any satisfactory results are:

- 1) they did not try to explain the origin of these circumscribed forms and thus arrive at the underlying principle that governs them. They proceeded in a merely statistical manner.

- 2) disregarding the element of time and place, they treated authors who lived in different parts of England and in different

centuries, as if the English language had been stagnant in the use of its tenses from the 9th. to the 12th. century (Anglia, xviii) and as if all the people in England spoke absolutely in the same manner. This method is particularly pernicious in this case, since the written documents were not numerous and, therefore, the authors, not being bound to any literary traditions, could exercise great freedom and borrow freely from the ordinary spoken language.

3) they limited their investigation merely to the circumscribed past tenses (Perf. and Pluperf.) and did not take into consideration the present and the preterit tense circumscribed with the perfect participle.

In the present investigation we shall not make much use of statistics; nor shall we try to include many authors who lived in different parts of England and in different centuries. Statistics, it seems to us, would merely indicate whether an author had a preference for one form of expression or another. They could not help us determine the origin or the use of the circumscribed forms. The question of tenses is to a great extent a subjective question, reflecting the author's point of view. *Therefore we must interpret rather than count instances.* And since this is a subjective question it seems to us that to include many authors, especially if they were separated in locality and time would only confuse the issue.

Therefore we have confined this investigation to the Beowulf alone. Since, however, the Beowulf per se does not enable us to solve our question, we determined upon the following method of procedure. The circumscribed verb forms are much clearer in the Old-Saxon Heliand and cast much more light upon their origin and original use, than do those in the Beowulf. Hence we decided to study the circumscribed verb forms in the Heliand first; and then to apply the results obtained to the Beowulf and make comparisons. The validity of this method will become apparent as we proceed.

#### PART I OLD SAXON

I. State of verb forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in Old-Saxon.

## A. Method of formation.

In Old-Saxon we find circumscribed verb forms consisting of the inflected and the uninflected perfect participle and the present and preterit of the verbs: hebbian, uuesan, uuerdan,

## a) Active voice:

## 1. hebbian:

- 754 Than *habde* ina craftag god  
*gineridan* uuid iro nide—  
 2264 Tho *habda* sie that barn godes  
*ginerid* fan theru node—  
 5794 So thiu fri *habdun*  
 gegangan te them gardon—C.

## 2. uuesan:

- 2027 Ne *sint* mina noh  
 tidi *cumana*.  
 4619 Thiu uurd is at handun,  
 thea tidi *sind* nu *ginahid*

## 3. uuerdan:

- 2728 Tho *uurdun* an themu gertale Iudeo cuninges  
 tidi *cumana*.  
 94. Tho uuard thiu tid *cuman*.

## b) Passive voice.

## 1. uuesan:

- 4392 Kumad *gi*—the thar *gikorene sindun*  
 1833 the thar an erdagun  
 undar them liudskepea lereon *uuarun*  
*acoran* undar themu *cunnie*.

## 2. uuerdan:

- 3526 thar *uuerdat* mina hendi *gebundana*  
 fadmos *uuerdad* mi thar *gefastnod*.

In the active voice, therefore, transitive verbs take hebbian, while intransitive verbs take hebbian, uuesan or uuerdan. In the passive voice uuesan and uuerdan are used to form circumscriptions.

## B. Position of the perfect participle.

The position of the perfect participle is not determined by any syntactical rule. It occurs both before and after the subject or object, both before and after the auxiliary.

## 1) Before subject:

- 5919 *gimerrid* uuarun iro thes *muodgithahli* C  
 4400 oft uurdun mi *kumana* tharod  
*helpa* fan iuuun handun

## 2) After subject:

- 4020 so uurdun thes godes barnes  
*kumi thar gikudid*  
 2138 Than scal Iudeono filu,  
 thes rikeas *sunu berobode* uuerden

## 3) Before object:

- 3465 habda thuo *farmerrid* thia *morganstunda* C  
 5746 habdun im *farseuuna sorogia* ginuogia C

## 4) After object:

- 2056 Than habas thu nu uunderlico *uuerdskepi thinan*  
*gemarcod* far thesoro menigi  
 3792 habdun im *uuidersakon*  
*gihaloden* te helpu.

## 5) Before auxiliary:

- 5919 *gemerrid uuarun* iro thes muodgithahti C  
 2989 *bedrogan habbiað* sie dernea uuihti  
 3964 Thuo gifrang ik that thar te Criste *cumana uurdun*  
 bodon fan Bethaniu C

## 6) After auxiliary:

- 692 quadun that sea ti im *habdin giuwendit* hugi  
 56 that sia *habdon bilhuungana*  
 thiedo gihuilica C

It would be useless to count and compare by statistics the number of perfect participles which occur before and after the subject, object or auxiliary. The Heliand is a poem and the word order may be shifted to suit the case. It suffices for us to show that the perfect participle can be used in all of these different positions.

## C. Inflection of the perfect participle.

From the examples given under B it is clear that there is no general absolute rule fixing the position of the perfect participle. Nor is there any rule relegating the inflected or the uninflected perfect participle to any particular position in the sentence. However, if we examine those cases in which we would normally expect the perfect participle to be inflected according to the general rule for the inflection of adjectives, we shall be able

1. to get an idea of the general state of the inflection of the perfect participle in the Heliand and

2. to arrive at some idea of what the inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle is due to.

The following table needs no explanation. It groups the inflected and the uninflected perfect participles according to their relative position to the subject, object and auxiliary.

*Perfect Participle Follows Subject or Object*

Uninflected	Inflected
1) Subj { uesan } { uerdan } -perf. part	
365 uuarun cuman	12 uurdun gikorana—C
1309 uerdan gefullit	561 sin cumana (cuman—C!)
1672 sint gefratoot	632 uuarun gifarana
1834 uuarun acoran	1228 uuarun geuarana
2224 uurdun giledit—C	1264 uuarun cumana
3527 uuerdad gefastnod	1318 uuesan gememnade
3919 uuerdad gilestid	2225 (uurdun) cumana—C
4619 sind ginahid	3003 sind farlorane
5670 uuurthun giopanod—C.	3427 uuarun cumana—C
5800 uurdun bifellun—C	3526 uuerdat gibundana
	4851 uurdun underbadode
	5228 sind kumane
	5761 uuurthun giscerida—C
2) hebbian—obj.—perf. part.	
uuesan—subj.—perf. part.	
uerdan—subj.—perf. part.	
151 h. unc binoman elleandadi	754 h. ina gineridan
2056 h. uuerdskepi gemarcod	1151 h. se geuarhtan
2264 h. sie generid	1266 h. nigunigetalde treuuafte
2517 h. muod gilatan—C.	1325 h. achto getalda salda gesagda
2805 h. mareostan bihauuan	1482 h. sundea giuarhta
3032 h. sie biuuerid	1957 h. uuilleon giuarhten
4211 h. amahtscepi biuwendid	2990 h. sie binumane
4326 h. thiod biuorpen	3792 h. uuidersakon gihaloden
4592 h. scattos githingod	4147 h. ina gikoranen
5147 h. herron gisald	5164 h. hugi undergripanen
5130 h. craft (thiod) gisamnod	5413 h. man gispanana
5419 h. uomos adelid—C.	5865 h. sia furfarana—C
.....	.....
1798 uuerdat antdon	2709 uuarun kind odana—C (M—
himilportun anthlidan	odan)
3599 uurdun man faruorpen	
4020 uurdun kumi gikudid	5118 uuarun fadmos gibundene
717 uuarun man gihuorban	2061 sint druhtingos druncane
	2027 sint tidi cumana
	4458 sind tidi kumana
	4932 uuarun gisidos gisuikane
	2728 uurdun gertale cumana
	3526 uuerdat hendi gibundana
	3633 uuerdad iunga kumane
	4466 uurdun eosagon kumane
	4850 uurdun underbadode

## 3) S-part.—uuerdun (uuesun)

Obj.-part.—h.

94	that gitald h.	991	ina gicorananh.
423	sie gimanod h.		
1296	the gicoran h.		
3736	kopstedi gicoran h.		
4806	mi farkopot h.		
	(sundea loan gisald)		

80 gibithig uuerthan—C.

17	gicoranana uurdun—C
350	thea cumana uuarun
558	sulica cumana uurdun
2139	sunu berobode uuerden
3218	thea giskeride sind
3319	gi gidiuride uuesen
4392	the gikorane sindun
4825	sie kumane uurdun

## 4) Obj.-h.-part.

253	sea h. gimahlit	293	sie h. giocana
297	magad h. giboht	2902	the h. gicorane
5647	thena h. giscerid farspanan	3037	the h. gicorane
5736	stedi h. gihauuan		

*Perfect Participle Precedes Subject or Object*

## 5) h.-part.-obj.

uuerdan (uuesan)-part-subj.

692	h. giuendid hugi	56	h. bethungana thiedo—C
3466	h. farmerrid morganstunda—C	5746	h. farseuuana sorogia
2455	uuerdid farloran spraka	2450	uuerdad farlorana lera
		2826	sind gesetana burgi
		4400	uurdun kumana helpa
		5761	uurthun giscerida uueros—C
		5873	uurthun cumana uuardos—C

## 6) Part.-h.-obj.

part uuerdan (uuesan)-subj.

105	gifrumid h. uuilleon		
2337	forgeban h. mahti		
2989	bedrogen h. sie		
5919	gimerrid uuarun muodgithahti	3703	kumana sind tidi
	—C.	3964	cumana uurdun bodon—C.

1. General state of inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle in Old-Saxon.

It is clear from the above table that the perfect participle occurs both in the inflected and the uninflected form. The pro-

portion is about 50% inflected and 50% uninflected in those cases in which we should normally expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection. However, the circumscriptions with uerdan and uesan seem to prefer the inflected form of the perfect participle. About 75% of the perfect participles are inflected and 25% uninflected. The circumscriptions with hebbian seem to prefer the uninflected form. About  $66\frac{2}{3}\%$  are uninflected, while  $33\frac{1}{3}\%$  are inflected.

2. What was the inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle due to?

The perfect participle was originally an adjective and inflected like an adjective. In the Heliand, however, in about 50% of the cases in which we would normally expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection, the inflection is lacking. Now what was this dropping of the adjective inflection due to?

a) Was it due to the relative position of the perfect participle to the word which it modified? Examples like—

754 Than habde ina craftag god gineridan uuid iro nide

2264 Tho habda sie that barn godes ginerid fan theru nodi  
and

1296 them the he te theru spracu tharod Krist alouualdo gecoran habda

3037 the iungaron the he imu habda be is gode gicorane—

show that neither proximity nor remoteness of the perfect participle to or from the word which it modifies has any influence on the inflection.

Furthermore types 1, 2, 3, 4 as compared with 5 and 6 in our table show that the position before or after the word which the perfect participle modifies had no influence on the inflection. We find inflected and uninflected perfect participles both before and after the words which they modify.

Therefore position cannot be said to have had any influence on the inflection of the perfect participle.

b) Was it due to the nature of the verb *per se*?

There are undoubtedly some perfect participles which cling to the inflection more tenaciously than others: kuman, kiosan, nerian, uuirkian. However, even some of these drop the inflection at times and other verbs fluctuate.

754 -2264 nerian (see above)

1296-3037 kiosan (see above)

365 Siu uuarun is hiiuiscas, *cuman* fon is cnosla



- 561 bihuui gi sin te thesun lande *cumana*. (C-cuman)  
 3703 that im *kumana* sind iro tidi touuardes  
 3526 thar uuedard mina hendi *gebundana*  
 fadmos uuedrad mi *gefastrnod*

Therefore, it is clear that the presence or the absence of inflection cannot be reduced to a certain class of verbs and be said to be due to the verb *per se*; though certain verbs cling to the inflection more than others.

As a consequence there are only two possibilities open to us: either 1) to assume that the perfect participle could drop its inflection on general principles because the tendency was inherent in the language; and that there was no difference between the inflected and the uninflected form, except perhaps a rhetorical one, such as "Satzmelodik," poetic license etc. This, however, seems to be begging the question. For, why did not adjectives enjoy the same liberty, especially when used with uuedard or uuesan?

3919 Thesa quidi uuedrad *uuara* liudiun *gilestid*

or 2) to assume that when the perfect participle is inflected it has adjective force, and when it is uninflected it has lost its adjective force. And that, therefore, there is a *subjective* difference involved. We accept this latter view.

D. Tense value of circumscribed verb forms.

1. Inflected perfect participle.

The perfect participle was originally an adjective denoting state or condition resulting from the action of the verb. Hence we must assume that in all the circumscribed forms in which the perfect participle retained its inflection it was felt as an adjective and that, therefore, the tense of these circumscriptions was determined by the tense of the auxiliary. They were as a consequence either present or preterit.

hebbian:

- 754 than habde ina craftag god  
 gineridan uuid iro nide, that inan nahtes thanan  
 an Aegypteo land erlos antleddun, . . . .

Not: then God *had saved* him; but then God *saved* him i.e. had or kept him as a saved one, brought him into safety, so that (or in as much as) people conducted him to Aegypt. The time expressed in *habde gineridan* is not prior to but contemporaneous with, if indeed not later than, *antleddun*.

## Compare:

- 56 habdon bithuungana thiedo gihuilica—C  
 294 that sie habde giocana thes alloualdon craft  
 991 he ina gicoranan habdi  
 1151 habda enna se geuarhtan  
 1266 Tho habda thero gumono thar  
 the neriendo Krist niguni getalde,  
 treuuaftē man  
 1325 So habde tho ualdand Crist  
 for them erlon thar ahto getalda  
 salda gesagda:  
 1482 habed he sundea geuarhta  
 1958 habad uulleon geuarhten  
 2990 habbiad sie geuuitteu benumane  
 3037 the he habde gecorane C.f. 2902  
 3792 habdun uuidersakon gihaloden  
 4147 habdun ina gicoranan te thiū  
 5164 habdun hugi undergripanen  
 5413 habdun man alla gispanana—C  
 5746 habdun farseuuana sorogia—C  
 5865 habit sia furfarana C

## uuesan:

## a) Passive.

- 4392 Kumid gi . . . the thar gikorene sindun endi antifahad thit craftiga riki  
 that gode that thar gigereuuid stendid  
 (who are chosen, not who have been chosen)  
 3319 so motun gi thar gidiriide uuesen  
 (Not, verherrlicht worden sein, but verherrlicht sein)  
 C.f. 3219.  
 3002 im is helpono tharf  
 thea liudi sind farlorane, farlatan habbiad  
 uualdandes uuord, that uerod is getioflid,  
 dribad im dernean hugi, ne uuillid iro drohtine horieen  
 Israhelo erlskepi, ungilobiga sind  
 helidos iro herron: (are lost, not have been lost)  
 1318 thie motun uuesan suni drohtines genemnde.  
 (genannt sein; not genannt worden sein) (be called; not have been called)  
 5117 Stod that barn godes  
 fast under fiundun: uuarun imu is fadmos gebundene,  
 tholode mid githuldiun so huat so imu thiū thiod to  
 bittres brahte:  
 (were tied, not had been tied)

C.f. 2826.

## b) Active.

- 4931 Uuarun imu thea is diurion tho

gesidos *gesuikane*, al so he im er selbo gisprak:  
 Ni uwas it thoh be enigaru blodi, that sie that barn godes  
 lioben farletun, ac it uwas so lango biuoren  
 uuarsagono uuord that it scoldi giuuerden so:

His dear disciples were fled from him, as he predicted. It was not due to their own timidity that they fled, there existed long before the word of the prophets, that it would happen thus.

2060 Nu sind thina gesti sade,  
 sint thine druhtingos druncane suido  
 is thit folc fruomod:  
 (are satisfied—therefore: are quenched *not* have been quenched.)

1227 Sume uuarun sie im eft Iudeono cunnies,  
 fegni folcskepi: *uuarun* im thar *geuarana* te thiu  
 that sie uses drohtines dadio endi uuordo  
 faron uuoldun, habdun im fegnien hugi  
 uureden uuillion:  
 (were come or gone there)

C.f. 632

3426 hiet thiem at erist geban  
 thia that lezt uuarun liudi cumana  
 uueros te them uuirke, endi mid is uuordon gibod  
 that man them mannon iro mieda forguldi  
 alles at aftan them thar quamun at erist tuo  
 uuillendi te them uuerke.—C.  
 (Were come, not had come, since uuarun cumana is parallel to quamun)

Compare uuarun acumana 5876

uuarun cumana 5609–1264–350.

Gihugde (2663–2492–2446) and gehoriga (82–2982) are probably pure adjectives.

uuerdan:

a) Passive.

12 sia uurdun gicorana te thio  
 that sie than euangelium enan scoldun  
 an buok scriban.—C

(They were chosen i, e, became, entered into the state of being chosen ones)

17 sia gicorana uurdun C

2138 Than scal Iudeono filu,  
 thes rikeas suni berobode uuerden

2450 ac uuerdad thar so farlorana lera mina

3526 thar uuerdat mina hendi gebundana

4850 uurdun underbadode

5761 uurthun giscerida C

b) Active.

3964 Thuo gifrang ik that thar te Criste *cumana uurdun*

bodon fan Bethaniu endi *sagdun* them barne godes  
 that sia an that arundi tharod idsi sendin,  
 (uuarun cumana and *sagdun* are in the same tense: i.e.  
 became such as are here and said)

### Compare:

- 558 nio her er sulica cumana ni uurdun  
 2225 endi uurdun thar giledit tuo,  
 cumana te Criste—C  
 2728 uurdun tidi cumana  
 3633 uuerdad iunga kumane  
 4401 uurdun mi kumana tharod  
 helpa fan iuun handun  
 4466 uurdun eosagon alle kumane  
 4825 antat sie te Criste kumane uurdun  
 5873 Thuo uurthun oc an thia burg  
 cumana Iudeono uuardos—C.

### 2. Uninflected perfect participle.

In order to understand the tense value of the circumscribed forms in which the perfect participle is not inflected, though the general rule for adjective inflection would demand inflection, we must begin with cases like the following:

- 3919 Thesa quidi werdad uuara  
 liudiun gilestid

Here the adjective *uuara* has retained its inflection. It must, therefore, be felt to belong to *quidi*. The perfect participle *gelestid* has lost its inflection and with it its adjective force. Hence, it cannot be felt to belong to *quidi*. The only alternative, then, is to construe it with *uuerdad*.

Now the perfect participle by its very nature denotes resultant state or completion; hence, since it cannot denote resultant state, owing to the fact that it had lost its adjective force, it must, since it belongs to the verb denote completed action. In other words, the circumscriptions with *hebbian* and *uuesan* and the uninflected perfect participle denote completed action in present or past time. They are therefore, perfect or pluperfect tenses. The cases with *uuerdan* and the uninflected perfect participle are present and past tenses; but differ from the cases with inflected perfect participles in so far as they denote completed action; whereas the former denote state or condition.

Our conclusion that the circumscriptions consisting of the uninflected perfect participle and some form of the verbs *hebbian* or *uuesan* are perfect or pluperfect tenses is confirmed by the fact that we find intransitive verbs circumscribed with *hebbian* and the uninflected perfect participle which are undoubtedly perfect and pluperfect tenses. Such forms mark a very advanced stage of tense development, as will be shown below. Thus we may be sure that perfect and pluperfect forms actually existed in Old-Saxon.

5794 So *thiu fri habdun gegangen* to them garden

The following forms we interpret as denoting completed action:

*hebbian*:

Perfect

- 4808 Nu *uuiridid sniumo herod*  
*cuman mid craftu the mi farcopot habad*
- 2056 *Than habas* *thu nu uunderlico uuerdskepi thinan*  
*gemarcod far thesoro menigi*
- 151 *habad unc eldi binoman elleandadi*
- 1960 *habad antfangan fader iuuuan*
- 2517 *habit gilatan*—C.
- 2989 *bedrogan habbiad sie dernea uuihti*

Pluperfect

- 3464 *Sum thar oc an undern quam,*  
*habda thuo farmerrid thia morganstunda*  
*thes daguerkes forduolon*—C.  
 (Many a one came at noon had missed the morning hours the day's work. *habda farmerrid, forduolon* are prior to *quam*)
- 5417 *Thuo uuarth that cuth obar all*  
*huo thiu thiod habda duomos adelid*—C.  
 (Then that became known everywhere how the people had cast the lots. *Habda adelid* is purely temporal and prior to *uuarth cuth*.)
- 5146 *tho bigan imu thiu dad aftar thiu*  
*an is hugea hreuuan, that he habde is herron er*  
*sundea losen gisald (had sold)*

Compare:

- 94 *gitald habdun*: 105 *gifrumid habdi*: 253 *habda gimahlit*:  
 297 *habda giboht*: 423 *gimanod habda*: 692 *habdin geuend it*:  
 1296 *gecoran habda*: 2336 *fargeban habdi*: 2805 *habde bi-*  
*hauuan*:  
 3033 *habde biuuerid*: 3736 *gikoran habdun*: 4211 *habdun bi-*  
*uwendid*:

4226 habde biuorpen: 4594 habdi gethingod: 5736 habdun-  
gihauuan.—C

uuesan:

a) Passive.

Perfect

- 1671 Oc mugun gi an iuuuom hugi marcon  
uueros umbi iuuua geuadi, huo thie uurti sint  
fagoro gefratoot thea hir an felde stad,  
berhtlico gebloid.  
. . . have been beautifully arrayed (have flowered beautifully)  
. . . schön geschmückt worden sind (aufgeblüht sind)

Pluperfect

- 1830 Forstodun uuisse man  
that he so lerde, liudeo drohtin  
uuarun uuordun so he geuuald habde,  
allun them ungelico the thar an erdagun  
undar them liudskepea lereon *uuarun*  
*acoran* under themu cunnie:  
uuarun acoran—is clearly a pluperfect tense on account of erdagun.  
It does not mean who were chosen ones in former days, but who had been  
chosen in former days.
- 5918 ne uuissa huarod siu sia uuendian scolda;  
*gimerrid uuarun* iro thes muodgithahti.—C  
. . . her thoughts had been confused—waren verwirrt worden.

b) Active.

Perfect

- 4619 Thiu uurd is at handun thea tidi *sind genahid*—have come.  
—have approached.
- 1672 has been discussed above
- 560 Gi sculun mi te uuarun seggean  
for thesun liudio folke, bihuui gi sin te thesun lande cumana  
“ “ “ “ “ “ cuman—C!

M-are come; C-have come

Pluperfect

- 365 Siu uuarun is hiiuiscas,  
cuman fon is cnosla, cunneas godes  
bediu bi giburdiun.  
Uuarun cuman—is clearly a pluperfect tense here. Of course, the lack  
of inflection can also be explained on the ground that the subjects are  
masculine and feminine, i.e. common gender.
- 715 Tho gefrang aftar thiu  
Herodes the cuning thar he an is rikea sat,  
that uuarun thea uuison man uuestan gehuuorban  
ostar an iro odil endi forun im odran ueeg:  
. . . that they had turned and were going.

uuerdan:

a) Passive

Present

- 3919 Thesa quidi uuerdad uuara  
liudiun gilestid.  
1798 than uuerdad iu andon aftar thiū  
himilpostun anthlidan  
79 ni muosta im erbiuuard  
an iro iuguthedi gibithig uuerthan—C  
1309 Thes motun sie uuerdan an them rikia drohtines  
gefullit thurh iro ferhton dadi

Preterit

- 2223 endi uurdun thar giledit tuo  
cumana te Criste, thar hie im thuru is craft mikil  
halp endi sia helda, endi liet sia eft gihaldana thanan  
uueendan an iro uuillion.—C  
Sie wurden herzugeleitet und wurden (deshalb) solche die zu Christo  
gekommen waren, i.e. zu Christo gekommen seiende.  
uurdun giledit—is preterit and denotes action and not state.  
( “ ” ) cumana denotes state.

Compare:

- 3599 uurdun faruuorpen  
4021 uurdun gikudid  
5670 uuurthun giopanod—C.  
5800 uurdun bifellun.—C

b) Active.

There are no instances in which the uninflected perfect participle occurs in the active with uuerdan. Probably because such forms would be identical in meaning with the simple verb.

The difference between the circumscribed form with inflected perfect participle and the circumscribed form, with uninflected perfect participle is, therefore, a subjective one; the former denoting state or condition, the latter denoting completed action. The following examples from the German and the English will help make the matter clear.

- I have the letter written (State or condition—Present)  
I have written the letter (Completed action—Perfect)  
He was gone, when I arrived (State or condition—Preterit)  
He had gone, “ “ “ (Completed action—Pluperfect)  
The house was built, when I arrived (State or condition—Preterit)  
The house had been built, when I arrived (Completed action—Pluperfect)  
Compare also the German:

Die Tür wird geschlossen—denoting mere action.

“ “ ist “ — “ state or condition.

“ “ “ “ —worden—completed action.

In our discussion we have omitted all those cases in which the perfect participle would normally be uninflected. Such cases can be determined only from the context, and can be solved only by specialists in Satzmelodik, as Prof. Sievers.

## II. ORIGIN OF THE CIRCUMSCRIBED VERB FORMS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PURE TENSE FORMS

### A. Origin of the Circumscribed Verb Forms.

a) If we examine the Heliand, we shall find that the Aktionsarten (Aspects of the verb) were still a potent factor in Old-Saxon. The author of the Heliand is very discriminating in his treatment of the Perfective verbs (Perfective-inchoative-resultative) and Durative verbs.

- 1) Intransitive perfective verbs take uerdan and uuesan in the circumscribed verb forms; intransitive durative verbs take hebbian.
- 2) Durative verbs are used with biginnan; perfective verbs are not.
- 3) Durative verbs can form a present participle; perfective verbs do not.
- 4) The perfect participle of cuman does not take the prefix gi-

These facts will suffice to show that the distinction between perfective and durative verbs was still felt in Old-Saxon at the time the Heliand was written.

b) On the other hand there is evidence that the “Aktionsarten” were not so keenly felt anymore as in times gone by. Our evidence is derived:

- 1) From the use of the simple and the compound verbs. Behaghel points out in his “Syntax des Heliand” §186 that under apparently similar conditions sometimes the simple sometimes the compound verb is used. He attributes this to the fact that such verbs contain both perfective and durative aspects or that, in such



verbs neither the one nor the other aspect was clearly marked.

We, however, are inclined to believe that in many of these cases the simple verb had lost its perfective force (we are not concerned here with the durative verbs) and was felt as a mere tense form. Therefore, if the author wanted to impart the perfective force to the verb he had to form a compound. This seems especially clear in the case of verbs like *uuerdan* and *giuuerdan*.

1373 So uuiridid them the that godes uuord scal mannon marean:

3691 Uue uuard thi—thes thu te uuaarun ni uuest  
thea uurdegiskefti the thi noh giuuerden sculun

Or it may have been due to the fact that even the compound verb had lost its perfective force and was felt as a mere tense form; so that both the simple and the compound verb were mere tense forms.

- 2) from the use of the prefix *gi*. The prefix *gi* was originally the prefix par excellance for imparting perfective force to verbs. At the time the *Heliand* was written it must have lost its perfecting force to a great extent. In the perfect participle it must have been felt as a mere grammatical prefix in many cases, for the verb *gangan* takes *gi* in the perfect participle.
- 3) from the presence of actual perfect and pluperfect tenses, especially of intransitive verbs with *hebbian*. This will be shown below.

Hence we see that on the one hand the distinction between durative and perfective verbs was carefully observed in Old-Saxon; while on the other hand the perfective verbs were losing their perfective force. Or in different words, we can detect two tendencies in Old-Saxon, the one tending to break down the feeling for "Aktionsarten" and developing pure tenses at the expense of the "Aktionsarten;" the other tending to discriminate between the *Aktionsarten* and thus preserving

the feeling for them against the encroachment of the tense tendency.

Now these two facts 1) that the feeling for "Aktionsarten" was still alive and 2) that many verbs were losing their inherent "Aktionsforce" and taking on pure tense value gave rise to the circumscribed verb forms.

In the present paper we are concerned only with the Circumscriptions formed with the perfect participle and these arose from an effort to circumscribe the perfective "Aktionsart" (perfective-inchoative resultative).

The following examples will show that the "Aktionsarten" were circumscribed:

686 Tho uuard morgān cuman  
uuanum te thesero uueroldi. Tho bigunnun thea uuison man  
seggean iro suebanos:

Here *uuard cuman* and *bigunnun seggean* are parallel constructions conveying parallel ideas. An examination of the Heliand shows that *biginnan* is used only with durative verbs. Therefore, it was necessary in Old-Saxon to resort to some other means if one wanted to express with a perfective verb an idea parallel to *biginnan* and a durative infinitive. The author of the Heliand did this by using *uuerdan* and the perfect participle.

The above expression then means:

Morning entered into a state of being here (wurde ein da-seiender)  
the wise men began to tell. . .

Both constructions are, therefore, from a subjective point of view ingressive. Considering them objectively *uuard kuman* is composed of two perfective verbs *uuerdan* and *kuman*; *bigunnan seggean* is composed of a perfective verb *biginnan* and a durative verb *seggean*. Therefore, *uuard kuman* is a circumscription of the perfective ingressive "Aktionsart" and *bigunnan seggean* a circumscription of the perfective durative ingressive Aktionsart.

(It may be well to note here, that if *kuman* had preserved its full perfective force at the time of the Heliand, there would have been no need of this circumscription; *quam* alone could have expressed the perfective ingressive Aktionsart. C.f. Streitberg PBB 15 and Got. Elembch §249 and Anmerkg.2.

Furthermore if we consider uerdan a durative perfective verb then uard kuman is also durative perfective ingressive.)

Compare further the following:

- 3436 Uui quamun hier an moragan—endi tholodun hier manag te dage ara-  
biduuerco-C.  
558 nio her er sulica cumana ni uurdun eri fon odrun thiodun  
350 Forun thea bodon obar all  
thea fon them kesura *cumana uuarun*  
bodspaha ueros

In the case of quamun (3436) it is impossible for us to determine whether the Aktionart was felt or not.

*Cumana uurdun* (558) means: never before did such men become "such as are in the state of being here i.e. da-seiende." We must think only of the moment in which they entered into this state. We have here a circumscription of the perfective (durative) ingressive "Aktionsart."

*Cumana uuarun* (350) means: these messengers who were "in the state of being here i.e. da-seiende." We have here a circumscription of the perfective (durative) effective Aktionart. This form is not to be taken for a pluperfect tense as the German "waren gekommen."

In the case of transitive verbs we find the same attempt to circumscribe the "Aktionsarten," by means of an auxiliary and the perfect participle. Whether at first two different auxiliaries were used, as in the case of intransitive verbs, cannot be determined. One example would tempt us to assume as much:

- 41 endi al that sea bihlidan *egun* giuuarahtes endi giuuahşanes—C

However, the verb hebbian would suffice for both perfective ingressive (i.e. to come into possession of something) and the perfective effective (i.e. to be in a state of having come into possession of something)

- 991 quad that he ina gicoranan habdi  
selbo fon sinun rikea

he came into or was in a state of having come into possession of him as a chosen one i.e. had him as a chosen one (or merely chose him.)

In all these cases the perfect participle is inflected when inflection is required according to the general rule for adjective inflection. The perfect participle denotes state or condition

and the tense is determined by the tense of the auxiliary i.e. they are either present or preterit.

**B. Development of pure Tense forms.**

Originally there were but two tenses in Germanic, the present and the preterit. And the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" were present or preterit.

However, the tendency to develop tenses did not cease when once the "Aktionsarten" were circumscribed. It soon began to encroach upon these circumscribed forms. There were many cases in which the perfect participle was normally uninflected, and being uninflected it lost its close connection with the object or subject.

Now the difference between the perfective "Aktionsart" and a pure tense form consists merely in this, that the perfective "Aktionsart" emphasizes the point reached i.e. state attained and the tense denotes the action. Therefore, the perfect participle having lost its connection with the object or subject and consequently its adjective force, was felt to belong to the auxiliary; and not to denote state attained but action completed. Thus the perfect and pluperfect tenses began to be developed.

The first perfect and pluperfect tenses with hebbian were, of course, formed of transitive verbs; but the intransitive verbs soon began to follow in their wake. The transition from the perfect and pluperfect tense of a transitive verb to the perfect and pluperfect tense of an intransitive verb was perhaps as follows.

**a) Transitive verb with neuter object.**

3278 al hebbiu ik so gilestid

**b) Verbs with pred. modifier of quantity or inner object.**

465 the habda at them uuiha so filu uuintro endi sumaro  
gilibd an them lihta

**c) Verbs with clause as object.**

469 Im habda giuuisid uualdandas craft  
langu huila, that hi ni mosta er thit lioht ageban  
1984 Habda-gelerid thea liudi huo sie lof gode uuirkean scoldin.

**d) Cases with a Gen. or Dat. object.**

505 siu habde ira drohtine uuel githionod te thanca.  
5330 Hie mid is uuordon habit dodes gisculdid: C

It is easy to see how such constructions, especially the verbs with inner object, would pave the way for any intransitive durative verb to form a perfect and pluperfect tense. The perfective verbs, of course, formed their perfect and pluperfect tenses with *uuesan*.

In the present presentation of the circumscribed forms we have disregarded Latin influence completely. While we do not discredit Latin influence entirely, still we fear that it may easily be exaggerated and overestimated. Moreover, if we can explain such phenomena as circumscribed verb forms on the ground of innate tendencies in the language itself, we feel that we are probably nearer the truth, than if we assume that they are a slavish imitation of a foreign construction. The fact that we find similar circumscriptions in other Indo-European languages would merely indicate that they are innate in all these languages. They may have been developed independently. One language affected another in this respect, probably no further than that it helped promote this tendency of circumscribing verb forms, after it had once been started in the other.

### III. Uses of the Circumscribed verb forms.

#### A. Circumscribed Aktionsarten.

It was said above that the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" owed their origin to the fact, that the tense tendency was encroaching upon the "Aktionsarten." It was also pointed out that the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" were very probably all perfective (durativ) ingressive, and perfective (durativ) effective. Therefore, the non-circumscribed forms must be either pure tense forms or perfectiv momentan. The circumscribed tense forms, which grew out of these circumscribed "Aktionsarten" are, of course, pure perfect and pluperfect tenses in the case of circumscriptions with *hebbian* and *uuesan*; and present and preterit tenses, in the case of circumscriptions with *uuerdan*.

A comparison will make clear the use of the circ. "Aktionsarten"

#### 1) Simple verb

*uuesan*:

3426 *hiet thiem at erist geban*

*thia that lezt uuarun liudi cumana*

*uueeros te them uuirke, endi mid is uuordon gibod*

*that man them mannon iro mieda forguldi*

alles at aftan them thar quamun at erist tuo  
uullendi te them uerke.—C

*uuarun cumana* and *quamun* are parallel: the former denotes *were in a state of having come*, (perf. durat. effectiv), the latter denotes *came* and is a pure tense form or perfectiv momentan. The difference between the two forms is, therefore, merely a subjective one.

Compare: 563-565.

hebbian:

1199 cos im the cuninges thegn Crist te herran

4147 habdun ina gikoranan te thiū

cos is a mere tense form

habdun gikoranan is a circumscribed Aktionsart. The difference between the two forms is subjective.

uuerdan:

557 Ic gisiu that gi sind ediligiburdiun

cunnies fon cnosle godun: nio her er sulica comana ni uurdun

eri fon odrun thiodun; sidor ik mosta thesas erlo folkes

giuualdan thesas uuidon rikeas. Gi sculun mi te uuarun seggean

for thesun liudio folke, bihuui gi sin te thesun lande cumana.

Tho spracun im eft teggenes gumon ostronea

uurdspahe uueros: 'Uui thi te uuarun mugun' quadun sie. . . .

'bihuui uui quamun an thesan sid herod

fon ostan thesaro erdu'.

The difference between:

*cumana* uurdun

*sin cumana* (C *cuman*)

*quamun*

is a subjective one.

*uurdun cumana* denotes, became such as are in a state of being here. It is perf. ingressive.

*sin cumana* denotes are such as are in the state of being here. It is perf. effective.

*quamun* denotes merely came. It is either a pure tense form or it may be perf. momentan.

2) Compound verbs.

We need refer here only to our discussion of §186 in Behaghel's *Syntax des Heliand* and then consider the following examples:

(II A b 1)

1199 cos im thi cuninges thegn Crist te herran

1186 gecurun im thana nerian dan Krist helagna te herron. C.f. 147

4147 habdun ina gicoranen te thiū

Here the author is again making a subjective distinction:

cos is a pure tense form,  
gicurun is perfect momentan, and  
habdun gicoranen is perfect (durative) effective.

### 3) Circumscribed tense forms.

It was stated above that the difference between the circumscribed "Aktionsart" and the circumscribed tense forms was a subjective difference; the circumscribed "Aktionsart" denoting state or condition, the circumscribed tense denoting completed action. Here we must point out a peculiarity in the use. We often meet with a sudden shift in point of view.

1957 So hue so iu than antifahit thurh ferhtan hugi,  
thurh mildean mod; so habad minan ford  
uulleon geuarhten endi oc uualdand god  
antfangan fader iuuuan,

3526 thar uuerdat mina hendi gebundana  
fadmos uuerdad mi thar gefastnod.

Such sudden shifts in point of view must not cause us too much surprise. They are characteristic of the old writers. C.f. Kellner: *Historic Outlines of English Syntax*, § 9 "The syntax of older periods is natural, naïf, that is, it follows much more closely the drift of the ideas, of mental images; the diction, therefore, looks as if it were extemporised, as if written on the spur of the moment, while modern syntax fettered by logic, is artificial, the result of literary tradition, and, therefore, far from being a true mirror of what is going on in the mind. . . ."

Also we would suggest as a possible explanation the fact that the author, being an ecclesiast or at least one versed in scriptures, was trying to imitate the parallelism in the Hebrew poetry of the psalms. Compare especially 3526-3527.

Futhermore the following might be referred to for comparison,

He was gone when I arrived

He had gone " " "

Die Tür wird geschlossen

Die Tür ist geschlossen

These phrases merely indicate a shift in point of view in the author's mind.

We would also call attention to the following sentence taken from Raabe's *Der Hungerpastor* p 511. "(Der Brief) musste dem Poststempel zufolge, am vorigen Abend in den

Briefkasten *geworfen sein*." We certainly would expect *geworfen worden sein*!

We are well aware that since the Old-Saxon language is clearly in a transitional stage, there will be investigators who will challenge our method of procedure and our interpretation. For example, it will be pointed out to us that sentences like the following occur:

- 4405 Huan gisah thi man enig  
*bethuungen* an sulicun tharabun?  
 2150 than findis thu *gesund* at hus (C-gesundan!)  
 magoiungan man

Here *bethuungen* and *gesund* are uninflected. However, such cases are so rare that they can hardly be considered as the regular practice. They are rather to be considered as the exception. Futhermore, would it not be possible to regard—*bethuungen*—as purely temporal and not as denoting state? In that case it would denote completed action and not state attained. This would account for the lack of inflection, namely on analogy of the perfect participle in the circumscribed *tense* forms. As to—*gesund*—(if indeed M is the correct reading), we may assume that here the adjective is loosing its inflection and following in the wake of the uninflected perfect participle. At any rate we cannot see that such cases militate against our method of procedure.

As to our interpretation of the circumscribed verb forms and our explanation of the sudden shift from one form to another, we would refer to our present day use of the perfect and the preterit tenses. We know of no rule that marks definitely the distinction between these two tenses, and we often meet with a sudden shift from one to the other owing to a change of point of view in the author's mind. Considering the fact that the distinction between the circumscribed *Aktion-sart* and the circumscribed tenses was much more subtle than the distinction between the preterit and the perfect tenses is today, and the fact that the perfect tense was just being developed and that it had no literary tradition behind it, we need not marvel that the author is subjective in his use of these forms.

#### B. Circumscribed tense forms.

The tense value of the perfect and the pluperfect in Old-Saxon corresponds to our modern English perfect and plu-



perfect. Their use as compared with that of the preterit is also the same as in modern English.

1) There is a subjective difference between the perfect and the pluperfect as compared with the preterit. The perfect and pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or past. The preterit denotes merely past action.

5710 all so is uuillio *geng*  
endi hie *habda gimarcod* er manno cunnie—C.

2) Sometimes the preterit is used in place of the perfect or the pluperfect just as in modern English (Kellner §366 §373), due to a survival of the original use of the preterit, at a time when there were only two tenses and the preterit performed the function of the perfect and the pluperfect. We are concerned with this question here only in so far as it furnishes further proof for the fact that the use of the tenses is a subjective matter.

In the following cases the preterit is probably used for the perfect:

1) Simple verb:

2151 mod is imu an luston,  
that barn is gehelid, so thu *bedi* te mi C.f. 523 bidun

2) Compound verb:

3254 Nu ik thi sulica giuuald *fargaf*  
that thu mines hiiuiskes herost uuaris,  
mannages mannkunnies, nu scalt thu im mildi uuesan  
liudiu lithi.

In the following cases we should probably prefer the pluperfect:

1) Simple verb:

5873 Thuo uurthun oc an this burg cumana  
Iudeono uuardos thia obar themo grabe *satun* alla langa naht.—C  
C.f. 5876 quamun 4724 uuas 4934 uuas

2) Compound verb:

5947 Thuo uuarth thie helago Crist  
eft opanlicoo oder sithu  
drohtin gitogid, sithor hie fan dode *astuod*,—C  
C.f. 4996 gesprak, 3609 giscop, 2293 auuohs

This list is not intended to be exhaustive. These few examples have merely been given to show that the preterit can be used for the perfect and the pluperfect tense.

From the above presentation it is clear that the use of the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" as compared with the tenses, and the use of the circumscribed tenses as compared with the simple preterit form is subjective.

## PART II. BEOWULF

The Heliand was written about 830. The manuscript of the Beowulf is usually accepted to have been made in the eleventh century, though the individual poems of which it consists were composed some centuries before.

Now to appreciate the comparison, which we are going to make, we must bear in mind:

I. The Saxons who went to "England" with the Angles in about 450 spoke Saxon just as well as their brothers and sisters and relatives who stayed behind on the continent. They did not change their language as soon as they set foot on the island. They employed the same vocabulary and the same grammatical constructions as their Saxon relatives on the continent. Their language had the same innate tendencies as that of their fellow Saxons in Saxony. Therefore, if conditions had been identically the same on the island as on the continent, the Saxon dialect in "England" and the Saxon dialect on the continent would have developed in identically the same way.

II. Conditions on the island, however, were not the same as on the continent. Without mentioning the many other factors which may influence the course of development of a language, we need point out here only the one fact, that Saxon came in contact with another language. Though, to be sure, it almost completely supplanted the other language, nevertheless we cannot assume that it did not experience some influence.

III. Our present manuscript of the Beowulf was made about two hundred years later than the manuscript of the Heliand. And in general the language of the Beowulf shows a later stage of development than the language of the Heliand.

Turning to the Beowulf now, we find that the circumscribed verb forms offer at first sight a very bewildering and complexing aspect. And, indeed, a study of the beowulf alone would not enable us to ascertain the fundamental principles that govern

the formation and use of the circumscribed verb forms and their origin.

We can, however, understand them if we compare them with the circumscribed verb forms in Old-Saxon. Though we may detect some differences between the circumscribed verb forms in Old-Saxon and those in the Beowulf, still the similarity between them in general is so clear that we can easily discover that they are due to the same causes and the same tendencies.

An examination of the Beowulf shows that

I. the state of the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon is, with some modifications the same as that of Old-Saxon; for we find

1, that the method of circumscription is the same. The same auxiliaries are employed: habban, wesan, weorthan.

Active

weorthan:

- 824 Denum eallum *weard*  
 äfter þam wäl-raese willa *gelumpen* (perhaps passive)
- 1233 þær wäs symbla cyst,  
 druncon win weras: wyrd ne cuðon,  
 geð-sceaft grimme, swa hit *agangen weard*  
 eorla manegum, syððan aefen cwom  
 and him Hroðgar gewat to hofe sinum,  
 rice to räste.

wesan:

- 361 Her *syndon* geferede feorran *cumene*  
 ofer geofenes begang Geata leode:  
 þone yldestan oret-mecgas Beowulf namnad
- 3078 Oft sceall eorl monig anes willan  
 wraec adreogan, swa us *geworden is*
- 2726 (wisse he gearwe  
 þät he däg-hwila gedrogen hæfde  
 eorðan wyne; þa wäs eall *sceacen*  
 dogor-gerimes, deað ungemete neah)

habban:

- 202 þone sid-fät him snotere ceorlas  
 lyt-hwon logon, þeah he him leaf waere;  
 hwetton higerofne, hael sceawedon.  
*Häfde* se goda Geata leoda  
 cempan *gecorone*, þara þe he cenoste  
 findan mihte;
- 940 nu scealc *hafad*  
 þurh drihtnes miht daed *gefremede*,

- þe we ealle aer ne meahton  
snyttrum besyrwan.  
104 fifel-cynnes eard  
won-saelig wer weardode hwile,  
siddan him scyppend *forscrifen hūfde*.  
407 Wes þu Hroðgar hal! ic eom Higelaces  
maeg and mago-þegn; *hūbbe* ic maerða fela  
*ongunnen* on geogorde.

## Passive:

## weorthan:

- 1240 benc-þelu beredon, hit *geond-braeded weard*  
beddum and bolstrum.

## wesan:

- 1821 *Waeron* her tela  
willum *bewenede*; þu us wel dohtest.

Therefore, the method of formation of the circumscribed forms is the same in the Beowulf as in Old-Saxon.

## 2. Position of the perfect participle.

The position of the perfect participle is unsettled in Anglo-Saxon just the same as it was found to be in Old-Saxon.

## wesan:

- 361 Her syndon geferede, feorran cumene. . . . Geata leode  
Aux.-part-subj.  
1137 þa wæs winter scacen . . . .  
Aux-subj-part.

## habban:

- 408 hābbe ic maerða fela ongunnen. . . .  
h-obj-part  
2382 hāfdon hy forhealden helm. . . .  
h-part-obj.  
2708 and hi hyne þa begen abroten hāfdon  
obj-part-h.

## weorthan:

- 2962 þær weard Ongenþio ecgum sweorda,  
blonden-fexa on bid wrecan  
Aux-subj-part.  
3062 þa sio faehð gewearð  
gewrecen wradlice  
subj-aux-part.  
413 siddan aefen-leoht  
under heofenes hador beholen weorðeð.  
subj-part-aux.

Hence it is clear that the position of the perfect participle is not fixed but is free, just the same as in Old-Saxon.

### 3) Inflection of perfect participle

In Old-Saxon it was found that the inflection of the perfect participle was not due to the position of the perfect participle; nor could it be said that a certain class of verbs was always inflected and others not. The inflection was due rather to a subjective difference between the inflected and the uninflected form.

The following table will show in what positions the inflected and the uninflected perfect participle occur in the Beowulf. To be sure, only those cases are considered in which the perfect participle should normally be inflected according to the general rule for adjective inflection.

Inflected		Uninflected	
weorthan		weorthan	
none		none	
.....		.....	
wesan			
361	<i>syndon geferede feorran cumene leode</i>	388	<i>sint wil-cuman!</i> <sup>1</sup>
1000	<i>heorras tohlidene</i>		
1247	<i>waeron gearwe (adj?)</i>		
1821	<i>waeron bewenede</i>		
habban			
205	<i>häfde cempan gecorone</i>	2381	<i>häfdon forhealden helm</i>
940	<i>hafað daed gefremede</i>	3047	<i>häfde edne genyttod</i>
		104	<i>him forscrifen häfde</i>
		1295	<i>anne häfde befangen</i>

These examples are, indeed, too few in number to enable us to detect any underlying principle regarding the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle. However, in Old-Saxon we found that the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle involved a subjective difference. Therefore, since Anglo-Saxon and Old-Saxon are related as they are, and since we can discover no other principle in Anglo-Saxon that would explain the inflection and the non-inflection of the participles we may safely assume that the same principle obtained in both languages; namely that the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle involve a subjective difference.

<sup>1</sup>Probably a semi-technical term.

## 4) Tense Value

It was found in Old-Saxon that, wherever the perfect participle was inflected, it was felt as an adjective belonging to the noun and the tense of the circumscribed form was determined by the tense of the auxiliary. Wherever, on the other hand, the perfect participle was not inflected, though in accordance with the general rule for adjective inflection, we should expect inflection, it was felt as belonging to the verb and the circumscribed verb form was a pure tense form i.e. the ones with hebbian and uesan were perfect and pluperfect tenses, the ones with uerdan were present or preterit. The difference between the circumscribed verb form with inflected participle and the circumscribed verb form with uninflected perfect participle was merely a subjective one; the former denoting state or condition attained, the latter denoting completed action.

There were many cases in which we found a surprising sudden shift from the one to the other in the same sentence. This, however, we concluded was characteristic to the style of the older authors. They were more subjective and naïf in their style than the modern writers, who are hampered by grammatical rules and literary tradition.

The following table will give a list of all the cases in which the perfect participle is inflected and of all the cases, in which the perfect participle is not inflected, though according to the general rule for adjective inflection we should expect it to be inflected. The cases in which the participle would normally not be inflected are, of course, disregarded here.

Active

	<i>Inflected</i>		<i>Uninflected</i>
weorthan:	none		none
.....			.....
wesan:			
361 her syndon cumene		388	sint wil-cuman
.....			.....
habban:			
205 häfde cempan gecorone		104	him forscifen häfde
940 hafað daed gefremede		665	häfde sele-weard aseted
		1294	anne häfde befangen
		1341	hafað faehde gestaeled
		1473	hine gedyred häfde

1600	hine abroten häfde
2322	häfde land-wara befangen
2381	häfdon forhealden helm
2454	hafað daeda gefondad
2707	hyne abroten häfdon
2725	däg-hwila gedrogen häfde eordan wynne
3047	häfde ende genyttod
3076	häfde est gesceawod
826	häfde gefaelsod sele genered
829	häfde gilp gelaested

## Passive

## weorthan:

none

none

## wesan:

361	syndon geferede
1000	heorras tohlidene
1821	waeron bewenede
1247	waeron gearwe (adj?)

These few examples would not enable us to detect any underlying principle, especially in a case of this kind, which involves a subjective distinction. However, a few facts can be detected and these together with a comparison of conditions in Old-Saxon will help us arrive at an understanding of the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon.

1. We find pure perfect and pluperfect tenses of intransitive verbs with *habban* in Anglo-Saxon:

2631 hie gegan häfdon.

Such forms show an advanced stage of tense formation, and, therefore, we know that perfect and pluperfect tenses actually did exist in Anglo-Saxon.

2. The perfect participle of *cuman* does not take the prefix *gi-*. Neither did it in Old-Saxon.

3. The perfect participle of *cuman* and *kiosan* tend towards the inflected form. The same was true in Old-Saxon.

4. Adjectives inflect the same as in Old-Saxon.

446	ac he me habban wile dreore dahne	Anglo-Sax.
1523	Tho namun ina wrede man so gebundan	Old-Saxon

Thus we see that conditions in Anglo-Saxon were the same as conditions in Old-Saxon. Hence, we can infer that the difference between the circumscribed form with inflected and the circumscribed form with uninflected perfect participle was also the same. Wherever the participle is inflected it is felt as an adjective belonging to the noun and the circumscribed form denotes state or condition and is *present* or *preterit*; wherever it is uninflected it is felt as belonging to the verb and the circumscribed form denotes completed action and is *perfect* or *pluperfect* in the case of *habban* and *wesan*; and *present* in the case of *weordan*. The difference between the two circumscriptions is therefore a subjective one.

We need not discuss all the examples. A few will suffice to prove this statement.

- 1821 Waeron her tela  
willum bewendede; þu us wel dohtest.  
*waeron bewendede* and *dohtest* are same tense; therefore  
preterit (were kindly served, you treated us well)
- 205 Hāfde se goda Geata leoda  
cempan gecorone, þara þe he cenoste  
findan mihte  
had of the Goths people chosen companions (i.e. chose companions, so  
that he had them as chosen ones in his possession)
- 940 Nu scealc hafad  
þurh drihtnes miht daed gefremede  
þe we calle aer ne meahton  
snytttrum besyrwan.  
Now this warrior has a deed performed; not has performed a deed. (present)
- 361 Her syndon geferede feorran cumene  
ofer geofenes begang Geata leode  
Hither are borne come from afar over ocean's course people of the Goths.  
(present)
- 1339 and nu oder cwom  
mihtig man-scada wolde hyre maeg wrecan  
ge feor hafad faede gestaeled,  
and now is come another mighty fell destroyer who would her son avenge  
she far off has established warfare. (perfect-c.f. 2453 and others)
- 666 Hāfde kyninga wuldor  
Grendle to-geanes, swa guman gefrungon,  
sels-weard *aseted* Pluperfect.

## II. Origin of the Circumscribed verb forms.

In our study of the Heliand we believe to have been able to show that the circumscribed verb forms were due to an



effort to maintain the perfective "Aktionsart" (perfective, inchoativ, resultativ) against the encroachment of the tense tendency in the Old-Saxon language. The result was that the perfective "Aktionsart" was circumscribed with *hebbian*, *uesan* and *uerdan*. From these circumscriptions of the perfective "Aktionsart" the circumscribed tenses were developed. We also showed how the intransitive durative verbs come to take *hebbian*; while the intransitive perfective verbs took *uesan* in the circumscribed tenses.

Now if we find that the author of the *Beowulf* discriminates in the same way in his choice of the auxiliary for perfective and durative verbs, we can assume that these circumscriptions owe their origin to the same causes.

The following table will give a summary of all the intransitive verbs in the *Beowulf*.<sup>2</sup>

	<i>Perfective intransitive</i>	<i>Durative intransitive</i>
734	<i>alumpen wäs</i>	
2728	<i>wäs sceacan</i> (1137-1125-2307)	
360	<i>syndon cumene</i> (275-388)	
.....		
		2631 <i>gegan häfdon</i>
		220 <i>gewaden häfde</i>
		2105 <i>geseten häfdon</i>
		1551 <i>häfde forsiod</i>
		1856 <i>hafast gefered thaet</i> (1221)
3079	<i>swa us geworden is</i> (1305)	.....
2821	<i>wäs gegongen</i> (821-3036)	2027 <i>hafad geworden thaet</i>
		894 <i>häfde gegongen thaet</i>
.....		

The examples given above show that perfective verbs take *wesan*, *alimpan*, *sceacan*, *cuman*, *weorthan*; durative verbs take *habban*, *gan*, *gewadan*, *gesittan*, *forsithian*, *geferan*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Classen says in his "History of the English Language," (London 1919) pp. 28-29: "In the compound tenses Old-English used the auxiliaries *haban* 'to have' and *wesan* 'to be.' Intransitives were conjugated with *wesan* and transitives with *haban*."

This statement undoubtedly needs revision.

A few cases need special attention:

3079 geworden is, and 1305 was geworden are regular, according to the rule that perfective verbs take *wesan*. In line 2027, however, we find *hafad geworden*. The use of *habban* may be explained on the following grounds,

1) Any verb may contain perfective or durative meaning (Behaghel §186). Therefore, in these circumscribed forms the author will use either *wesan* or *habban* according as he wishes to express the perfective or the durative force.

2) the verb *weorðan* is used here in the sense of appear to, seem proper. It is used in a transferred or unusual sense and, therefore, we may assume that it has lost its perfective force. Hence the use of *habban*.

1855 *hafast gefered* (1221) and 894 *häfde gegongen* are regular in as much as both are durative verbs and are here inclining towards transitive sense. 2821 *wäs gegongen* (821-3036) is probably derived from *gegan* and is therefore perfective.

In 1550, *häfde forsidod* is either felt to be durative or it shows that *habban* is usurping the place of *wesan*.

Thus we can detect the same underlying principle as in Old-Saxon. Therefore, we can conclude that the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon originated in the same way as those in Old-Saxon, namely from an effort to circumscribe the perfective "Aktionsart."

However, it would seem that the Aktionsarten were not so distinctly felt in Anglo-Saxon as in Old-Saxon; for

1) *geweorðan* occurs in the place of *weorðan* in the circumscribed verb forms:

3062 *þa sio faehd gewearð gewrecen wradlice*

2) Circumscriptions with *weorðan* are rare, or may be said to be dying out and supplanted by *wesan*:

1311 *Hrade wäs to bure Beowulf fetod sigor-eadig secg.*

643 *þa wäs eft swa aer inne on healle*

*þryd-word sprecen*

1400 *þa wäs Hrodgare hors gebaeted,*  
*wicg wunden-feax.*

1630 *þa wäs of þäm hroran helm and byrne*  
*lungre alysed.*

3) *habban* seems to be infringing upon *wesan* wherever the Aktionsart is not clearly felt:

2027 *hafad geworden*

## III. Use of the Circumscribed Verb Forms.

## 1. Circumscribed Aktionsart

In Old-Saxon it was seen that the use of the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" as compared with the pure tenses was determined by the subjective point of view of the author. That the same principle holds true for Anglo-Saxon can be seen from the following:

## Simple verb

- 569 *Leoht eastan com,*  
*beorht beacen godes; brimu swadredon,*  
*þæt ic sae-næssas geseon mihte,*  
*windige weallas.*

## Compound verb

- 115 *Gewat þa neosian, siddan niht becom,*  
*þean huses, hu hit Hring-Dene*  
*æfter beor-þege gebun hæfdon.*

## Circumscribed Aktionsart

- 361 *Her syndon geferede feorran cumene*  
*ofer geofenes þegang Geata leode:*

Com in 596 is probably merely a tense form; becom in 115 is probably perfectiv momentan; syndon cumene is perfectiv (durativ) effectiv.

Compare also the following transitive verb:

- 2819 *aer he bael cure*—before he chose the pile (pure tense) (wählte)  
 2639 *he usic on herge geccas to þyssum sid-fate*—he chose us in his band for this expedition (perf. momentan) (erwählte)  
 205 *hafde cempa georone*—he chose companions so that he had them. (Perf. effect or ingress.)

The difference between the circumscribed Aktionsart and the circumscribed tense form is also subjective:

- 940 *Nu scealc hafad*  
*þurh drihtnes miht daed gefremede,*  
*þe we ealle aer ne meahton*  
*snytttrum besyrwan.*
- 2451 *Symblye bið gemyndgad morna gehwylce*  
*eaforan ellorsid; odres ne gymed*  
*to gebidanne burgum on innan*  
*yrfe-weardes, þonne se an hafad*  
*þurh deades nyd daeda gefondad.*
- 940 Now this warrior *has* through the Lord's might a deed *performed* which we all ere could not with cunning machinate.
- 2451 ever will he be reminded every morning of his offspring's death; another heir he dares not await within his burghs when the one has through death's necessity expiated his deeds.

The difference between these two sentences is, I take it, the same as between:

I have the letter written and  
I have written the letter.

## 2. Circumscribed Tenses.

Just as in Old-Saxon, so the tense value of the perfect and pluperfect in Anglo-Saxon correspond to the perfect and pluperfect tenses in modern English. Their use as compared with the preterit is also the same as in modern English.

a) There is a subjective difference between the perfect and the pluperfect as compared with the preterit. The perfect and pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or the past. The preterit denotes merely past action.

- 1187 hwät wit to willan and to word-myndum  
umbor wesendum aer arna *gefremedon* (did-performed)
- 474 hwät me Grendel *hafað*  
hyndo on Heorote mid his hete-þancum  
faer-nida *gefremed* (has done)
- 104 fifel-cynnes eard  
won-saelig wer weardode hwile,  
siddan him scyppend *forscrifen hæfde*
- 375 is his eafora nu  
heard her cumen, sohte holdne wine.  
(is come (-for-)he sought)

b) Sometimes the preterit is used in place of the perfect and the pluperfect.

Preterit for perfect:

- 656 Naefre ic aenegum men aer *alyfde*,  
siddan ic hond and rond hebban mihte  
þryð-ærn Dena buton þe nuþa.  
(Never have I to any before entrusted. . . .)

Preterit for pluperfect.

- 1978 Gesät þa wid sylfne se þa säcce genäs,  
maeg wid maege, siddan man-dryhten  
þurh hleodor-cwyde holdne gegrette  
meaglum wordum. (had come—had greeted)
- 227 gode þancedon,  
þäs þe him yd-lade eade *wurdon*. had been (become)—geworden waren.
- 692 Naenig heora þohte þät he þanon scolde  
eft eard-lufan aefre gesecean,  
folc odde freo-burh, þær he afeded wäs,  
ac he hæfdon gefrunen, þät hie aer to fela micles

in þām win-sele wāl-dæd fornam, (had taken)  
Denigea leode.

C.f. 2160 hæfde—2174 geaf.

#### Results:

In summing up the results, we must bear in mind that the Beowulf is a poem and that the language is in a transitional stage. As a consequence, a circumscribed form may occasionally be used in place of a simple or a compound verb; or a simple or compound verb in place of a circumscribed form. However, the general elegance of the poem would constrain us to believe that such cases are very rare. Our results are as follows:

#### I. State of the circumscribed verb form in the Beowulf.

1. We find circumscriptions consisting of the perfect participle and some form of the verbs *habban*, *weorðan*, *wesan*.
2. The position of the perfect participle is not determined by any syntactical rule. It may occur before or after the subject or object and before or after the auxiliary.
3. The inflection of the perfect participle is not dependent upon its position in the sentence; nor can it be said that it is due to the nature of the verb *per se*. It is due rather to a subjective difference in the point of view of the author.
4. As to the tense value, the circumscribed forms with inflected participle are present or preterit and denote state or condition. The forms with uninflected participle and *habban* and *wesan* (in those cases in which we should expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection) are perfect and pluperfect and denote completed action. The forms with *weorðan* and the uninflected participle are present or preterit and differ from the form with inflected participle in so far as they denote completed action while the form with inflected participle denotes state or condition. The cases in which the perfect participle would normally be uninflected we did not discuss here. They can be determined only from the context or by "Satzmelodik."

## II. Origin of the circumscribed verb forms.

The circumscribed verb forms arose from an effort to maintain the perfective "Aktionsart" against the encroachment of the tense tendency. From these circumscriptions of the perfective "Aktionsart" the circumscribed tenses arose. As a consequence the circumscribed tenses (perfect and pluperfect) of intransitive perfective verbs took *wesan*; the intransitive durative verbs and all transitive verbs took *habban*. In the Passive the circumscribed forms with *weorðan* became pure present and preterit forms, the circumscribed forms with *wesan* became perfect and pluperfect. However, the "Aktionsarten" are not so clearly felt in Anglo-Saxon as they were in Old-Saxon. *Weorðan* seems to be dying out and to be replaced by *wesan*. *Habban* is intruding upon *wesan* wherever the "Aktionsart" is not distinctly felt.

## III. Use of the circumscribed verb forms.

1. The use of the circumscribed "Aktionsart" as compared with the simple and the compound verb and the circumscribed tense forms is determined by the subjective point of view of the author.
2. The use of the circumscribed verb forms as compared with the simple preterit form is also subjective.
  - a) The perfect and the pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or the past. The preterit denotes past action.
  - b) The preterit is sometimes used in place of the perfect or the pluperfect.

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## HEINE'S FAMILY FEUD—THE CULMINATION OF HIS STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

Among the chapters in Heine's life which a new Heine biography will have to rewrite substantially is Heine's struggle with his relatives over the estate of his deceased uncle, the millionaire Solomon Heine. The version of Strodtmann, Heine's chief biographer, still commonly accepted by serious students, was based on very incomplete data and written with an obvious bias in Heine's favor. It limited itself chiefly to quoting extracts from Heine's letters calculated to put all the blame on Solomon's heirs and to reinforcing these utterances with strong invectives of his own. In pursuing this course Strodtmann, doubtless in good faith, propagated Heine's own official version of the matter—a version woven out of very thin tissue, as one discovers in scrutinizing its fabric without prejudice, but which, by force of repetition, has gained such a foot-hold among Heine's admirers that it is likely to stand for a long time despite anything to be said against it.<sup>1</sup>

The new edition of Heine's correspondence<sup>2</sup> happily presents such a wealth of data concerning this struggle, in the form of letters by Heine, letters to Heine, and letters exchanged between other parties in Heine's behalf, that it is possible to reconstruct from them, almost without a gap, the entire history of the campaign, or rather series of campaigns, which Heine conducted against his uncle's heirs. The nature of this miniature warfare may hold the reader breathless upon discovering the subtle cunning lurking behind apparently innocent manoeuvres, the stealth and ingenuity of covert advances, feinted attacks and strategic retreats; and shock him by the ruthlessness and perfidy encountered at every step; but no portrait of Heine can lay claim to truth without pencilling in these sinister traits of his character and blending them convincingly with those that lend sensitiveness and spiritual refinement to his features.

<sup>1</sup> Even Friederich Hirth, the indefatigable collector and editor of Heine's correspondence, repeats substantially, in his introduction to Volume One, the Strodtmann legend.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Heine's Briefwechsel. Herausgegeben von Fr. Hirth; vol. I, 1914, G. Müller, München; vol. II, 1917, G. Müller, München; vol. III, 1920, Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin.



On December 28, 1844 Heine learned from his sister the news of his wealthy uncle's death. Altho this announcement shocked him to such an extent that he was unable to shed a tear, he felt no uneasiness concerning the stipulations of his uncle's will; in fact, he regarded his economic future as assured, and his thoughts were already engaged with the erecting of a biographical monument of gratitude to his benefactor.<sup>3</sup> When, therefore, a few days later Carl Heine, Solomon's son and heir-in-chief, communicated to him the fact that instead of liberally increasing his annual pension his uncle's will left him a legacy of a paltry 8000 marks, coupled with an offer on Carl's part to continue the pension on condition that Heine submit to his censorship any manuscript he might write in regard to Solomon,<sup>4</sup> Heine was thrown into a state of utter panic. He at once sent Carl a declaration of open war and began to marshal all the forces at his command for a fight to the finish. Heine's sojourn at Paris had been punctuated by an almost incessant series of personal and literary polemics; into all of them he plunged with a certain zest, keyed up by the consciousness of displaying his fine swordsmanship, went to play with his adversary for the sake of the spectacle, to taunt and bait his victim before driving home the final thrust. Here is a struggle of a totally different order. This is a silent, underground fight; the combatants are interlocked with clenched teeth; no spark save that of hate glitters in their eyes; and its conclusion finds Heine crumpled on the ground, bleeding and broken.

To understand this struggle it is indispensable to review in all conciseness, yet omitting no salient feature, the circumstances which led up to it, namely Heine's relations to his uncle and his uncle's family during all the previous years; to know as precisely as possible the extent to which Heine derived financial support from his uncle, as well as the manner in which it was solicited and bestowed; to sift in so far as possible the charges and counter-charges of Heine and his uncle's family; and to discover to what extent a tie of genuine affection linked Heine to his uncle and his kin. Only then it will be possible to apportion justly the blame for Heine's disappointed hopes and claims.

<sup>3</sup> Heine to his sister, Dec. 29, 1844.

<sup>4</sup> Heine to Detmold, Jan. 9, 1845.

From the time of his adolescence, Heine's relations to his uncle were of a double nature. On the one hand, Solomon had undertaken to launch Heine on a mercantile career, and he had every reason, from his practical business-man's viewpoint, to be highly disgusted with his nephew's incompetence and his indifference to his business. On the other hand, Heine, immediately upon arriving in Hamburg in 1816, fell violently in love with his uncle's daughter Amalie; or, to put it more correctly, he had come to Hamburg with the fixed idea of falling in love with his cousin, which he proceeded to do forthwith, only to meet with the rebuff that rankled in his heart for years to come. The situation is complicated by the well-known fact of Heine's falling in love with Amalie's sister Therese seven years later, when the old wound burst open and festered until the latter's marriage to Dr. Halle in 1828.

Whatever one can say about Heine's love for his two cousins must be tinged with speculation, since, as practically every Heine scholar will agree, his love poetry must be ruled out as a source of positive evidence. The few letters handed down to us, in which Heine unburdens himself in regard to his love, make it clear beyond a doubt that Heine believed himself to be genuinely in love with his cousin Amalie, and that he suffered cruelly upon finding his desires thwarted; but they also make the supposition more than probable that Heine was in love rather with the idea of marrying one of his cousins than with their persons. As regards Amalie, at any rate, it is absurd to speak of Heine's passion for her as love at first sight; it was rather a love in anticipation of sight, for when Heine had last seen Amalie, two years before coming to Hamburg, they had both been still mere youngsters, and as to Heine, he was even upon arriving in Hamburg still in the early high-strung stages of adolescence.<sup>5</sup> What is more likely, therefore, than that Heine, his imagination filled with tales of his uncle's wealth and luxury, his consciousness of his own intellectual superiority strained to the most exaggerated pitch, should from the outset have spun dreams of falling heir to a substantial share of the goods of this earth, accumulated by the slaves of the stock-market whom he felt to be immeasurably beneath him. In view of the fact that

<sup>5</sup> As convincingly established by Beyer in his book: "Der junge Heine." Bonner Forschungen 1911.

to the end of his life Heine clung in theory and practice to the claim that the money magnates of the earth, and more particularly his wealthy relatives, owed him a living commensurate with his luxurious tastes and his rank as an intellectual, the assumption that Heine was, perhaps subconsciously, actuated in part by pecuniary motives even at the time of his first wooing of Amalie, can not be lightly dismissed.

If Heine was impressed with the influential position which his uncle commanded in Hamburg society, he none the less, during the time of his Hamburg apprenticeship, did not rate his personality any higher than that of the average banker and stock-jobber.<sup>6</sup> It would be strange under these circumstances if Heine had succeeded in meeting his uncle outwardly on the terms of complete subordination and respect which the latter was wont to be shown by the other members of his family. It is far more likely that Heine, in keeping with his then ostentatiously rebellious attitude, made his uncle feel that he, the poet, was condescending in honoring him with his society. This attitude of Heine's and his utter failure in business doubtless laid the foundation for the sometimes good-natured, sometimes violent contempt which marked the relation of uncle to nephew until Solomon's death. Solomon's letters to Heine show that he always continued to rate him as an irresponsible youngster, a sort of entertaining good-for-nothing, who must constantly be shown his place, even if it takes the cane to do it.

A few years later, at the university, Heine found himself living on his uncle's charity, grudgingly enough given, partly because Solomon resented the spirit in which it was accepted and partly because he regarded it as wasted. In the meantime, however, Heine had learned to a certain extent to keep his feelings in check and, except when carried away by the passion of the moment, to appeal to his uncle by flattery rather than haughtiness. What grave psychological mistakes he made even then is shown by his dedication to his uncle of the "Tragödien und lyrisches Intermezzo" in 1823—a move which provoked Solomon's violent wrath.<sup>7</sup> The old man, who had no conception of his nephew's poetic talent, can scarcely be blamed for resent-

<sup>6</sup> Clearly shown by the tone of his reference to his uncle in his second letter to Sethe, October 27, 1816.

<sup>7</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, June 17, 1823.

ing seeing his name coupled with a cycle of lyrics which the initiated, who knew of Heine's passion for his uncle's daughter, could not but regard as an out and out falsification of reality. Heine must have known that his uncle could not judge his poems on the basis of their aesthetic merits. The fact that he nevertheless risked this dedication is an early striking instance of his vanity getting the better of his judgment.

During Heine's years of study Solomon's name appears frequently in his letters to intimate friends. The thermometer of his relations with his uncle was constantly changing, largely because his own attitude was far from stable. He could not bring himself to do without his uncle's support, at the same time that he felt it below his dignity to accept it. Constantly planning to arrange his affairs in such a way as to make his uncle's aid unnecessary for the future, his good intentions were contradicted at every step by the soliciting and accepting of gifts which tightened the meshes of his dependence. The irksomeness of his dependence was aggravated by constant humiliations, the common lot of poor relatives, and poison was added to bitterness when Heine felt himself regarded—rightly or wrongly—by the members of his uncle's household as an intruder, spied upon and slandered, for the purpose of undermining the last vestige of his uncle's confidence in him. Thus Heine, suspicious in the extreme, would scent foul play whenever his uncle's pocketbook remained closed; he would react now by writing a letter which he characterized as a masterpiece of dignity and scorn, another time he would boast of not even deigning to thank his uncle when the latter again opened his purse in a particularly reluctant way; but a third time he was equally certain to beg forgiveness submissively and to pile flattery upon Solomon: to wheedle him into new concessions.

One would expect this chapter to be closed with Heine's graduation from Göttingen in the summer of 1825. But as his plans, either to practice law in Hamburg or to become a lecturer at the University of Berlin, came to nothing, we find him depending upon his uncle after as before, with their relations fluctuating as much as ever. In December 1825 he dates a letter to his friend Moser "*Verdammtes Hamburg,*"<sup>8</sup> but

<sup>8</sup> December 14, 1825.

during the first days of January he finds his uncle very gracious.<sup>9</sup> Trouble thickens again when a friend of Heine's, a certain Cohn, takes it upon himself to play the intermediary between nephew and uncle, by telling the latter a long tale of woe and indiscreetly intimating that Heine had lost money in gambling. Heine, while freely admitting his gambling a little later to his easy-going friend Merkel,<sup>10</sup> denies this to the conscientious Moser with an access of fury which would have been quite intelligible even had there been no truth in the accusation.<sup>11</sup>

This incident was smoothed over, but matters came to a much more serious crisis in consequence of Heine's London trip in 1827 when, in addition to funds provided him by his uncle for the voyage, he cashed in a check for 200 pounds which he had induced his uncle to give him merely as a matter of form on the plea that it would serve as a very effective introduction to the Rothschild family. All in all, he must have drawn a pretty penny out of his uncle's pocket on that occasion, for he spent over 210 pounds in London, according to one letter of his,<sup>12</sup> and over 300 according to another,<sup>13</sup> and yet managed to send an order for 800 Talers to his friend Varnhagen for safe keeping, to provide for an emergency.<sup>14</sup> Thus, on one occasion at least, he did not practice the proverbial poet's improvidence. As to the 200 pounds obtained by trickery, we have Solomon's own words to vouch for the charge. In a letter of December 26, 1843, stimulated to good humor by a typical Hamburg Christmas dinner, he took occasion to recall to his nephew this little old time trick by recounting the story in the form of an anecdote—just by way of a reminder that old scores were not forgotten.<sup>15</sup>

From the year after the London incident we have a letter of Heine's to Solomon, written for the purpose of effecting a

<sup>9</sup> Heine to Moser, Jan. 9, 1826.

<sup>10</sup> Heine to Merkel, July 25 and August 16, 1826.

<sup>11</sup> Heine to Moser, Feb. 14, 1826.

<sup>12</sup> Heine to Merkel, August 20, 1827.

<sup>13</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, October 19, 1827.

<sup>14</sup> *ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> This letter, the authenticity of which can scarcely be questioned, is found, along with several other letters of Solomon's which I have occasion to refer to repeatedly, in the volume of "Heine-Reliquien," edited by Gustav Karpeles and Max Heine-Geldern. Berlin 1911.

reconciliation. The tone of this letter, dated September 15, 1828, bears visible evidence of the effort it cost the writer. On the one hand there is the attempt to placate and conciliate his uncle at any cost by showering him with protestations of love and respect; on the other hand Heine's pride and self-righteousness have their say by balancing the losses sustained by the uncle's purse against the wounds inflicted upon his own heart; in addition Heine would place the blame for their estrangement upon the malicious intrigues of other relatives.

Only in a general way do we know that Heine and his uncle seem to have been upon a better footing the year following,<sup>16</sup> whereas in 1830 matters took a critical turn once more. Certainly this was due at least partly, if not wholly, to the general cry of protest raised by the tone of Heine's polemics against Platen.<sup>17</sup> Very probably Solomon's wrath, which was doubtless dictated by the common verdict against Heine, was deep-seated enough to extend to his purse. Without this assumption it were difficult to explain why Heine, before his voluntary flight to Paris in 1831 should have had recourse to the bounty of a stranger, to whom he appealed on the ground of furthering the cause of Saint-Simonianism.<sup>18</sup>

During the first few years of Heine's life in Paris Heine's letters contain very little mention of his uncle, but the name of the latter's son Carl begins to assume a certain prominence. Carl found himself in Paris at the time of the cholera epidemic of 1832 and was among those stricken. Heine, who came to visit him often during his convalescence, took occasion to air this fact in press articles<sup>19</sup> and letters,<sup>20</sup> making it appear that he had braved the terrors of the cholera for the sake of a very dear relative.<sup>21</sup> Whether their friendship was reinforced

<sup>16</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, Nov. 19, 1830.

<sup>17</sup> Solomon to Heine, June 27, 1839.

<sup>18</sup> Heine to Hartwig Hesse. Cf. Hirth's introduction to Heine's correspondence, vol. I, p. 120.

<sup>19</sup> Werke V, 93. I quote the Elster edition thruout.

<sup>20</sup> Heine to Cotta, April 11, 1832.

<sup>21</sup> That Carl's illness was not—to say the least—Heine's only reason for staying appears from other letters which explain his reluctance to leave Paris once on the ground of his expecting interesting political developments (Heine to Cotta, April 2, 1832), and once on the ground of pure laziness (Heine to Varnhagen, about May 20, 1832). The latter explanation was, of course, sheer bravado, calculated to emphasize his courage, about which he felt sensitive, as other letters show.

by any other ties than those of pleasure,<sup>22</sup> whether, in fact, Carl, who was Heine's junior by a dozen years, came in for so much attention merely as a cousin rather than in his capacity of heir presumptive, I leave to the reader to judge on the basis of subsequent developments. At any rate they do not seem to have kept up any correspondence after Carl returned home, for Heine expressed his annoyance at Carl's silence to his brother Max.<sup>23</sup>

It is safe to assume that during these years Heine received occasional gifts of money from his uncle. Thus we know of a Christmas gift of 2000 francs in 1834.<sup>24</sup> But the fall of 1836 again brought a complete rupture of relations between them.<sup>25</sup> Altho the cause of this is nowhere explicitly stated, a partial clue is offered by Heine's letter of August 5, 1837, to his brother Max, in which Heine accuses his uncle of having perpetrated an act against him which violated his honor and most painfully damaged his material interests in Paris, at a time when Heine, bowed down by an attack of yellow fever and by financial difficulties, had written his uncle in a tone which should have aroused his sympathy rather than his anger. Fortunately we have Heine's own admission as to the words which so incensed his uncle. He had the audacity to tell him: "Das Beste, was an Ihnen ist, besteht darin, dass Sie meinen Namen führen."<sup>26</sup> But of the act of punishment with which Solomon struck back at Heine, we hear nothing definite. What could it have been? I venture the following explanation. Remembering that an aggravating illness and very serious financial reverses had reduced Heine to a state of morbid irritability, heightened probably by the pressing demands of impatient creditors, it is easy to realize how his thoughts must have wound themselves in desperation around the man who had millions beyond his wants and gave lavishly when his reputation could be thereby enhanced; so that Heine utterly lost his head at the time when he wrote his uncle in terms which cast all discretion to the winds. Now it is possible that Heine, too desperate to resort

<sup>22</sup> Heine to Christiani, July 15, 1833.

<sup>23</sup> Letter of April 21, 1834.

<sup>24</sup> Heine to Meyerbeer, April 6, 1835.

<sup>25</sup> Heine to Moser, November 8, 1836.

<sup>26</sup> Heine to Meyerbeer, March 24, 1839.

to entreaty, merely sent his uncle a peremptory demand for financial help; but could the latter's refusal to come to the rescue be construed as the "act which compromised Heine's honor and his credit in Paris"? I think not. But what if Heine, in blind desperation, had taken a short-cut and drawn a check upon his Paris banker against the name of Solomon Heine and simply announced to him the 'fait accompli' in a tone of resentment sharpened by his nervousness over what he had done? Granted this hypothesis, which certainly has nothing psychologically unlikely about it, in view of the London episode, what is more likely than that Solomon, stung to rage by this impudence, should have protested payment of the draft with a sarcastic note to the banker, cautioning him to trust to better guarantees than Heine's mere word for the future? This is only a hypothesis, I repeat, but it at least affords a plausible explanation for the most serious falling-out that occurred between Heine and his uncle.

Matters were now bad enough, but to make them worse, Heine's aunt, the wife of Solomon, died in January 1837, and Heine, smarting under the recent blow, felt unable to express his condolences to his uncle in other than the driest and most formal terms.

Here matters would have rested but for Heine's eternal financial difficulties. Altho at this time he was drawing an annual pension of 5000 francs from the French government and his income was further supplemented by royalties from his German and French publishers and by repeated drafts on the funds of the composer Meyerbeer, in return for press agent's services,<sup>27</sup> he confessed himself in January 1837 to be in debt to the extent of 20,000 francs.<sup>28</sup> Unlucky speculations and possibly gambling<sup>29</sup> rather than mere reckless spending must account for this comparatively enormous debt. To pay it back by means of his pen was out of the question, hence it became more necessary for him than ever to see amicable relations with his uncle restored. But Heine well knew that

<sup>27</sup> See Heine's letters to Meyerbeer of April 6, 1835 and May 24, 1842.

<sup>28</sup> Heine to Campe, January 23, 1837.

<sup>29</sup> When trying later to bridge the differences with his uncle, Heine cautions his friend Detmold that under no circumstances must Solomon learn the true source of his financial troubles (Heine to Detmold, July 29, 1837).



this time the end in view required extreme caution and delicate manipulation, and he made his preparations accordingly. It is worth our while to study these manoeuvres in detail, since they served as a model on a reduced scale for those which Heine set on foot after his uncle's death.

The first of these manoeuvres would scarcely be recognized as such by the reader who lacks acquaintance with the devious tactics which Heine had learned in the school of French journalism.<sup>30</sup> It took the form of a letter to his publisher, Campe, containing the following apparently innocent paragraph:<sup>31</sup>

Meine Mutter schreibt mir, ich gäbe ein Buch heraus mit einem Motto, worin ich Salomon Heine beleidige. Wer mag denn solche Lügen erfinden? Ich stehe schon schlecht genug mit meinem Oheim, ich sitze bis am Hals in grossen Zahlungsnöthen, und er lässt mich im Stich, aber ich bin nicht der Mann, der um dergleichen Misere auch nur in einer Zeile sich rächt. Gottlob, als ich meine 'Memoiren' schrieb, wo er oft besprochen werden musste, standen wir noch brilliant, und ich habe wahrlich ihn con amore gezeichnet.

On the face of it this looks like a purely personal confession, prompted by no other motive than that of unburdening himself to an intimate about a matter which touched him very keenly. But Heine was not in the habit of writing letters for the mere purpose of self-expression, least of all to his publisher, whom he, moreover, regarded as an awful gossip.<sup>32</sup> This letter, however, takes on an entirely new meaning when we assume that Heine counted upon its contents being retailed either directly or indirectly to his uncle. Then the following salient points of the letter take on a new aspect: 1) Certain other parties are interested in keeping Heine and his uncle embroiled; 2) Heine is in a terrible financial plight; 3) he feels grieved at his uncle's indifference to his troubles; 4) he emphasizes his own generosity by way of contrast and appeals to his uncle's vanity by referring to unpublished memoirs which, in all likelihood, existed at that time only in his imagination.<sup>33</sup> Proof

<sup>30</sup> As to Heine's initiation into the practices of French journalism, see his letter to Lewald, March 1, 1838.

<sup>31</sup> Heine to Campe, December 20, 1836.

<sup>32</sup> Heine refers to Campe as "die Schwatzlize" in his letter to Ferdinand Lassalle, February 27, 1846.

<sup>33</sup> Heine again refers to these memoirs at this time in his letters to Campe of January 23 and March 1, 1837. Both these letters, however, mention the memoirs not as a finished manuscript but as something still under his pen.

of the direct kind is lacking, to be sure, that this letter was intended for his uncle's rather than his publisher's consumption, but since succeeding events will show that it was a favorite device of Heine's to write letters for the consumption of a third party and even to add a covering note with full instructions to the addressee how to proceed in communicating its contents apparently on his own initiative, there can be no question that Heine either did so in this case, the covering note having been lost or destroyed, or that he relied upon Campe's intuitive tact to sense the real import of the missive. It should not be forgotten that Campe, being a resident of Hamburg, frequently negotiated with Heine's family on his behalf.

In terms of warfare the above letter to Campe would represent a scouting detachment, sent in advance of larger operations; in terms of diplomacy it would be called an informal feeler. Whatever steps Campe may have taken to approach Heine's uncle must have been ineffective, for on May 23 of the following year Heine again complains to Campe that he is on very bad terms with his uncle, who inflicted a terrible insult upon him the previous year, adding: "Es ist schlimm genug, dass dieser Mann, der, wie ich höre, Institute stiftet, um heruntergekommene Schacherer wieder auf die Beine zu bringen, seinen Neffen mit Weib und Kind in den unverschuldetsten Nöthen hungern lässt." It is impossible to suppress a smile at the phrase 'Weib und Kind,' one of Heine's most characteristic exaggerations, and one wonders who is supposed to figure as the child in this instance,—his wife Mathilde, who was certainly enough of a child to deserve the name, or Cocotte, the garrulous parrot that so often evoked Heine's jealousy!<sup>34</sup>

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Moreover these references to the memoirs are meant both as a threat and as an appeal to Campe's business instinct; for Heine alleges that his publisher, by his reluctance to pay the price Heine demanded for his "Börne," is causing him to shelve the writing of an exceedingly timely book in favor of something not intended for publication for years to come. I can mention only in passing that statements of Heine, calculated to force his publisher's hand, can never be taken at their face value.

<sup>34</sup> I cannot take seriously Karpeles' claim ("Heine und seine Zeitgenossen," p. 216 ff., Berlin, 1888) that Heine should have adopted a child for which he had stood god-father. Karpeles, always without a grain of critical objectivity,

After these first ineffective manoeuvres Heine began to marshal his forces in earnest. He had gathered enough from past experiences to realize that a reconciliation with his uncle would not be a guarantee against further troubles; hence he now made it his aim to get from his uncle the promise of a definite annual pension. To this end he first impressed the lawyer Herman Detmold and his brother Max, who was then on a visit in Hamburg, into his service. Detmold, whose friendship with Heine dated back to his student days, was one of those men, unfortunately, who by their readiness to use the most questionable means in serving the cause of a friend, made it regrettably easy for Heine to follow the baser side of his nature. Detmold, in fact, must be blamed for having steered Heine upon the disastrous course which he later pursued in connection with his uncle.<sup>25</sup>

The task intrusted to Detmold was to win over Heine's brother Max to the work of effecting the reconciliation. Heine's letter of July 29, 1837 gives him minute instructions how to proceed.

Max ist in Hamburg zum Besuche bey meiner Familie. Vor etwa fünf Wochen erhielt ich Brief von ihm aus Hamburg, worin er mir schrieb, dass er ungefähr drei Monath dableibe. Wenn Sie ihm daher dorthin baldigst schreiben, trifft ihn Ihr Brief. Er steht dort in höchster Gunst bey meinem Oheim, und es wäre möglich, dass Ihr Brief, worin Sie ihm über mich Nachricht geben, zu meinem Heile wirken kann. Sie müssen ihm nemlich die Seele heiss machen, dass er alles aufbietet, mich mit meinem Oheim zu versöhnen und mir bey demselben ein Jahrgeld auszuwirken. Der wahre Grund, warum meine Finanzen so schlecht stehen, dürfen Sie freylich nicht merken lassen, aber das Faktum, dass ich in der grössten Geldnoth bin, und die erschütterndsten Folgen daraus zu befürchten stehen, müssen Sie so pragmatisch hinstellen; dass diese Geldnoth, nur durch edles Unglück entstanden, eben zu meinem Vortheil spricht. In der That, Sie dürfen gestehen, dass ich um alle Früchte meines Fleisses geprellt worden, dass ich alles verkauft habe, um meine Schulden zu bezahlen, dass ich alle fremde Unterstützungshülfe abgelehnt, dass ich mich vergebens an meinen Onkel gewendet (das ist nicht wahr), dass Sie vernommen

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here follows the legend set a-foot, among others, by Heine's brother Gustav, whose pen-portrait of Heine pictured the dying poet as a sort of Christ, surrounded by beautiful children. See Gustav Heine's essay, dated August 28, 1855, as reprinted in "Heine-Reliquien," especially pages 250 and 259.

<sup>25</sup> Heine to Detmold, July 29, 1837: "Sie sehen, Ihr Unterricht hat gefruchtet; wenn auf diesem Wege keine Hülfe kommt, so hab ich mein Latein verloren."

hätten, wie unbarmherzig mein Onkel mir alle Hülfe entzogen (das ist auch nicht wahr)—kurz, Sie schreiben ihm einen Brief, womit er bey meinem Oheim, welcher empört seyn wird, dass man ihn solcher Lieblosigkeit fälschlich beschuldigt, etwas ausrichten kann.<sup>36</sup>

Two features of this letter deserve the closest attention. In the first place, the duplicity practiced by Heine against both his uncle and his intermediary, his brother Max, in regard to the causes of his financial troubles and the steps he had taken to adjust them. We are left in the dark as to the actual facts in the case, unfortunately, because Heine's confidential explanation of his troubles to Detmold had been given orally, during the latter's visit to Heine in Paris. In the second place, the remarkable psychology of Heine's approach to his uncle. So Heine expected to placate his uncle by having patent falsehoods, emanating from himself, reported to his uncle, who, instead of sending his nephew to the devil, is expected to demonstrate the falsity of these accusations by opening his purse once more! We ask in astonishment, is this a prudent course to pursue, gauged merely by the likelihood of its success? Does it not savor of the 'kleine Schlauheit' of the Nazarene, as Nietzsche put it, rather than of the unscrupulous amorality of the super-man?—It will be necessary to return to this point somewhat later.

A few days after writing to Detmold, Heine sent Max a letter calculated to coincide with the one to be written by Detmold. To a reader familiar with Heine's correspondence the long preamble of this letter is sufficient to put him on his guard. As in similar cases, when Heine felt diffident about asking for a service,<sup>37</sup> he expatiates on the nature of his brotherly sentiments, telling Max, "Du bist der einzige von meiner Familie, der mich schweigend verstehen kann."<sup>38</sup> In accord-

<sup>36</sup> So far as I can see, Heine's accusations against his uncle, followed by his own denial of them in the same paragraph, permit of only two possible interpretations, neither one of which I find entirely plausible:—Either Heine's uncle must have continued to give him a certain (but insufficient) amount of financial support even after the rupture of their relations in 1836; or Heine must have deliberately deceived Detmold as to the extent of his falling out with his uncle. I incline to the former interpretation, partly because of Heine's intimacy with Detmold, and partly because of the parallelism between this letter and the one Heine wrote Meyerbeer under date of March 24, 1839, discussed below.

<sup>37</sup> See Heine's letter to Meyerbeer, April 6, 1835.

<sup>38</sup> Heine to Max, August 5, 1837.

ance with his instructions to Detmold he refers to his troubles in general terms as "notwendige Folge meiner sozialen Stellung und meiner geistigen Begabung." Then he turns to discuss the specific grievances which estrange him from his uncle, of which there are three, namely 1) the familiar accusation that he is being systematically slandered by members of his uncle's household; 2) a sin committed against him by his cousin Carl, not specified here; 3) the act on the part of his uncle which broke the peace.

The result of Max's attempts at mediation seem to have been confined to his advising Heine to write his uncle in person and beg his forgiveness. With the utmost revulsion Heine subjected himself to this new humiliation, and every line of his letter to Solomon (September 1, 1837) reveals his desperate efforts to appear to prostrate himself completely before his uncle without yielding an inch of his dignity. He begins by waving aside all blame for past misunderstandings. "Mein Gewissen ist ruhig, und ich habe ausserdem dafür gesorgt, dass, wenn wir alle längst im Grabe liegen, mein ganzes Leben, mein ganzes, reines, unbeflecktes, obgleich unglückliches Leben, seine gerechte Anerkennung findet." But self-justification was not, as it might appear, the only motive for writing these words; the renewed mention of his memoirs contains a veiled promise or a veiled threat, according to the turn that the negotiations might take, and Heine knew that his uncle would not miss his meaning. The body of the letter, however, pictures Heine as completely bowed down with grief over having lost the affection of the man whom he revered almost to the degree of worship. He appeals to the natural kindness of his heart, to his amiability and generosity. He finds his uncle's hardness against himself so unnatural that he can explain it only by the whisper of poisonous tongues. Every word, in short, is calculated to give the impression that his uncle's affection is the priceless boon which Heine craves to regain and that there is not the remotest thought in his mind of exploiting the millionaire. To read this letter without keeping in mind at every moment the effect it was calculated to produce were to miss its real nature altogether.

This letter also clears up in part the burden of Heine's grudge against his cousin Carl. It has already been mentioned

that on the occasion of his aunt's death Heine had expressed his condolences to his uncle in terms dictated by his anger. Now Heine claims to have written at the same time a very different letter, expressing his real emotions, to his cousin Carl, whom he accuses of having intentionally kept his father in ignorance of this letter, so as to thwart the stirring of any generous feelings on his part. This charge against Carl he had already uttered in his letter of August 29 to his brother Max, and it recurs, in very exaggerated form, in a letter to Meyerbeer, written, two years later, specifically for his uncle's consumption.<sup>39</sup> I confess that the last wording of this charge has even raised doubts in my mind as to whether such a letter was written at all, in spite of Heine's insistence that Solomon should force Carl to produce that letter. "Ich erinnere mich," he says, "als ich jenen Brief an Carl Heine beendet hatte, fiel ich ohnmächtig nieder und Mathilde musste mir mit Essig die Schläfe reiben und um Hilfe rufen—Ich erinnere mich, der Bruder von Detmold, der den Brief auf meinem Tische liegen sah und ihn las, ward ganz davon erschüttert."

Be that as it may, two things stand out clearly. First, regardless of whose the fault may have been, Carl had turned from a friend into Heine's enemy. Second, Heine cleverly tries to jockey his uncle out of his strategic position, by beclouding the issue. Whereas the death of his aunt had occurred after Heine was completely embroiled with his uncle, he would make it appear as tho his apparent lack of sympathy were the reason for his uncle's irreconcilable attitude. Heine doubtless calculated that if he succeeded in thrusting a specious issue in place of the real one into the focus of his uncle's attention, he could be confident of ultimate victory.

These tactics seem to have had their effect, for altho, after waiting for two weeks without any results, Heine had to entreat Detmold anew to goad his brother Max to further action by painting an even more lurid picture of his troubles,<sup>40</sup> we find Heine informing Campe a year later that the reconciliation had long since taken place, and he was now looking forward

<sup>39</sup> Heine to Meyerbeer, March 24, 1839.

<sup>40</sup> Heine to Detmold, September 17, 1837.

to his uncle's visit in Paris.<sup>41</sup> The real purpose, however, for which the reconciliation had been staged, namely the securing of a fixed pension, still lacked fulfilment, and Heine, with his customary tenacity wherever his material welfare was at issue, held this plan in the background of his mind, ready to follow it up at the first favorable turn.

The eagerly awaited opportunity came in March of the following year, when Meyerbeer, then in the zenith of his fame, had occasion to be in Hamburg. Here at last was an intermediary whose word was bound to have weight with his uncle, because he was a fellow-Jew, the possessor of great wealth, and the most talked-of composer and entrepreneur in the realm of the most fashionable of the arts. Moreover, Solomon had, from his Paris visit, recent first-hand impressions of the pomp and dazzle of Meyerbeerian grand opera. Meyerbeer, on the other hand, whose fame was due in the largest measure to his fabulous control of the press,—a fact that elicited the withering sarcasm of Richard Wagner—had every reason to exert himself on Heine's behalf because of his invaluable press agent's services.

Heine once more resorted to his favorite tactics. He wrote a letter, addressed to Meyerbeer<sup>42</sup> but intended for his uncle, in which he covered the following points: 1) He again minimizes the benefits received from his uncle and threatens to render an accounting of them to the last penny in his memoirs. 2) He complains of his uncle's extravagant benevolence to undeserving strangers, while allowing his own kin to suffer want. 3) He claims that his uncle is conscious of being in the wrong in this matter and draws the conclusion that he must be bent on finding fault with his nephew in order to justify his own miserliness. 4) He is convinced that in his heart of hearts his uncle has far more respect for the "poor indigent scholar" than for rich stock-jobbers. 5) He repeats the most extravagant affirmations of his love and reverence for his uncle, contrasting his own unselfish love with the fawning professions of his uncle's exploiters in the bosom of the family. 6) Finally he touches

<sup>41</sup> For Heine's success during this visit in mystifying his uncle as to his talent of improvisation, see Hirth, introduction to volume I, page 63, of Heine's correspondence.

<sup>42</sup> March 24, 1839.

upon the two reasons for their estrangement. He concedes having written the statement that had aroused his uncle's ire. He does not remember it, to be sure, but his uncle's veracity stands without question; however, as his uncle must realize, it was a purely momentary outburst, due to an access of nerves, and signifies nothing. As to the manner in which he expatiates on the second reason, his apparent callousness over the bereavement of his uncle's family, this has already been discussed above.<sup>43</sup>

Enclosed with this letter was a commentary for Meyerbeer's guidance. In this Heine urged him to give his uncle the impression that everybody believed Heine to be the beneficiary of a fixed yearly sum, motivating this request as follows:

Er muss an der Ambition angegriffen werden, dass er mir endlich ein bestimmtes Jahrgeld aussetzt, welches, wenn es auch noch so gering, mir sehr wünschenswerth wäre und auch mein Verhältnis zu meinem Oheim sicherer gestaltet; ich habe deshalb in meinem Briefe immer behauptet, er habe nie was Ordentliches für mich getan, obgleich er dennoch sich manchmal sehr honett gegen mich benommen; aber eben indem ich ihm ein bisschen Unrecht thue, wird er angespornt, meinen Behauptungen auch durch erneute That zu widersprechen.

As if men were ever prodded to kindness by deliberate libel! I have called attention to this singular process of reasoning above. It indicates as remarkable a degree of sophistication as it does a lack of knowledge of human nature. Heine never acquired the latter, and it is safe to say that most of his troubles were due to his inability to gauge the effects of his actions upon men. One of the clearest instances of this is his almost touching naiveté in heightening the provocative tone of his political articles in order to make the governments of the German states more anxious to negotiate with him.

However, the gods were kind to Heine for once, knowing that they would have the laugh on him in the end, and Meyerbeer, thanks to his own astuteness, doubtless, rather than to Heine's counsels, succeeded in getting Solomon to promise Heine a yearly pension of 4000 francs, later increased to 4800. Here was a moiety of security attained at last after half a lifetime of battling!—

<sup>43</sup> See page 84 of this paper.



The history of the next few years has little to tell us in regard to Solomon. The "lion of the menagerie," as Heine once styled him,<sup>44</sup> dozed, and only once did he open his mouth for a growl, when Heine had the tactlessness to send him a Christmas present in the name of Mathilde, to whom Solomon seems to have been in the habit of sending a Christmas check for 400 francs. Solomon at once came back with the emphatic request never to send him any gift again.<sup>45</sup> Apparently it did not appeal to his business sense to receive gifts from his own dependents. In April 1843 we find Heine writing his brother Max that he is on good terms with his uncle from whom he receives 4800 francs annually, about one third of his expenses.<sup>46</sup> In May of the same year, Solomon, at Heine's request, made his nephew a present of his portrait. The next month Heine acknowledges having received a very affectionate letter from his cousin Carl, indicating that on the surface at least their differences also had been adjusted.<sup>47</sup>

Heine's relations to his uncle entered a new phase in the fall of 1843 when the health of the latter, who was then 76 years old, began to fail. Heine's concern was at once aroused. To his mother he expressed himself in very affectionate terms in regard to his uncle and entreated her to keep him minutely informed of the state of his health. In the same letter he told her that in spite of his longing to see her it would be impossible for him to come to Germany that same year.<sup>48</sup>

But exactly a month later, without motivating his change of plans, he announced to his mother his sudden decision to make the journey, enjoining her to keep his plan secret. Even his uncle was to be informed of his plan only one day before his departure, owing to weighty reasons, as he added without further comment. We who are accustomed to the inscrutable wisdom with which the publication of government announcements is timed, cannot fail to attach a meaning to this secrecy. Was it fear of his uncle's possible disapproval or of the counter-propaganda of hostile relatives that prompted it?

<sup>44</sup> Heine to Christiani, July 15, 1833.

<sup>45</sup> Solomon to Heine, December 24, 1839.

<sup>46</sup> Heine to Max, April 12, 1843.

<sup>47</sup> Heine to his mother, June 18, 1843.

<sup>48</sup> Heine to his mother, September 18, 1843.

There can be no doubt that Heine decided on this flying trip into Germany solely on account of his uncle, altho I would not for a moment question the genuineness of his affectionate longing to see his mother. In his first letter to his wife, who had remained in Paris, he admits having undertaken the trip for the sole purpose of seeing his uncle and his mother.<sup>49</sup> But why should he have been so anxious to see his uncle? Heine's own claim, that he felt a sincere attachment for the old man, has melted away, I trust, in the face of our analysis. There remains only the legitimate assumption that Heine had come to ingratiate himself more firmly in Solomon's favor, so as to make sure of being liberally remembered in his will.

As his letters to Mathilde show, he was satisfied with the degree of his success. In his first letter he reports himself as very much in his uncle's good graces; on another occasion he repeats his belief that he has made a good impression, adding, that he is taking all possible pains to be amiable,—a very difficult task in the society of so many uninteresting people.<sup>50</sup> As to Carl he felt much more uneasy; he distrusted him; and he enjoined Mathilde never to breathe a syllable to Carl, who was expected for the winter in Paris, about Heine's recently matured plan to spend the following summer together with her in Hamburg.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps this precaution was due to the unconcealed contempt for Mathilde on the part of Carl's wife,<sup>52</sup> who was Heine's bitter enemy.<sup>53</sup>

The Christmas season brought Heine an unusually long letter from his uncle, full of banter, as most of Solomon's letters to his nephew seem to have been. He took pleasure in teasing Heine by counting up all the courses of his Christmas dinner, by reminding him of the London affair, by addressing his letter to him as the man who found that the best thing about him was Heine's name, and by poking fun at him for his alleged ignorance of money matters—but not a word to imply that his estimation of his nephew had risen in any way.<sup>54</sup>— In the course of the

<sup>49</sup> Heine to Mathilde, October 31, 1843.

<sup>50</sup> Heine to Mathilde, November 5, 1843.

<sup>51</sup> Letter to Mathilde, November 10, 1843.

<sup>52</sup> Letter to Mathilde, December 6, 1843.

<sup>53</sup> Heine to Detmold, January 9, 1845.

<sup>54</sup> Solomon to Heine, December 26, 1843.

winter Carl arrived in Paris, but there developed no cordiality of intercourse between his family and that of his cousin.<sup>55</sup>

The next summer Heine carried out his plan to make his and Mathilde's stay at Hamburg. For reasons which Heine was careful to conceal Mathilde, however, was soon sent back to Paris, and Heine decided to continue the task of cultivating his uncle's favor single-handed. There was much at stake, as Solomon's health had taken a decided turn for the worse, and Heine complained to Mathilde of his uncle's fitful moods of violent irritability alternating with unwonted gentleness.<sup>56</sup> But he stuck to his guns, keeping his nerves under rigid control, as the restraint with which his confidence of his victory is announced would indicate. "Vergiss nicht," he writes his wife on September 11, "dass ich nur für Dich lebe, und wenn Du in diesem Augenblicke nicht glücklich bist, so beunruhige Dich nicht: *die Zukunft gehört uns.*"—Die Zukunft gehört uns. These four words, underlined in Heine's letter, light up the page as a flash of sheet lightning a murky sky on a summer night.

Early in October he returned to Paris, impatiently awaiting developments that could not much longer be delayed. He entreated his sister to send him weekly bulletins regarding the state of the old man, adding, "es ist mir über alle Begriffe wichtig."<sup>57</sup>

Then, at the turn of the year, came the announcements of Solomon's death and his division of his estate, like a succession of thunder-claps. Heine was panic stricken, and "Mathilde sat by the fire-side like a marble image."<sup>58</sup> Eight thousand marks left to Heine, as to each of his brothers, was his only share of his uncle's millions. No mention of his pension in Solomon's will, but instead a dry announcement on the part of Carl, the heir-in-chief, that he would undertake to pay the pension, or part of it,<sup>59</sup> on condition that Heine submit to his censorship anything he would write in regard to the deceased.

<sup>55</sup> Heine to his sister, January 23, 1844.

<sup>56</sup> Heine to Mathilde, August 12; August 16, 1844.

<sup>57</sup> Heine to his sister, November 28, 1844.

<sup>58</sup> Heine to Campe, January 8, 1845.

<sup>59</sup> Heine's letters on this point (to Campe, January 8; to Detmold January 9, 1845) lack the desired clearness, and the text of Carl's communication is not available.

"They want to gag me," was his comment,<sup>60</sup> and he who had hept his indignation and resentment over blistering humiliations bottled up for years, now broke loose from all restraint. The cry of hate was the only voice he heard sounding out above the roar of seething emotions. If it was war that was wanted, there was his glove. And now he unleashed his dogs of war on the trail of those whom he held responsible for his defeat.

Was this what the family wanted? Were they looking for an infernal press campaign of mud-slinging? Certainly not. Their manoeuvres were inspired by hate and fear—a fear which we have seen Heine foster by his frequent ambiguous allusions to his memoirs. But ordinary gossip, with which the air was rife, seems to have done its share also to heighten the tension. Heine's sister had allowed indiscreet utterances to drop toward Therese Heine, and she in turn had retailed them, grown to threats, to her brother Carl.<sup>61</sup> Now the family felt that in their wealth they had a weapon which put Heine at their mercy. They had enough reason for hating Heine. His protestations of affection for his uncle and his kin had been too transparent for them not to see the contempt for them all lurking beneath. They had watched his manoeuvres to steal himself into his uncle's affection with a suspicious eye, and they had counter-manoevred, with the advantage of being constantly on the ground. Of his fame they saw only the notoriety of the scandal-monger who had pilloried many a member of their wealthy set. Conceding that they were made of common clay without any admixture of the finer ingredient that shone thru the lower side of Heine's character, is it just to blame them for having parried Heine's manoeuvres in kind? Is it just to refer to their machinations as a foul crime and palliate the identical reactions of Heine's own nature as a failing of genius or explain them away entirely? They must be judged according to the ethics of their set, low tho those may have been, and it should be admitted that they did what was natural under the circumstances, namely gratify their resentment and listen to the voice of fear in consequence, instead of following a more prudent course.

Had Carl Heine been a realist, bent at all cost upon glorifying the name of his family, even at the expense of his personal

<sup>60</sup> Heine to Campe, January 8, 1845.

<sup>61</sup> Heine to his brother Gustav, December 17, 1850.

feelings, he would have seen to it that Heine's craving for a life-long pension had been amply fulfilled. Had Solomon remembered his nephew at all adequately in his will, and had Carl taken pains to court Heine's favor, appealing to him by flattery rather than by threats, it is as certain as any prediction can be that Heine would have written a eulogy of his uncle in a tone dictated to an equal degree by his gratitude and by his desire to erect a monument to the name of Heine. The portrait of the 'fearful tyrant'<sup>62</sup> would then have been retouched, so as to make his burly directness a cloak masking the most sensitive kindness. The arrogance of the 'nouveau riche' in his bearing to his dependents, and his fawning to win the favor of the old and influential Christian families, would have assumed the light of the manly self-consciousness of the self-made man, and of innate modesty. But if Carl ever felt the voice of prudence counselling him to mask his resentment by smiles, he turned a deaf ear to it in order to gratify his malice by showing Heine his power. The frequent accusation against Carl, launched by Heine and repeated often since, that ordinary dirty avarice was Carl's motive in depriving the poet of his paltry pension, is based on such flimsy psychological foundations and is refuted so completely by Carl's subsequent liberality to him and his widow<sup>63</sup> that it should not be taken seriously for a moment.

The struggle that ensued resembles a series of highly diversified military campaigns. Frontal attacks vary with attacks on the enemy's flank and in his rear. There is a great deal of feinting, and there are insincere peace overtures to gain time for a new attack. The warfare is of the most ruthless kind. The attacker poisons his enemy's wells, and tries to sow division within his ranks. He is constantly on the lookout for new allies, and if need be, like an oriental despot he drives his own troops into the fight with the lash.

Heine opened his first campaign by calling his publisher, Campe, and his friend Detmold to the colors. He had decided upon a three-fold attack; by threatening a suit at law, by marshalling the forces of the press to his aid, and by seeking

<sup>62</sup> Heine to Campe, February 4, 1845.

<sup>63</sup> Strottmann in his biography remarks that Carl's will provided a pension of 5000 francs for Heine's widow. II, 343. Third edition.

the mediation of a third party interested in bringing about peace. To Detmold Heine looked for legal counsel as to contesting his uncle's will, but he expected more immediate aid from Detmold's acquaintance with the dark side of journalism. Altho he believed he could recover his pension by entreaties, he thought threats would be more effective. To this end Detmold was to get busy at once and write and smuggle into as many newspapers as possible a series of anonymous defamatory articles directed against Carl and particularly his brother-in-law Halle, Therese's husband.<sup>64</sup> These articles were to be couched in such a way as to be favorable to Solomon and reflect blame on his heirs. Furthermore, public opinion was to be won over by making the controversy appear in the light of an issue between poet and millionaire—an issue for which he subsequently supplied the driving power in the form of the slogan "Genius" versus "Geldsack."<sup>65</sup> While these first articles against Halle were making their appearance, Campe was to approach him thru a third party, in order to persuade him to use his good offices in Heine's behalf, so as to save his own good name from further vilification.<sup>66</sup>

The first of these articles from Detmold's pen Heine greeted with boundless joy, and he begged him to continue at once in the same vein, as victory hinged entirely upon the speed of such surprise attacks. That victory by this method would come within a month or not at all, was his opinion.<sup>67</sup> While Detmold's articles were doing their work, he again urged Campe to secure Halle's intervention in his favor. To Campe, who seems to have been not fully initiated into these dark intrigues, he expressed regret at the article he had seen concerning Halle, insinuating that it must have come from the pen of some relative trying to spoil his chances for the senatorship for which he was a candidate. His perfidy went so far as to add that with great effort on his part he had sidetracked a similar article of which he had received wind in Paris. As specifically stated in a covering note, it was Heine's intention that Halle should be given this letter to read.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Heine to Detmold, January 9, 1845.

<sup>65</sup> Heine to Ferdinand Lassalle, February 27, 1846.

<sup>66</sup> Heine to Campe, January 8, 1845.

<sup>67</sup> Heine to Detmold, January 23, 1845.

<sup>68</sup> Heine to Campe, February 4, 1845.

The reasons for concentrating his first fire upon Halle shed some very interesting light on Heine's generalship. Heine singled out Halle as the weaker foe in more than one respect. For one thing, Heine seems to have regarded him as less hostile to himself than Solomon's other sons-in-law and Carl himself; he blames him for having played at best a passive rôle during the machinations against him;<sup>69</sup> hence there was reason to believe that he might be more tractable than the others. But more important than this was Heine's calculation that Halle could not at the present time afford to stand up against a campaign of slander, in view of his candidacy for the vacant Hamburg senatorship.

From the outset of the struggle the ramifications of Heine's duplicity are so intricate that without the utmost circumspection at every step the reader of his letters is apt to be utterly bewildered as to Heine's real thoughts and sentiments. In feeling one's way forward, one has to keep in mind that not even Heine's agents were let into his full confidence. It is legitimate to wonder, in fact, whether Heine knew his own mind from one hour to the next. Thus on January 13, 1845 he wrote Detmold a letter which in point of demoralization is hard to equal. He expresses himself as ready to render any declaration desired, on condition of his receiving the pension integrally and irrevocably. He is ready to sacrifice his honor and comfort himself with the old monkish maxim: "*Contemnere mundum, contemnere se ipsum, contemnere se contemni.*" Yet under this same date he writes to Campe in diametrically opposite terms, asserting that it is not a question of money but of his "ethical consciousness and his offended sense of justice." Now, since it was Campe who had been assigned the rôle of mediator and Detmold that of blackmailer, the assertions in the letter to Campe can not be dismissed as a well-calculated lie; for that to be the case the two statements would have had to be reversed. The contradiction rather shows that Heine's mind must have been in a state of turmoil bordering on chaos. As he himself felt, he had either to break down physically or go insane, and while his body snapped under the strain his reason also suffered.

<sup>69</sup> Heine to Campe, January 13, 1845.

In more than one respect Heine utterly lost his head; for, soon after, at the same time that he was attempting to negotiate with Carl thru Halle, by false protestations of friendship, by threats of a law suit (without a ghost of a legal claim as he then already knew),<sup>70</sup> by even more terrible threats of risking exposure in the public pillory in the bosom of his family,<sup>71</sup> and by the offer of complete moral surrender to the demands of his family, as long as the money issue were satisfactorily settled,<sup>72</sup>—all of which were packed into the letter to Campe which the latter was to let Halle read—; at the same time Heine personally concocted a pair of anonymous articles, the first containing a poisonous attack against his family and the second a defense of the family, in reply to the first, couched in such a way as to be even more compromising for them than the attack. These he sent to his friend Heinrich Laube, the clever journalist whom experience had taught that a pose of blunt honesty is a roomy mantle that will cover many sins, and asked him to smuggle them into some suitable journal, the second one preferably in the form of a paid advertisement, so as to make it appear to have originated within the family,<sup>73</sup>—all of which Laube executed to the letter. Perfidy was further compounded by his request to Laube to help him with his own pen in his press campaign but to publish not a word directly against his cousin, who, “formerly his most intimate friend, now happened to be among his opponents.” From this time on Heine kept taking precautions to shield Carl from vicious public attacks. The reason why Heine, after the first paroxysm of rage was over, organized his campaign on such lines as to leave Carl’s name out of play, sometimes going so far as even to defend him,<sup>74</sup> is to be found in the reflection that it was Carl who held the key to his uncle’s millions, and Heine was shrewd enough not to risk a position from which no retreat was possible.

<sup>70</sup> Admitted in Heine’s letter to Detmold, January 23, 1845.

<sup>71</sup> Heine to Campe, February 4, 1845.

<sup>72</sup> In justice to Heine it must be understood that he meant by surrender to his family a pledge to write nothing offensive to his family. But instead of the revolting alternative of submitting to their censorship, he chose rather to be entirely silent on family matters. See covering note to letter to Campe of February 4, 1845.

<sup>73</sup> Heine to Laube, February 1, 1845.

<sup>74</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, February 16, 1846.



All these attempts to force his cousin's hand, neutralizing each other as they did, were by the very contradictoriness of the methods employed doomed to failure. I have gone into them so fully because they show in a typical way the limitations of Heine's reasoning. Just as Heine's poetry reveals his inability to compose works of larger scope on a balanced architectural basis,—a fact which Legras has convincingly pointed out in his study of the 'Atta Troll' and the 'Wintermärchen'<sup>75</sup>—so he was incapable of any consistent plan or policy in his practical affairs, despite a shrewdness in regard to details which must arouse our astonishment. His machinations were of the subtlest order, each taken by itself, but taken all in all, as a whole, they fail to reveal any thread of consistent plan or purpose. The same conclusion has forced itself upon me in tracing out Heine's erratic political attitude. Any new development of the moment, be it ever so precarious, was likely to make him turn a complete face-about and steer his opportunistic course in the opposite direction from that pursued heretofore.— Elsewhere I have pointed out how Heine made use of the Hegelian dialectic to deceive himself and his followers as to the significance of his opportunism.<sup>76</sup>

It is clear, then, that Heine had none of that Nietzschean or Machiavellian amorality with which he has at times been mistakenly associated. The amorality of the super-man knows no scruples about applying the means that will serve his ends, but the supposition indispensable to giving any ethical dignity to his conduct is that he know his end and steer a straight course; that he think with trenchant clearness and strike with steady nerve, without wavering and half-heartedness. Heine lacked both the steadiness of aim and the sureness of arm in forging ahead. Both his aim and his stroke were vitiated by cross currents of thought. To bring this trait into sharp relief, contrast him with the steely hardness and suppleness of Frank Wedekind's super-man characters.—

Nothing came of the attempts to win Halle's services for mediation with Carl, and Heine promptly came to see him as the ultimate cause of Solomon's neglect of him in his will. The

<sup>75</sup> Jules Legras: "Henri Heine Poète." Paris, 1897; p. 388-90.

<sup>76</sup> In my paper: "Heine's Return to God." *Modern Philology*, October 1920.

force of his threats had been spent, and Heine now resorted to entreaty and self-humiliation, by writing Carl a very submissive letter;<sup>77</sup> for the pension itself, obtained on any terms, proved to be the 'summum bonum,' compared with which everything else, including his dignity and his honor, was of little account. He had come to recognize this quite clearly even when the attempts to influence Halle had been in full swing. He must have the pension at any cost, he had at that time declared to Campe,<sup>78</sup> even if Halle must be forced to pay it out of his own pocket, assuming that Carl was intransigent, and he had motivated his readiness to surrender by the words: "Ich gestehe Ihnen heute offen, ich habe gar keine Eitelkeit in der Weise anderer Menschen, mir liegt am Ende gar nichts an der Meinung des Publikums; mir ist nur eins wichtig, die Befriedigung meines inneren Willens—die Selbstachtung meiner Seele. . . . Zum Unglück ist mein Wille auch so starr wie der eines Wahnsinnigen."

The results of his letter to Carl proved that after all something was to be gained by meekness, where threats were futile, for in May we are told his family differences had been more or less adjusted,<sup>79</sup> which can mean nothing else than that Carl had come to his aid financially, without, however, giving any guarantees as to the future. But with this result Heine could not rest satisfied—much less now than at the time when his uncle was still living. What he demanded was the pension "uncurtailed and unconditioned," even tho he expressed willingness to yield as to the form and accept it as a gift of grace, without stressing his right.<sup>80</sup>

To this point the fight had been fought underground, by direct negotiation between the contending parties and anonymous press intrigues, but the public had not been given any official version of the affair. But now, during the lull, Heine had time and sufficient peace of mind to concern himself with the

<sup>77</sup> Heine to Campe, March 28, 1845.

<sup>78</sup> Letter of February 4, 1845.

<sup>79</sup> Heine to Laube, May 24, 1845. This assumption seems conclusively proved by Heine's statement (Letter to Campe, October 31, 1845) that Meyerbeer had guaranteed to pay him any possible subtraction from his pension out of his own pocket.

<sup>80</sup> Heine to Campe, October 31, 1845.

thought of his reputation, and he set to work to edit a legend to pass on to posterity; for as such we have every reason to regard Heine's letter of January 3, 1846 to Varnhagen, couched in the form of a new year's salutation and stamped unmistakably by its tone as an official or semi-official document that would stand publication without the risk of indiscretion. The nucleus of a legend is here presented in the suggestion of a parallel between his fate and that of Siegfried, the mastery of the form being such that a vision of the bleeding Germanic hero is conjured up before the eye without even the mention of Siegfried's name. The mere phrase, "wie entsetzlich mir von meinen nächsten Sippen und Magen mitgespielt worden," occurring near the beginning of the letter, calls up the whole picture, and all the emotions that are touched off at the thought of Siegfried immediately resurge. Heine was skilful enough to know what emphasis can be lent by restraint. He at once passes on to the discussion of other matters—the blue flower of Romanticism contrasted with the hardness of the modern realistic age. Only toward the end he lightly touches that chord once more, after speaking with an equally admirable restraint of his paralysis: "Der Verrath der im Schosse der Familie, wo ich waffenlos und vertrauend war, an mir verübt wurde, hat mich wie ein Blitz aus heiterer Luft getroffen und fast tödtlich beschädigt; wer die Umstände erwägt, wird hierin einen Meuchelmordsversuch sehen; die schleichende Mittelmässigkeit, die zwanzig Jahre lang harrete, ingrimmig neidisch gegen den Genius, hatte endlich ihre Siegesstunde erreicht. Im Grunde ist auch das eine alte Geschichte, die sich immer erneut." His idealizing self-portraiture reaches the height of self-apotheosis in the concluding words: "Ja, ich bin sehr körperkrank, aber die Seele hat wenig gelitten; eine müde Blume ist sie ein bischen gebeugt, aber keineswegs welk und sie wurzelt noch fest in der Wahrheit und Liebe."

This foundation of his official legend Heine reinforced toward the close of the year by a letter to Campe, written during his stay in the Pyrenees, where the false rumor of his death, widely circulated in the German press, had reached him. The body of this letter also has all the ear-marks of a public announcement. After expressing his conviction that his life is doomed, with the possibility of prolonging the agony

for another year or two, he continues: "Nun, das geht mich nichts an, das ist die Sorge der ewigen Götter, die mir nichts vorzuwerfen haben, und deren Sache ich immer mit Muth und Liebe auf Erden vertreten habe. Das holdselige Bewusstseyn, ein schönes Leben geführt zu haben, erfüllt meine Seele selbst in dieser kummervollen Zeit, wird mich auch hoffentlich in den letzten Stunden bis an den weissen Abgrund begleiten." And a little further on he adds: "Gott verzeihe meiner Familie die Versündigung, die sie an mir verschuldet. Wahrlich nicht die Geldsache, sondern die moralische Entrüstung, dass mein intimster Jugendfreund und Blutsverwandter das Wort seines Vaters nicht in Ehren gehalten hat, das hat mir die Knochen im Herzen<sup>81</sup> gebrochen, und ich sterbe an diesem Bruch." How this legend was further built up by Heine's posthumous poems will be shown in due course.

The exposition of Heine's official legend has taken us beyond events that were meanwhile transpiring. At the opening of the year Heine had made new ineffective overtures to his cousin as to securing a legal status for his pension, both directly and thru the mediation of Prince Hermann Pückler, who was one of Heine's literary satellites. The correspondence between Pückler and Carl Heine, while confirming the fact that Carl had reluctantly been giving financial support to the poet, shows how deep-seated must have been Carl's anger and his suspicions of Heine's intentions. "Die Pietät, die ich meinem verstorbenen geliebten Vater schuldig bin, gebietet mir selbst, der Bosheit Schranken zu setzen"—with these words he cuts off Pückler's plea.<sup>82</sup> In consequence Heine resorted once more to the weapon of intimidation. He has discarded the idea of bringing suit, he tells Campe,<sup>83</sup> in order to show that it is no longer any question of money, the true reason being, of course, that he knew his claims to lack any legal basis. Instead he now describes himself as writing a hideous memoire aimed at exposing the family.

Upon the renewal of this disastrous course he was steered, without doubt, by the new ally he had won for his cause,

<sup>81</sup> "Die Knochen im Herzen!" Is this absurd figure an unconscious betrayal of the insincerity of his pathos?

<sup>82</sup> For this correspondence see Heine's Briefwechsel (Hirth) vol. II, p. 577-8.

<sup>83</sup> Letter of February 6, 1846.

Ferdinand Lassalle, the powerful leader of the German proletariat. Endowed with an intellectual acumen to which Heine unhesitatingly conceded superiority over his own, and possessed of a degree of unscrupulousness which made Heine feel like a novice, Lassalle fanned Heine's wrath against his family to the hottest flame. What a difference between the extreme of his anger as expressed to Campe the year previous—"Lassen Sie den Anzug ungeheurer Mistkarren ein bischen riechen"—, and the depths of Old-Testament wrath as voiced in his letter to Lassalle.<sup>84</sup>

Sagen Sie das an Varnhagen, sagen Sie ihm: die Herzen der Geldparaone seyen so verstockt, dass das blossе Androhen von Plagen nicht hinreichend sey, obgleich sie wohl wissen, wie gross die Zaubermacht des Autors, der schon vor ihren eignen Augen so manches Schlangenkunststück verrichtet hat—Nein, diese Menschen müssen die Plagen fühlen, ehe sie daran glauben und ihren zähen Selbstwillen aufgeben, sie müssen Blut sehen, auch Frösche, Ungeziefer, wilde Thiere, Jan Hagel u.s.w., und erst beym zehnten Artikel, worin man ihre geliebte Erstgeburt todtschlägt, geben sie nach, aus Furcht vor dem noch grösseren Übel, dem eignen Tod.

While Lassalle was in Berlin, serving Heine's cause by press manoeuvres and by recruiting new forces:—Varnhagen, the diplomat and man of letters; Felix Mendelssohn, the well-known musician;<sup>85</sup> Meyerbeer, with whom Heine had recently broken but whom he still saw fit to use;<sup>86</sup> and even the renowned savant Alexander von Humboldt—,<sup>87</sup> Heine was plotting new perfidies at home. He went so far as to write an anonymous defamatory article against himself, culminating in the claim that whereas he possessed the sympathies of the lower classes in his family feud, the upper classes were keeping aloof. To this article, which cleverly introduced the issue of the then nascent consciousness of class war, Varnhagen, who received a copy before it was sent to the press, was asked to write a reply, countering the claim as to the aloofness of the upper classes by publishing in so far as expedient Prince Pückler's

<sup>84</sup> February 1846, exact date missing.

<sup>85</sup> Mendelssohn refused to become involved, piqued because of Heine's previous attacks against him which he regarded as staged in the interests of his rival Meyerbeer (Heine to Lassalle, February 10, 1846).

<sup>86</sup> Heine to Meyerbeer, December 24, 1845.

<sup>87</sup> Probably without any success, altho Humboldt had given Heine active proofs of his sympathy previously.

correspondence with Carl Heine. Varnhagen was further asked to emphasize the justice of Heine's claims by quoting Meyerbeer's testimony to that effect, being careful, however, to mention the name of Carl with the utmost flattery and consideration.<sup>88</sup> A week later Heine reinforced his request to Varnhagen by a second note<sup>89</sup> and also by writing his aide-in-chief, Lassalle, a letter which makes a point of emphasizing that the article to be written by Varnhagen should duly dwell on the fact that the pension was now actually being paid, in order by this public acknowledgment to make it more difficult for Carl to discontinue it later.<sup>90</sup> To Varnhagen's credit it must be stated that he refused to stoop to such tactics. He deprecated the abuse of private correspondence and urged Heine to adopt a moderate and conciliatory attitude.<sup>91</sup>

While this manoeuvre was still pending, Heine ordered his lieutenant in Berlin to impress Meyerbeer into the service. It was thanks to Meyerbeer's mediation, we remember, that Solomon had been induced in 1839 to assign a fixed annual pension to his nephew. In the course of the year that followed the death of Heine's uncle, Meyerbeer, anxious to oblige Heine, had given him his written testimony to the effect that the pension had been granted with the understanding that it was to continue until Heine's death.<sup>92</sup> Meanwhile Heine had become embroiled with Meyerbeer over financial matters and had renounced the latter's friendship in cutting terms.<sup>93</sup> In view of this fact he could not now solicit any favors from him. But as Heine believed that his mediation could be of use, he instructed Lassalle to "apply thumbscrews to the bear," in order to force him to approach Carl in Heine's behalf.<sup>94</sup> By "thumbscrews" he, of course, understood threats to prick the bubble of Meyerbeer's fame by exposing the press bribery upon which it rested.<sup>95</sup> How Heine could expect to succeed by such means

<sup>88</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, February 16, 1846.

<sup>89</sup> February 24, 1846.

<sup>90</sup> Heine to Ferdinand Lassalle, February 27, 1846.

<sup>91</sup> *ibidem*.

<sup>92</sup> Heine to Campe, October 31, 1845.

<sup>93</sup> Heine to Meyerbeer, December 24, 1845.

<sup>94</sup> February 27, 1846.

<sup>95</sup> See his satirical poem "Festgedicht" (1847), *Werke* II, 178.

is difficult to understand. Had he forgotten the fate of Xerxes' lash-driven legions at Thermopylae?

What threats against allies and enemies failed to accomplish for Heine, the premature rumor of his death seems to have brought about. On November 12, 1846 he informed Campe:

Die voreilige Nachricht meines Todes hat mir viele Theilnahme gewonnen; rührend edle Briefe in Menge. Auch Carl Heine schrieb mir den lieblichsten Freundschaftsbrief. Die kleine Trödeley, die lumpige Geldldifferenz, ist ausgeglichen, und dieses that meinem verletzten Gemüthe wahrhaft wohl. Aber das Vertrauen zu meiner Familie ist dahin, und Carl Heine, wie reich er auch ist und wie liebreich er sich mir zuwendet, so wäre er doch der letzte, an den ich mich in einer Lebensnoth wenden würde. Ich habe hartnäckig darauf bestanden, dass er mir bis auf den letzten Schilling auszahle, wozu ich mich durch das Wort seines Vaters berechtigt glaubte, aber wahrhaftig, ich würde auch keinen Schilling mehr von ihm annehmen."

This preliminary peace was followed by the ratification of a formal treaty during February of the following year, when Carl visited Heine in Paris. At that time Heine added a postscript to the will which he had drawn up the previous year. In this he speaks of his cousin in terms which give some idea as to the abysmal degree to which he had renounced his pride. What could have been more bitter for him to write than words like the following!

Ja, er (Carl) verriet hier wieder sein ganzes edles Gemüt, seine ganze Liebe, und als er mir zum Pfande seines feierlichen Versprechens die Hand reichte, drückte ich sie an meine Lippen, so tief war ich erschüttert, und so sehr glich er in diesem Momente seinem seligen Vater, meinem armen Oheim, dem ich so oft wie ein Kind die Hand küsste, wenn er mir eine Güte erwies! (Werke VII, 514)

"Als er mir . . . die Hand reichte, drückte ich sie an meine Lippen."—I have spared no effort to peel off the superficial layers surrounding the kernel of Heine's personality, but in my attempt to picture this scene I have to steady myself by a literal reading of Heine's maxim: "Die Hand, die man nicht abhauen kann, muss man küssen."<sup>96</sup>—

Two days after this meeting he tells his mother and sister that he is very well satisfied with Carl,<sup>97</sup> and in April he reports to them that he is burning all indiscreet family letters.<sup>98</sup> But

<sup>96</sup> Heine to Lewald, March 1, 1838.

<sup>97</sup> Letter of February 28, 1847.

<sup>98</sup> Letter of April 19, 1847.

by June his resentment over the bitter cup he had swallowed has had time to well up again. He writes to Campe<sup>99</sup> that he has no reason to be satisfied with Carl, the latter having dictated the terms of the reconciliation. He makes light of Carl's generosity, saying that his purse had remained entirely untouched—Heine's way of implying that Carl did nothing beyond keeping his father's promise. What aggravated Heine's resentment was his constantly increasing financial plight. His health had broken down, so that he earned nothing by his pen over long periods of time; his treatments swallowed up heavy doctors' and nurses' fees; Mathilde kept on spending as recklessly as ever; speculations turned out badly; and one of the most severe blows came when his pension from the French government was stopped with the overthrow of the July monarchy. In consequence of this plight Heine, who had declared that he would never take a shilling from Carl over and above his due, found himself forced to appeal again and again to Carl for emergency aid, which, tho always granted in the end, was spiced with bitter humiliations. It is easy to understand how each new appeal to the man whom he wished to owe nothing must have acted upon his system like a dose of poison; yet again his resentment against Carl was such that he began to take an almost insane delight in bleeding Carl's purse under one pretext or another, by lie and subterfuge. In this course he may have been confirmed by the reflection that, having sacrificed his honor irrevocably, it was only good business to sell it at the highest price possible, mindful of his own jesting remark on how foolish it was for a man not to love his wife, when she cost him the same in either case.<sup>100</sup>

It would be only a wearying statistician's task to quote in detail the daily readings of Heine's family thermometer during the remaining years of his life. The tortures of his harrowing illness increased his constitutional suspiciousness. Even after Carl had paid his debts and almost doubled his pension, he trembled from quarter to quarter lest payments should be stopped, the more so as he was forced in spite of them to borrow from his brothers Max and Gustav and even accept aid from his old mother—not to speak of the substantial alms which

<sup>99</sup> June 20, 1847.

<sup>100</sup> Heine to his mother, June 21, 1853.



he repeatedly solicited and received from members of the Rothschild family. He has nothing but bitterness for Carl in his confidential letters, referring to him in rather cryptic terms as "der Sohn des Re Aaron,"<sup>101</sup> "der junge Fatum,"<sup>102</sup> and "der junge Schofelly,"<sup>103</sup> altho continuing to flatter him publicly.<sup>104</sup> Carl's repeated visits to Heine's sick-bed in 1850 did nothing to alter his real attitude,<sup>105</sup> and as late as June 1853, when Carl brought his sister Therese to the bed-side of the dying poet, Carl was to Heine only the prison guard come to forestall confidential communications.<sup>106</sup> The petty intrigues to obtain money from Carl by the connivance of Max, on the strength of fictitious debts<sup>107</sup> are weak repetitions of former tactics, reminding one of the serpent whose fangs had been pulled, but coming as they do out of the mattress-grave shrouded in perpetual twilight, they elicit sympathy rather than indignation. Of his return to an Old-Testament God of revenge we find an illuminating hint in his remark to Max: "Dass Dr. Halle verrückt ist und wie ein Hahn kräht, wirst Du wissen. Wie witzig ist Gott!"<sup>108</sup> His promise to keep silence on family matters Heine kept during his lifetime with one exception. His poem "Affrontenburg," a transparent description of Solomon's villa which he brands as a hot-bed of foul defamation was included in his "Vermischte Schriften" that appeared in 1854, but I do not know whether the family took any notice of it.

It may be interesting, on the other hand, to tabulate the sums Heine received from Carl after Solomon's death. The following figures are based entirely on the evidence of Heine's own letters.

1845—Heine received money from Carl, the amount not stated; probably 4000 francs.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Heine to Max, January 9, 1850.

<sup>102</sup> Heine to Max, March 22, 1850.

<sup>103</sup> Heine to Max, August 12, 1852.

<sup>104</sup> See his open letter, "Berichtigung" of April 15, 1849. Werke VII, 538.

<sup>105</sup> Heine to his mother and sister May 6 and September 26, 1850.

<sup>106</sup> Heine to his mother, June 21, 1853.

<sup>107</sup> Heine's letters to Max, May 3, 1849 and March 22, 1850.

<sup>108</sup> Heine to Max, January 9, 1850.

<sup>109</sup> Heine to Laube, May 24, 1845; to Campe, July 21, 1845.

- 1846—He received 4000 francs.<sup>110</sup>
- 1847—He received the full pension, 4800 francs, pledged with the promise of half that amount for Mathilde after his death.
- 1848—He received the pension (4800 francs) and in addition Carl paid his debts to the amount of 5000 francs.<sup>111</sup>
- 1849—He received the pension plus an additional subsidy of 3000 francs.<sup>112</sup>
- 1850—He received the pension and a subsidy of 750 francs for the first quarter. Then Carl intimated his intention to stop the subsidy,<sup>113</sup> and there is no positive proof that Heine succeeded in gaining his point. (It is made more than likely, however, by his letter to Gustav, February 7, 1851 and to his mother, February 5, 1851.)
- 1851—He received the pension plus the necessary extraordinary subsidies, this time without any preceding chicanery.<sup>114</sup>
- 1852—He received 2000 francs less than the previous year, and in consequence made every effort to get this additional sum by intrigue.<sup>115</sup> I do not know whether he succeeded.
- 1853—He received besides funds from Carl (amounts not mentioned) a gift of money from Therese (amount not known.)
- 1854—No mention of any figures.
- 1855—Heine stated his fixed income from Germany as 12000 francs.<sup>116</sup> Of this amount Campe paid him about 2400 francs (1200 mark banko) by contract. Consequently Heine must have been receiving a total fixed pension of 9600 francs.
- 1856—Nothing mentioned.

These sums were large compared with the gifts of his uncle, but was not the price paid disproportionately larger?—that dread disease, heretofore burrowing silently underground, now stalking swiftly with raised head; those seething emotions of hate and dread, bubbling over at the slightest breath of wind like a witch's cauldron; bitterest of all, those moments in which a sense of shame poisoned even his indestructible love of himself.

The bitterest of these Heine conquered, by making his peace with God—on his own terms; by transforming his contempt for his own self into an emotion of cosmic nihilism—the basic motif of "Vitzliputzli" and "Spanische Atriden"; by casting his ideal vision of his self and his fate—*das eigene*

<sup>110</sup> Heine to Varnhagen, February 16, 1846.

<sup>111</sup> Heine to Max, December 3, 1848.

<sup>112</sup> *ibidem*.

<sup>113</sup> Heine to Max, March 22, 1850.

<sup>114</sup> Heine to his mother and sister, February 5, 1851.

<sup>115</sup> Heine to his brother Gustav, April 17, 1852.

<sup>116</sup> Heine to his brother Gustav, August 17, 1855.

*Wunschbild*—into the mold of historic characters like the poets Firdusi and Jehuda Ben Halevy; by building up the legend, finally, that made him the guileless hero slain by family treachery. This legend, first sketched out in his letters, as quoted above, and rounded out subsequently by poems calculated for posthumous revenge, must in its later stages be regarded rather as an expression of the will to survive as a person, than as conscious make-believe. I grant that the latter predominated to begin with, but conscious hypocrisy gives way, except in the rarest of cases, to a sub-conscious reconstruction and reinterpretation of the past in favor of the self; it could not help but do so in the case of a poet so abnormally amorous of his self as Heine. That his legendary version of the struggle had become part and parcel of his mental make-up is apparent from a study of his poem, "Der Dichter Firdusi." Here it was the duplicity of the shah in dealing with the poet Firdusi which struck Heine as a striking parallel to his own fate at the hands of Carl, and supplied the initial spark that set Heine's creative imagination working on the Firdusi theme.<sup>117</sup> Granted the astonishing transformative power of the sub-conscious in his "Buch der Lieder," where the flimsiest shred of fact grew into the most intricate web of emotional history, how can the emotional genuineness of Heine's last poems of hate be doubted!

It is these last poems of undisguised hate,<sup>118</sup> and not only these but all those poems of Heine's last years over which the emotions released by the grim family struggle shed their dusky reflection, that represent the positive values which Heine's poet's personality distilled out of the most evil passions and out of his self-debasement. Much of Heine's late poetry derives its austere force from the fact that he could not entirely down the consciousness of having prostituted his honor. His sin was common enough, from the nothing-but-moralist's point of view, but his manner of atonement—the creation of priceless aesthetic values out of the very sordidness of his material existence—was unique. The compensation he made was full, tho not in kind. And in the valuation of his personality as a whole, his sin must be balanced against his atonement.

<sup>117</sup> Fully analyzed by Helene Herrmann in "Studien zu Heines Romanzero," Berlin, 1906, p. 94 ff.

<sup>118</sup> For these poems see Werke, vol. II, book 2, numbers 63-68.

May not the cynic have the last word for once? Would it not do to picture a chance encounter between Heine and Frank Wedekind in the other world, à la Swedenborg, and have Wedekind deliver himself of a little sermon to Heine with all the courtesy owing to a spiritual father? Imagine him quoting his own Marquis von Keith—gypsy, self-styled marquis, horse-thief, entrepreneur and philosopher in one—to the following effect:

Lassen Sie sich noch eines sagen: Das einzig richtige Mittel, seine Mitmenschen auszunützen, besteht darin, dass man sie bei ihren guten Seiten nimmt. Darin liegt die Kunst, geliebt zu werden, die Kunst, recht zu behalten. Je ergiebiger Sie Ihre Mitmenschen übervorteilen, um so gewissenhafter müssen Sie darauf achten, dass Sie das Recht auf Ihrer Seite haben. Suchen Sie Ihren Nutzen niemals im Nachteil eines tüchtigen Menschen, sondern immer nur im Nachteil von Schurken und Dummköpfen. Und nun übermittle ich Ihnen den Stein der Weisen: das glänzendste Geschäft in dieser Welt ist die Moral."

Would Heine parry the thrust with the heroic pose and the grandiloquent phrase of which he was master, or would he smilingly counter the cynic-moralist with his marquis' last words—

"Das Leben ist eine Rutschbahn!"?

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## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN

Dr. John Koch's recently published study of the relationship of the manuscripts of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*<sup>1</sup> was evidently made in ignorance of a similar study of mine presented as a doctoral dissertation at Princeton in 1914 and, after some reworking, published in the spring of 1918.<sup>2</sup> As a result we have two independent studies of a problem which had been investigated before but which for various reasons<sup>3</sup> had never given the impression of having been satisfactorily settled. That the problem is not a simple one is further evident from the differences in the conclusions which Koch and I arrive at, differences which can best be shown by the accompanying stemmas.

A comparison of the two stemmas shows that Koch and I differ in three respects, viz., as regards the relation of "k" to the other MSS., in our interpretation of the significance of so-called 'contamination' in most of the MSS., and in our conjectures regarding the nature of the hypothetical "A." Let us consider the points in the order named—which is also the order of their importance.

### 1. *The position of "k" on the stemma*

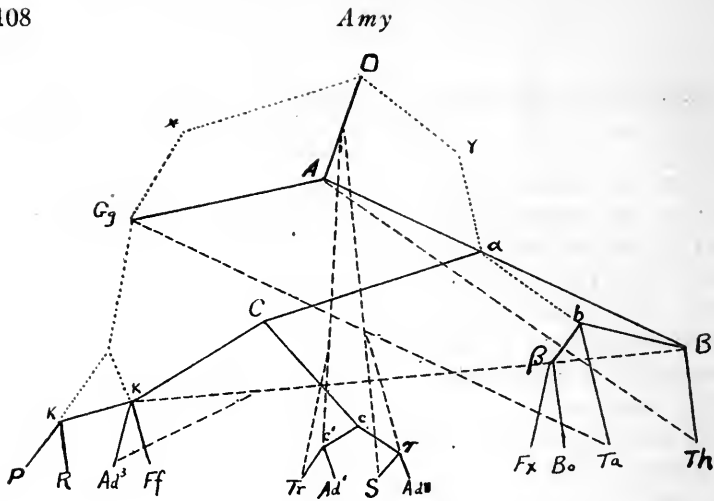
The difficulty of reconstructing *k* arises from the fragmentary character of the MSS. At no point do the texts of the four MSS. run parallel. The text of Ff breaks off where that of R begins and can be compared with the texts of Ad<sup>3</sup> and P in only 116 lines. Furthermore, the texts of P, R, and Ad<sup>3</sup> run parallel for less than 300 lines. Yet the fragments furnish sufficient evidence to warrant grouping them as Koch and I do and (though Koch and I do not agree) to establish their relationship as a group to the other MSS.

Koch's evidence for connecting *k* with *c* is to my mind decidedly inconclusive. He advances no evidence of readings in which the *k* MSS. as a group agree in error with those of *c*

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, XLIII, 197 ff, and XLIV, 23 ff.

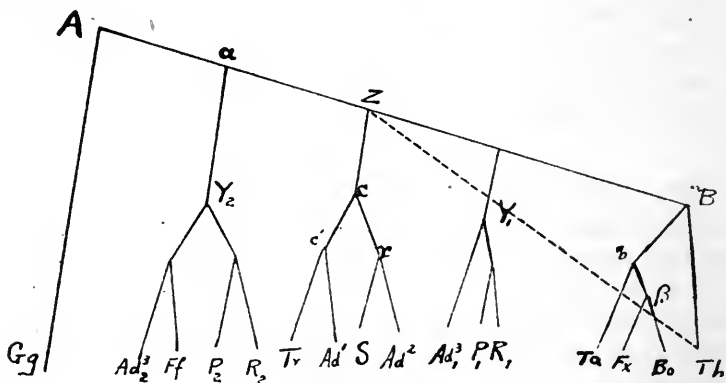
<sup>2</sup> *The text of Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, Princeton University Press, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> See *Preface* to my dissertation.



Koch's stemma

Die punktierten linien nach x und y deuten nur vermutungsweise aufgestellte beziehungen an, die andern die im folgenden nachgewiesenen kontaminationen, bei denen jedoch noch zwischenstufen mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlich sind.



Author's stemma\*

Y is a composite. Y<sub>1</sub> consists of the *Prologue* and lines 1250 (*cir.*)—end; Y<sub>2</sub> of lines 580–1250 (*cir.*).

## EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

Gg—Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg. 4. 27.

Tr—Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R. 3. 19.

S—MS. Arch. Selden, B. 24. Bodleian.

\* This stemma differs from the one in my dissertation in one respect, viz., I here allow a generation between the ancestor of Ta, F<sub>x</sub>, and Bo and that of Th. The change is relatively unimportant.

Ad<sup>1</sup>—Additional MS. 9832, British Museum (1-1985).

Ad<sup>2</sup>—Additional MS. 12524, British Museum (1640-end).

Ad<sup>3</sup>—Additional MS. 28617, British Museum (513-610; 803-1105; fragments of 1156-1173, 1180-1192, and 1271-1280; 1306-1801; 1852-2113; 2125-2136; and 2151-end).

P —Pepys MS. 2006, Magdalen College, Cambridge (1-1377).

R —Rawlinson MS. C. 86, Bodleian (*Dido*, 924-1367).

Ff —Cambridge University Library, MS. Ff. 1. 6. (*Thisbe*, 706-923).

Fx —Fairfax MS. 16, Bodleian.

Bo —Bodley MS. 638, Bodleian.

Ta —Tanner MS. 346, Bodleian.

Th —W. Thynne's printed edition, 1532.

as a group; instead, he gives lists of readings in which Tr, Ad<sup>1</sup>, S, and Ad<sup>2</sup> as individuals (in a few cases two of them) agree with one or more of the MSS. of *k*. Thus in section 30 we are given lists of readings in which Tr agrees with the following MSS. of *k*: with P and Ff, two readings; with P and R, four; with P alone, eight; with P(+Bo), two; with R alone, two; with Ad<sup>2</sup> and Ad<sup>3</sup>, four; with Ad<sup>3</sup> alone, eleven; and with Ad<sup>3</sup> and Ff, one. (Notice that in only four of the above cases is Tr supported by another *c* MS.) Even these agreements are insignificant; Koch admits (XLIV, p. 37) that they are so trifling in nature and number that one cannot accept them as proof of close relationship.

In sec. 31 (a) similar lists are given in which S agrees with one or more of these MSS. and a list of a dozen readings in which SAD<sup>2</sup> agrees with Ad<sup>3</sup> (Ad<sup>2</sup> begins at 1640, i.e., after P, R, and Ff break off). These lists are somewhat longer than the lists given in sec. 30, but the agreements are in general of the same non-committal nature. The only reading which particularly indicates a close relationship is that of 928: S, *Ouide*; R, *Supporte ovid*; rest, *Eneyde(-dos)*. Since Tr and Ad<sup>1</sup> (Ad<sup>2</sup> does not exist here) do not support S, and P and Ad<sup>3</sup> do not support R, I regard the error as having arisen in S and R independently, probably because of the close resemblance between the capital letters O and E in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

The relationship of Ad<sup>1</sup> to the various MSS. of the *k*-group is argued in section 33 (a). Near the end of the section Koch

<sup>4</sup> See the facsimiles of late XIVth century writing reproduced in Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, pp. 308-9, for examples.

concludes that the readings linking Ad<sup>1</sup> with R, Ff, and Ad<sup>2</sup> are without significance, but that the repeated agreements of Ad<sup>1</sup> and P in error cannot be put aside lightly. From these agreements he singles out two cases as of especial significance—195: Ad<sup>1</sup> and P, *town(e)* for *tonne*, and 1287: Ad<sup>1</sup> and P, *her-vest(+Ta!)* for *(h)ernest*. In comment I need only say that even a careful scribe—and a more careless scribe than that of P would be hard to find—was in constant danger of committing such blunders as the two listed above. The scribe of Ta—generally accurate—fell into the trap. See also similar confusion in lines 2083(*leve, lene*), 2086(*id.*), and 2353(*woned, woved*).

This completes Koch's evidence for linking *k* and *c*, except for five apparent Ad<sup>2</sup>-Ad<sup>3</sup> agreements which he promptly dismisses as without significance. Though the aggregate is large, the trifling nature of the errors and the utter lack of agreement among the MSS. of both groups would cause one to doubt a descent of *k* from *C* as in any way probable. Indeed, because of the contradictory testimony of Tr, Ad<sup>1</sup>, S, and Ad<sup>2</sup> in regard to the groups of readings given by Koch, one would have to assume either that these four MSS. descended from *c* independently (which is contradicted by exceedingly strong evidence), or that the scribes severally corrected these errors and thus wiped out evidence that the MSS. as a group agreed with one or more of the *k* group. Such, of course, is unthinkable. The alternative is that the agreements are due to errors made independently by individual scribes. No one who has noticed the lack of understanding of Chaucerian meter and grammar exhibited by the scribes of P, R, *k*, and S, and the deliberate tampering with the text by the scribes of the *c*-group (see next section) would be surprised to discover that two of them—or even three occasionally—agree in omitting or inserting the sign of the infinitive or the relative *that*, or of transposing two words, or of dropping a prefix or substituting a suffix. Yet it is upon agreements such as these—not of *k* and *c*, which might be of some significance, but of separate units of the two groups—that we are asked to accept proof of common ancestry. To me the evidence is decidedly inconclusive, especially when considered in connection with evidence to the contrary.



This negative evidence is of two kinds, a few striking instances in which *k* and Gg alone present the true reading, and a large number of evident agreements of *k* and B in error. The first includes the presence of the undoubtedly genuine couplet 960/61 (that the couplet is genuine is indicated by the source of the passage, *Aen.* I. 170-1) in Gg and *k* only, and the agreement of these two MSS. in the probably true reading of 1139:

But natheles oure autour tellith vs.

(Fx, Bo, Ta) For to him yt was reported thus

(Tr, Ad<sup>1</sup>) Had gret desyre. And aftyr fell hit thus

(S) And in his hert, than he seid ryght thus.

The two MSS. agree in yet other readings, notably 794, *haste-lykyngge*; and 1187, *thing-wyght*. Koch's stemma can explain these similarities only as due to independent errors at *c* and B or to the contamination of *k* from Gg (Koch chooses the latter interpretation); the alternative is to suspect that *k* descended from A along a line independent of C.

It is possible, of course, to explain the agreement of Gg and *k* in 960/61 and in 1139 as due to contamination, for both the couplet and the verse were evidently missing from the exemplar of B and C (the *b*, *c*, and  $\gamma$  readings are obviously individual attempts to supply a missing line). It is less likely that the scribe of *k* should have substituted the colorless *haste* for *lykyngge* (794) and *thing* for *wyght* (1187). But it is far simpler to regard these similarities between Gg and *k* as evidence of an independence of *k* and *c*, especially as the evidence for their relation is decidedly weak.

There can be only one interpretation, however, of the evidence for a close relationship of *k* and B. It consists of a very considerable number of B + Ad<sup>3</sup> agreements in error in the last half of the poem (see Koch, sec. 40), of a smaller number of similar errors of B and *k* in the first half (secs. 38-41), and of some striking similarities which Koch has overlooked in this connection, viz., the confusion of B and Ad<sup>3</sup> in vv. 2338-39 and of B and P in vv. 249 and 487. In the first of these cases B and Ad<sup>3</sup> (the only *k* MS. which has this part of the text) omit 2338, present 2339 as 2338 and introduce the same spurious line as 2339. In the second instance, P (the other *k* MSS. do not have this part of the text) presents spurious lines for

vv. 249 and 487, the only verses in the *Prologue* which are omitted by Fx, Bo, and Ta;<sup>5</sup> the spurious lines in P clearly indicate gaps in its exemplar.

The absence of 2338 from both *B* and Ad<sup>3</sup> and of 249 and 487 from *B* and P indicate clearly the nature of the relationship of these MSS. For even if one should grant Koch's assumption that the verbal similarities are due to contamination (which I do not grant), one surely could not grant that the absence of essential verses is due to contamination. Clearly, for the portions of the text where these gaps occur, the exemplar of Ad<sup>3</sup> and of P must have been a *B*-type MS.

My interpretation of the position of *k* on the stemma is based upon the conviction that *k* is hybrid. Certain readings mentioned above (960-61, 1139, 794, and 1187) point to an independence of *k* of both *B* and *C*; others (2338-9, 249, and 487) are conclusive of a descent of portions of *k* from *B*. To reconcile these conflicting testimonies one should notice that of the two dozen P + *B* agreements listed by Koch (sec. 38), all but one (1357) are from the *Prologue*; that the four PR + *B* agreements (1151, 1175, 1194, and 1239) are insignificant; and that the few agreements of P + Ad<sup>3</sup> + *B* and PR + Ad<sup>3</sup> + *B* are either from the *Prologue* or from near the end of the P and R fragments (i.e., after 1300). One should notice, furthermore, that of the long list of Ad<sup>3</sup> + *B* agreements (sec. 40) only two occur before line 1300 and that these two are of no significance in themselves, *nerene* (997) and *she* omitted (1063). Inasmuch as R and Ff are undoubtedly members of the *k* group and—as far as their fragmentary character will allow—corroborate the evidence submitted above,<sup>6</sup> I feel justified in regarding *k* as a hybrid to which a *B*-type MSS. contributed the *Prologue* and the last 1500 lines (approximately) and a MS. standing apart from both *B* and *c* the remainder. Because of the fragmentary and mutilated character of the MSS. it is impossible to determine the dividing line; it probably occurs at about line 1250. Inasmuch as the *B* MSS. frequently err when the '*B*'

<sup>5</sup> Curiously enough, these four MSS. figure in similar errors in *The Temple of Glass* (which immediately precedes the *Legend* in P.) P presents three spurious lines to take the places of gaps in Fx, Bo, and Ta, and omits one other line which is also missing from them. (See Schick, ed.—E. E. T. S.—p. xx.)

<sup>6</sup> See p. 29 ff. of my dissertation.

portion of *k* does not (see my dissertation, pp. 20-21, 47-8), I conclude that that portion sprang not directly from *B* but from a point between *a* and *B*.

## 2. The question of contamination

Koch's stemma differs from mine also in that Koch indicates by broken and dotted lines secondary and, in some cases, even tertiary influences upon most of the MSS. We have already seen that the bifurcated broken line connecting *B* with *k* and *Ad*<sup>3</sup> should indicate kinship instead of contamination, and that the dotted line from *Gg* to *k* and *k̂* is probably fictitious. It remains for us to examine the evidence for the contamination of the other MSS.

Contamination is likely to occur when an intelligent and conscientious scribe, working from an obviously faulty exemplar, has access to another MS. It is reasonable to assume that such a person would adopt the alternative reading only when it is actually or plausibly better than that of the exemplar. Stupid, careless blunders in two MSS. not genealogically akin are not likely to be indications of contamination; such similarities are more likely to be coincidence. Thus, Thynne's printed text is a normal example of the process. It contains the earmarks of *B*—its basic MS.—but has obviously been corrected (or "contaminated") from at least one other MS. For Thynne has filled in all the gaps except the elusive 960/61 (though he omits a couplet present in all the MSS.), printed the genuine as well as the spurious 2339, combined the readings of *a* and *B* at 1172 and 2452, obtained the correct spelling of *Alcathoe* (1902, 1923), secured the only acceptable reading of 2422 (*Chorus*), and inserted the name of *Livi* (perhaps from a marginal gloss) in 1721. On the other hand, there are about a dozen minor cases which Koch regards as evidence of an influence from *Gg*: 217/63, *Laodomia-laudomia*, etc.; 856, *y-fynde-fynde*; 2615, *of soun(de)* omitted by *b* (*Tr, of son and of, Ad*<sup>2</sup>, *of sowne and, S* lost); 1607, *b* omits *the* (*Gg* and *Th* awkward); 1639, *Th* and *Gg*, *lese or lothe*, rest, *ne* for *or*; 1727, *so long-to-long*; 2365, *her susters loue- hir suster love*; 2656, *to bedde go-to bed (y)-go*; 1071, *brawne-brawnes*; 1132, *to present-for to present*; 2126, *now* omitted by *Th* and *Gg* [but *Gg* also *Al* for *And*]. These agreements I regard as due to coincidence. If

Thynne had had access to a Gg type MS., possessing not only a unique *Prologue* but also many excellent, unique readings, we should find in Thynne's text much more striking similarities than those quoted above.

Koch's evidence of contamination of Ta from Gg is equally weak. It consists of eleven readings, of which Koch selects three as of special significance—638, Gg and Ta, *heterly*, S *hatirly*, rest, *hertely*; 1585, *fals* omitted by Fx, Bo, and Th; 738, *cop* (Gg, Ff, Ta) for *top*. The first of these is merely a mistake in spelling; the last may be explained as independent errors of the three scribes because of the similarity of "c" and "t" in most manuscripts; the other looks like a Ta emendation, though not necessarily from Gg. Surely such errors are far from being proof of contamination of Ta from Gg. To be consistent Koch's stemma should show broken lines connecting Ta with S and Ad<sup>3</sup> because they read *huge* for *mech* or *gret(e)* in 1613, and from Ta to Ad<sup>1</sup> and P because of the mutual error of *hervest* for (*h*)*er*nest in 1287, etc. If the scribe of Ta had had Gg at his elbow, we should have expected far more significant agreements than the few cited by Koch.

The so-called contamination of the *c* MSS. is of two types, a number of clear cases of editing of individual MSS.—*é*, S, and Ad<sup>2</sup> (and possibly of Tr)—and a large number of minor similarities between MSS. not genealogically related—Tr and S, Ad<sup>1</sup> and S, etc. In the first group are such readings as the following from *é*: *All the Cyte* (1902, 1923) for the strange word *Alcathoe* (probably misspelled in the exemplar), *For ever and ay* (1926, 1941) for the practically synonymous *From yer to yer*, and probably (though Ad<sup>1</sup> ends at 1985) *pryncipally* for the older *aldermost* (2127, 2567, 2635). In the same category I would place the strange free paraphrases of the couplets 1772-3, 2543-2544, and 2696-2697 of Ad<sup>2</sup> (see my dissertation, p. 10). Though these readings are valueless in themselves, they indicate that the scribes of these MSS. exercised editorial prerogatives. Consequently, when I find in *é* a reading such as *thus lat I ryde* (1210)—the other MSS. stumble over the line—I am more inclined to regard it as a happy guess at the truth than as having come from a MS. which stood apart from the existing MSS., especially as it is the only case in which this MS. alone presents an acceptable reading. In the same manner

I regard the S reading of 1538 (S adds *almychti* before *God*), a line which is short in all other MSS. except Gg (Gg clearly emends);<sup>7</sup> for the scribe of S was given to emending for meter.

The important variations mentioned above are individual peculiarities and do not involve the question of the relationship of the existing MSS. The longer lists of minor "contaminations" cited by Koch, however, tend to upset the established genealogy of the *c* MSS. Though space forbids the examination of more than one group of these readings, I have selected for the purpose the longest and by far the most formidable looking group—the agreements of Ad<sup>1</sup> and S.

Of the relationship of Tr and Ad<sup>1</sup> there can be no doubt; they agree in omitting two couplets, in inverting another, and in presenting a very large number of erroneous readings, many of them striking (see my dissertation, pp. 24-5). Yet Koch gives a list of about half a hundred readings in which Ad<sup>1</sup> agrees with S in minor errors in which Tr does not share. The list may be analyzed as follows. Three must be deducted as Koch's errors—193, 1263 (*It als wele*), and 1886. In at least two cases Tr does not contradict S and Ad<sup>1</sup> because it is otherwise corrupt—1029, Tr omits *it* (Ad<sup>1</sup> and S, *is it* for *it is*); 1907, Tr omits *an* (Ad<sup>1</sup> and S *on* for *an*). In another case (1729) the *B* MSS. agree with Ad<sup>1</sup> and S in reading *as* for *with* (Tr, *ys*). Three lines—1193, 1207, and 1263—are listed twice. In a few cases Ad<sup>1</sup> and S are evidently trying to get metrical lines, for Tr is either corrupt or would appear so to many scribes: e.g., 52, 96, 186, 303, 652, 1009, 1119, 1837, and (Ad<sup>1</sup>) 1121. Several other cases consist of substitutions of one form of a word for another, a singular for a plural, the past tense for the present, differences in spelling, etc.; thus, 68/80, *be-beth*; 86, *within* (+Th)-*in with* (P, *In*); 155, *for-of*; 136/150, *obseruance* (+Th)-*obseruances*; 257/331, *to drawe* (Tr, *wtdrawe*)-*withdrawe*; 374, *tirandis(des)-tyrauntis*; 455, *vpon-on*; 688, *counand*(S), *cownaunt*(Ad<sup>1</sup>)-*covenant*; 693 (id.); 981, *In-to*(S), *in*(Ad<sup>1</sup>)-*to in*; 1123, *luby*(S, Ad<sup>1</sup>), *lyby*(Tr)-*libie*; 1193, *ben al*(PR, *alle ben*)-*ys(is) al*; 1796, *had-hath*; 1566, *repreued-repreueth*; 1871, *halowed-yhalwed*. In 704 *thus* may have been caught independently from the

<sup>7</sup> Koch calls attention to a second case in which S alone appears to present an acceptable reading—337/61, S, *away* for *algate* (Gg, *alwey*, P, *allewey*). To my mind *away* is clearly a mistake or an emendation.

preceding line, and in 1398 *And* from the following. In a few cases the sign of the infinitive has been inserted by both scribes: 1407, *to (ben)*; 1917, *quhom to(S)*, *ells to(Ad<sup>1</sup>)-ellis*. [One needs more than a vivid imagination to regard the last as an indication of contamination.] In two cases what may appear to be substitution of words may be mistakes in spelling: 13, *seith-seeth*; 837, *biding-bidding*. Two cases are easy transpositions: 1193, *ben al* and 916, *Piramus and Tisbe*. The context clearly invites substitution in 155, *for-of*; 1437, *with(repeated)*; 194, *and-or*; 469, *and-or*; 879, *or-and*; and 783, *at-in*.

Of the entire list only three or four cases are in any way worthy of serious attention—85, *gyeth-wynt*; 1207, *gyse(de-gyse)-wyse*; and 1401, *realme-regne*. In addition Koch should have noted that in 454 S and Ad<sup>1</sup> read *God* for *Go(o)*. In the first three cases S and Ad<sup>1</sup> probably present the readings which were in *c*, whereas Tr substituted the more modern form or synonym. In 454 either Tr corrected or S and Ad<sup>1</sup> erred independently (*Goo* and *God* are not very unlike).

In thus looking microscopically at such a list of agreements one is very likely to lose sight of the woods for the trees. Let us consider the possible explanations of these agreements. (I) They cannot be explained as having descended to S and Ad<sup>1</sup> from a common ancestor apart from Tr, for the evidence binding Tr and Ad<sup>1</sup> and S and Ad<sup>2</sup> is incontrovertible. (II) They are too insignificant to be charged to contamination: if either S or Ad<sup>1</sup> had had access to the other, or both to another MS., we should expect to find some more significant similarities. (III) The errors may have occurred in *c* but were corrected by the scribe of Tr. This would account for some of the more obvious errors. (IV) They may be independent transcriptional errors of S and Ad<sup>1</sup>. This I believe to be true of most of them, particularly as the agreements are of such a nature as one is likely to find between any two MSS. not closely related. (The readings submitted by Koch as evidence of relationship of these MSS. to *k* are of the same general nature—see preceding section.) To regard either these minor similarities or the cases of 'editing' cited above as proof of contamination from a point between *A* and *O* is both unnecessary and unwarranted.

## 3. The nature of "A"

Whether the hypothetical *A* was Chaucer's original manuscript or a manuscript removed a generation or more from the matrix cannot be definitely ascertained. The considerable number of clear cases in which the MSS. are linked in error suggests a common origin removed from Chaucer's copy.

But this apparently obvious interpretation of these mutual errors presents some difficulties. It assumes, first, that *A* contained the two versions of the *Prologue*, one of which was taken by Gg and the other by *a*. The difficulty of accepting this explanation arises from two sources—the improbability of a scribe's transcribing two long passages which almost duplicate each other; and the probability of contamination, especially since some imperfections of the Gg text would invite comparison with the other. (Koch recognizes these difficulties and suggests the possibility that *A* contained only the Gg version and that the other came into *a* through the hypothetical *y*.)

Moreover, one must remember that inasmuch as the poem was never completed, it is unlikely that it was put into circulation as a whole—if at all—during Chaucer's life-time. It is possible, of course, that individual legends, or the *Prologue* and one or more legends as a unit, were put into circulation—two such MSS. have come down to us (Ff, *Thisbe* and R, *Dido*). Such transcriptions might later form the basis of a composite text. But the agreement of the MSS. in the order of the legends, though only that of the first is stated by the context, and the conclusive evidence furnished by a collation of the text indicate that if such transcriptions influenced our MSS. at all, they did not do so at a point later than *A*.

That Chaucer did not 'publish' the poem is further suggested by the unfinished state of *Hypermnestra*, the last of the legends. The legend breaks off abruptly with these words:

This tale is seid for this conclusion.

Each of the other tales has its 'conclusion,' varying in length from a couplet to six or seven lines. It is inconceivable that Chaucer did not write the few lines necessary to finish the legend. Either these lines were on a separate sheet which became detached from Chaucer's MS. before a transcript was

made or they were lost in transmission. The former is the more likely, for Chaucer's MS. was probably a pile of loose leaves whereas a transcript would be a bound codex.

Furthermore, if *A* represents Chaucer's own MS., rather than a transcript, we can account for the few striking cases of agreement in erroneous readings and of confusion in all MSS. as due to inaccuracies and confusion in a working copy. There are a few cases in which it is pretty certain that Chaucer left verses metrically or logically unsound: the sources of 1338 (hexametrical) and of 1966 (*Of Athenys* falsely) indicate clearly that Chaucer nodded.<sup>8</sup> It is not unlikely that other such cases exist, but for which no evidence can be discovered. Some of the other inaccurate or imperfect verses may be accounted for as due to corrections and substitutions written between the lines or on the margins of his working copy—1126 and 1210, for instance. If in addition to *A*, there was also an 'O,' an 'x,' and a 'y,'—as Koch suggests—I doubt whether we should find the two types of MSS. agreeing quite so often in regard to some of these obviously inaccurate lines. Consequently, though one cannot be dogmatic on the subject, I am inclined to regard *A* as a pile of manuscript in Chaucer's desk drawer at his death, rather than a bound codex in circulation.

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<sup>8</sup> See my dissertation, pp. 42, 43.



## LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG UND LENIERUNG

1. ÄUSSERE ÄHNLICHKEIT.—Zwei Lautübergänge können einander äusserst ähnlich, ja der Form nach geradezu gleich sein und trotzdem aus ganz verschiedenen Ursachen hervorgegangen sein. So ist sowohl in franz. *nation* < *nationem* wie in hd. *lassen* < \**latan* ein ursprüngliches *t* letzten Endes zu *s* geworden, und doch gibt es wenige, die Scherer und Kauffmann darin zustimmen, dass wir es hier mit wesensgleichen Lautgesetzen zu tun hätten. Denn der französische Lautwandel gehört einer grossen Gruppe von Palatalisierungsvorgängen an, die dem Einflusse eines folgenden Lautes auf einen vorhergehenden entspringen, während sich der deutsche einer allgemeinen ("spontanen") Änderung der Artikulationsart von Verschlusslauten ohne Rücksicht auf Nachbarlaute einfügt. Selbst wenn wir keine geschichtlichen oder mundartlichen Zwischenstufen besässen, wäre schon durch diese Stellung innerhalb grösserer Zusammenhänge von Lautgesetzen der Gegensatz zwischen französischen *t* > *s* und deutschen *t* > *s* hinreichend gesichert; denn wir müssen mit Paul, *Prinzipien*,<sup>3</sup> S. 54 zugeben, "dass die Richtung, nach welcher ein Laut ablenkt, mitbedingt sein muss durch die Richtung der übrigen Laute."

Eine ähnliche Übereinstimmung findet sich bei der Behandlung stimmloser Verschlusslaute in der germanischen Sprachgruppe und der *irischen* (in eingeschränktem Sinne: der *keltischen*) Sprache. In beiden werden unter geeigneten Verhältnissen idg. *t*, *k* zu *b*, *χ*, vgl. lat. *frāter*, *sequitur*: got. *brōpar*, *saihrīp*, air. *brāthir*, *sechitir*. Ferner entspricht der idg. "aspirierten Media" (die ich als stimmlose lenis-Spirans betrachte, *M. Ph. XV, XVI*) auf beiden Gebieten teilweise ein Verschlusslaut, teilweise ein Reibelaut, vgl. idg. \**φer-*, \**χεφ-*: got. *batra*, *giba* = /γiβa/: air. *berim*, *gabim* = /gaβim/.

Dass diese grosse Ähnlichkeit dazu geführt hat, für die germanische "Lautverschiebung" und die irische "Lenierung" einen gleichen, wohl gar einen gemeinsamen Vorgang der Artikulationsänderung anzunehmen, ist begreiflich. Meillet stützt sich in *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques* mehrfach auf die Gleichheit der Behandlung der aspirierten Medien—allerdings mit einer Entgleisung, indem er die germanische Spirans, wie die keltische, als eine sekundäre Ent-

wicklung aus dem Verschlusslaut betrachtet, während doch umgekehrt dieser sich in einem Teil der germanischen Sprachen aus jener entwickelt hat. Lotspeich hat im 17. Bande dieser Zeitschrift die Frage ausführlich im gleichen Sinn erörtert; den Inhalt seines Artikels hatte er 1917 für einen Vortrag vor der Modern Language Association folgendermassen zusammengefasst: "Consonant shifts and umlaut are the result of a mixing of two different types of articulation, Nordic (North German) and Alpine (in its purest form, French). The Germanic and High German consonant shifts are in origin identical with Celtic "lenition" and arose from *antagonistic muscular reaction*. This theory eliminates increase of force of expiration as a positiv factor in sound changes." (Publ. M.L.A. XXXIII, XLI). A. Green scheint sich seiner Anschauung zu nähern, denn er meint M.L.N. XXXIII 104: "What is there against the theory . . . that the older, Germanic Shift originated from such an intermingling of races? Celtic itself, with a phonetic 'tendency' in the direction of aspirated articulation, shows an *analogous* treatment of the explosives, cf. the spirantization of the I. E. mediae, as well as  $c > ch$  ( $x$ ),  $t > th$ ,  $p > ph$  ( $f$ )."  
 Das trifft im Grunde mit Anschauungen zusammen, die schon von Scherer ausgesprochen und von Kauffman u.a. erneuert wurden (vgl. den Schluss meines Artikels *Die deutsche Lautverschiebung und die Völkerwanderung* im 16. Bande dieser Zs.).

So verlockend diese Anschauung auch erscheinen mag, und so aner kennenswert Lotspeichs physiologische Ausführungen sind, liegt ihr doch ein Missverständnis zugrunde. Aus der äusseren, isolierten Ähnlichkeit des Lautwandels  $t > þ$ ,  $k > x$  darf noch nicht auf innere Gleichheit geschlossen werden. Diese wie alle andern Lautgesetze können nur im grösseren Zusammenhange der Sprachentwicklung verstanden werden; auf diesen will ich in den folgenden Zeilen einzugehen versuchen, und wenn ich es dabei an Ausführlichkeit fehlen lasse, so geschieht es deshalb, weil ich die physiologische Seite der Frage in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen, zuletzt und am bestimmtesten in §14 meines Artikels über die idg. *media aspirata* (M. Ph. XV, XVI) hinreichend erörtert zu haben glaube. Lotspeichs Aufsatz hat mich nicht von der Unrichtigkeit meiner Auffassung überzeugt.

2. DIE IRISCHE LENIERUNG.—Dieser Lautwandel wird von Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, S. 68, so gekennzeichnet: "Lenierung nennen wir eine Veränderung der Konsonanten, die ursprünglich auf Minderung der Energie bei ihrer Artikulation beruht." Lautverschiebung dagegen wird wohl immer noch von der grossen Mehrheit der Forscher als Ergebnis einer Artikulationssteigerung aufgefasst; Lotspeich jedoch bezeichnet sie (l.c. 172) geradezu als Schwächung: "*shifting (weakening) of consonants*" lautet seine synonymische Nebeneinanderstellung.

Der Übersichtlichkeit halber stelle ich die wichtigsten der hierher gehörenden Lautgesetze einander gegenüber:

Idg.	Germ.	Kelt.	Air.
<i>t, k</i>	<i>þ, x</i>	<i>t, k</i>	<i>t, k</i> , nach Vokal leniert zu <i>þ, x</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	} <i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i> , nach Vokal leniert zu <i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>φ, θ, χ</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>		
<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>		

Vor allem geht aus dieser Tabelle hervor, dass die Lenierung *irisch*, aber nicht *keltisch* ist. Vgl. gall. *catu-* 'Kampf': air. *cath*; akymr. *uceint* 'zwanzig': air. *fiche*. Schon das, scheint mir, schliesst einen wirklichen Zusammenhang zwischen Lautverschiebung und Lenierung aus. Dass zur Zeit der *ersten* Lautverschiebung eine Berührung zwischen den späteren Iren und den Germanen bestanden hätte, wäre eine abenteuerliche Vermutung. Auf Grund von Lotspeichs Theorie könnte man höchstens annehmen, dass eine Neigung zur "Aspiration" (im Sinne von Pedersens *Aspirationen i Irsk*) den Kelten und Germanen gemeinsam gewesen sei und bei diesen schon sehr früh, bei jenen aber spät und dann auch nur teilweise seine Wirkung ausgeübt hätte. Das liesse sich physiologisch wohl zur Not verstehen, verwickelt aber in unlösbare chronologische Widersprüche.

3. GEGENSÄTZE.—Selbst wenn sich ein Weg finden liesse (ich kann mir keinen denken), diese historisch-geographischen Schwierigkeit zu beseitigen, so wäre damit nichts gewonnen,

denn die vermeintlichen Ähnlichkeiten des germanischen und das irischen Lautwandels lösen sich bei näherer Betrachtung in Gegensätze auf. Das Folgende springt sofort in die Augen:

1. Germanisch *t, k* wird zu *þ, x* in allen Stellungen.  
Irisch *t, k* wird zu *þ, x* nur nach Vokal.
2. Im Germanischen unterliegt auch *p* der Verschiebung.  
Im Irischen schwindet *p* im allgemeinen.
3. Germanisch *b, d, g* wird zu *p, t, k*.

Irisch (Keltisch) fällt *b, d, g* mit den sogenannten aspirierten Medien zusammen, indem diese gemein-keltisch in allen Stellungen gleichfalls zu *b, d, g* werden. Nach Vokalen werden *dann* diese keltischen Medien zu *β, δ, γ* leniert.

Nur bei den aspirierten Medien zeigt sich also eine beträchtliche Ähnlichkeit der Entwicklungsrichtung.

Welche Bedeutung in Sinne phonetischer Tendenzen haben diese Gegensätze wie diese Ähnlichkeiten? Welche Richtung der Sprechgewohnheit ist durch sie vorgezeichnet?

4. WESEN DER VERSCHLUSSLÖSUNG.—Wie ich M. Ph. l.c. ausführe, ist der Übergang vom stimmlosen Verschlusslaut zum stimmlosen Reibelaut doppeldeutig. Zur Bildung eines Verschlusslautes ist es notwendig, dass entweder Atemdruck und Muskelspannung (der Lippen oder der Zunge) einander die Wage halten oder der letztere überwiegt. Ein Reibelaut entsteht aus einem Verschlusslaute, wenn entweder der Druck über ein gewisses Mass zunimmt oder die Spannung unter ein gewisses Mass abnimmt. Weil diese Ausdrucksweise, die mir immer klar genug schien, zu Missverständnissen geführt hat, will ich hinzufügen: Dass verschiedene Lautarten mit verschiedener Stärke des Druckes wie der Spannung ausgesprochen werden, bezweifelt wohl niemand; eine Fortis *f* hat mehr Druck und mehr Spannung der Mundmuskeln als eine Lenis *v*, ein norddeutsches *p* mehr Druck, aber kaum mehr Spannung, als ein französisches, bei dem ja, wenn mit Kehlkopfverschluss gesprochen, der Druck gleich Null ist.—Mit einer Weiterführung von Jespersens analphabetischem System, also mit einer symbolisch-willkürlichen, nicht einer mathematischen Verwendung von Ziffern, liesse sich der Unterschied in folgenden Formel ausdrücken:

Gruppe *táta*: Druck—norddeutsch 5:1:4: $\frac{2}{3}$  französisch 0:1:0:1  
Spannung “ 5:1:4: $\frac{1}{2}$  “ 5:1:4:1.

Das sind, ich betone es, *Verhältniszahlen*; sie geben lediglich an, in welchem Grade Druck und Spannung eines Lautes über oder unter dem Niveau der Nachbarlaute stehen. Bei energischem Sprechen wird natürlich der absolute Druck wie die absolute Spannung wachsen, bei lässigem Sprechen werden sie abnehmen (wenigstens im allgemeinen), aber die *Verhältnisse* werden im Grunde nicht verändert.

Wie das Französische zeigt, mag die Spannung bedeutend grösser werden als der Druck, und der Laut bleibt doch ein Verschlusslaut. Das bleibt er auch, wenn beide Faktoren gleichmässig über das Niveau ihrer Umgebung hinauswachsen; sicher war das der Fall, als idg. *b, d, g* im Germanischen auf dem Wege über stimmlose Lenes zu *p, t, k* wurden—ebenso sicher, wie Druck und Spannung zunehmen, wenn ein Süddeutscher in gewählter Sprechweise (Bühnendeutsch) norddeutsche Fortes für seine gewohnten Lenes einsetzt. (Dass Lotspeich, S. 160, annimmt, dass die englischen, norddeutschen und dänischen aspirierten Fortes mit geringerer Lippen- und Zungenspannung gesprochen werden als die stimmlosen Lenes, kann wohl nur als ein Versehen betrachtet werden.)

Wächst aber der Druck mehr als die Spannung—ihm sind ja weniger enge Grenzen gezogen, das er von der kräftigeren Rumpfmuskulatur ausgeht—, sodass sich das Verhältnis 5:5 in der Richtung nach 6:5 verschiebt, so ist ein Reibelaut die unvermeidliche Folge; das Gleiche tritt aber auch ein, wenn die Spannung abnimmt (Richtung nach 5:4). Im ersteren Falle ergibt sich, wenigstens vorläufig, eine Fortis, im letzteren Falle eine Lenis, aber ein Reibelaut entsteht in beiden Fällen.

Sind nun germanische Lautverschiebung und irische Lenierung in derselben Richtung erfolgt oder nicht? Mit andern Worten: Ist jede der beiden Erscheinungen einer Drucksteigerung oder einer Spannungsminderung zuzuschreiben?

5. RICHTUNG DER LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG.—Darüber erhalten wir, wenn wir wollen, nach zwei Richtungen Aufschluss, die gewissermassen einen horizontalen und einen vertikalen Durchschnitt der beiden Sprachen darstellen, nämlich durch einen Vergleich gleichzeitiger Lautveränderungen oder durch eine Erwägung der späteren Entwicklung der betreffenden Laute. Für den gegenwärtigen Zweck genügt aber der erstere Weg vollauf.

Im Germanischen spricht sowohl innerhalb der ersten Lautverschiebung wie auch in der Folgezeit alles in der bestimmtesten Weise für Entwicklung durch Aussprachesteigerung. Der Übergang von Tenuis zu Spirans ist nicht auf gewisse Stellungen eingeschränkt; die Gründe der Abweichungen in der zweiten Lautverschiebung habe ich JEGPh. XVI auseinandergesetzt. Der schon dadurch angedeutete Steigerungsvorgang wird durch die Medienverschiebung ganz ausser Frage gestellt: Diese ist gänzlich eindeutig, denn in allen germanischen Sprachen finden wir Fortes, u.z. grösstenteils aspirierte Fortes, an Stelle der idg. *b, d, g*. Durch die Gegenwirkung von relativer Druckverstärkung, d.h. Hebung des Druckes über das bisherige Niveau der Nachbarlaute, und entsprechende Spannungsverstärkung, ergibt sich eine Reihe von beispielloser Folgerichtigkeit, die MPH. l.c. § 14 (S. 329 f.) zusammengefasst ist, und deren Wiedergabe an dieser Stelle ich mir aus Rücksicht auf den Raum versage.

6. RICHTUNG DER LENIERUNG.—Diesem gänzlich klaren Steigerungsvorgang gegenüber finden wir im Irischen folgende Entwicklung:

*a. Lenierung der Stimmlosen.* Darauf, dass diese nur nach Vokal erfolgt, wäre vielleicht nicht allzuviel Gewicht zu legen, denn das wäre auch bei einem Lautwandel durch Steigerung denkbar. Die Spannung mag im Anlaut dem Druck länger Widerstand leisten als im Inlaut und im Auslaut, wie wir es bei der zweiten Lautverschiebung tatsächlich sehen, und man könnte annehmen, dass im Irischen (vielleicht zufällig zu gleicher Zeit mit der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung) ein ähnlicher Vorgang eingesetzt habe aber aus unbekanntem Gründen nicht über diesen Anfang hinausgegangen sei.

Anm. 1: Den Wegfall des keltischen *p* im Anlaut und zwischen Vokalen (vgl. air. *athir*—lat. *pater*) wage ich nicht zu beurteilen. Thurneysen, *Hb. S.* 137, meint, dass es zunächst überall zu bilabialem *f* wurde und dann auf dem Wege über *y* oder *h* schwand. Im Armenischen (lat. *pater*—armen. *hajr*) ist ein solcher Vorgang kaum zu bezweifeln, aber dessen Lautstand ist von dem irischen so verschieden, dass sich daraus nichts schliessen lässt. Die Entwicklung der Gruppe *pt* zu *cht* (*septem*: air. *secht*) scheint Thurneysen recht zu geben.

Anm. 2: In proklitischer Stellung (zB. in der Präposition *do, du* < *to, tu*) wird *t* air. zu *d*, vielleicht auch *k* zu *g*. Über einen ähnlichen, aber nicht gleichen Vorgang im Germanischen (Gotisch *du, dis-*) werde ich in einem Artikel *Restwörter* demnächst in dieser Zeitschrift handeln.

b. *Die Lenierung der Stimmhaften.* Das Verhalten der Medien ist für die ganze Frage entscheidend. Im Germanischen, wie später auch im Hochdeutschen, zeigen diese klare Steigerung. Im Irischen bleiben sie im Anlaut unverändert und werden nach Vokal zu den Spiranten  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$  leniert. Nun lässt sich doch sicher nicht annehmen, dass im Germanischen alle Verschlusslaute verstärkt, im Irischen dagegen die einen verstärkt, die andern geschwächt worden seien; vielmehr ist dieser eindeutige Lautwandel als Schlüssel für den zweideutigen, der im Wandel von  $t$  zu  $\beta$ ,  $k$  zu  $\chi$  liegt, zu verwenden, sodass wir auch aus diesem Grunde diesen für das Germanische als Steigerung, für das Irische aber als Minderung anzusehen haben.— Der Zusammenfall der aspirierten und der nicht-aspirierten Medien hat mit der Lenierung nichts zu tun, sondern gehört in eine sehr frühe, gemein-keltische Periode. Darüber MPh. XVI 335. Die Übereinstimmung in der Verteilung von alt-irischem und germanischem  $b:\beta$ ,  $d:\delta$ ,  $g:\gamma$  ist nur eine scheinbare—ein Punkt, den Meillet, wie oben bemerkt, aus dem Auge verloren hat. Denn im Germanischen ist der Spirant der *ältere* Laut, der erst nach der Lautverschiebung allmählich zum Verschlusslaut wird; dieser Wandel beginnt im Anlaut, der Stelle grösster Spannung, und greift erst allmählich, und in vielen Dialekten überhaupt nicht, auf den Inlaut über, wie JEGPh. XVI in meinem Aufsatz über die deutsche Lautverschiebung ausführlich besprochen ist. Aber im Irischen haben wir von Verschlusslauten auszugehen (will man das für die aspirierten Medien bestreiten, so tut es nichts zur Sache—für die reinen Medien ist es unbestreitbar), die in Stellen geringster Spannung, nämlich nach Vokalen, zu Reibelauten werden. Auch hier also zeigt das Germanische eine Steigerung, das Irische eine Minderung.

Aus diesen Erwägungen scheint mir klar hervorzugehen, dass von irgend einer Art Zusammenhang zwischen Lautverschiebung und Lenierung keine Rede sein kann, sondern dass die beiden Erscheinungen, die von einander vollständig unabhängig sind, in einem einzigen Punkte, der Entwicklung von  $\beta$  und  $\chi$  aus Verschlusslauten, eine äussere Ähnlichkeit zeigen, die man geradezu eine zufällige nennen muss. Die Wege des Germanischen und des Irischen sind entgegengesetzt, wenn sie auch auf eine Weile neben einander herzulaufen scheinen. Will man in

der Richtung dieser Beweisführung noch weiter gehen, so mag man auch die spätere Entwicklung der "verschobenen" und der "lenierten" Laute in Betracht ziehen und wird das Ergebnis bündig bestätigt finden. Das Germanische stellt eine "Steigerungsreihe" dar ( $t > p > \delta > \delta > \delta > t$ ), das Irische dagegen, und mehr oder weniger das Keltische überhaupt, eine Minderungsreihe ( $t > \vartheta > \delta$ —).

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## MILTON'S VIEW OF EDUCATION IN *PARADISE LOST*

The student of Milton may welcome the suggestion that in *Paradise Lost* the poet is interested in the problems of education. If we are already accustomed to regard the epic as in part an artistic embodiment of a constructive theology, fulfilling the promise of justifying the ways of God to men, we may also comprehend under that announced purpose an interest in the most universal problems of education. If we think of Milton as so completely the master of the epic conventions that they become his instruments in the expression of a highly philosophic aim, we might also believe him capable of presenting through these conventions the idea of a sound education. And we might be the more willing to discover such an idea in the poem if we were to find that in Milton's thought the topic of education was essentially connected with those other dominant philosophical themes of the epic, theology and ethics.

This naturally leads to an examination of the prose for a record of the poet's thought in the years preceding the great epic. We have long assumed in our study that the prose is capable of throwing light upon the theology of the fourth book; and we have also recognized an obvious connection between the importance of liberty in the prose, and an equally apparent insistence throughout the epic upon the the same theme. If we found that in the prose the problems of education were naturally related to this basic topic of liberty, we might be willing to assume a similar tendency when the epic was composed.

We may recall that as early as 1644 in the letter *Of Education* to Master Hartlib education has for its most comprehensive aim "to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright."<sup>1</sup> The ideas advanced in this early work, we may add, he regards as the "burnishing of many studious and contemplative years, altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge."<sup>2</sup> According to this his early thought is the outcome primarily of his theological and political thought. And, again, in the *Second Defence of the English People* the principles of education are for Milton so vital that

<sup>1</sup> *Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. by J. A. St. John, 5 vol., London, 1901-1909, 3. 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

there can be nothing more necessary "to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown."<sup>3</sup> The establishment thus early in Milton's thought of so close a relation between education, ethics, and politics leads us to wonder whether in the work of his mature genius concerned with religious and ethical aspects of liberty he could have passed over in silence a subject of such vital importance as education seemed to be. If we seek in the epic for a conscious facing of the problems of education, we are seeking in a great poem the central theme of which is liberty for a description of the process by which that ideal human state is to be achieved.

We would reasonably expect that such a view artistically embodied in the epic would represent an advance over the earlier view. We might expect it to be more philosophic—in the sense that *Paradise Lost* is more philosophic than any earlier work of the poet. It would possess the universality of the highest poetry. And, again, remembering how scanty the letter to Hartlib is in hints relating to method, and the proper temper of the teacher, and the right attitude of the scholar, we might expect any conception in the epic to round out in certain important respects the view of 1644.

So much by way of anticipation. At this point, however, it will suffice to keep in mind two outstanding facts concerning the early work. The first is that as early as 1644 Milton had a definitely utilitarian view of education. Whether we think of the purpose of education as the repairing of the ruins of our first parents, or, in the words of that other definition, as enabling "a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war,"<sup>4</sup> the practical character of the theory remains the same.

The second fact is that these two definitions just quoted are essentially different; and no attempt is made to establish a relation between them. The reforms in education suggested are seemingly made in the light of one or of the other of these definitions, but hardly in the light of both. They represent quite different aims. The one proposes "to repair the ruins of

<sup>3</sup>*Prose Works*, 1. 259.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* 3. 467.

our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." Such a view contemplates the pupil as by nature sinful and therefore subject to discipline, a process of eradicating evil, if need be with pain. It is the view which one might expect from a Puritan.

The other definition is not necessarily Puritanical at all. It states simply that it is the business of education to fit the individual to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war. According to this view it is the object of education to make good citizens. The expressed aim has no reference to the inherent sinfulness of man's nature. It seeks, rather, to emphasize that other equally important fact, the potential goodness of man's nature. Here in the early treatise we have two definitions of the purpose of education based upon two different conceptions of the nature of man.<sup>4a</sup> Had Milton been more interested in this early work in a philosophical theory of education, a conflict between the two views might have become apparent. That this conflict was avoided was probably due to the fact that he was mainly interested as an educational reformer in offering certain specific suggestions. The purpose of the letter, not being highly philosophical, does not necessitate the development of the implications of the two definitions.

With *Paradise Lost* it is different. Here, far from being interested in the specific questions which were his concern in 1644, he turned naturally to those more universal questions of human conduct involved in his presentation of our progenitor, Adam. The protagonist is representative of humanity in its most universal capacities, tendencies, and problems. It would not be unreasonable to think of him also as a kind of universal pupil. If he were to be regarded in this light, then the two views of education implicit in the early work would become highly important.

Perhaps, then, we shall be justified in regarding the discourse of Raphael as the artistic embodiment of an ideal of education

<sup>4a</sup> See Lane Cooper, *Two Views of Education*, in *The Sewanee Review*, July, 1918.

which contemplates man as essentially good; and, in turn, the discourse of Michael at the end of the epic as an equally purposive presentation of a kind of education which assumes the sinfulness of man's nature. The one, Raphael, we may call Milton's ideal schoolmaster aiming to make a potentially perfect Adam fit "to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices . . . of peace and war,"—of peace, let us add, in the worship of God, and of war, in the withstanding of Satan. Michael is another ideal schoolmaster, dealing with man after the fall, after man had sinned and come short of the glory of God. This fact the teacher keeps ever uppermost in mind; he seeks, in consequence, not the development of Godlike capacities, but the repair of the ruin already wrought by his pupil.

Thus the two discourses, if they could be supposed to bear upon a theory of education, would seem to stand in a complementary relation. If we say that for Milton the aim of man is to be in right relation with his Maker, then we can say that Raphael aims to help man to achieve this end by assuming his essential goodness, and Michael by assuming his essential sinfulness. That there are these two basic—and complementary—notions of the end of education, dependent, in turn, upon two conceptions of the nature of man, will perhaps become apparent as we examine in some detail the utterances of these two angelic teachers.

We may the better see in these two discourses the purpose of Milton to present the methods of two good teachers if we try at the beginning to determine their possible relation to the basic Miltonic theme of liberty. In the famous autobiographical passage of the *Second Defence* the poet describes the greater part of his work up to 1654, including specifically the letter to Hartlib, as an endeavor to promote "real and substantial liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends, not so much on the terror of the sword, as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life."<sup>6</sup> Here he regards his early utterance on education, along with the tracts on divorce and the more famous work on the freedom of the press, as documents concerned with the subject of liberty. With that other passage in mind, that there

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 258.

can be nothing more necessary than education "to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty,"<sup>6</sup> we would be speaking in the spirit of Milton if we said that Raphael's function as a teacher was to educate Adam to preserve his liberty, and that Michael's purpose was to help him to regain it.

## II

In the light of this connection in the poet's mind between liberty and education, the commission to Raphael in the fifth book of the epic when he is sent to instruct Adam may prove significant:

such discourse bring on  
As may advise him of his happy state—  
Happiness in his power left free to will,  
Left to his own free will, his will though free,  
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware  
He swerve not, too secure.<sup>7</sup>

Raphael is sent for the express purpose of teaching Adam to preserve his happiness, i.e., to preserve his freedom by learning to recognize the dangers involved in that freedom. It is, of course, the fundamental paradox of Milton's thought, with the solution of which we are not here concerned. What does immediately concern us is that this commission is but a rephrasing of that comprehensive aim which the poet had set for himself in all of his published work,—of which the letter on education is a part,—“the promotion of real and substantial liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than from without.” The aim set for Raphael, the angelic teacher, is not far from the aim which Milton has set for himself.

A second fact is noteworthy: that this commission involves the idea of “discourse,” a term which for the poet sometimes denotes particularly the functioning of the rational faculty. That the teacher interprets his task as specifically one of stimulating the reason becomes apparent at the very beginning of his conversation with Adam. Not only does he deal with subject matter quite abstract, the ability of spiritual beings to assimilate substance, and, again, the essential unity of all sub-

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 1. 259.

<sup>7</sup> *Paradise Lost*, ed. by A. W. Verity, Cambridge, 1910, 5. 233-238.



This insistence upon the basic character of knowledge gained through the senses was a commonplace of the pedagogical theory of the day. It is even more evident in such a theorist as Comenius.<sup>11</sup> The interesting point for us is that such a commonplace of contemporary theory should be found just at the beginning of the discourse of Raphael as a kind of theoretical foundation for the instruction. It seems hard to believe that Milton is not thinking in terms of educational policy.

That Milton intended these ideas to be basic is evident from the way in which Adam, indeed a most promising pupil, is represented as assimilating his first lesson:

Well hast thou taught the way that might direct  
Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set  
From centre to circumference, whereon  
In contemplation of created things,  
By steps we may ascend to God.<sup>12</sup>

It is an expression of the aim of education not far from the ideal of the modern scientist proposing to instruct the intellect in the laws of nature that man may learn to shape his actions in accordance with those laws,—or, in the theological phraseology of Milton, that he may by steps ascend to God.

We must agree, however, that Raphael does not lead his pupil to the observation of the same phenomena which our modern scientist regards as the matter of a good education. We should hardly expect to find in the ideal modern curriculum the three great subjects of discourse which constitute the substance of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the epic. The first has to do with the fall of the disobedient angels, the second with the Creation, and the third with "celestial motions." But we may add that for our progenitor as conceived by Milton these topics may well stand in the place of certain modern studies.

Let us observe certain features which these subjects of discourse possess in common. First, each is prompted by the curiosity of the pupil. The teacher conceives of his function, in turn, as the imparting of information always in the light of a definite moral or intellectual good for the pupil. Thus the angel, possessing the knowledge intuitively, imparts it in each instance in a way which exercises the rational powers of man.

<sup>11</sup> See Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> *P. L.* 5. 508-512.

We may also observe that these three topics constitute three essentially different kinds of subject matter. We may say that the fall of the angels, a record of superhuman acts, is a narrative which upon Adam has all of the effects of tragedy. The account of the Creation has, in turn, much the relation to the thought of our first ancestor that the account of the historical geologist has to ours. The third matter of discourse, celestial motions or astronomy, brings up, we shall see, the problem of the curbing of the wrongly motivated scientific impulse. While it may be unsafe to assume that Milton thus purposely chose his fields to illustrate an admirable diversity of subject matter, it is interesting to reflect that the poet bent only upon justifying the ways of God to men,—interested only in a theological problem with little necessary relation to pedagogy,—need not have stressed certain aspects of the Creation, and need not have discussed celestial motions at all. That the pupil is represented as seeking information in three fields without necessary continuity so far as epic structure is concerned may seem to result from the conscious art of the poet in illustrating certain principles of a sound education.

The first discourse, we have suggested, has for its aim the moral effect of tragedy—an effect such as that intended for the readers of *Samson Agonistes*. We may add that much of the preface to Milton's tragedy seems to have a pertinent application to the tragedy which Raphael relates to Adam. Indeed, if it were our purpose to discuss the artistry of this portion of the narrative, it would not be uninteresting to observe how its speeches assume much the character of dramatic dialogue, and the function of chorus is admirably assumed by Raphael himself. Thus, in lieu of those "choice histories, heroic poems, and Attic tragedies of stateliest . . . argument,"<sup>13</sup> referred to in the early letter as the proper reading for the pupil, we have here as the proper imaginative material for this first pupil a narrative in obvious relation to his own approaching temptation. And Raphael, a kind of chorus, points out the pertinency of the action to the life of the listener as faithfully as the chorus of a classical tragedy establishes relations between the action and the universal problems of life involved for the normal spectator or reader.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* 3. 473.



The reader may have noticed that the appeal of *Samson Agonistes* is not solely to the emotions of pity and fear, but as well to the rational powers by which the reader recognizes the universal scope of the moral problems involved. In like manner, in the story of the fall, Milton, causing Raphael to point out the moral significance for Adam of the action, at least gives us an admirable illustration of the rôle of the dramatic artist as teacher. Raphael becomes at times almost the accompaniment of the action, pointing to that central theme of the epic, obedience, and through that obedience, freedom. In the first part of the heavenly instruction the teacher may be said to be employing the highest conscious art.

The second portion of the discourse, the account of the Creation, is equally interesting to the student of Milton's theory of education. Again Adam is represented as seeking information in no wrong spirit, but

Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know  
 What nearer might concern him, how this World  
 Of Heaven and Earth conspicuous first began;  
 When, and whereof, created; for what cause;  
 What within Eden, or without, was done  
 Before his memory.<sup>14</sup>

This is for Milton the healthy attitude in which the desire for knowledge is subordinated to the aim of life, the bringing of the will of the individual into conformity with the Divine Will. In this spirit, and with the thought uppermost that the account of the fall had been for his moral good, the pupil seeks further information:

But, since thou hast vouchsafed  
 Gently, for our instruction, to impart  
 Things above earthly thought, which yet concerned  
 Our knowing, as to highest Wisdom seemed,  
 Deign to descend now lower, and relate  
 What may no less perhaps avail us known:  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 if unforbid thou may'st unfold  
 What we not to explore the secrets ask  
 Of his eternal empire, but the more  
 To magnify his works the more we know.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P. L. 7. 61-66.

<sup>15</sup> P. L. 7. 80-97.

So long as Adam preserves this attitude, Raphael is quite willing to continue the instruction:

Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve  
 To glorify the Maker, and infer  
 Thee also happier, shall not be withheld  
 Thy hearing; such commission from above  
 I have received, to answer thy desire  
 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain  
 To ask . . . .

Then he adds:

But knowledge is as food, and needs no less  
 Her temperance over appetite, to know  
 In measure what the mind may well contain.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, as the fitting introduction to the second narrative we have this insistence that the desire for knowledge shall be subordinated to the desire for right conduct, to the ethical ideal.

Throughout the account of the Creation the narrative is constantly subordinated to the moral purpose. This does not necessarily imply an inartistic didacticism. But there is continual emphasis upon the preëminent nature of God's final creation, Man, and his consequent duty as one made in the image of his Maker not to fall:

There wanted yet the master-work, the end  
 Of all yet done; a creature who, not prone  
 And brute as other creatures, but endued  
 With sanctity of reason, might erect  
 His stature, and upright with front serene  
 Govern the rest, self-knowing . . . .<sup>17</sup>

It is to be noticed that Raphael insists that man is to be distinguished from the lower animals through his possession of that very power to which his heavenly instructor is constantly appealing. Reason, the teacher points out, is properly the ruling principle; but even in the satisfaction of reason a proper temperance must be observed if the individual is to keep his freedom. Curiosity must be subordinated to practical aims and purposes.

It was this vital principle of the intellectual life which was soon to be illustrated in a striking way. Adam, not in the

<sup>16</sup> P. L. 7. 115-128.

<sup>17</sup> P. L. 7. 505-510.

least wearied by a lesson already somewhat long, inquires concerning celestial motions. Now in the portion of the epic thus concerned with astronomical questions, Milton is hardly doubting the value of the study of astronomy; but he evidently is doubting the value of this study—and of any study—pursued with certain aims and motives. The poet had apparently approved of the motives which had first dominated Adam's search for knowledge: the firm conviction that by knowledge he might ascend to God. Listening in this spirit, he had received full benefit from the narratives of the fall and of the Creation. But here, in the eighth book, he is represented as having lost sight of that ideal:

When I behold this goodly frame, this World  
Of Heaven and Earth consisting, and compute  
Their magnitudes; this Earth, a spot, a grain,  
An atom, with the firmament compared  
And all her numbered stars, that seem to roll  
Spaces incomprehensible . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . merely to officiate light  
Round this opacous Earth, this punctual spot,  
One day and night, in all their vast survey  
Useless besides; reasoning I oft admire  
How Nature, wise and frugal, could commit  
Such disproportions . . . . .<sup>18</sup>

The state of mind of the pupil is here obviously intended to represent a desire for knowledge not properly subordinated to a high moral aim. Adam just here is a bad scientist. And the attitude of the teacher may well denote the proper handling of a vital problem in the direction of all study, the problem of imparting information when the motive in which it is sought is radically wrong. Milton, one likes to imagine, had faced just such a case; and Raphael's method is for him just the right approach.

The ideal teacher does not take to task the healthy curiosity as such:

To ask or search I blame thee not; for heaven  
Is as the Book of God before thee set,  
Wherein to read his wondrous works, . . . . .<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> P. L. 8. 15-27.

<sup>19</sup> P. L. 8. 66 ff.

With such a sentiment a scientist like Louis Agassiz is in complete sympathy. There follows, however, a passage which at first glance may seem to argue the fruitlessness of much scientific investigation. Yet we can hardly suppose that Milton, the admirer of Galileo, and the student of the best research of his day, would be thus hostile to the scientific spirit which seeks to reveal the hidden purposes of nature. We ought rather to remember that the reply of the angelic teacher contemplates not the individual but the type, Man, in a typical moral state. It is Milton's rebuke of the falsely critical spirit, and the assumptions underlying a criticism in such a spirit of the economy of nature. Adam has ceased for the moment to be interested in the understanding of the ways of God to men—we must ever keep in mind the announced purpose of the epic—and has substituted for this true motive a censure of those ways as inferior to those which he himself might have devised. The pupil has forgotten that his chief business in life, if he will preserve his freedom, his happy state, is to remain obedient. To do this he must learn to bring his desires, including his desire for knowledge, into subjection to this dominant purpose of life. If he seeks knowledge in a spirit of censure of God's ways, he is not seeking the truth which will make him free. Knowledge should make him free; and the knowledge which Raphael up to this time had imparted had the tendency to make him free in this Miltonic sense. But a satisfaction of the desire just at this point would have made him less free: it would have fostered a wrong state of mind, would have fostered this tendency to assume equality with the Maker, and hence would have contributed to Adam's fall. Much of this Milton may have had in mind in Raphael's interesting discourse on the limits of human knowledge. Milton the teacher may be giving artistic expression to no unimportant aspect of his mature theory of education.

It is also to be noticed that the teacher is alive to the false processes of reasoning upon which the censures of the pupil are based. Raphael is at special pains to prove, for instance, "that great or bright infers not excellence."<sup>20</sup> There is another equally dangerous logical fallacy: the notion that Man's failure to understand a function implies any lack of

<sup>20</sup> P. L. 8. 90-1.

function and hence a flaw in the Divine economy. It is a good thing in the face of such assumptions to remember the rebuke of Raphael:

And for the heaven's wide circuit, let it speak  
The Maker's high magnificence, who built  
So spacious, and his line stretched out so far,  
That Man may know he dwells not in his own.<sup>21</sup>

It is the poet's answer to arrogance and conceit, his call to humility, and insistence upon the highest practicality.

We shall, however, miss the point if we assume that the teacher refuses to satisfy the curiosity. What follows is substantially an account, in hypothetical form, of the Copernican theory:

What if the sun  
Be centre to the World, and other stars,  
By his attractive virtue and their own  
Incited, dance about him various rounds?<sup>22</sup>

In the light of the fact that the cosmography of the epic is Ptolemaic, it is interesting,—but perhaps not altogether profitable,—to speculate concerning this newer astronomy from the lips of the angelic teacher. It may be that Milton recognized that the later view, properly regarded, might have certain important moral consequences: that it might, for instance, be the means of correcting that egotism which caused Adam to assume that the earth was the centre of the universe.

The rebuke ends with an exhortation to keep in mind constantly the central aim of life: "Think only what concerns thee and thy being."<sup>23</sup> The effect upon the pupil is immediate. The mind is cleared of doubt and at the same time chastened.<sup>24</sup> As on a former occasion Adam admirably sums up the universal principle which the teacher had in mind:

That not to know at large of things remote  
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know

<sup>21</sup> *P. L.* 8. 100-103.

<sup>22</sup> *P. L.* 8. 122-125.

<sup>23</sup> *P. L.* 8. 174.

<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note that Adam put the blame not upon himself as an individual but upon what he assumes to be universal human tendencies:

But apt the mind or fancy is to rove  
Unchecked; and of her roving is no end,  
Till warned, or by experience taught, . . . (8. 188-190)

It is easy to blame our imaginations instead of our moral, responsible selves!

That which before us lies in daily life,  
 Is the prime wisdom: what is more is fume,  
 Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,  
 And renders us in things that most concern  
 Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.<sup>25</sup>

He thereupon proposes to descend a lower flight, and speak of things at hand useful. The poet seemingly wishes the reader to believe that the methods of the teacher in dealing with a serious moral state—a state most dangerous in the light of the impending temptation—had been most successful.

### III

We enter now upon a new stage in the education of this universal type of pupil. The teacher ceases to impart information, and plays the new rôle of willing listener, as Adam relates the story of his past. Raphael could hardly have conceived of his function as an auditor as a partial fulfilment of his purpose as a teacher, had he not regarded it as a process of developing character through self-expression—and correcting, in turn, the flaws which became apparent. Here the heavenly instructor again displays sound methods. First, he knows how to do gracefully what many a teacher fails to do with consummate art: he can pretend a lack of knowledge. When Adam proposes his narrative, Raphael can reply graciously:

Say therefore on;  
 For I that day was absent . . . .<sup>26</sup>

Such an attitude is wholesome beside the arrogant assumption of superior knowledge which often represses the desire for self-expression. But, much more than this, the teacher seems actually curious to know what it is that he had missed because of his absence from the throne of heaven on a certain day. It is little wonder that Adam's narrative was part of a good education; the teacher knows how by this means to develop character.

All went well with Adam's narrative until he felt impelled to describe his adoration of Eve:

Yet when I approach  
 Her loveliness, so absolute she seems

<sup>25</sup> *P. L.* 8. 191-197.

<sup>26</sup> *P. L.* 8. 228-229.

And in herself complete, so well to know  
Her own, that what she wills to do or say  
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:  
All higher knowledge in her presence falls  
Degraded; Wisdom in discourse with her  
Loses discountenanced, and like Folly shows;  
Authority and Reason on her wait,  
As one intended first, . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Here the teacher must step in: it is no time for mildness,—the traditional mildness of Raphael,—as he deals with moral tendencies likely to prove fatal to Adam's happiness. The pupil is not actually sinful; but he is at the moment failing to allow the highest nature of man, Godlike Reason, to have supremacy. We have already seen that Raphael's instruction has been essentially a training of this reason to enable man to preserve his freedom. The poet points out that the fatal tendency just here is to deny to reason its rightful place; passion disturbs the right balance of the faculties. "All higher Knowledge," exclaims the rapturous lover, "in her presence falls degraded." "Authority and Reason on her wait," he declares in the next breath. Now Milton's angelic teacher would never have interrupted, had the rapture been a kind of hymn to heavenly beauty, to a spiritual loveliness typified by the physical charms of Eve. He had not interrupted that proper appreciation of Eve but a few moments before:

Grace was in all her steps, Heaven in her eye,  
In every gesture dignity and love.<sup>28</sup>

This shows a right subordination of the physical to the spiritual, and of the mental powers which enable us to apprehend the physical world to those which have to do with supra-mundane realities. But in this other attitude there was a depreciation of reason, and an elevation of sense and feeling. Milton would say that there was, indeed, no fact of sin; but there was a tendency toward sin. When Adam is able to declare that Eve is in herself complete, he is in grave danger of forfeiting his freedom. Hence the severity of the rebuke:

Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part;  
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident

<sup>27</sup> *P. L.* 8. 546-555.

<sup>28</sup> *P. L.* 8. 488-9.

Of Wisdom; she deserts thee not, if thou  
Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,  
By attributing overmuch to things  
Less excellent, . . . . .<sup>29</sup>

The censure is comprehensive: it has regard for the worship of physical beauty, for the susceptibility to the emotions, and for the failure to recognize in the creation of God the goodness and omnipotence of the Maker. It is essentially a call to reason. Raphael has constantly in mind the securing for Adam of the greatest freedom. It is to be gained in part through the suppression of passion; but more through an elevation of the reason. Passion is here not regarded so much as an evil principle in itself as a source of evil when not properly subordinated. The attempt throughout is to develop the well-balanced mind—the right balance of faculties contemplated by the best of Greek ethics:

Take heed lest passion sway  
Thy judgment to do aught which else free will  
Would not admit. . . . .  
. . . . . to stand or fall,  
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.  
Perfect within, no outward aid require;  
And all temptation to transgress repel.<sup>30</sup>

Will, reason, passion: these are the three chief terms in Milton's psychology. The aim is to secure that relation of functions which will result in that highest act of the will, conformity to the Will of God.<sup>31</sup> That end the teacher can best attain, not by treating the passions as evil principles to be eradicated, but as elements to be properly subordinated to the reason. Hence the instruction by Raphael is from first to last a training of the rational powers.

Raphael's discourses have an ideal unity of purpose. The account of the fall, the story of the Creation, the discourse concerning astronomy, all have to do with the subordination

<sup>29</sup> *P. L.* 8. 561 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *P. L.* 8. 635-643.

<sup>31</sup> Vide supra, p. 130, quotation from *Second Defence*. See also Comenius, *Great Didactic*, ed. by Keatinge, London, 1910, p. 48: "In the movements of the soul the most important wheel is the will; while the weights are the desires and affections which incline the will this way or that. The escapement is the reason, etc."



of the will through a supremacy of the reason over the other powers. Thus man is prepared for a temptation to depreciate Godlike reason for the sake of a lower apparent good. Adam's narrative, in turn, tends on the whole to strengthen the reason as he recounts to his heavenly visitor the goodness of God. Only when in that account there came a depreciation of the rational did Raphael step in. One might reasonably expect that a pupil so disciplined would not become a slave to passion, but would remember that he was above all a rational creature, made in the image of his Maker.

But the teacher is hardly to be blamed because the pupil fell. There was, of course, a necessity for such a fall inherent in the traditional material. Moreover, experience has taught us not always to measure the excellence of the instruction by the conduct of the pupil whose mistakes constitute an obvious departure from that instruction. We hardly measure the success of Socrates by the conduct of Alcibiades. We could not justly call Raphael a bad teacher because his pupil succumbed to temptation. Far from this, the important fact is that in the light of the temptation recorded in the ninth book the methods of Raphael were in all respects sound.

He aimed, we have seen, to strengthen the reason. It is significant that in this discipline Milton allows Eve little share. She had been, at best, but a listener, and had departed before the more strenuous discipline of the rational powers had begun. Hence it is not uninteresting to notice that the temptation which assailed her was one made possible only through a faulty process of reasoning which resulted in a temporary—and fatal—separation from Adam.<sup>32</sup> To her logical fallacies her husband does not succumb, but, rather, to her appeals to emotion, and especially to a false sentiment that possibly he is not granting to her the freedom essential to all moral conduct—even though it be a freedom to arrive at wrong conclusions.<sup>33</sup> Thus, before the temptation he is strong in rational power, but is disposed to let his better reason be overcome by a species of sentimentality. As he permits her

<sup>32</sup> P. L. 9. 322 ff.

<sup>33</sup> P. L. 9. 372.

departure it is apparent that he has in mind the substance of the heavenly instruction:

O Woman, best are all things as the will  
 Of God ordained them; his creating hand  
 Nothing imperfect or deficient left  
 Of all that he created, much less Man,  
 Or aught that might his happy state secure,  
 Secure from outward force: within himself  
 The danger lies, yet lies within his power;  
 Against his will he can receive no harm.  
 But God left free the will; for what obeys  
 Reason is free, and Reason he made right,<sup>v</sup>  
 But bid her well be ware, and still erect,  
 Lest, by some fair appearing good surprised,  
 She dictate false, and misinform the will  
 To do what God expressly hath forbid.<sup>24</sup>

An Adam thus completely under the influence of Raphael's instruction could hardly have succumbed to the temptation. An Eve, as Milton would have us believe, less powerful of intellect, less able to detect specious reasoning, and to keep her rational processes free from the coloring of the emotions, and receiving instruction, as she desired, at second-hand, does succumb. By a fair appearing good her reason is surprised and dictates false. In other words, Eve is the victim of the artful tempter in just the respect in which Adam, with his comparatively well-disciplined reason, never could have been. Eve is the easy dupe of a skilful sophist, able to make the worse appear the better reason, able to cause her guilelessly to assume that the flattery which she mistook for a power of judgment argued the possession by the serpent of the power in eminent degree, able to cause her to assume that a lie (that he had partaken of the fruit) could constitute a basis for certain important deductions, able finally so completely to confuse her rational processes that she comes actually to believe that the interdiction of the fruit, the necessary condition of her freedom, as she well knows, constitutes a serious restriction of that freedom. Such sophistry practised upon Adam would have been of no avail. But Eve is a comparatively easy victim:

He ended, and his words, replete with guile,  
 Into her heart too easy entrance won.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *P. L.* 9. 343-356.

<sup>25</sup> *P. L.* 9. 733-4.

Adam, in turn, is overcome, not by specious reasoning, but by that very susceptibility to passion of which his master had been aware in the discourse concerning the charms of Eve:

he scrupled not to eat,  
Against his better knowledge, not deceived,  
But fondly overcome with female charm.<sup>36</sup>

The temptation, far from proving the uselessness of Raphael's instruction, becomes a confirmation of its soundness. "Many there be," says Milton in *Areopagitica*,<sup>37</sup> "that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; . . . God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue?"

#### IV

And because this conquest of passion over reason introduced into man's life an evil principle, Milton must consider another kind of pupil, a second Adam, now in part transformed by his fall; and for his instruction henceforth he must introduce another kind of teacher who will constantly keep in mind this change in character. This new pupil, having sinned and come short of the glory of God, must needs repair his own ruin by regaining to know God aright, and to love, honor, and obey him.

We have already seen how Raphael, before the entrance of sin into the life of his pupil, sought to develop the right relation between reason and passion, and as means sought especially the strengthening of the reason. The passions were not essentially evil; it was only a failure to subordinate them to the Godlike power of reason which might introduce evil into the life of man. In contrast to this, Michael, the heavenly instructor of the last two books, has ever in mind this fact of sin, the victory of the carnal man over the spiritual, and a need of repairing the ruin thus brought about. Thus his task in

<sup>36</sup> P. L. 9. 997-9.

<sup>37</sup> *Prose Works*, op. cit. 2. 74.

part is the eradication of the evil principle which came to reside in the passions. For the execution of this task he can hardly have the temper of a Raphael. The latter is the mild, affable archangel; the former bears a two-edged sword both in word and deed.

If we say that the business of Raphael was to reveal the goodness of God and to stimulate a desire to know his ways and to delight to walk in them, we may also say that Michael's duty is to reveal to his pupil the evil created by his own unbridled will, which had failed to obey reason and submit to the loving Will of the Almighty. It is this aspect of human nature which Milton has in mind in another pertinent passage from *Areopagitica*:

I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary. . . . Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; . . .

Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity, than by reading of all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.<sup>38</sup>

There follows the argument that if books are to be prohibited for fear of the infection which they may spread, then rightfully we must prohibit the Bible itself, "for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus."<sup>39</sup> For these reasons in part, Milton continues, the Papists prohibit the Bible. But it is interesting that it is this very material in Holy Scripture which Milton makes the substance of the instruction recorded in the last two books of the epic. The eleventh book records a series of prophetic visions revealing the history of man from the time of Cain and Abel to that of Noah. These visions, each with its peculiar emotional effect, have as their final total effect the learning of true patience,

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* 2. 68.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 2. 69.

and the tempering of joy with fear and pious sorrow.<sup>40</sup> Thus the contemplation of future good and evil develops in Adam, now the representative of sinful man, the quality of equal-mindedness, equanimity, as he faces a universe in which evil has become an essential element.

For instance, the first episode has to do with the murder of Abel, a consequence upon the innocent of Adam's sin. Adam is in his heart dismayed. Unable to understand the cutting off of the pious man, he turns to his teacher:

O Teacher, some great mischief hath befallen  
To that meek man, who well had sacrificed:  
Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?<sup>41</sup>

Whereupon the heavenly instructor explains death as the natural consequence of sin—the sin of Adam. The pupil is more than dismayed. But the teacher, far from mild in his methods, does not hesitate to add a picture yet more dreadful: the vision of the diseased and the maimed. It immediately produces the requisite moral effect in adding compassion to dismay. But the compassion, a healthy moral state, does not long persist; man, prone now to sin, is easily led to question the ways of God to men:

Why is life given  
To be thus wrested from us? rather why  
Obtruded on us thus?<sup>42</sup>

It is a moral state which stands in need of immediate discipline:

"Their Maker's image," answered Michael, "then  
Forsook them, when themselves they vilified  
To serve ungoverned Appetite, . . . ." <sup>43</sup>

There follow precepts of temperance.

Then comes a picture delightful to the eye: wise men with a high material civilization,—caught, however, in the snares of fair women. But Adam, already himself the victim of such a snare, now lacks the judgment necessary to discern between real and apparent good. His heart "soon inclined to admit delight." Much better seems this vision.

<sup>40</sup> See *P. L.* 11. 358 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *P. L.* 11. 450-2.

<sup>42</sup> *P. L.* 11. 502-4.

<sup>43</sup> *P. L.* 11. 515-17.

To whom thus Michael: "Judge not what is best  
 By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,  
 Created, as thou art, to nobler end,  
 Holy and pure, conformity divine.  
 Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant were the tents  
 Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race  
 Who slew his brother."<sup>44</sup>

The teacher is never slow to attack the moral flaw the tendency toward which Raphael had so quickly detected in the ill-advised rapture on Eve. But now this impulse to think in terms of physical pleasure had become so pronounced that the new instructor of sinful man must needs attack the pernicious moral philosophy which seeks to justify it: Michael attacks that Epicureanism which Milton himself so heartily condemned. Such ethical teaching grows out of sin, out of the victory of the passions over reason. Milton's fallen Adam is an Epicurean in dire need of discipline of no soft kind. Hence Michael deliberately reveals as the next vision a scene of universal war and discord.<sup>45</sup> It brings Adam to tears,—tears after his great delight in the scenes of apparent bliss. Turning to his teacher for explanation, he is shown that the moral laxity characteristic of the previous scene—a laxity which the undiscerning Adam, thinking in the false terms of pleasure, had quite overlooked—was the source of the discord. The teacher is obliged to point out causal relations which the pupil as yet in his weak, sinful state is unable to discern for himself. To point to such relations once is to induce in the pupil the habit of seeing them for himself. A pupil trained to think in terms of cause and effect rather than in the specious terms of pleasure and pain is for Milton as for Socrates—and for our modern scientist—a better moral being. His knowledge, his powers of observation, generalization, and deduction, become, indeed, a kind of morality.

Such is but a cursory glance at a kind of instruction of profound ethical import: first, a vivid presentation of evil; then a careful observation of the effect upon the emotions; and then the correction, with the attempt always to make the

<sup>44</sup> *P. L.* 11. 603-9.

<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to notice the similarity in moral effect of this vision and that of modern science of a state of nature characterized by a fierce struggle for existence in which only the most fit survive.

pupil look upon the facts of life dispassionately. Only the truly social impulses are left without discipline. The desire for self-gratification is met as it was met in Milton's own day by many a stern Calvinist.

The method of the twelfth book is not essentially different. As mortal sight fails, the teacher resorts to direct narrative. Thereupon follow the stories of Nimrod, of the building of Babel, of the life of Abraham, of Moses, and finally of Christ. It would be interesting in a detailed study to trace in the narratives relating especially to the last three agents how there is again developed the theme of perfect liberty through obedience, how the narrative of the heroic has an essential place in Michael's instruction. The moral of the teaching of this last book, concerned for the most part with perfect patterns of right living, is that through obedience, conformity to the Will of God, man achieves salvation, repairs the ruin accomplished by his own wilful disobedience.

## V

This instruction is complementary to that of Raphael: the one strengthened the reason; the other furnished the proper materials for a contemplation of virtue and vice. The one thinks of education as primarily a development of capacity, of Godlike reason; the other, unable to regard man as longer self-sufficient, puts the greater emphasis upon the matter of instruction, vice in contrast with virtue. He thus comes to rely upon a training of the emotions as well as of the reason. He attacks the assumption that the pleasurable is good, not by way of subtle reasoning, but by the presentation of facts, the facts of sin and its consequences. He relies in part upon the emotional effect.

This order in the processes of education is similar to that described in the letter to Hartlib. Here Milton, after insisting upon the development of reason or the power of judgment, proceeds:

"Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating, to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice."<sup>46</sup> Raphael was concerned with the power of

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* 3. 472.

reason or "*proairesis*"; Michael with setting the pupil right and firm by instruction in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice. Thus the methods of the two heavenly instructors may be for Milton representative in a comprehensive way of all good method. Taken together they have regard for both the goodness and the evil of man's nature, his power of reason and his capacity for emotional experiences, both vitally concerned with the direction of the will. Not only do they appeal to reason, feeling, imagination, and the senses, but they accomplish their purposes through the subject matter both of the arts and the sciences. Here is the view of a poet, both Puritan and humanist, which has regard for the whole nature of man.

It seems an ideal supplement to the earlier view. We may recall that Milton had proposed in his letter to Hartlib, not the whole art of education, but the reforming of education, the "voluntary idea . . . of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice."<sup>47</sup> His purpose is obviously too controversial to result in a great theory as philosophic and constructive as we might expect after the poet's most mature reflection. The accomplishment of certain very practical reforms keeps him from the statement of views possessing the universality of the highest theory. He has much to say concerning the reform of the curriculum; his work is full of specific suggestions; but it has little to say about the ethical bases of educational policy, and even less concerning method, and practically nothing about the relation of education to that basic theme of liberty through perfect obedience to the Will of God.

It is at this point that the artistic utterances of *Paradise Lost*—if we may now think of the expression of educational ideals as in keeping with the purposes of the scholar-poet—supply those philosophic elements which the reader seeks in vain in the prose treatise. Man's freedom through his obedience to law: it is the theme alike of the discourses of Raphael and of Michael. Education is thus brought into proper relation to theology, ethics, and politics. The suggestions are now no longer those of a man zealous to reform prevailing methods; but they aim, rather, to begin with those fundamental notions

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* 3. 463.



of the constitution of human nature, and a right conception of the end of man. A view which thus regards Adam as the universal pupil is in the highest sense universal. It is the artistic expression of Milton's most mature contemplation of a theme which he had regarded, at least since 1654, as essentially to be seen in proper relation to that more basic theme of human liberty.

This mature view, we have said, makes the aim of education the achievement of true liberty. All of the instruction, both of Raphael and Michael, has an eye to the fact that this liberty comes only through willing obedience. To this end man was taught that God was omnipotent,—that Lucifer could not prevail against Him. He was made to see the consequence of a failure to acknowledge that supremacy. Then there was impressed upon Adam the great fact of the freedom of the will, the gift to man of Godlike reason, enabling the individual to understand the ways of God as always right and good, to guide the will, strengthen the affections, and curb the passions. Finally, through Michael's instruction there was further emphasis upon the omnipotence of God,—of a God who, far from being the author of evil, makes man responsible for sin. With the comprehension of this fact there comes also the recognition of the necessary pain in facing the consequences, and also the conception of a goal, a hope of salvation in Christ.

If we are willing to regard this as the expression of the poet's maturest thought concerning education, we may examine a view which not only takes into account the good and evil in man's nature, but also regards education as a process of developing the proper delight in rational thought (such a delight as attended the discourse of Raphael), and a willingness to endure pain in the correction of the lower passionate nature (such pain as Adam endured at the hand of Michael). The subject matter is comprehensive, with its record of the fall of the angels, partaking of the nature of drama, the narrative of the Creation, the scientific account of "celestial motions," the historical material of Old Testament narrative, and the theology of the Atonement. And, finally, the epic contains an important presentation of right method, wherein the functions of the teacher and the pupil are seen in complementary relation, the instructor at times imparting information to satisfy

curiosity, at times listening to the observations of the pupil. Sometimes the instructor encourages, sometimes cautions, but more often is at pains to indicate the relation between facts already observed, thus making the facts significant. Thus, for instance, it is Michael who points out the relation between the marriage of the strong men to the beautiful women, and the universal discord of the succeeding vision.

The two discourses also have an underlying unity of purpose. Both aim to develop virtue, to strengthen the will, elevate the reason, and to keep all the faculties in their proper relation. Neither teacher aims to repress feeling; rather, both aim to develop right feeling—feeling in right relation to reason—that the whole man may grow in the image of his Maker. It is the conception of no narrow Puritan; it is the view of one rightly called the last of the great Elizabethan humanists.

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## VERSUCH EINER NEUEN DEUTUNG VON "SUNU FATARUNGO" IM HILDEBRANDSLIED

Über eine Mutmassung kommt man beim Erklären eines ἀπαξ λεγόμενον selten hinaus; jede auf Wahrscheinlichkeitsgründe sich stützende Vermutung kann demnach eine Bereicherung unsrer Kenntniss bedeuten und ist jedenfalls berechtigt. Man darf jedoch von jedem neuen Ausleger verlangen, dass er wenigstens ebenso starke Beweise bringe, als seine Vorgänger. Dies hoffe ich auch in den folgenden Zeilen getan zu haben.

*Bildung des Kompositums:* Ähnliches findet sich wohl in andern germanischen Sprachen, nicht aber *Gleiches*.

Von Anfang an hat man *sunufatarungo* als ein zusammengesetztes Wort betrachtet. Abseits von den anderen Deutungen steht Greins<sup>1</sup> Auffassung: er nimmt es als ein Adverb, gebildet wie alts. *darnungo*, *fârungo*, *gegnungo* und die zahlreichen ags. Adverbien auf—*inga*: "Sohn und Vater zusammen," etwa sohnväterlich." Aus dem Ahd. führt er keinen Beleg an, und auch in den verwandten Sprachen findet er nur analoge Bildungen, nicht aber gleiche.

Sonst fasst man den Ansdruck allgemein als ein zusammengesetztes Hauptwort: *eine recht merkwürdige, im DEUTSCHEN ganz vereinzelt Wortbildung*.

Weisen denn die verwandten Sprachen kein Seitenstück dazu auf? Den Sanskritforschern musste freilich die Dvandva einfallen; Beispiel: *candrâdityau* aus *candra*+*âditya*+Dualendung. Hier wird aber die Dualendung unmittelbar an zwei zusammengedoppelte Stämme angehängt; das vermutliche ahd. Kompositum ist dagegen mit einer Ableitungssilbe gebildet. Befriedigend konnte übrigens nur eine Parallelbildung aus einer *germanischen* Sprache sein.

Eine solche hatte schon Lachmann ausfindig gemacht, "Das sonst schwierige *sunufatarungo*," meint er in seiner Mitteilung über das Hildebrandslied an die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften (1833),<sup>2</sup> ist durch eine Stelle im Heljand 35, 10 jedem Aufmerksamen deutlich geworden. Wie man sonst *die*

<sup>1</sup> *Das Hildebrandslied*. Marburg 1858, Cassel 2 1880. S. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Kleinere Schriften* I, S. 418.

gebruoder und ähnliches sagt, so heissen hier die beiden Söhne Zebedäi mit ihrem Vater "ihia gisunfader."

Wie treffend der Vergleich auch sein mochte, entscheidend war er nicht, denn er beruhte nur auf Ähnlichkeit, nicht auf Identität: hier, eine Vorsilbe; dort, eine Nachsilbe. Deshalb empfand Lachmann das Bedürfnis mehr Ähnliches anzuführen; zugleich betonte er aber selbst die angedeutete Schwierigkeit: "sunufatarungôs," fährt er nämlich fort, "ist offenbar dasselbe, denn die Bildungssilbe—ung hat IM NORDISCHEN<sup>3</sup> den Begriff der Verwandtschaft (Grimms Gramm. 2, 359), und Grimm hat auch (S. 363) ein ANGELSÄCHSISCHES Femininum *fädrunga* angeführt, welches Gevatterin bedeuten muss; OBGLEICH IM ALTHOCHDEUTSCHEN DIE ENDUNG MEISTENS -ing lautet, und SELTEN, wie in *truhting*, *sodalis*, DIESE BEDEUTUNG HAT. Alte niederländische Glossen in Graffs Diutisca 2, 209. 207 geben *mächlinge contribules* und *torniringe commilitones*" usw.

Später hat man nichts Entscheidenderes gefunden; das von Kögel<sup>4</sup> angeführte mhd. sächliche Substantiv: *giswesteride* = 'Brüder und Schwester, Gebrüder, Geschwister,' hat doch weit geringere Beweiskraft als Lachmanns *gisunfader* und auch das von J. Schmidt<sup>5</sup> herbeigeholte ags. *suhtorgefäderan* = Neffe und Oheim wiegt nicht schwerer.

Um dem Sinne Genüge zu tun, hat sich aber Lachmann gezwungen gefühlt, am überlieferten Text herumzubessern und nach seinem Vorbilde haben sich denn auch spätere Kommentatoren<sup>6</sup> den Text nach ihrem Geschmack zurechtgelegt. So merkwürdig die Bildung des Wortes, so unsicher ist nämlich seine Flexion.

#### Flexion:

Diese ist unsicher.

- a. gen. plur.
- b. nom. plur.
- c. nom. dual.
- d. nom. sing.?

<sup>3</sup> Das Hervorheben durch FETTDRECK führt von mir her; so auch später.

<sup>4</sup> *Literaturgeschichte* I, 1 S. 214.

<sup>5</sup> Rezension von A. Leskien, *die Declination im Sl. Lit. usw. Jenaer Litztg.* 1877 Nr. 17 S. 269.

<sup>6</sup> So z. B. Rieger. *Germania* 9, S. 318, 1846.

J. Grimm,<sup>7</sup> Schmeller<sup>8</sup> (und nach ihnen Feussner,<sup>9</sup> Kluge,<sup>10</sup> Siebs<sup>11</sup>) fassten *sunufatarungo* als gen. plur. eines a-stammes auf [und konstruierten es zu *heriun tuēm*]. Dies erklärte Lachmann<sup>12</sup> nicht zu verstehen und obgleich er zugab, dass der Genitiv vielleicht zu rechtfertigen sei, fand er den Nominativ natürlicher und erfand die Form *sunufatarungôs*, (nach Analogie von *heridôs* V 5?); die Handschrift weist einen Strich über der Zeile und einen Punkt hinter dem *o*, die man allerdings als Reste eines langen *s* deuten könnte. So schrieben denn nach ihm auch Müllenhoff und Scherer-Steinmeyer.<sup>13</sup> Hier wird jedoch darauf hingewiesen dass die Textveränderung nicht unumgänglich sei: im Isidor 12<sup>b</sup>, 18 und im Heliand 4, 1 finde man *himilo* statt *himilô* und *grurio* statt *gruriôs*.<sup>14</sup>

Ansprechender ist dann schon Möllers<sup>15</sup> Behauptung, *sunufatarungo* könne nichts anderes als ein nom. dual. sein.

In seiner Literaturgeschichte gibt schliesslich Kögel ein recht anschauliches Bild von der Verworrenheit, die in der Auffassung der grammatischen Form des Wortes herrscht: I, 2 S. 488 führt er es an nach einer Reihe von Mehrzahlformen auf *ô* statt *â*; hier deckt sich seine Ansicht also mit der oben mitgeteilten Müllenhoff-Schererischen; I, 1. S. 215 dagegen sieht er darin einen Nom. Sing., eine ungewöhnliche Nominativform der *â*-stämme (*o*-Deklination); es stünde demnach statt *\*sunufatarunga*. Wohl steht das Zeitwort in der Mehrzahl; dies ist aber kaum eine Schwierigkeit nach einem Sammelnamen.

Ausser Möller und Kauffman,<sup>16</sup> die eine erstarrte archaische Flexionsform annehmen, haben sich die Ausleger durchgehends gezwungen gefühlt, das Wort zu verdrehen oder seine Endung als aussergewöhnlich aufzufassen.

<sup>7</sup> Kleine Schriften 5, 107; G D S. 654.

<sup>8</sup> Heliand 2, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Die älteren alliterierenden Dichtungsreste. Hanau. 1845. S. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Stammbildung § 26.

<sup>11</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. 29 S. 412.

<sup>12</sup> a. a. O.

<sup>13</sup> Denkmäler 2, S. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Sie verweisen auf Scherer: *zu altđ. Sprachpr.*<sup>1</sup> 33, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Zur ahd. Alliterationspoesie, Kiel 1888, S. 86-87.

<sup>16</sup> Philologische Studien. Festgabe für Ed. Sievers, Halle 1896 s. 143 f.; nach ihrem Beispiele Wadstein s. unten.

## Bedeutung:

- a. -ung bildet ein abstraktes Nomen;
- b. -ung statt -ing bildet ein patronymisches Hauptwort oder
- c. deutet ganz allgemein die Zugehörigkeit an.

Doch auch in der Sinndeutung schwanken die Erläuterer. Für Kögel<sup>17</sup> ist das Wort ein abstraktes<sup>18</sup> Substantiv und er übersetzt folglich: 'die Sohnvaterung richteten ihre Rüstung.'

Elis Wadstein<sup>19</sup> schreibt 1903: "Dass *sunufatarungo* ein nom. des *duals* ist, haben Möller (zur ahd. Allitterationspoesie 86) und Kauffmann (Phil. Studien 143) in überzeugender Weise gezeigt. Mit den meisten neuesten Auslegern fasse ich dieses Wort als Apposition zu *Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant* v. 3. Dies ist wohl schon deshalb das Richtige, weil es passend war, direct mitzuteilen, dass Hildebrand und Hadubrand Vater und Sohn waren, da der Dichter doch auch zu Solchen redete, die dies nicht im voraus wussten. . . . Übrigens setzt das Gedicht ja auf eine viel wirkungsvollere Weise ein, wenn es heisst: "Ich hörte, dass sich Hildebrand und Hadubrand, Vater und Sohn, zum Einzelkampf herausforderten," als wenn *sunufatarungo* zu dem folgenden Satze gehören würde . . . "

Woraus folgt, dass die "meisten Ausleger" *sunufatarungo* übersetzen durch: *sohn und vater*.

Rieger<sup>20</sup> schreibt aber im Jahre 1906: "4. Ich versteh nicht, wie man je, und wie ich selbst<sup>21</sup> die bildung *sunufatarungo* für 'sohn und vater' nehmen konnte, ALS WÄRE ES DASSELBE wie *gisunfader* und hätte das patronymische suffix NUR ZUM ZIERAT anhängen; als hätte nicht Schmeller schon 1840 die erklärung gegeben '*hominum (lies: virorum?) quorum alii in patris, alli in filii comitatu sequela, clientela, exercitu sunt,*' Das wort ist weder in—os zu ändern, noch mit Steinmeyer<sup>22</sup> für eine UNGEWÖHNLICHE form des nom. plur. zu nehmen; als genitiv construiert es sich zu *heriun tuēm*, und die stilgerechte brechung des verses stellt sich her."

Und zwei Jahre später meint Kluge,<sup>23</sup> "heute zweifle wohl niemand mehr an dieser Deutung" und übersetzt das Wort

<sup>17</sup> a. a. O. I, l. S. 214. <sup>18</sup> besser Kollektiv ! ?

<sup>19</sup> *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Hildebrandsliedes* von E. Wadstein. Göteborg 1903. S. 13.

<sup>20</sup> *Zeitschrift f. d. Alt.* 48. 1906. Zum Hildebrandsliede S. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Germania* 9, 295 fg. 1864. <sup>22</sup> a. a. O.

<sup>23</sup> *Bunte Blätter*. Freiburg-Bielefeld. 1908 S. 126. Siehe jedoch: *Hildebrandslied, Ludwigslied und Merseburger Zaubersprüche*, Leipzig 1919; S 9 ff., wo er sich O. Schades Erklärung, *Ahd. Wörterbuch* 896 anschliesst.—Editor.

durch: (zwischen den beiden Heeren) *der Kriegersleute von Vater und Sohn.*

E. Wadstein<sup>24</sup> und Fr. Saran<sup>25</sup> scheinen doch noch nicht dieser Ansicht beizupflichten, denn dieser gibt das Wort wieder durch 'das blutsverwandte Paar Sohn und Vater,' jener scheint an seiner früheren Auffassung festzuhalten.

Ihnen schliesse ich mich an und übersetze *sunufatarungo* durch 'Sohn und Vater,' bemerke im Übrigen, dass meine Deutung erlaubt, es als Apposition zu *Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant* oder auch als Subjekt von *rihtun* aufzufassen: "Sohn und Vater richteten ihre Rüstung" oder auch: "Hildebrand und Hadubrand forderten einander zum Kampfe auf, Sohn und Vater!" mit einem treffenden Chiasmus.

1. Die Hs. trennt *sunu* von *fatarungo*.

Wie wenig man auch auf die Trennung von Wörtern in alten Handschriften bauen mag, so wird es mir doch erlaubt sein, im Vorbeigehen hervorzuheben, dass *sunu fatarungo* im Manuskript nicht aneinander geschrieben sind;<sup>26</sup> Müllerhoff und Scherer hatten dies bemerkt, denn in ihren Anmerkungen S. 9 drucken sie richtig *sunu fatarungo* als zwei Wörter.

2. *ungo* ist ein enklitisches Bindewort.

Gezetzt nun die Gleichung: *sunu fatarungo* = *Sohn und Vater*, worin uns bekannt sind:

*sunu*: Nom. Sing. (regelmässige Form) eines u-Stammes  
= *Sohn*,

*fatar*: Nom. Sing. eines r-Stammes *Vater*, die wir beide fortschaffen, so kommen wir zum natürlichen Ergebnis:

*-ungo* ist gleich *und*.

*-ungo* wäre demnach ein enklitisches Bindewort gleich dem lat.—*que* in *filius paterque*, dem griech. *τε* in *Αἰαρε Τευκος τε*.<sup>27</sup> Freilich ein *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, denn das Ahd. hat kein anderes Beispiel davon. Doch brauchen wir das *Germanische* Gebiet

<sup>24</sup> Ur Minneskrift utgiven av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg 1920. Die Sprachform des Hildebrandliedes.

<sup>25</sup> *Das Hildebrandslied*. Halle 1915. S.

<sup>26</sup> s. das Facsimile in Mansion: *Ahd. Lesebuch*. Heidelberg 1912.

<sup>27</sup> Nach Analogie dieses griechischen Ausdruckes vermutet Möller a. a. O., dass der Text ursprünglich wohl *Hiltibranto Hadubrand* statt *Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant* enthalten habe, dass *enti* für den Vers ungut sei; in dieser Verbindung würde aber das dem *τε* entsprechende Bindewort fehlen. Vollkommenere Ähnlichkeit mit dem Griechischen würde unsere Wortverbindung aufweisen, wenn man annehmen wollte, dass *sunu* Dualform (regelmässig!) sei, entsprechend dem griechischen *Αἰαρε*.

nicht zu verlassen, um ein *genaues* Gegenstück, dafür zu finden: ein jeder wird wohl sogleich an das got. *-uh* gedacht haben.

3. ahd.-*ungo* = got. *-uh*.

Dies ist nun, nach Streitberg,<sup>28</sup> Kluge<sup>29</sup> u. a. aus *\*uzhve* entstanden; durch Wegfall des unbetonten *e*, des Nasallautes und des *v*<sup>30</sup> erhält man *-uh* (das durch Kürzung in unbetonter Silbe *-uh* ergeben konnte).

*\*uzhve* weist zurück auf ein idg. *\*mghye*. Enklitische Wörter trugen nun bekanntlich den Wortton nicht; silbische Konsonanten (hier *m*) nahmen andererseits die Stelle eines Vokals ein; so musste dem *\*mgue* (auch nach endbetontem *\*päter*) im Wg., nach Verners Gesetz, endlich *pātermgue* ergeben.

Das *viersilbige* *\*pātermgue* wurde etwa zu: ug. *\*fapārunghve*, dann wg. *\*fadarungwe*

“In der Regel,” sagt Wilmanns,<sup>31</sup> “zeigt das Gotische dem Hochdeutschen gegenüber den stimmlosen Laut” und er zitiert unter anderen Beispielen:

got. *hūhrus*: ahd. *HUNgar*, was lautlich genau der Parallele entspricht:

*\*-ūh*: *\*-ungwe*.

Bekanntlich herrschte ja im Gotischen die Analogie fast unumschränkt und es gab verhältnismässig viele selbständige got. Wörter, die mit *-uh* oder *-h* zusammengestellt waren:

*nih*, das dem lat. *neque*, *neq* genau entspricht;

*nauh* aus *\*nu+h*;

*thauh* aus *\*tho+h* oder *\*tho-h*, wie lat. *tunc* aus *\*tum-que*, ahd. *doch*.

*jah* aus *\*ja+h*, das wohl mit dem ahd. *joh* identisch ist.<sup>32</sup>

In Verbindungen von einzelnen Wörtern hat es übrigens das enklitische *-uh* völlig verdrängt: ‘*fapar jah sunus*.’

C. Der Auslaut.

Der Auslaut *que*—entwickelt sich sehr früh zu *ko-*; Ähnliches ist für den Auslaut von *ungwe* anzunehmen:

<sup>28</sup> *Gotisches Elementarbuch* 3, 4 § 52, 2, S. 70.

<sup>29</sup> *Vorgeschichte der Al'germ. Dialekte* § 96.

<sup>30</sup> So entwickelte sich *\*negye* zu got. *nih*. Man vgl. Hirts Hypothese (*m—ke*) in P. B. B. 18. S. 299: *Grammatische Miscellen D.* zum pronomen.

<sup>31</sup> *Dt. Gram.* I. § 23 c.

<sup>32</sup> Ferner vergleiche man noch die Formen der Indefinitpartikel im Ahd. *io wergin* und im Got. *-hun*, lat. *-cunque*.



Apokope des auslautenden *e* findet schon früh statt; man vergleiche etwa das griech. ἐπέε mit dem ahd. *mih* oder das lat. *quinque* mit dem ahd. *fimf*.

Am Ende einer Silbe wird *w* regelmässig in *o* verändert; man denke an:

\**falU* > ahd. *falo*

\**nehWA* > ahd. *naHO*

\**swA* > ahd. *so*

Nach Wirkung dieser Auslautgesetze bekämen wir denn endlich aus idg. \**m̥que* im ahd.:

-UNGO

Somit wäre meine Beweisführung zu Ende; doch soll nicht verschwiegen werden, dass Delbrück *-uh* nicht auf urgerm. *-ughve*, uridg. *-mq̥ue* zurückführt, sondern erklärt, es sei aus *u-* und *-h* zusammengesetzt und dass K. Brugmann<sup>33</sup> in einer sehr gelehrten Erörterung Streitbergs Ansicht zu widerlegen versuchte, ohne dass jedoch weder des einen noch des anderen Gründe entscheidende Kraft besäßen.

Die frühere Auffassung könnte vielleicht in dieser ahd. Form eine neue Stütze finden; es wäre wohl ein Leichtes, eine Erklärung für das Bestehen einer (etwa durch falsche Scheidung) erweiterten Form \**m̥-que* (die auch das lat. *quicumque* aufwiese?)<sup>+++</sup> neben der kürzeren \**que* (lat. *que*, gr. *τε*) zu finden. Dies zu entscheiden überlasse ich den Indogermanisten.

Mir mag es genügen, gezeigt zu haben, dass die schwankenden Deutungen der Bildung, der Flexion und des Sinnes eines vermutlichen Kompositums \**sunufatarungo*, das Bestehen eines solchen als recht unsicher erscheinen lassen; dass andererseits die Gleichstellung eines ahd. *-ungo* mit got. *uh*, nach der allgemein herrschenden Meinung keine Schwierigkeiten macht; endlich, dass diese Deutung dem Sinne vollauf genug tut, ohne dem überlieferten Text Gewalt antun zu müssen und also

*sunu fatarUNGO*

auf gleicher Stufe steht mit

gr. *Πατὴρ* *Τεῦκος* *τε*

lat. (qui de) *patre filioQUE* (procedit).

A. L. CORIN

Liège

<sup>+++</sup> Idg. Forschungen, 33, 3-4, S. 173 fg. 1914.

## STEVENSON'S CONCEPTION OF THE FABLE

"The Fabulist's a pedant, whose profession  
Is, with the plainest most precise expression,  
To preach in all ways, unto all mankind,  
'Be wise and good!' Well for him, if we find  
Those speaking contrasts in his text, which spare  
The preacher's pains, and of themselves declare  
The preacher's purpose! Well, if, on his way,  
One with its load, the other with its lay,  
Emmet and grasshopper do chance to pass,  
Or royal lion and ridiculous ass,  
Or crafty fox and over-credulous crow!  
For contrasts, such as these, have but to show  
Their faces to us; and, as soon as seen,  
All's understood.

But ah! not always doth kind Chance provide  
Such fortunate occurrences for him  
Who pries not only into corners dim  
For secret treasures, but in field or street  
Questions whatever he may chance to meet;  
And often for an answer waits in vain,  
Or gets one he is puzzled to explain."<sup>1</sup>

—So Lord Lytton suggested the difference between the work of the classical fabulist and his own two volumes of "Fables in Song," which, according to Robert Louis Stevenson, were most successful when they differed most widely from the older model. The question at once arises, what does Lord Lytton's modification of the type indicate as to its nature? Is the fable capable of some such variation as he conceived essential, or must it, under such treatment, break down and give place to some other form? The "Fables in Song" themselves give a doubtful answer; their quality is not such as to justify their combination of the old and the new—it is distinctly mediocre. But Stevenson's criticism of the "Fables in Song,"<sup>2</sup> and his own modification of the form in accordance with the principles of his criticism, give some interesting evidence as to its possibilities.

<sup>1</sup> From *Fortune and her Followers*, "Fables in Song." Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer-Lytton. 1874.

<sup>2</sup> "Lord Lytton's 'Fables in Song.'" Robert Louis Stevenson. 1874. (In "Lay Morals and other Papers." Scribner's. 1915.)

In explaining Lytton's departure from the norm Stevenson made suggestive even though inexpert use of the historical method. He defined the typical fable, and then tried to show, in terms of general human progress, how the type was bound to undergo important modifications, even while maintaining its essential qualities. "In the most typical form," he writes, "some moral precept is set forth by means of a conception purely fantastic, and usually somewhat trivial into the bargain; there is something playful about it, that will not support a very exacting criticism, and the lesson must be apprehended by the fancy at half a hint." This form "depended for much of its piquancy on the very fact that it was fantastic." In further accounting for its playfulness he suggests that "there lay, perhaps, at the bottom of this primitive sort of fable, a humanity, a tenderness of rough truths; so that at the end of some story, in which vice or folly had met with its destined punishment, the fabulist might be able to assure his auditors, as we have often to assure tearful children on the like occasions, that they may dry their eyes, for none of it is true." But as time goes on, he says, we should expect the fable to be more loosely, or largely, conceived. The pleasantry of humorous inappropriateness will become less common as the theory of evolution makes us suspect some serious analogy between animals and men. And even the benefit of being able to assure a too sympathetic audience that it was all a fiction "becomes lost with more sophisticated hearers and authors." "A man is no longer the dupe of his own artifice, and cannot deal playfully with truths that are a matter of bitter concern to him in his life. And hence, in the progressive centralization of modern thought, we should expect the old form of fable to fall gradually into desuetude, and be gradually succeeded by another, which is a fable in all points except that it is not altogether fabulous."

This new form, this non-fabulous fable, "still presents the essential character of brevity"; there is still a moral idea, "underlying and animating the brief action"; and the object still is "to bring this home to the reader through the intellect rather than through the feelings; so that, without being very deeply moved or interested by the characters of the piece, we should recognize vividly the hinges on which the little plot

revolves." "But," he continues, "the fabulist now seeks analogies where before he merely sought humorous situations. There will now be a logical nexus between the moral expressed and the machinery employed to express it. The machinery, in fact, as this change is developed, becomes less and less fabulous. We find ourselves in presence of quite a serious, if quite a miniature, division of creative literature." Moreover, "the moral tends to become more indeterminate and large. It ceases to be possible to append it, in a tag, to the bottom of the piece, as one might write the name below a caricature; and the fable begins to take rank with all other forms of creative literature, as something too ambitious, in spite of its miniature dimensions, to be resumed in any succinct formula without the loss of all that is deepest and most suggestive in it."

These attempts to generalize about the history of the fable possibly indicate why Stevenson himself, as recently noted by one of his critics,<sup>3</sup> called his review of the "Fables in Song" "some of the deedest rubbish that an intelligent editor ever shot into his wastepaper basket." From Stevenson's letters on the subject we know that he felt hurried in writing the review; doubtless he realized that the history and analysis of the fable type was a bigger task than he was making it. There is much in Stevenson's historical generalizations that might well be challenged. Nevertheless, his remarks serve as a fairly adequate comparison of the typical fable and Lord Lytton's modification thereof. The essentials of the type that he found persisting were its brevity, the moral, and the relatively unsympathetic—intellectual rather than emotional—manner of presenting the moral. The modifications consisted in the indeterminateness of the moral, and the organic relation between story and moral replacing the half humorous parallelism of the typical form.

No one can quarrel with Stevenson for valuing Lord Lytton's departure from the accepted model more highly than his occasional conformity. The typical fable is characterized by a rational and a moral simplicity that Stevenson's day, and certainly Stevenson himself, could hardly be expected to appreciate. Granted any intellectual power or imaginative

<sup>3</sup>"A Book of R. L. S." George E. Brown.

insight whatever, and the fabulist of the 1870's was bound to be one who often for his answer looked "in vain," or got one he was "puzzled to explain." It is to Lytton's credit that, being a fabulist at all, he was such an one as this. Though it is true that his fables not infrequently point out rather commonplace morals, yet on the whole they leave the reader with a sense of knowledge rather than of precept, and of knowledge that is not altogether easy to translate into precept. The universe is not made out to be so morally simple or rationally satisfying as in the typical form; hence it is to Stevenson and his contemporaries a more stimulating universe.

And Stevenson certainly did well to commend the truly imaginative way in which the characters of the stories were treated, the fact that they were not arbitrarily and half playfully taken to illustrate some truth belonging to a different sphere, but were significant in themselves. The truths of Lord Lytton's nature fables are on the whole truths very applicable to the world of men, and the application is often obvious; but they are also true of the world nature. While the typical fable is true to nature in as far as the general characteristics of the actors are concerned, the development of situation and action has only human significance. The animals, as Lord Lytton suggests, are paired in such a way as to serve the preacher's purpose most delightfully, with their ready-made "speaking contrasts," but they would scarcely please the naturalist. They are grouped so as to teach certain lessons about jealousy or flattery, for example, that find their meaning largely in the field of human relationships. Lytton, however, places his characters in fairly natural environments. Moreover, the characters themselves are not the conventional types of the ordinary fable. The laws that he is illustrating are laws so general that they can be illustrated by anything and everything, not simply cunning foxes and evil wolves; they are many of them metaphysical rather than moral—laws of attraction and repulsion, self-expression, or the transformation of energy. Thanks to the fact that his characters need not be stock types, and on the whole are not, one feels in reading the fables that he is to some extent discovering new truths about the persons of the tales, not simply learning that certain moral axioms can be illustrated by actors whose true natures

are already perfectly known. His thistles and rain-pools and stars and poets are of some interest in themselves.

But the question remains, are these attempts at a truly imaginative treatment of nature fables? Stevenson seems to assume that they manifest several essentials of the type, but one might well challenge his assumptions about their brevity and the intellectual manner of presentation. Many of the fables are elaborated to the point of losing all effect of brevity, and there is frequently a superfluity of sentiment in their style. It would almost seem as though Lord Lytton were trying to do the impossible; as though poets nowadays must choose between imaginative, creative literature and the fable form. It would seem that in as far as the fable becomes a miniature division of creative literature, just in so far it ceases to be a fable. But it is here that Stevenson's own attempts to use the fable form become of interest.

In a number of his own fables Stevenson succeeded in doing the very thing that Lord Lytton just failed of doing; he exemplified the new form that he defined in the criticism of the "Fables in Song," and proved that an imaginative fable was a possibility, even to his day and generation.

In his edition of the "Fables"<sup>4</sup> published after Stevenson's death Sidney Colvin distinguishes between several kinds of tales that Stevenson himself called fables. Stevenson's conception included, he says, his semi-supernatural stories such as "Will of the Mill" and "Markheim," the "fables more strictly so called," "cast in the conventional brief and familiar form," and others included in the volume of fables but "running to greater length, and conceived in a more mystic and legendary vein." The fables that best vindicate Stevenson's theory are the "fables more strictly so called," that is, those contained in Colvin's collection exclusive of "The House of Eld," "Something in It," "The Touchstone," "The Poor Thing," and "The Song of the Morrow."

Reading these fables no one can have the least doubt that they are—fables. And analysis shows that they have all the qualities that Stevenson considered essential to the type: they are brief, they present a moral, and they present it in such

<sup>4</sup> "Fables." Scribner's. 1896.

a way that "without being very deeply moved or interested by the characters of the piece," we yet "recognize vividly the hinges on which the little plot revolves." At the same time no one can question their right to be called creative literature; they are without a doubt imaginatively suggestive.

In accounting for Stevenson's success there are several factors to be considered. First as to the moral: Stevenson's fable has a moral, though the whole can by no means be "summed up in any succinct formula," on account of the very nature of the truth presented. An early reviewer<sup>5</sup> noted that a number of the fables have for their moral "a sort of inversion of the copy book rule." And this is exactly what we find in the majority of the group being considered. The fables can be put in one of two classes: they either logically reduce to an absurdity some commonly accepted truth or morality, or else parody or caricature some such morality.

A typical example of the first class is "The Sinking Ship." In this the truly noble captain, who insists that the precarious condition of the ship offers no reason for going about half shaved, is finally driven to admit, by means of pure logic, that there is no difference at all between shaving in a sinking ship or smoking in a powder magazine, "or doing anything at all in any conceivable circumstances."

Typical of the second class is "The Yellow Paint," in which the claims of certain clergy are satirized. The yellow paint, which is supposed to set men free from "the dangers of life, and the bondage of sin, and the fear of death forever," proves to do nothing of the sort. After each failure the physician offers explanations and interpretations which, while not very consoling to the victim, are only too suggestive of some types of religious parlance.

There is surely a real difference between Stevenson's morals and those of the typical fabulist. Another of the early reviewers,<sup>6</sup> to whom we have to resort for much significant criticism of the fables, wrote that some of them "are almost more remarkable than any of his more elaborate compositions. They are essentially modern in their structure, and go to the

<sup>5</sup> "Academy" 1898.

<sup>6</sup> "Spectator" Sept. 7, 1895.

very root of the paradox that all the deep modern thinkers find in human life, though they do not pretend to find any solution of that paradox, but leave it where they found it." Of course the ordinary moral fable always owes its point to something paradoxical. If appearances were not deceiving there would be no need of morals; if swiftness were not apparently more effective than perseverance there would be no need of the hare and the tortoise to prove the opposite. But the ordinary fable does not leave the paradox where it finds it; it solves the problem by discounting one side, the side of superficial appearances, and throws all the weight on the side of the moral that contradicts these appearances. The interesting thing about Stevenson's fables is that they prove morals, not appearances, to be deceptive, and ask us to invert them, as it were. Since these inversions of the copybook rules are truths that have not yet "become definitely moral," to use one of Stevenson's own phrases, his method is negative—and suggestive. He discounts the accepted moral in such a way as to leave us with a sense that the two sides are fairly evenly balanced, though our sympathies are enlisted on the side of the vaguely suggested inversion.

As for the "machinery" of his fables, it is not "altogether fabulous"; that is, form and content are organically related. The fables do not owe their piquancy to the humorousness of analogies between men and beasts. The characters themselves are scarcely fabulous. Only in "The Tadpole and the Frog" are the actors animals. In one fable a distinguished stranger from another planet appears, in one the devil, and in one the Great White Justice of the Peace; in "The Persons of the Tale" the actors are the characters of "Treasure Island" come to life, but in all the rest they are ordinary human beings—friends, reformers, physicians, sick men, firemen, captains, and such. And the activities of these characters, while sometimes a bit preposterous, are not on the whole supernatural. If we accept the theory that animals are frequently used as the characters of fables because we are supposed not to sympathize with them as much as we should with real human beings,<sup>7</sup> it would seem that Stevenson's choice was not legitimate. And

<sup>7</sup> Lessing's theory. See Francis Storr on Fables. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition.



yet as a matter of fact we read about his ship that blows up with a glorious detonation without being much moved by the presence on board of real human beings instead of the traditional foxes and wolves. Stevenson makes this possible by following the method of the typical fabulist in not individualizing his characters any more than is absolutely essential for the half serious, half humorous point of his tale, and by giving no details of environment that are not equally essential. His characters are natural, and they are not stock types; but they are not real.

For example, "The Sick Man and the Fireman" begins quite abruptly, "There was once a sick man in a burning house to whom there entered a fireman." In the course of the tale we learn that the fireman "was a civil fellow," "a man of some philosophy," with "nothing hasty about him," and that he was "eminently just;" but that is all. About the sick man we are told nothing directly, but from his remarks we gather that the fireman was perhaps right in considering him something of a fool. Given actors as little individualized as these, actors of whose past history, of whose friends and relatives, we know nothing, we waste little sympathy or even blame when we read that the fireman "heaved up his fireman's axe . . . and clove" the sick man to the bed.

Again, all that we know of the Four Reformers is that they met "under a bramble bush," a place sufficiently innocuous to keep us from being very deeply concerned over their final decision that everything must be abolished, including mankind.

The world of these fables is not a supernatural world, and it is not peopled with supernatural beings, and yet we do not approach it with any sense of reality. There is no danger of our entering into the feelings of the characters any more than is necessary for the intellectual development of the plot. We are quite heart-free to smile at the logical absurdities and the patness of the outcome.

As is already evident, Stevenson's success in making the fable what he would call a miniature form of creative literature and yet keeping it a fable, was due in no small measure to his technique. The paradoxes that he so thoroughly enjoyed,

and that he developed almost lyrically in his intimate essays,<sup>8</sup> he presents here with a poignancy equally perfect in its way. In pointing the fables various devices serve as substitutes for the neatly drawn moral of the typical form. The *reductio ad absurdum* fables could scarcely fail to be pointed; their climactic structure is practically determined for them by the logic of the case. The parodies might conceivably drag; but they do not. Parallelism, balance, climax, inimitable closing sentences, serve as effective devices for giving the necessary piquancy to both types.—“‘We must abolish property,’ said one. ‘We must abolish marriage,’ said the second. ‘We must abolish God,’ said the third.” And for conclusive endings—“‘They are the people of the greatest nation in the world,’ said the philosopher. ‘Are they indeed?’ said the stranger. ‘They scarcely look so.’”—Or simply “‘There,’ said the innkeeper.”—after making his noose and hanging the devil.

\* \* \* \* \*

In writing on fables in the “Encyclopaedia Britannica”<sup>9</sup> Francis Storr says that though the day of the typical fable is past there are yet indications that this form of literature is capable of “new and unexpected developments.” These developments, it would seem, might well be traced along any one of several lines, according to what we consider the *sine qua non* of the fable. When Storr mentions the Jungle Books as a modern form of the fable it is evident that he has in mind something quite different from Stevenson’s conception. In tracing the evolution—or devolution—of literary types it is always of course a question, what particular descendants shall bear the patronym. And in this study I do not wish to suggest that Stevenson’s fables have better claim to the title than others that might be mentioned. However, his theory of the fable as worked out in his criticism of Lord Lytton’s “Fables in Song” and his own success in the group of fables that best exemplify this theory, serve as valid evidence of one of the modern possibilities of the type.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. the author’s paper “Paradox and Antithesis in Stevenson’s Essays.”

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<sup>9</sup> Eleventh edition.

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*MYTHICAL BARDS AND THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WALLACE* by William Henry Schofield, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Volume V, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1920.

There are doubtless many scholars who do not need Professor Schofield's book to convince them that no blind man could have written the *Wallace*. Bored almost to extinction by the arguments *pro* and *con* they may well have fallen back upon some swift intuitive process of attaining the truth. Professor Schofield, of course, had intuitions of his own; but to the support of these he brought in the book under review a carefully reasoned argument. Furthermore, he here convicted of their error those who have cried from the depths of their ennui that the *Wallace-frage* was in any case of no importance. What, indeed; Professor Schofield did was to redeem the question by raising it above the level of puerile conjecture. Casting his net far and wide, he reviewed in a highly suggestive way ideas of great antiquity and vitality, and he brought out relations between myths and folk-lore on the one hand and critical theory on the other that should be of unusual interest to students and investigators in many fields.

Blind Harry, Professor Schofield contends, is a pseudonym of legendary and mythical associations, which was assumed by the author of the *Wallace* that the poem should have something of the character of an inspired document. The only obstacle in the way of accepting this theory is the testimony of the chronicler Major that "there was one Henry blind from his birth who, in the time of my childhood, composed a whole book about William Wallace;" what favors it is not only Schofield's array of evidence and carefully conducted argument but common sense, which, Major or no Major, simply declines to accept the poem with its descriptive passages and its Chaucerian echoes as written by a poet congenitally blind. Scottish patriotism may seek compromises: the poet, though blind was not blind from birth, and Blind Harry collaborated with others. Or, say if you will, he was blind in only one eye. Many critics in such ways have befogged an issue which Schofield had the sanity to see clearly and to argue intelligently.

Here and there, to be sure, our author enjoyed a conjecture of his own. Is Blind Harry to be identified not only with Geradh mac Morn but with Guaire Goll, Blind Guaire of the *Colloquy of the Elders*? Is Master Blair of the Latin book which Blind Harry cites, to be equated with Merlin's Master Blaise? Whatever one might think of these guesses,

Schofield was certainly right in giving the attention that he does in Chapter III to Dunbar's "nakit Blynd Harry" in *The Droichis Part of the Play*, who, unaccoutered as he is, was deliciously identified by Professor Schipper with "the author of the famous epic poem, *William Wallace*,—alluded to here as a popular personage." In reality he is the son of "mickle Gow mac Morn" and therefore a brother of Blind Ossian; he looks a good deal, like Garaidh (Garry, Gairri) who appears in Irish documents as a decrepit old man telling tales mournfully of the Fianna whom he has outlived." Like Amergin and Taliessin he was a shape-shifter, and about all that we are told of him there hangs the atmosphere of myth. What more probable than that Blind Harry, (like Blind Ossian, like Merlin and Taliessin in other cases) should be allowed to take the place of the true author of the *Wallace*? To advance from this position to the contention that Blind Harry is really a balewise spirit and that he is in accord with the savage patriotism of the *Wallace* is perhaps gratuitous. At any rate one remembers that the dwarf of Dunbar's poem has been described as a "playful and wanton but beneficent spirit."

To the real as distinguished from the fictive author of the *Wallace* Professor Schofield devoted some thirty pages of his book. He has little if anything to add to what must have been the impression of any sensible reader of the poem. It appears not unlikely that the poet was a herald or a "minstrel"; he "was sympathetic to the higher classes, whether or not he belonged to them himself"; he was "certainly no quiet scholar or amiable, chivalric ecclesiastic, like Barbour, but a vigorous propagandist, a ferocious *realpolitiker*, without principle when it was a question of Scotland's place in the sun, without reluctance to lie in manipulating history to his end. He was no common strolling bard."

The late Professor Schofield will be remembered for the unflinching gusto and the spirit of adventure with which he addressed himself to the most baffling problems of research. It is gratefully recognized that the play of his imagination did much to relieve the hard outlines of philological discipline and to encourage a wider and freer exploration of the realms of literary scholarship. His active sympathy and curiosity along with his many human contacts particularly qualified him for his influential position as Professor of Comparative Literature at Harvard University. That he was steadily broadening his field of research and perfecting his method is clear from the book here noticed, the latest and possibly the best of his publications. It is a reminder of the loss we have suffered in the untimely death of Professor Schofield.

H. S. V. JONES

**BETYDNINGSLÆRE** (*Semasiologi*). By Hjalmar Falk.  
Kristiania, 1920. II+124 pages.

This work on sematology is a noteworthy addition to our text books on language study. As stated in the preface, the work grew out of the need of a suitable reference book on sematology for Norwegian candidates for the Doctor's degree in philology. The book does not pretend any detailed analysis of the phenomena discussed; this is left to the more technical works on this subject, the most important of which are mentioned in the preface.

Since the work was written expressly for Norwegian students, especial emphasis is necessarily laid upon the development of meaning in Old Norse words (upon which the Norwegian *riksmål* is based). Professor Falk's analysis of the Old Norse words sheds a very interesting light upon the interpretation of the Old Norse texts.

For American students of Germanic philology the work may serve as a valuable complement to our own "Words and their Ways in English Speech" (*Greenough and Kittredge*, 1902), and we might perhaps wish that Professor Falk had chosen a greater number of his illustrations from the English language, especially where English illustrations were near at hand. From our own viewpoint also the book could have been enriched in value, if Professor Falk had been more familiar with Modern Colloquial English, which in many instances might have served as an admirable illustration of the laws under discussion.

Altho any special emphasis upon the English language would be out of place in a text book for Norwegian students, it is perhaps to be regretted that the Swedish language has not received more attention, inasmuch as Swedish is, like Norwegian, a Scandinavian tongue.

Of all the Germanic languages outside the field of Scandinavian, German receives the most attention. This is to be expected in view of the great number of German loan words (especially Low German words) which are found in the Norwegian *riksmål*.

Of the other Indo-European languages, Latin and Greek naturally furnish the chief material for comment, while Sanskrit, Old Irish, and Slavic receive adequate treatment as less familiar tongues.

So far as the Scandinavian words are concerned, Professor Falk's material is accessible in his (i.e., *Falk and Torp's*) *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (*Germanische Bibliothek*, I. Sammlung, IV. Reihe, Heidelberg, 1910). His *Betydningslære*, therefore, constitutes a very valuable supplement to his etymological dictionary, in which no explanation of sematological laws is given.

*Betydningslære* is divided into two Parts, the First Part (p. 1-52) dealing with the meanings of words in their *historical* development (*Ordhistorie*) and the Second Part (p. 53-124) dealing with the *reasons* for such development (*Årsakene til betydningens forandringer*). According to the nature of the phenomena many of the categories which the author has laid down under these two headings, must necessarily overlap and fuse with one another. In such cases Professor Falk is very careful to make this fact clear and assumes the comprehensive viewpoint necessary in treating such a complex phenomenon. His analysis of the psychological aspects of semantics is in the nature of things abstract and difficult to grasp, but the laws under discussion become surprisingly clear as soon as they are illustrated by concrete examples.

In the following analysis of Professor Falk's work an effort will be made to emphasize those phases which ought to be of special interest to American students of the Scandinavian languages or of Germanic philology in general.

#### FIRST PART (p. 1-52)

I. *Concerning the oldest type of name-giving (Om den eldste navnegivning, p. 1-13).*

The further back we go in the development of language, the greater do we find the tendency to express an idea by means of some specific aspect connected with that idea. Abstract or generic terms are, therefore, far less frequent in the earlier than in the later stages of language growth. This fact explains, for instance, why in Old Norse there exists such a large number of synonyms for the simple idea of *fire*; thus *eldr* = 'newly lighted fire,' *hyrr* = 'charcoal fire,' *funi*, *fúrr*, *fýr* = 'purifying fire' (cf. Lat. *pūr-us*). The Old Germanic languages had many words for *insects* and for different kinds of *color*, but no word for *insect* (the species) or for the generic term *color*.

II. *How sensation and mental functions are denoted (Hvorledes sansningen og sjelens funksjoner betegnes, p. 14-26).*

In contrast to the oldest types of words, terms for sensation and the mental functions (i.e., *thought*, *feeling*, and the *will*) are by nature secondary or metaphorical in character, in so far as these terms represent some specific aspect (i.e., *cause*, *effect*, *means*, etc.) of these physical or mental states transferred to the state itself. Words denoting sensation, for instance, are often derived from the word representing the *organ* (i.e., *means*) of sensation; thus Grk. ἀκούω 'hear' (> \**ak-ausō*, cf. Germanic *haus-jan*) is connected with *oūs* 'ear,' and Lat. *audio* with *auris* (p. 15); cf. Angs. *hlystan* (Eng. *listen*) and O. N. *hlust* 'ear.' As an illustration of this development in living speech Professor Falk might have cited the English phrase 'give ear to someone'; cf. Mark Anthony's 'lend me your ears' (= 'audīte mē,' *Julius Caesar*, III, 2).

The Lat. *supercilium* (p. 22) denotes a raising of the eyebrows as an expression of disdain (cf. the Eng. *supercilious*). Professor Falk notes the parallel metaphor in the Germ. *mit hohen Augenbrauen dasitzen* (Faust) in which surprise or expectation is expressed. But a still closer parallel in modern speech is the colloquial English term *high brow*, which has not only the same metaphor but also the same meaning as *supercilious*.

### III. Professional words (*De faglige særsprogsrolle*, p. 27-42).

In this chapter Professor Falk treats the history of those words which had their origin in the technical vernacular connected with the various activities of man, such as law, religion and mythology, agriculture, hunting and fishing, sea-faring, commerce, the technical industries, military activities, medicine, witch-craft and superstition, etc.

Under the head of astronomical superstitions Professor Falk mentions (p. 42) the tradition (common to both the Old Norse and classical antiquity) regarding the moon as the cause of periodic mental and physical derangements. Norw. *månesyk* (p. 42) 'periodically mad' renders the Med. Lat. *lunaticus*, but no mention is made of the English word *lunatic* 'mad,' 'insane' (cf. 'moon-struck'), which is derived directly from the Latin *lunaticus*.

### IV. Results of competition between words (*Ordkonkurransens virkninger*, p. 42-47).

In the competition between words synonymous meanings play a very important part. If words are wholly or in part synonymous, one word either effects a restriction in the usage or in the meaning of the other word or finally drives out the other word entirely from the language. Foreign loan words in particular have thus affected the meaning of synonymous native Norwegian words and in many cases entirely superseded them.

As an interesting example of the restriction of meaning due to synonymous words Professor Falk mentions (p. 44) the Modern Norwegian verb *kvede*, which originally meant 'speak,' 'say' (O. N. *kveda*) but which now is restricted to poetic usage in the sense of 'sing.' "Av de øvrige germ. sprog," he continues, "har bare engelsk (*quoth*, *bequeath*) levninger av ordet." By the phrase "av de øvrige germ. sprog" is meant, of course, "of the other Germanic languages outside the field of Scandinavian." It might perhaps have been an advantage to the student if Professor Falk had here added the fact that the Swedish verb *kväda* still retains, along side of the meaning 'sing' (= Norw. *kvede*), the original sense of 'say' (= Eng. *quoth*). The restriction in the Swedish and the English is in usage rather than in meaning.

V. Why old terms are discarded and how substitutions take place (*Hvorfor gamle betegnelser opgis og hvorledes de erstattes*, p. 47-53).

One of the chief reasons why old terms are discarded is the fact that specific designations have had to give way to the more general. Also, as civilization progressed, many foreign terms, cultural and scientific words were introduced into the (Norwegian) language, displacing the corresponding native words because of the more cosmopolitan, cultural or technical character of the former. The general tendency to view foreign words as having a higher cultural value may explain (p. 51) why, for instance, O. N. \**skammr* was driven out by *kort*, \**frjals* by *fri* or \**dømi* by *eksempel*. The popularity of French Romances accounts (p. 51) for O. N. *kærr*, which finally succeeded in entirely driving out *ljúfr* from the Norwegian *riksmål* (cf. Swed. *ljuv*, *ljuvlig*). O. N. *gamall* (p. 52) in place of Common Germanic \**alps* is due to the fact that \**alps* became in O. N. \**allr*, which then had the same form as *allr* 'all.'

## SECOND PART (p. 53-124)

### *Reasons for changes in meaning*

There are three categories of transition in the meaning of words, viz., 'generalization' (*overordning*), 'specialization' (*underordning*) and 'transference of meaning' (*sideordning*). These transitions are due to various causes, the first of which is treated under the head of *berøringsassosiasjon* (p. 57-70).

#### I. *Berøringsassosiasjon*.

By *berøringsassosiasjon* is meant an association of elements which taken together form a complex concept, or an association of the whole concept with one of its component parts. The laws governing *berøringsassosiasjon* are the same as those governing the association of ideas in general. Transference of meaning from one object to another thru *berøringsassosiasjon* is due to that constant relation which exists between these two objects. The direction of this transference is usually from *cause* to *effect*. Thus, the word *tongue* comes to mean *language*, because the tongue is used in the articulation of language sounds. In the field of the senses this type of association is especially productive of derived meanings. Thus, the idea of 'vapor,' 'fog,' 'dust,' 'mist,' etc. has in the I. E. languages resulted in the derived senses of 'stupid,' 'dumb,' 'deaf,' etc. (p. 60); cf. Grk. *τύφω* 'smoke': *τυφλός* 'blind,' Norw. *døv* 'deaf,' *dum* 'stupid,' Eng. *dumb*, etc. The original idea is associated with certain physical or mental states and the word then passes over from the meaning of 'something which is associated with or causes this state' to 'the state itself' (*fog* > *stupid*). We may perhaps be permitted to add here that in English we still speak



of a 'befogged brain,' of 'dim (cf. Swed. *dimma* 'fog') perceptions' and of 'misty or hazy ideas.'

Physical sensations are sometimes the same from opposites causes, thus the sensation caused by intense cold may resemble that caused by intense heat. This accounts for the fact (p. 61) that many words originally denoting *heat* have come to denote *cold*. Thus, O. N. *sviðkaldr* 'burning cold' (Norw. *sviende kold*, cf. *brennkald* (dial.)); Lat. *prūna* 'live or burning coal' and Germanic *\*freus* belong to the I. E. root *\*preus* 'burn'; cf. Lat. *caleo* 'burn' and O. N. *hēla* 'frost,' etc. As an illustration of this law of association between the idea of *heat* and of *cold* Professor Falk might have made reference to the Greek verb ἀποκαίω 'burn off,' which Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (IV, 5, 3 and VII, 4, 3) uses in the sense of 'frost-bite'; thus (VII, 4, 3) καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥίνας ἀποκαίοντο καὶ ὦτα, 'the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were 'burned off' (i.e., frost-bitten).' So also Latin *adurere* (*Verg. Georg.* I, 93) and *torrere* (*Varr. ap. Non.* 452, 11). On the whole, it seems to the reviewer that it might have been of greater advantage to the student, if Professor Falk had more often availed himself of examples in which transitions of meaning are still apparent.

Of the different types of *berøringsassosiasjon* not the least important is the relation of *cause* to *effect* and vice-versa (p. 69). As an example of this type of association Professor Falk mentions Norw. *last* 'vice,' which originally meant simply 'fault,' 'blemish,' 'defect' (O. N. *lqstr*, cf. Goth. *lahan* 'reproach'). Why not call attention to the parallel development in the English work *vice* from Lat. *vitium* 'flaw,' 'defect'?

## II. *Likhetsassosiasjon* (p. 70-87).

For the expression of new ideas language has recourse to words already used for expressing older ideas. Thus, the word used for the expression of the new idea necessarily undergoes a change in meaning. Between the old and the new idea there must exist some sort of similarity (*likhetsassosiasjon*) which suggested the use of the word in the new sense; such a similarity may be either wholly or partly identified (*total* eller *partiell identifisering*).

This type of association necessarily results in an extension of meaning (*Betydningsutvidelse*, p. 71-80) in the new word, which may have entirely lost its association with the word in its older sense. Thus, for example, O. N. *veggr*, Angs. *wāg* 'wall' (p. 75) goes back to an I. E. root *\*vei* 'wind' (cf. Germ. *Wand: winden*). The primitive Germanic method of making walls consisted in *winding* the limbs of trees; thus, the old idea of 'winding' went over into the new idea of 'wall.' After this primitive method of making walls was abandoned, there no longer existed any conscious relation between the original sense

of the word (i.e., 'wind') and the derived or new sense (i. e., 'wall'). Similarly, Eng. *weep* (p. 76) is identical with Goth. *wōþjan*, O. N. *þpa*, which latter verbs, however, meant 'cry out,' 'shriek' (*exclamare, vocare*). In a more advanced stage of civilization when this primitive method of lamentation was less frequently resorted to, the English verb *weep* came to denote simply 'shed tears.' As an illustration of this extension of meaning (due to *likhetsassociasjon*) in living speech Professor Falk might have added Eng. *cry* (= *exclamare: plangere*); cf. the colloquial Eng. *bawl* = 'cry out in a loud or rude manner' (cf. 'bawl out a name'): 'weep aloud.'

As an illustration of the figure of speech (due to *likhetsassociasjon*) contained in Norw. *fatte, begripe* (Lat. *capere, comprehendere*) Professor Falk cites (p. 80) the Norwegian colloquialism "jeg kunde ikke få tak i hans mening." We might add here the corresponding colloquialism in English, viz., *catch on* (= 'grasp,' 'understand').

*Likhetsassociasjon* may also result in 'the transference of meaning by analogy' (*Nanneoverføring ved analogi (sammenligning)*, p. 80-87). This category necessarily fuses with that of *berøringsassociasjon*. The word *tongue* can mean not only 'language' (i.e., *cause to effect*, cf. above I) but also 'projecting point of land' (cf. Germ. *Landzunge*, Norw. *landtunge*) by reason of the similarity in shape between these two objects (i.e., between the old and the new idea), cf. *tongue* and *tong*. Very often transference of meaning by analogy may take place from the *inanimate* to the *animate*; thus, O. N. *drengr* (p. 84) = originally 'thick stick' then 'brave, young warrior,' cf. Dan. *pog* 'boy' and Norw. *påk* 'stick,' 'cane.' We might add here the colloquial Eng. *stick* = 'stiff, stupid person' (cf. *block-head*).

III. *Association as a result of connected discourse, limitation of meaning* (*Associasjon bevirket av talesammenhengen (betydningsinnskrenkning)*, p. 87-97).

Under this category Professor Falk treats those changes of meaning which are due to influences outside the word in question, as conditioned by the relation of this word to other words in the sentence (i.e., 'syntactical changes in meaning,' p. 89). By reason of the special relation of the word in question to other words in the sentence a special significance becomes attached to this word, whereby it suffers a restriction of meaning. But in such cases there occurs only a *restriction* of meaning and no actual *change* in meaning, in the sense that a new idea is expressed. Often that part of the expression is omitted with which the word was originally associated (*Tankeellipse*, p. 90-93). This is particularly often the case in technical vernacular where the omitted element was once easily supplied. For example, from the huntsman's vernacular we have Eng. *deer* (originally = 'animal,' Germ. *Tier*) in the sense of a specific

type of animal, because other types of animals were seldom hunted by the English in olden days. We might add here Eng. *hound*=a type of 'hunting-dog,' cf. Germ. *Hund*, Scan. *hund*.

If the word in question is an integral part of a phrase and comes to stand for the whole phrase itself, there occurs a 'syntactical ellipsis' (*Syntaktisk ellipsee*, p. 93-97). As an example of this category Professor Falk cites (p. 94) O. N. *at mtns fœdur* (scil. *húsi* el. lign.), Lat. *ad Martis (templum)*. We might add here parallels in modern speech, viz., Eng. *at my father's* (scil. *house*), and the more colloquial Swed. *hos Wahlns, till Bergströms*, etc.

IV. *Word association due to similarity in form or meaning* (*Ordassociasjon begrunnet i likhet i form eller betydning*, p. 97-107).

Similarity (either in form or in meaning) between words may result in the establishment of a relation between them, which originally never existed. Changes (in form and meaning) due to this type of word association do not necessarily take place according to the regular phonetic and sematological laws. Hence result, for instance, contaminated forms and so-called 'folk-etymologies.' As an example of attraction between words, due to similarity of both form and meaning, Professor Falk cites (p. 105) O. N. *velkominn* for \**vilkominn* and Eng. *welcome* (cf. Angs. *wilcuma*). Possibly the association between *wel-* and *wil-* in the English word *welcome* was favored by the example of O. N. *velkominn* or of the French *bien venu*. At any rate, in connection with Eng. *welcome* Professor Falk might have called attention to the French *bien venu*. Modern Norw. *dårlig* (p. 105) originally meant 'foolish' (cf. *dåre*, Germ. *Tor*), but because of the association with O. N. *dåligr*, Norw. (*landsmål*) *dåleg*, it has now come to mean 'bad,' 'evil,' 'ill,' etc. In this connection it might have been of advantage for Norwegian students, if Professor Falk had called attention to the Swedish language, where the two words *dårlig* and *dålig* are still kept distinct from each other both in form and meaning.

V. *Changes of meaning due to emotional elements* (*Affektive betydningsförändringar*, p. 107-124).

The associations between words thus far treated are the result of the representative or reflective faculties (*forestillingsbegrep*). But within the sphere of association we must also include the purely emotional element as an accessory cause or factor in the transition of meaning. The emotional element connected with words asserts itself in two ways, viz., *unconsciously* (*uvillet*) by virtue of that ethical valuation which is immediately connected with the word in question, and *consciously* (*villet*) by means of an arbitrary strengthening or weakening of the expression. While the ethical value of words is most often the

result of the prevalent social, religious and ethical views of the time, the intensity of feeling connected with this ethical value is generally the result of a momentary state of emotion. Under the head of *conscious* or arbitrary ethical valuation of words Professor Falk treats the following categories: *Metaphor, Euphemism, Irony* and *Hyperbole*.

Professor Falk's *Betydningslære* has done much towards satisfying a long needed requirement for a text book on semantics. The work indicates an advance over former works on this subject, at least in so far as Professor Falk here presents the first systematic exposition of the whole field of semantics. For American teachers of the Scandinavian languages and literature the book ought to serve as a very helpful guide in explaining the fine shades of meaning in Scandinavian words, particularly in poetic or dialectic words. Since the work is intended for use as a text book, its practical value could have been greatly enhanced if the book had been provided with an index. In a purely scientific reference book of this nature an index is greatly to be desired, for otherwise the reader has no guide (except his own faulty memory) to the individual words treated in the text.

The following misprints have been noted; for *mhty. schel* (p. 20) read *mty. schel*, for *mnt. vøtboge* (p. 72) read *mnty. vøtboge* (cf. index to abbreviations, *mty. = middelhøitisk, mnty. = middelnedertysk*).

Ags. *medrece* (p. 98) should read *mşdrece*. There is a form *mēderce* (*Ms. J.*, cf. Bosworth-Toller's *Angs. Dict.* under *mşdrece*) but this is hardly the form which Professor Falk had in mind, for the metathesis of the *r* in *mēderce* destroys the similarity between the last syllable—*derce* of the Angs. and the O. N. *drekka*.

That even a printer has difficulty with the Greek accent, is proved by the following: for *τὰς ὀφρῦς* (p. 22, twice) read *τὰς ὀφρῦς*, for *πνεῦμα* (p. 25, twice) *πνεῦμα*, for *βιβλία* (p. 92) *βιβλία*, for *nygre. ποικίλος* (p. 82) *ποικίλος*.

Professor Falk makes frequent reference to Low German (*nty.*) words which went over into the Norwegian *riksmål*. Most of these words, however, were loaned during the *Middle* Low German period, and it might, therefore, have been of greater advantage to the student, if in such cases the words had been designated as *mnty.* instead of *nty.*, cf., e.g., *nty. schreve* (p. 29), *nty. fundëren* (p. 99), *nty. stêf-* (p. 106), etc.

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*L'ÉVOLUTION PSYCHOLOGIQUE ET LA LITTÉRATURE EN ANGLETERRE* (1660-1914) par Louis Cazamian, Maître de Conférences à la Sorbonne, I vol. in-16, 9 frcs, Paris. (LIBRAIRIE FELIX ALCAN). 1920.

Through English Literature, as through the literary output of other nations, runs a psychological rhythm caused by the recurrent rise and fall of two dominants: one emotional, the other intellectual. Or—to apply terms rendered familiar by traditional psychology—by “feeling” and “intellect.” Their obedience to the law that conditions their ebb and flow is not the result of determinable forces, but seems to be autonomous. When studied in the light of history, however, this rhythm appears constantly crossed by various outside influences, such as social factors, “collective memory” (i.e. the consciousness on the part of a given generation of the literary accomplishments of the past—a consciousness which tends to muffle the vitality of a new movement), etc. Furthermore, the individuality of each nation cannot help affecting the operation of the rhythm, so that the manifestations of the latter are bound to differ in different countries. For instance, modern English literature finds in Romanticism—i.e. in predominantly emotional forms—its full and natural expression; while modern French literature is drawn as by a magnet to Classicism, i.e. to forms colored predominantly by the intellect, and only there is perfectly at home.

Despite its complexity, the functioning of this oscillation—one is tempted to speak with Goethe who recognized a similar law in all nature, and say, of this systole and diastole—is by no means a thing imponderable to criticism. In fact its study proves fruitful in several directions. (pp. 4-23). The method here applied is plainly a blend—not lacking, however, in elements of originality—of the theory of environment formulated by Taine and more recent ideas promulgated by Brunetière, by M. Cazamian himself in his “*Études de psychologie littéraire*” 1913, by Professor W. A. Neilson in his “*Essentials of Poetry*” 1912 (pp. 1-4) and by others, among whom the name of Dilthey (“*Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*” 7th ed. 1921) should certainly not have been lacking. In his premises M. Cazamian naturally finds himself at variance with some of the principles underlying Prof. H. A. Beers’ “*History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*” (p. 142).

The author begins with the year 1660, i.e. with the Restoration. For, since English literature first became conscious of itself during the preceding period, the age of Elizabeth, which was a time of exuberant Romanticism, the Restoration marks the first swing of the rhythm. Between the time of Shakespeare and our own the rhythm has operated only two

and a half times. We can distinguish five principal phases. First the age of Elizabeth, second the period of the pseudo-Classicism that came with the Restoration, third the great reaction in favor of emotion and imaginativeness during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, fourth the decades between 1830 and 1880 when the reign of science by fostering fidelity to truth and self-control brought about something like a second "classicism," and fifth and last the advent of a third period of Romanticism since 1880 in which mysticism, intuition, and imagination have again claimed a large share of attention (pp. 11-13).

To prove his thesis, M. Cazamian in chapters two to eleven traces in detail the gradual approach and recession of the two dominants "feeling" and "intellect" turn and turn about, exhibiting especial care and skill in discussing the operation of social forces. Thus the contrast is well brought out between the effect on English literature of the rise of the merchant class about 1680 (pp. 70 ff.) and the increase in power of the same social group in 1780 (p. 150). In the seventeenth century the bourgeoisie compounded with the nobility—a fact clearly reflected in Pepys' Diary (p. 77). Further, precisely because of its bourgeois qualities, this new class so far from encouraging a swing of the pendulum in the direction of Romanticism contributed to balance and self-control by insisting on the purification of morals and in a round-about way of literary taste. One hundred years later, the bourgeoisie had grown to be the natural enemy of prevalent tenets social and aesthetic and hence became the chief buttress of revolution.

No less interesting are the chapters dealing with the decades preceding the Romanticism of 1800-30 in which the comparative slowness of the emotional swell is attributed to the continued power of the aristocracy and its ally, the high bourgeoisie. The treatment of the second period of English Classicism (1850-1880), the generation of Matthew Arnold with its striking analogies to the age of Pope and the subtle yet fundamental differences that divide the two (pp. 218 ff.), and the closing chapter (pp. 242 ff.) which discusses the growing complexity in contemporaneous letters, are perhaps the richest in ideas. We are made aware that in the last thirty years the literary movement could not swing full circle on account of the ever increasing weight of collective memory which reduced the carrying power of the swing towards neo-Romanticism and caused almost a stagnation of the rhythm. Under the circumstances the realism of today is bound often to be glamourous with romance and our present day Romanticism to reveal powerful substrata of realism, and frequently the same individuals must be exponents of both. Although,

as the author shows, "contamination of type" began more than a hundred years ago, the generation that could produce Yeats and Galsworthy, Pater and Gissing (p. 253) far outstrips all its predecessors in many-sidedness, and lacks sharpness of silhouette. The very children born into an aging nation are born old (p. 258). Yet we need not on that account lose courage. Many forces are at work to prolong the youthfulness of modern peoples (p. 260), one of the most powerful in English life being the colonies and the countries like the United States of America that grew out of them (p. 260 f.).

Here and there I find myself at variance with the author. So I feel that more should have been made of Horace Walpole as a typical representative of the transition from Rationalism to Romanticism. For not only did this "aristocrat" (p. 107) in "The Castle of Otranto" forestall the tales of horror of later times (p. 125), but "this lucid person" (p. 125) was also a forerunner of the Romantics in his love of moonlit scenes and of Ruskin in his admiration of medieval architecture. In a letter to Bentley he tells of the charming venerable "Gothic scene" on a moonlit night among the buildings of Oxford.—In discussing the rise of the proletariat towards the end of the eighteenth century, M. Cazamian says nothing of the changes in the life of the peasantry and the resultant effects upon literature. Miss Patton's illuminating treatise "The English Village, a Literary Study 1750-1850," (N. Y. 1919) might have furnished him with important material. The references to Wordsworth (pp. 157 ff. and 170 ff.) do not bring out the complexity of Wordsworth's message. One is apt to overlook the fact that this Romantic poet anticipated Dickens' "American Notes" (1842) by his strictures on the young Republic ("The Excursion," Book III, written about 1800) at a time when the experiment in Democracy and the simplicity of manners in these western communities were setting half the world agog with joy; and that the Indian whom Chateaubriand had just apotheosized and whom Cooper twenty years later was to make for the immature of all countries a synonym for nobility and self-control, appears in Wordsworth's "Excursion" (Book III) stigmatized as "a creature squalid, vengeful and impure." In other words, Wordsworth, foremost representative of English Romanticism, anticipated—far more than M. Cazamian leads us to suppose—the next generation by his reverence for fact as a severe but beneficent resolute.—How far the age of Ruskin in its social ideals had moved away from its predecessors might have been brought out by the contrast between him and his forerunner, Horace Walpole. Neither yielded to the other in love of beauty and distinction, but while Walpole observed the chill reserve of class and caste, the author of "Stones of Venice"

wrote letters as to an equal to "Mr. Thomas Dixon, a working stone-cutter." Nothing could better illustrate the new orientation in English life and that growing complexity which increasingly disturbs the functioning of the rhythm.

In discussing the influence of the theory of evolution on thought and letters during the period of neo-Classicism (1850-1880) the fact should have been stressed that this theory not merely encouraged belief in the existence of continuity and rationality in the universe (p. 224), but by being interpreted as evidence of steady growth towards higher forms, both physical and spiritual, contributed towards an easy meliorism and a loose optimism oddly at variance with scientific thinking though growing directly out of it. Here again a form of Romanticism crossed the path of Realism and helped to check the normal swing of the rhythm.

At the close of the volume, in the paragraphs dealing with the Romantic elements in modern English life, we miss any mention of Du Maurier's "Trilby" and the flood of novels since its appearance (1894) treating the subconscious; or of the small but significant group of works inspired by the tenets of Christian Science whose spread M. Cazamian notes on p. 251. In both types, Romantic strains blend with elements supposedly derived from science in a manner possible to no generation previous to our own—not even to the age of Cagliostro.

The author opens a fascinating vista to the student of comparative literature by pointing out (pp. 266 f.) that the same rhythm, but with striking differences, runs through the prose and poetry of virtually all European nations. So, for instance, no one has to my knowledge described the close analogy between the tide of eighteenth century Romanticism in England and in Germany, and at the same time has hazarded an explanation for the surprisingly early volcanic burst of emotionalism in the latter country—during the brief "Storm and Stress" period about 1770—as contrasted with the comparative sluggishness of the emotional wave in Great Britain. Again, nobody has called attention to the odd mixture of intellectuality and throbbing imaginativeness in Wordsworth and Coleridge on the one hand, and Jean Paul and Tieck on the other, or to the "contamination of types" in the English Romanticists and at the same time in Chateaubriand, Alfred de Vigny and Victor Hugo (cf. E. Barat: "Le style poetique et la revolution romantique." Paris 1904); or, lastly, to the elements that affiliate and those that separate Matthew Arnold, the Parnassians and the Heyse group. How close again is the similarity—though in fifty details they may be poles apart—between Dickens and Gogol, and how striking the marriage of mysticism and realism in Strindberg and Hauptmann.



The age of Relativity upon which we have entered is likely to prove impatient of distinctions between "Romanticism" and "Classicism" and to emphasize similarities instead of differences. Readers who share such impatience—the reviewer is not one of them—might find this book not guiltless of artifice. But even those who cannot put unreserved endorsement upon every detail of it, or who feel—and this time with the reviewer—that it would have gained by the elision of much material already familiar, will grant its wealth of suggestion and its importance for all students of modern letters.

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**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EDDAS** by Halldór Hermannsson. *Islandica*, XIII, Ithaca, N. Y., 1920, pp. 95.

This last addition to the very valuable series *Islandica*, published at Cornell University, will be welcome to all students of Old Norse. Earlier bibliographies are incomplete or out of date, and it will be a great help to the work in Old Norse in general to have the bibliography of this important part of the field brought down to the present in this convenient form.

The compiler has included all editions and translations of the Eddas as well as those of individual poems; even paraphrases have been included. With regard to writings on the Eddas, it was naturally difficult often to know what not to include of the whole literature on Norse mythology, for which the two Eddas are the chief source. The author has drawn the line here so as to include only such writings as deal directly with the history of the Eddas, their language, style, and meter, textual criticism, and special commentaries. The work is of course not confined to that which is contained in the Fiske Collection, but aims to be complete within the field chosen. I have not had the time to examine titles minutely with regard to this point, but after such an examination as I have given it I may say that I have found very few omissions. I would mention Olive Bray's *The Elder or Poetic Edda, I, Mythological Poems*, which, with the translation on the right hand page, contains the Old Norse text on the left-hand page. The Bibliography has this only under translations; it seems to me it should also have been included under editions. Also Hægstad and Torp's *Gamalnorsk Maallæra* might have been listed with Readers on page 9, as it has the *Baldrs draumar* and a considerable part of the *Hávamál*. Also I would have added among translations *Av Litteraturen før 1814* by Hægstad and Skard, Christiania, 1911. This contains the *Völuspá*, *Þrymskviða*, the Second Helgi Hundingsbane lay, and much of the

*Hávamál*, pp. 1-22; and it contains several sections from the Prose Edda. Among the translations are to be included DuChaillu's of the *Hávamál* (complete), in *The Viking Age*, II, pp. 401-411, which also has some of the *Sigrdrífumál* pp. 412-413, and all of the *Goðrúnarkviða*, pp. 417-421.

I have found very few errors: Friedrich H. von der Hagen's *Die Eddalieder von den Nibelungen*, 1814, was published at Breslau, not at Berlin (it was dedicated, by the way to R. Nyerup and P. E. Müller). In the Index the references to this work p. 15, should be p. 16. We are glad to note the intention to supply a bibliography also of Norse Mythology.

GEORGE T. FLOM

*Urbana, May 31*

**ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISHMAN IN GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**

By John Alexander Kelly, Ph.D., New York, Columbia University Press, 1921, 156 pp.

**ANSCHAUUNGEN VOM ENGLISCHEN STAAT UND VOLK IN DER DEUTSCHEN LITERATUR DER LETZTEN VIER JAHRHUNDERTE.** 1. Teil von Erasmus bis zu Goethe und den Romantikern. (Sitzungsber. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1918). By Franz Muncker. 162 pp.

If to any nation is due especial honor for making herself acquainted with the manners and customs, the laws and institutions of other countries, it is to Germany. About two centuries ago German travelers in larger numbers began to visit foreign lands in order to gather there information on the life of nature and man. The resultant descriptive works are worthy of study not only because they had a definite share in the liberal education of the German of the better class, but also because they furnish source material to the ethnographer and student of history.<sup>1</sup>

To present a digest of the opinions of Germans concerning eighteenth century England is the task that Dr. John Alexander Kelly set himself in the present monograph. The author uses

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Archenholz' *Annalen der Britischen Geschichte* v. XVI, pp. 111-112. "Only a long series of years taken together can furnish material for a history of morals and customs; the annalist can only render contributions, to which the philosopher, the 'moralist' and every thinking reader is not indifferent, and which are of the utmost significance to the historian. The constant reiteration of virtues and vices, of follies and crimes, of foolish wagers and peculiar testaments, of robbery and murder, of luxury and amusements, points to traits which, though individual and peculiar in themselves, furnish, nevertheless, results of national significance."

the term "German literature," as it appears in the title, in the very widest sense of the word; in fact, by far the greater part of his bibliography is made up of works of description, diaries, and annals, which could, with but few exceptions, be found with little difficulty.<sup>2</sup> Had the writer entered deeper into the polite literature of Germany, he would have found an abundance of material, which, though not always based upon personal observation, was nevertheless instrumental in forming public opinion. This shortcoming would, however, be far more regrettable did we not have the excellent work of an eminent German scholar to fill the gap left open by Mr. Kelly's otherwise painstaking and readable dissertation.

In the midst of the great war Professor Franz Muncker published his comprehensive monograph which covers not only the eighteenth century, but goes back as far as the time of Erasmus. As Mr. Kelly was apparently not acquainted with this work, it may not be out of place here to summarize its chief results. The investigator confesses that he experienced some difficulty in presenting a composite picture of the widely scattered opinions gathered in his study. Many of the writers, moreover, had never visited the British Isles; some were interested primarily in the humanistic sciences, others in moral conditions and legal institutions, and others again in the study of philosophy and religion; many were biased by their esthetic and literary views, and others by political prejudices. But some traits, recognized by most writers, stand out in bold relief.

The Englishman according to Professor Muncker is described as being cold and unapproachable like his foggy isles, often displeasingly demure, never losing sight of the practical and material side of life, acquiring in early childhood a sense of reality, which guides the youth into channels of a rationalistic mode of thought. He ranks high in scientific attainments, and especially in their application to the mechanical arts and to manufacturing. An innate desire for wealth gained often at the expense of ideals and of moral standards, has advanced English trade to such an extent that it assumed immense proportions. To be masters of the seas, to establish and maintain colonies, regardless of the means employed and inconsiderate of the rights of other countries, are the chief endeavors of the English as a nation. An excessive patriotic pride, which has accomplished wonders in their history, makes them at the same time self-sufficient and unsympathetic toward

<sup>2</sup> Among the material overlooked by Mr. Kelly are the letters on English conditions and the English character by such keen observers as Justus Erich Bollmann contained in Friedrich Kapp's monograph *Justus Erich Bollmann, Ein Lebensbild aus zwei Weltteilen*. Berlin 1880, and Helferich Peter Sturz, *Schriften*, Leipzig, 1779.—Editor.

foreign countries. Enjoying greater political freedom than the Germans, they often incited envy among German writers, many of whom admired them without, however, loving them; and again, considered them praiseworthy as a people but not as a nation. It is furthermore a strange fact that some of Germany's greatest writers had in their youth nothing but praise for England, while in later years they began a crusade against Anglomania in Germany. Many claimed that Germany need learn only *one* trait from Great Britain—national pride, and the resultant appreciation of their own national attainments.

The greater part of these traits are recorded also in Mr. Kelly's work. However, this author seems to have a preference for the mere juxtaposition of statements not infrequently disconnected, in the choice of which he appears to have been guided by predilection rather than by impartial judgment. In his reading he must have met with remarks, descriptions, and statistical data which evidently were not to his liking, and which he consequently disregarded. Before me I have twenty-two volumes of the works of Archenholz, a scholar, who no doubt was more familiar with English conditions than any German writer of his time. He was, in fact, occasionally quoted with approval by English papers,<sup>3</sup> and was frequently reproached in Germany with partiality for England.<sup>4</sup> From these twenty-two volumes a special dissertation might be written that would have very little resemblance to Mr. Kelly's study. There is indeed so much unused material of vital interest to be found in these volumes that one would readily forget to expatiate, as Mr. Kelly has done, in a separate long chapter on a trip from Harwich to London, or to devote two and one-half pages to landscape gardening.

England was commonly praised for the liberty prevailing there, and no doubt, much of this praise was justified.<sup>5</sup> Yet there is at least one writer who has good reasons to record the following: (*Annalen* V, 408-9): "It is incredible with how much shortsightedness even respectable German scholars view the steadily growing despotism in England, and how they can still conceive of British liberty as it was a generation ago. No reader of these annals will fall into this error, since striking incidents, compiled by the hundreds, give incontestable proof of the extraordinary restrictions placed upon English

<sup>3</sup> *Annalen* v. X, pp. 267-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. I, p. 328; v. IX, p. 437.

<sup>5</sup> How any German writer could refrain from censuring the abominable custom of "pressing," especially when it happened frequently that a father was torn from his family (Cf. *England und Italien*, 2. ed. III, 388-9; *Annalen* V, 44-57) the reviewer is at a loss to understand.

liberty, once so righteously praised."<sup>6</sup> One of the results of this régime, curtailing the Englishman's liberty, is the restriction of the freedom of the press. "Never have those in power," says Archenholz (V, 120), "tried so zealously to punish bold opinions, and to prosecute writers on libel charges, as in the present period." (1790.)<sup>7</sup> The fact that the publisher of Paine's *Rights of Men* was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1793 may suffice as an example (XI, 41). While in the American colonies the freedom of the press had been successfully championed by Johann Peter Zenger, a German printer of New York, as early as 1735, the English bill, granting similar freedom was not passed until 1792.

Mr. Kelly's summary of German opinion concerning English administration of justice must also be taken *cum grano salis*. Archenholz, whom the author mentions as one of his three most freely quoted sources, points amongst many others to the following significant example: During the April session at Warwick the court pronounced ten death sentences,<sup>8</sup> five of which were passed on boys between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. Four convicted prisoners, thirteen to seventeen years of age, were sentenced to be transported to Botany Bay,<sup>9</sup> that most horrible colony of criminals, where entire shiploads of prisoners were dumped,<sup>10</sup> without, however, diminishing crime of every description in the home country.<sup>11</sup> According to the court registers there were in Newgate alone during the fiscal year of 1785 no less than 1796 inmates held for criminal offenses. Of these 68 were sentenced to death. During the following year the number increased to 2007, 87 of whom were sentenced to the gallows. In October 1789 there were 16,409 inmates in English prisons. A very large number of these were, to be sure, imprisonments for debt amounting to more than five pounds (Cf. V, 183; VI, 67; IX, 86-97). In order, however, to comprehend the evil in its full magnitude, it must be remembered that in most prisons both sexes were thrown together promiscuously.

In 1792 Archenholz describes the moral conditions in England as follows (IX, 399): "The British virtues, which formerly stood out so brilliantly in the moral history of Europe, have for the greater part ceased to exist as a cause for admiration of that nation. The love for a life of pleasure and luxury, which is steadily growing more prevalent in England, the great diminution of individual liberty, and the general retrogression of

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Annalen* V, 120; VII, 5; VIII, 379; IX, 33-36; X, 437; XIII, 462.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* V, 119-128; IX, 129-140.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* IX, 157, 160, 182, 184.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* XI, 351.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* IV, 248; VIII, 352-62; IX, 433.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* III, 258, VI, 67; VII, 226.

culture, cause the distinct and well-defined virtues, once the pride of Britain, to be but rare phenomena now. There remain only mediocre virtues; the vices, however, are assuming extraordinary proportions, so that we are forced to record them more fully." Again scores of examples might be cited to prove that corruption and theft, assaults and murder, child stealing, adultery and prostitution,<sup>12</sup> etc. had increased to such dimensions toward the close of the century, that the reviewer wonders what reason Mr. Kelly had to pass them over in silence.

Mr. Kelly further cites a number of cases in support of the view that religious tolerance was reigning supreme in Great Britain. He seems to be ignorant of the persecutions under which the so-called dissenters suffered in the eighties and nineties. Archenholz refers to cases of fanaticism that are quite medieval in character.<sup>13</sup>

I have mentioned in the foregoing some of the phases entirely overlooked by the author. Others mentioned by Mr. Kelly appear in a different light to the reviewer after spending weeks with Archenholz.

In conclusion it should be remembered that a work like the one under discussion requires not only extensive reading, but above all sound judgment and critical ability. To state that two authors agree on a certain point while a third writer disagrees, does not suffice; it is necessary to make at least an attempt to discover the reason for this difference of judgment. Moreover, the opinion which one nation forms of another is a matter of relativity. In order fully to comprehend German opinion of England and Englishmen in the eighteenth century it is necessary to know a great deal more about contemporary German conditions, the basis of comparison, than Mr. Kelly has chosen to convey to his readers.

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### TONY ASTON'S *FOOL'S OPERA*

In discussing the date of the *Fool's Opera* in his brochure on Tony Aston (1920, pp. 41, f), Dr. Nicholson conjectures that publication occurred in the year 1730. Professor Graves, in his running comment upon Dr. Nicholson's book (*Jour. E. and G. Phil.* July, 1921), devotes a paragraph to the date without settling it, quoting several authorities, who hover between 1730 and 1731.

The date can be fixed. The *Fool's Opera* was published on April 1, 1731—whether the joke was accidental or inten-

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. und Ital.* II, 173-232; *Annalen* V, 98, 132-139, 173, 332, 341-9; VII, 12-14; IX, 433; XI, 375-89, XII, 148-160; XIII, 359, 365.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* VII, 102 ff, 153, 157; IX, 76-79, 402-5.

tional. Both the *Grub-street Journal* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* in their lists of new books place the *Opera* first of the three books published that day. (I think the *Magazine* merely cribbed *Grub's* list, in this case.) Both give the title in a very brief form, and state the price, 6d.

The *Monthly Chronicle* arranges the notices in its "Register of Books" in groups under subject headings, not chronologically. In the April list No. 50 is: "The Fools Opera: Or, The Taste of the Age. Written by Mat. Medley. And perform'd by his Company in Oxford. Humkinbuz, Pollicke-min, Bamboosleos, Gayrichem, alwrong. To which is prefix'd, A Sketch of the Author's Life, written by himself. Printed for T. Payne; price 6d." The information supplied here is slightly fuller than that in the "full title" quoted by Dr. Nicholson. The Tom Thumbish cognomens (probably the members of "his Company") look like the *dramatis personae* of the *Opera*, but they vary from the list of Dr. Nicholson.

The *Chronicle* had an elaborate system for indicating whether a book was a second or later edition, part of a controversy, etc. It leaves the *Fool's Opera* unmarked, indicating thus that this was the first edition.

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# DIE HEIMAT DER ADRESSATEN DES HELIAND

## I

### WAS SAGEN PRAEFATIO UND VERSUS ÜBER DIE HEIMAT DER ADRESSATEN?

Ein geheimnisvolles Stück, diese Praefatio, so recht ein Eris-Apfel der Germanisten, seit ihrer Auffindung bis jetzt.

Die für unsere Untersuchung der "Echtheit" der Praefatio, d.h. ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit mit dem Heliand, wichtigsten Stellen der Praefatio seien hier zunächst abgedruckt, (und zwar nach Behaghel, Heliand und Genesis, Halle 1910), um die Möglichkeit zu gewähren, die Behauptungen der Forscher und unsere eigenen Schritt für Schritt an der Quelle nachzuprüfen. Der Kürze und Einfachheit halber bezeichnen wir den Prosateil der Praefatio mit A, die Versus mit V, teilen aber A wiederum in zwei Unterteile, deren letzter, A 2, mit "Ferunt" beginnt.

### *PRAEFATIO IN LIBRUM ANTIQUUM LINGUA SAXONICA CONSCRIPTUM:*

#### DER TEXT

A.

1. . . . Nam cum divinatorum librorum solummodo literati atque eruditi prius notitiam haberent, eius studio atque imperii tempore, sed Dei omnipotentia atque inchoantia mirabiliter auctum est nuper, ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, Theudisca loquens lingua, eiusdem divinae lectionis nihilominus notionem acceperit.

Praecepit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis, sacra divinatorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur. Qui iussis Imperialibus libenter obtemperans nimirum eo facilius, quo desuper

admonitus est prius, ad tam difficile tanque arduum se statim contulit opus, potius tamen confidens de adiutorio obtemperantiae, quam de suae ingenio parvitatibus. Igitur a mundi creatione initium capiens, iuxta historiae veritatem queque excellentiora summatim decerpens, interdum quaedam ubi commodum duxit, mystico sensu depingens, ad finem totius veteris ac novi Testamenti interpretando more poëtico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit. Quod opus tam lucide tamque eleganter iuxta idioma illius linguae composuit, ut audientibus ac intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris dulcedinem praestet. Iuxta morem vero illius poëmatis omne opus per vitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones vel sententias possumus appellare.

2. Ferunt eundem Vatem dum adhuc artis huius penitus esset ignarus, in somnis esse admonitum, ut Sacrae legis praecepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret. Quam admonitionem nemo veram esse ambigit, qui huius carminis notitiam studiumque eius compositoris atque desiderii anhelationem habuerit. Tanta namque copia verborum, tantaque excellentia sensuum resplendet, ut cuncta Theudisca poëmata suo vincat decore. Clare quidem pronuntiatione, sed clarius intellectu lucet. Sic nimirum omnis divina agit scriptura, ut quanto quis eam ardentius appetat, tanto magis cor inquirentis quadam dulcedinis suavitate demulceat. Ut vero studiosi lectoris intentio facilius quaeque ut gesta sunt possit invenire, singulis sententiis, iuxta quod ratio huius operis postularat, capitula annotata sunt.

Versus de poeta et interprete huius codicis.

- 1 Fortunam studiumque viri laetosque labores,  
carmine privatam delectat promere vitam,  
qui dudum impresso terram vertebat aratro,  
intentus modico et victum quaerebat in agro,
- 5 contentus casula fuerat, cui culmea testa,  
postesque acclives sonipes sua lumina nunquam  
obtrivit, tantum armentis sua cura studebat.  
o foelix nimium proprio qui vivere censu  
praevaluit fomitemque ardentem extinguere dirae
- 10 invidiae, pacemque animi gestare quietam.  
gloria non illum, non alta palatia regum,  
divitiae mundi, non dira cupido movebat.  
invidiosus erat nulli nec invidus illi.  
securus latam scindebat vomere terram

- 15 spemque suam in modico totam statuebat agello.  
cum sol per quadrum coepisset spargere mundum  
luce sua radios, atris cedentibus umbris,  
egerat exiguo paucos menando iuencos  
depellens tecto vasti per pascua saltus.
- 20 laetus et attonitus larga pascebat in herba,  
cumque fatigatus patulo sub tegmine, fessa  
convictus somno tradidisset membra quieto,  
mox divina polo resonans vox labitur alto,  
"o quid agis Vates, cur cantus tempora perdis?"
- 25 incipe divinas recitare ex ordine leges,  
transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam."  
nec mora post tanti fuerat miracula dicti.  
qui prius agricola, mox et fuit ille poeta:  
tunc cantus nimio Vates perfusus amore,
- 30 metrica post docta dictavit carmina lingua.  
coeperat a prima nascentis origine mundi,  
quinque relabentis percurrrens tempora secli,  
venit ad adventum Christi, qui sanguine mundum  
faucibus eripuit tetri miseratus Averno.

#### Der Fundort

Die Praefatio findet sich zuerst erwähnt in der 2. Ausgabe, S. 93 f., der bekannten Schrift: "Catalogus testium veritatis," v. Jahre 1562, des Flacius Illyricus, eines Schülers Luthers und Melanchthons, der übrigens auch Otrfrids Krist kannte—, aber ohne Angabe seiner Quelle. Windisch und andere nehmen an, dass Flacius bei seinen Forschungsreisen durch die Klosterbibliotheken eine Handschrift des Heliand gesehen habe, sicher nicht den Cottonianus, der stets in England blieb, schwerlich auch eine der anderen uns bekannten, jedoch ohne sie zu lesen.

Später finden wir die Praefatio öfters erwähnt, zunächst i. J. 1615 in den "Opusc. et Epist. Hincmari Remensis Archiepiscopi" des Cordesius (Paris) S. 634 ff., und dann an drei anderen Stellen, deren letzte des Joh. G. Eccard "Commentarii de Rebus Franciae Orientalis et Episcopatus Wirceburgensis"—Wirceburgi 1729 II 325—ist. Diese Praefatio gibt sich,—so lesen wir in Heynes Besprechung des Windischen Werkes, "Der Heliand und seine Quellen,"<sup>1</sup> "als das Vorwort eines unbekanntenen Zeitgenossen Ludwigs des Frommen zu der Abschrift eines grossen altsächsischen biblisch-epischen Werkes aus und erzählt, dass

<sup>1</sup> Z. f. d. Ph., I, 276.

Ludwig der Fromme auf den Gedanken gekommen sei, den Ungelehrten seines Volkes, die nur die deutsche Sprache sprächen, die Heilige Schrift näher zu bringen; in Ausführung dieser Absicht habe er sich an einen Mann aus dem Volke der Sachsen gewandt, der bei den seinen für einen nicht unberühmten Dichter gegolten habe, denselben beauftragend, sowohl das Alte wie das Neue Testament in seine Sprache poetisch zu übertragen. Der Dichter, der schon vorher eine Mahnung von oben bekommen, habe sich deshalb um so bereitwilliger auf des Kaisers Geheiss sogleich an das schwierige und mühevollere Werk gemacht, habe mit der Welterschöpfung begonnen und alles bedeutende in seinen Hauptpunkten, der geschichtlichen Wahrheit gemäss, dargestellt, bisweilen auch einiges, wo es ihm passend erschienen, mystisch behandelt. So habe er die poetische Bearbeitung des ganzen Alten und Neuen Testaments glücklich zu Ende geführt und ein Werk geschaffen, welches sich durch Anmut und Schönheit der Darstellung, durch Fülle der Worte und Vortrefflichkeit der Gedanken so auszeichne, "ut audientibus ac intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris dulcedinem praestat." Nach seiner Weise habe der Dichter das ganze Werk in "vitteas" eingeteilt, welches Wort der unbekannte Vorredner durch "lectiones vel sententias" übersetzt. Ausserdem teilt derselbe Vorredner, aber nur als Sage, mit, dass die vorhin erwähnte Mahnung von Oben dem Dichter als Mahnung im Schlafe zugekommen sei, und zwar zu einer Zeit, wo er der Dichtkunst noch ganz unkundig gewesen."

Über die "Versus" spricht sich Heyne sodann folgendermassen aus:

"Unmittelbar auf diese Praefatio folgt in dem "Catalogus" des Flacius unter der Überschrift "versus de poeta et interprete huius codicis" ein Lobgedicht in Hexametern auf jenen biblisch-epischen Dichter von einem ebenfalls unbekanntem Verfasser. In diesem Gedichte hat die in der Praefatio erwähnte Sage schon eine Veränderung und Erweiterung gefunden, bei welcher die Aufforderung des Kaisers an den sächsischen Dichter gänzlich verschwunden ist, indem aus dem "viro de gente Saxonum qui apud suos *non ignobilis vates* habebatur," ein schlichter Ackersmann geworden ist, welcher einst beim Weiden seiner wenigen Rinder auf einer Waldtrift unter dem Schatten eines Baumes eingeschlafen und im Schlafe durch eine Stimme

vom Himmel aufgefordert sei, die göttlichen Gesetze in seiner eigenen Sprache zu besingen. Nach der Schilderung seines einfachen landwirtschaftlichen Lebens und jener Traumerscheinung, die ihn zu dem heiligen Gesange aufgefordert, schliesst das Gedicht,“—nämlich mit den wichtigen Versen 28-34.

### Die Beurteilung

Die grosse Streitfrage ist von Anfang an gewesen: ob und inwieweit die Praefatio sich auf den Heliand bezieht; eine untergeordnete die: ob und inwieweit Interpolationen in der Praefatio anzunehmen sind oder ob gar die ganze Praefatio eine Fälschung des 16. Jahrhunderts sei.

#### a. Ansichten über die Praefatio vor Windisch:

Bezweifler oder Gegner der Zugehörigkeit der Praefatio zum Heliand sind Schmeller, doch ohne durchschlagenden Grund, Puening<sup>2</sup> ihm folgend, und Köne, in seiner Heliand-Ausgabe, sich auf Puening stützend; ferner Ensfelder, dessen französische Dissertation<sup>3</sup> sich wissenschaftlich-skeptisch auch gegen die Liutger-Hypothese Schmellers und gegen einen Laiendichter des Heliand (vates, skop) aussprach.<sup>4</sup>

Alle anderen Germanisten glaubten an die wenigstens teilweise Echtheit der Praefatio: als erster Eccard selbst, auch Klopstock, der sich mit grossen Plänen über den Heliand trug<sup>5</sup> sowie die Altmeister Grimm, Lachmann und Middendorf<sup>6</sup> mit Beschränkung auf den Prosateil auch Grünhagen,<sup>7</sup> der betont, dass es undenkbar sei, dass ein Meisterwerk, wie es in der Praefatio geschildert ist, gänzlich verloren gegangen sei, der aber die alttestamentliche Dichtung für ein zu gewaltiges Unternehmen neben der neutestamentlichen hält, als dass ein Verfasser beide hätte vollenden können.

Zarncke<sup>8</sup> hält die Versus und den zweiten Teil des Prosastücks für Interpolationen; letzterer sei hinzugefügt, um den

<sup>2</sup> 1851, im Programm des Gymnasiums zu Recklinghausen.

<sup>3</sup> Strassburg 1853.

<sup>4</sup> vgl. darüber Windisch, a. a. O., S. 3.

<sup>5</sup> s. Sievers Einl. S. 16, Anm. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Münster, 1862, Über die Zeit der Abfassung des Heliand.

<sup>7</sup> In seinem "Otfrid und Heliand, eine historische Parallele," v. J. 1855, Schulprogr.

<sup>8</sup> "Berichte der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," 1865, "Über die Praefatio und die Versus de poeta."

ersten Teil in Einklang zu bringen mit den Versus, die er für eine Nachahmung der Beda-Erzählung (Hist. Eccl. IV 24) betr. Caedmon erklärt. Jedoch hält er an dem Gedanken fest, dass unser Heliand-Dichter auch das Alte Testament, gemäss der Praefatio, bearbeitet habe, doch sei diese Dichtung verloren gegangen.

b. *Ansichten über die Praefatio* SEIT Windisch.—

Zarnckes Anregung verdanken wir z. T. Ernst Windisch's für die ganze Heliand-Forschung grundlegende Arbeit v. J. 1868, "Der Heliand und seine Quellen," welche auch das Problem der Praefatio eingehend erörtert. Er erwähnt<sup>9</sup> die Vermutung Eccards, dass Badurad, der zweite Bischof von Paderborn, ein in Wuerzburg ausgebildeter Sachse, der Verfasser des Heliand sei. Er sucht nachzuweisen,<sup>10</sup> wie nichts in den nicht-interpolierten Zeilen der Praefatio unserm Heliand widerspricht, ausser der Bemerkung, dass der Heliand-Dichter auch das Alte Testament bearbeitet habe. Letzteres erklärt er für ausgeschlossen, u. a. hinweisend auf Heliand v. 2886 -8 u. v. 38 ff., wo Gottes Sohn auch als Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden sowie als Lenker der Weltschicksale dargestellt wird, was offensichtlich dem Alten Testament widerspricht. Ich füge hinzu, dass es auch dem Neuen Testament widerspricht und sogar Joh. 1, wo der "Logos" doch nur als Vermittler der Schöpfung geschildert wird, aber nicht als bleibender Weltregierer. Auch ist mir unzweifelhaft, dass unser Heliand-Dichter, der systematisch alle Anspielung auf das Alte Testament vermeidet, der die Juden viel unsympatischer als selbst die roemischen Gegner Jesu schildert, der nicht nur die Führer und Verführer der Juden streiten lässt mit dem Heiland, sondern das ganze Volk als seine wuterfüllten Gegner darstellt,—dass dieser Heliand-Dichter unmöglich das Alte Testament bearbeitet haben kann, wo die Juden als das "auserwählte Gottesvolk" erscheinen, die mit mehr oder weniger Berechtigung alle anderen Völker als "unrein" und widergöttlich verachten.—

Auf S. 23 jedoch erklärt Windisch, dass der Verfasser der Praefatio, ein *Franke*, niemals den sächsischen Heliand gesehen hat, daher seine *Inhalts*-Angabe des Heliand für uns ganz

<sup>9</sup> a. a. O., S. 10.

<sup>10</sup> a. a. O., S. 12-16.

wertlos sei. Ausserdem irre ja auch die Praefatio in ihrer Behauptung betreffs des "ganzen Neuen Testaments," falls nicht, was undenkbar sei, auch noch ein dritter Teil des Heliand, enthaltend die Apostelgeschichte und die Briefe des Neuen Testaments, existiert habe.

Windisch schliesst (S. 24) mit der Behauptung, dass der Verfasser der Versus wenigstens den Anfang des Heliand gelesen habe, dass aber durch den angelsächsischen Bearbeiter der Praefatio Legenden über Caedmon mit Sagen über den Heliand-Dichter vermischt oder vertauscht wurden, wobei Windisch ausdrücklich auf seine Übereinstimmung mit Grünhagen<sup>11</sup> hinweist.

Moritz Heyne in seiner Besprechung des Windischen Buches<sup>12</sup> erklärt die beiden Stücke der Praefatio (A und V) für echt, d.h. nicht Fälschungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, doch scheidet er mit Zarncke und Windisch eine Reihe von Sätzen als Interpolationen aus. Auch haben nach ihm A und V *verschiedene* Verfasser, die beide aus der Tradition schöpfen und nicht urkundliche Nachricht geben. Die Hauptfrage jedoch, nämlich, ob die Praefatio sich auf den Heliand bezieht, bejaht Heyne, sowohl für A als für V. A sei von einem *Franken* verfasst, der als solcher mehr Interesse an dem fränkischen Kaiser als an dem sächsischen Dichter nahm, übrigens das Gedicht bloss von Hörensagen kenne.

"Was aber," so schreibt Heyne<sup>13</sup> "beide Dokumente (A und V) von dem Gedichte (dem Heliand) selbst berichten, *muss* als *historisch* angenommen werden" (!) und:<sup>14</sup> "Die Praefatio sowohl wie die Versus gehen auf den Heliand. Sie berichten *unabhängig* von *einander* ungenaues über das Gedicht, nach Massgabe ihrer eigenen ungenügenden Kenntnis davon." Auffallend ist nun, dass Heyne, trotz dieser Prämissen und gegen Windisch, den Dichter des Heliand für einen Geistlichen, und zwar aus Fulda, erklärt, im schärfsten Gegensatz zu dem, was die Praefatio selbst deutlich sagt.

<sup>11</sup> vgl. sein früher erwähntes: "Otfrid und Heliand" v. J. 1855.

<sup>12</sup> Z. f. d. Ph., I, 275-91.

<sup>13</sup> a. a. O., S. 282.

<sup>14</sup> S. 287.

Seit Windisch ist der Streit weitergegangen. Für die Praefatio haben sich nach ihm die folgenden Gelehrten ausgesprochen: neben Scherer und Rückert, Wackernagel<sup>15</sup> mit der Annahme, dass der Schreiber der Versus einen Codex, worin unser Heliand mit der Genesis vereinigt war, vor sich hatte; beide Stücke stammten aber von verschiedenen Dichtern. Interessant ist seine Idee, dass die Einleitung zum Wessobrunner Gebet den Anfang des verlorenen alttestamentlichen Epos gebildet habe; wogegen übrigens Schulte sich ausspricht.<sup>16</sup>

Bei der Wichtigkeit der Praefatio für unsere Untersuchung verlohnt es sich, in Kürze auf Wackernagels Artikel einzugehen. Er fragt<sup>17</sup> in etwas gewundenem Satzbau, gegen Windisch:<sup>18</sup> "Wenn nun, was diese zwei Hauptpunkte: die Persönlichkeit des Dichters und die Zeit des Abfassung betrifft, die Praefatio und die Versus der Wahrheit entsprechen,—weshalb sollen sie in betreff eines dritten, des Umfanges nämlich, den das Gedicht in seiner Vollständigkeit gehabt, so gänzlich unglaubwürdig sein?"

Auf diese Frage erwidern wir folgendes: *erstens* entspricht das, was Praefatio und besonders die Versus über den einen Hauptpunkt, die Persönlichkeit des Dichters, sagen, durchaus nicht der Wahrheit; *zweitens* entspricht die Beschreibung des Heliand in den Versus unserm wirklichen Heliand so wenig, dass kein Mensch, der *nur* die Versus lesen würde, von sich aus auch nur auf den Gedanken kommen würde, dass die Versus von unserm Heliand reden.

Beides werden wir weiter unten aus der Praefatio und den Versus beweisen, wenn wir am Schluss dieser Übersicht über die sich widerstreitenden Aufstellungen der Gelehrten unser eigenes Urteil zu begründen versuchen.

Wackernagel<sup>19</sup> bezeichnet das Alte Testament auch als einen durchaus geeigneten Gegenstand für einen epischen Dichter, der zur Bekehrung der Sachsen schreibt, gerade so wie es für die Goten (Ulfilas) und die Angelsachsen (Caedmon) war, natürlich "mit Auswahl des episch-anziehendsten und typisch bedeutungsvollsten." Wenn wir nun aber in unserer Praefatio

<sup>15</sup> vgl. "die altsächsische Bibeldichtung" Z. f. d. Ph. I, 291 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. IV, 62.

<sup>17</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. I, 292.

<sup>18</sup> "Der Heliand und seine Quellen," S. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. I, 293.



A 2 lesen, dass der Vates im Traume beauftragt wurde: "ut Sacrae legis praecepta . . . coaptaret," so dürfen wir mit Recht fragen, ob irgend jemand mit Wackernagel gerade die Gesetzesvorschriften, welche als "typisch bedeutungsvollstes" hier in der Praefatio einzig erwähnt waren,— man denke an die Ritualgesetze der Juden,— wirklich als das für uns oder gar für die vor kurzem noch sich heidnischer Gesetzesfreiheit erfreuenden Sachsen "episch-anziehendste" (!!) bezeichnen möchte. Oder sollte wirklich jemand das, was die Verse 25-26 als Inhalt des Heliand angeben, sich als Gegenstand gerade eines Epos vorstellen können?

Noch fester als Wackernagel ist Grein von der absoluten Echtheit und Zuverlässigkeit der Praefatio einschliesslich der Versus überzeugt, gemäss der Einleitung zu seiner poetischen Übersetzung des Heliand.<sup>20</sup> Bei aller Anerkennung der Vortrefflichkeit dieser seiner Übersetzung sehen wir uns doch genötigt, seine Anschauung über die Praefatio als unhaltbar zu bezeichnen. Für unsere Untersuchung des Wortlautes der Praefatio und der Versus wollen wir nur seine Behauptung im Sinne behalten: "Diese Charakteristik des grossen altsächsischen Epos passt *Wort für Wort* genau auf den Heliand." Ja, Grein geht soweit in seinem Vertrauen auf die Glaubwürdigkeit der Praefatio und Versus, dass er aus ihnen, besonders aus v. 32 der Versus, folgert: "wir dürfen mit Recht annehmen, erselbst (der Heliand-Dichter) habe dieselben (die fünf vergangenen Weltalter) bereits in der alttestamentlichen Geschichte seinen Hörern vorgeführt," und dass er anfügt: "Nach allem diesem scheint es mir keinem Zweifel zu unterliegen, dass jene Vorrede *nebst den lateinischen Versen* über den Dichter sich wirklich auf den Heliand bezieht."

Für die Echtheit der Praefatio, d.h. insoweit, dass sie keine nachträgliche Fälschung, etwa des Humanismus sei, traten ferner ein Rückert und Wagner, von denen der erstere eine Fälschung für unmöglich erklärt, der letztere<sup>21</sup> die Praefatio wegen ihres Stils und Reimes dem zehnten beziehungsweise elften Jahrhundert zuweist. Er glaubt nicht an Interpolationen, sondern an beabsichtigte Wiederholungen. Er erkennt in der

<sup>20</sup> Cassel 1869, S. 179-181.

<sup>21</sup> i. J. 1881 in einem bemerkenswerten Aufsätze (Z. f. d. A. 25, 173).

endgiltigen Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Teile die Hand eines kritiklosen und unwissenschaftlichen Kompilators. Er erklärt nicht nur die poetische Behandlung des Alten Testaments durch den Heliand-Dichter für durchaus unglaubwürdig,<sup>22</sup> sondern sogar die Beziehung zwischen Kaiser Ludwig und der Heliand-Dichtung, die sonst meist als zweifellos betrachtet wird, für weit entfernt von Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Zahlreich sind jedoch auch die *Gegner der Praefatio*, die wenigstens den grössten Teil als Fälschung beziehungsweise Interpolation ansehen. Rückert lehnt, trotz seiner obenerwähnten Verteidigung ihrer Echtheit, doch die Glaubwürdigkeit der Praefatio entschieden ab.<sup>23</sup> J. W. Schulte<sup>24</sup> erklärt sich gegen die Theorie von Interpolationen, bezeichnet vielmehr die ganze Praefatio als Fälschung des Flacius selbst oder eines seiner literarischen Mitarbeiter im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Gegen diese Ansicht spricht sich Sievers<sup>25</sup> aus, wegen des Ausdrucks "*Uitteas*," der einem Gelehrten des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nicht bekannt sein konnte. Er schreibt beide Teile der Praefatio einem Angelsachsen zu, der weder sächsisch noch überhaupt deutsch verstand. Doch glaubt er, dass das Alte Testament von unserm Dichter auch bearbeitet sei, aber freilich später, *nach* dem Neuen Testament.

Letztere Bemerkung enthält sicher viel Überzeugendes, *wenn* die Praefatio in ihrer Aussage betreffs des Alten Testaments glaubwürdig wäre, da es gewiss für den Dichter in jeder Weise näher lag, mit dem Neuen Testament zu beginnen, das erstens kürzer und verständlicher, zweitens wichtiger und nützlicher für die Missionstätigkeit ist (man denke an Luther's Bibelübersetzung und die der späteren Missionare, die alle mit dem Neuen Testament anfangen).

Roediger<sup>26</sup> findet noch weitere Interpolationen in der Praefatio und setzt sie ins zehnte bzw. elfte Jahrhundert.

<sup>22</sup> a. a. O., S. 180.

<sup>23</sup> S. Jostes i. Z. f. d. A. 40 (1896) S. 343.

<sup>24</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. IV, 49, 1873, "Zum Heliand" und Schulprogramm Sagan 1872.

<sup>25</sup> Einleitung S. 25 ff., wo man nähere Einzelheiten findet.

<sup>26</sup> A. f. d. A. V, 178 v. J. 1879.

Gieseke<sup>27</sup> entdeckt noch eine grössere Anzahl von Einschübseln und weist die Praefatio einem Angelsachsen in Deutschland zu.

Rieger<sup>28</sup> erklärt, dass der Dichter der Versus zur Verherrlichung seines nicht mit Caedmon identischen Helden nur das allgemeinste aus der Erzählung über Caedmon herausgenommen habe, aber in allen Details mit Absicht möglichst davon abweichend. In v. 27 beginne ein Stümper seine Arbeit.

A. Wagner<sup>29</sup> erklärt irgendwelche Beziehungen zwischen Kaiser Ludwig und dem Heliand für höchst unwahrscheinlich und die Praefatio für das Werk eines skrupellosen Kompilators.

Neben Kögel<sup>30</sup> ist ein Bezweifler der Praefatio auch Jostes<sup>30a</sup> welcher Front macht gegen die Annahme, dass die Praefatio ein Vorwort zum Heliand sei, erklärend auch, dass sie nicht von einem Teutonen herrühre.—

Für unsere gegenwärtige Untersuchung ist ja nur eigentlich die eine Frage von Bedeutung: was sagt die Praefatio über die Heimat *der Adressaten* des Heliand? Bevor wir jedoch das zusammenstellen, was darüber in der Praefatio zu finden ist, mussten wir die Frage beantworten: ist die Praefatio *überhaupt* glaubwürdig? d.h. dürfen wir die Angaben der Praefatio über die Adressaten des Heliand ganz oder teilweise als geschichtliche Wahrheit ansehen? Und deshalb ist es für uns nötig gewesen, die Anschauungen der Forscher über die Echtheit, bzw. Glaubwürdigkeit der Praefatio im allgemeinen und im einzelnen zu skizzieren.

### c. *Unsere Kritik und Ablehnung der Praefatio:*

Da jedoch, wie wir gesehen, die Forscher selbst durchaus nicht übereinstimmen, so müssen wir uns wohl oder übel ein eigenes Urteil zu bilden suchen. Wir schliessen uns dabei äusserlich an den übersichtlichen Gang der Untersuchung bei Windisch und Heyne an, wobei wir uns jedoch genötigt sehen werden, die Behauptungen dieser beiden Gelehrten fast überall

<sup>27</sup> Erfurter Progr.

<sup>28</sup> Z. f. d. Ph., VII, 115 (1875).

<sup>29</sup> Z. f. d. A., XXV, S. 173-181, 1881.

<sup>30</sup> Sowohl in Paul's Grundriss v. J. 1893 als auch in seiner Literaturgeschichte v. J. 1894. Doch erklärt Koegel den echten Teil für völlig glaubwürdig!

<sup>30a</sup> Z. f. d. A. XL, 341-68; "Der Dichter des Heliand."

erheblich einzuschränken. Beide Germanisten heben die folgenden sechs Punkte hervor, in denen, nach ihrer Überzeugung, die Praefatio unsern Heliand richtig charakterisiert:

1. Der Heliand ist in der Tat, wie die Praefatio angibt, zur Zeit Ludwigs des Frommen entstanden und durch seine Anregung.

Bisher hat leider noch niemand den ernsthaften Versuch gemacht, aus dem Gedicht selbst irgend welche Beziehungen auf Kaiser Ludwig oder seine Zeit zu erweisen. Bis das geschieht, kann diese Behauptung—trotz ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit, besonders im ersten Teile—noch nicht als Axiom angenommen werden.

2. Der Heliand hat ersichtlich, genau wie es die Praefatio sagt, zum Zwecke: die Verbreitung des Christentums unter den Sachsen.

Auch hierfür fehlt irgend ein direktes Zeugnis im Heliand selbst. Noch ist bis jetzt die Handschriften-Forschung einwandfrei zu dem Resultat gekommen, dass der Urheliand, der uns ja leider noch immer fehlt, tatsächlich gerade für *sächsische* Leser oder Hörer, und für solche ausschliesslich, bestimmt gewesen sei.

Aber selbst dies als wahrscheinlich oder als feststehend angenommen, spricht sich denn die Praefatio über diesen Punkt, dass der Heliand eine sächsische Bekehrungsschrift sein sollte, wirklich unzweideutig aus?

Wir lesen in der Praefatio<sup>31</sup> als Absicht Ludwigs und Zweck des Heliand: “ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, *Theudisca* loquens lingua, eiusdem divinae lectionis nihilominus notionem acceperit. Praecepit namque cuidam viro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut vetus ac novum Testamentum in *Germanicam* linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis, sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur.”

Wer diese Zeilen ohne Vorurteil und ohne den Gedanken an den Heliand liest, kann sie nicht anders als so verstehen: Kaiser Ludwig wünschte eine poetische Bearbeitung des Alten und Neuen Testaments in der deutschen (“*Theudisca*” bzw. *Germanica*. ! !), der Gesamtheit seiner Untertanen

<sup>31</sup> vgl. Praef., A. 1, Z. 4 ff.

(“cunctus populus suae dilioni subditus”) verständlichen Sprache; also *nicht* in irgend einem Dialekt, auch nicht in dem altsächsischen, der gerade um Aachen und den Kaiserhof herum schwerlich verstanden wurde, und in einer Form, die nicht nur den “literatis,” sondern auch den Ungebildeten die Bibel eröffnete. Letzteres schliesst auch die vielfach als Verlegenheits-Aushilfe angenommene “Kunstsprache” entschieden aus.

Da Teil A1 den nüchternsten Eindruck der Praef. macht und in seiner Sachlichkeit sich vorteilhaft von A2 und V. abhebt, so wiegen diese Sätze aus A1, die ausserdem auch von den schärfsten Kritikern nicht als mögliche “Interpolationen” angesehen werden, besonders schwer. Wo steht, so frage ich, auch nur ein Wort von einer “altsächsischen” Bearbeitung oder von der Absicht des Kaisers, das Evangelium gerade unter den *Sachsen* zu verbreiten, wie Windisch behauptet? Dass der Auftrag des Kaisers “viro de gente *Saxonum*” zu teil wird, das allein beweist doch gar nichts über den *Dialekt*. Im Gegenteil: wenn A1 ausdrücken wollte, dass das poetische Werk in *altsächsisch* verfasst sein sollte, so musste dies zweifellos besonders ausgesprochen werden und konnte es leicht durch die Ersetzung eines einzigen Wortes, nämlich, statt des “*Germanicam*” neben linguam, “*suam*” linguam!”

Ob man nun A2. und V. für echt und glaubwürdig hält oder nicht,—jedenfalls geben sie auch nicht die Spur eines Anhaltes, dass das Gedicht in sächsischem Dialekt oder für die Sachsen verfasst werden sollte. Im Gegenteil: wir finden auch in A2, statt irgend einer Erwähnung der sächsischen Abkunft des Dichters, noch einmal den Ausdruck: “*Theudisca poemata*” und in v26 der Versus: “*propriam linguam*,” welch’ letzteres sich nur auf die würdige, d. h. wohl poetische Form, nicht auf den Dialekt bezieht.

So müssen wir, bei allem Respekt vor der Gelehrsamkeit des grossen Germanisten Windisch und seiner Gesinnungsgenossen, mit Entschiedenheit bestreiten, dass die Praefatio selbst als Zweck der Bibeldichtung irgendwie die Verbreitung des Christentums “unter den *Sachsen*” bezeichnet.

3. Windisch und Genossen behaupten ferner, dass die Praefatio den Hel’and korrekt charakterisiere als von einem Sachsen verfasst, und zwar von einem *berühmten Volksdichter*.—Auch hier ist Einschränkung geboten. Erstens ist die Zahl und

das Ansehen der Forscher, die in dem Verfasser des Heliand einen Kleriker, und nicht einen Laien sehen, zu gross, als dass man das Ergebnis als zweifellos hinstellen dürfte, als ob mit dem Worte: "Vates" die Praefatio eine unantastbare Charakteristik des Heliand-Dichters gäbe.

Zweitens aber bezeichnet nur A1 den Dichter als einen "apud suos non ignobilis vates," während A2 sowohl als V dieser Bezeichnung aufs schärfste widerspricht: A2 nämlich betont, dass dieser selbe Vates: "adhuc artis huius penitus ignarus" war, und V schildert den Verfasser zur Zeit des göttlichen Auftrages in idyllischer Weise als einen kleinen Landmann und Viehhirten, ohne ein Wort von seiner Berühmtheit als Vates zu sagen. Entsprechend ihrem Charakter als Legenden, denen doch die Wissenschaft nicht kritiklos Glaubwürdigkeit zuerkennen kann bemühen sich beide, das Wunder der göttlichen Inspiration gerade dadurch um so höher hinaufzuschrauben, dass sie jede dichterische Tätigkeit oder eigene Befähigung des Inspirierten *vor* dem göttlichen Auftrag ausdrücklich in Abrede stellen.<sup>32</sup>

4. Windisch und andere finden als viertes Charakteristikum des Heliand, dargeboten in der Praefatio, den Punkt, dass "der Inhalt des Neuen und Alten Testaments" vom Dichter in seiner Mundart dargestellt sei mit eingestreuten mystischen Erklärungen. Abgesehen von den "mystischen Erklärungen," die im Heliand doch wohl zu vereinzelt sind, um

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. hierzu die verblüffend ähnliche, aber sehr unheilige Legende im 1ten Gedicht aus "Die Streiche des Pfaffen Ameis von dem Stricker" (Beginn des 13ten Jahrh.): Der schlaue Ameis narrt dort (v. 1410-21), einen wundergläubigen Probst durch den Bericht von der dreimaligen Ermahnung eines bisherigen Handarbeiters durch einen Engel,—entsprechend unseren Versus 24 ff.,—sofort als Schriftgelehrter und amtierender Priester öffentlich aufzutreten. Und der "torhafte" Probst glaubt dieses Märchen, weil (v. 1442-47):

"Es saget uns so manches Buch (d.h. für *uns* hier: Praefatio und Versus)  
Von manchem, der da nimmerdar

Zu einer Schul' gekommen war,

Vielmehr, dass *Gott* ihn nur erkannte

Und seinen Geist hin zu ihm sandte

Als Lehrer, der in *kurzer Stund'*

*Ihm alle Weisheit machte kund.*"—

Solche und ähnliche Wundermären waren im Mittelalter so verbreitet und berüchtigt, dass sie zum Gegenstand des Spottes im Volke wurden, trotz der Leichtgläubigkeit der urteilslosen Menge.

durch die Worte von A1 "ubi commodum duxit" richtig bezeichnet zu sein; und abgesehen davon, dass, wie wir schon unter No. 2 gezeigt haben, die Praefatio mit keinem Wort auf eine Darstellung in der besonderen Mundart des sächsischen Dichters deutet, sie vielmehr direkt ausschliesst; ja auch abgesehen davon, dass Windisch selbst (freilich nicht alle Forscher,)<sup>33</sup> die Abfassung einer *alttestamentlichen* Bibeldichtung durch den Verfasser des Heliand im strikten Widerspruch zu der von ihm sonst gläubig angenommenen Praefatio, entschieden ablehnt;—von alle dem abgesehen, ergibt sich bei genauer Prüfung der Praefatio, dass nicht einmal das, was sie über das Neue Testament als Gegenstand der Dichtung des Vates andeutet, der Wirklichkeit und unserem Heliand entspricht. Damit fällt natürlich dieser ganze Punkt 4 dahin.

Was sagt denn die Praefatio über den neutestamentlichen Inhalt des vermeintlichen Heliand? Wir stellen die einzelnen Ausdrücke zusammen:

a. A1. "ut vetus ac novum Testamentum poetice transferre studeret," und A2: "omnis divina agit scriptura."

Zum Neuen Testament und zur "omnis scriptura" gehören doch auch die Apostel-Geschichte, all' die Episteln und die Offenbarung St. Johannis, welche in unserem Heliand gar nicht erwähnt sind, obgleich sie 16/29, also noch über die Hälfte, des "novum Testamentum" ausmachen.

b. A1: "Quatenus sacra divinoꝝum praeceptorum lectio panderetur." V. 25–26: "Incipe divinas recitare ex ordine *leges*. Transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam" (v. 26). Wenn nun irgend etwas uns erfreut im Heliand, so ist es die Kunst, mit welcher der Dichter als ein echter Epiker, im Gegensatz zum lyrisch-doktrinären Otfrid, die *Ereignisse* und *Taten* im Leben Jesu den *praecepta* und *leges* und *dogmata* überordnet, mit Ausnahme der Bergpredigt; wie er die Lehrreden, besonders im Joh. Evangelium, nach Möglichkeit kürzt oder übergeht und wie er für "dogmata" so wenig Verständnis zeigt, dass gerade deshalb eine Reihe namhafter Forscher es für undenkbar erklären, dass ein "Kleriker" den Heliand verfasst habe. Und selbst diejenigen Forscher, welche aus anderen Gründen an der Urheberschaft oder doch

<sup>33</sup> vgl. Zarncke und Wackernagel—Z. f. d. Ph. I, 291.

Mitwirkung eines *Geistlichen* festhalten, sind einig darin, dass er wohlweislich alle theoretischen, theologischen Auseinandersetzungen, alles, was an "dogmata" erinnert, aufs äusserste eingeschränkt hat. Wie kann man dann noch mit Windisch behaupten, dass die Praefatio den Inhalt des Heliand korrekt wiedergegeben habe? Vielmehr wird man einräumen müssen, dass der Verfasser der Praefatio entweder garnicht von unserm Heliand und seinem Dichter spricht, sondern von der *alttestamentlichen* Bibeldichtung eines früheren Bauern bzw. eines berühmten Vates, oder dass, falls er von unserm Heliand redet, diesen auch nicht im geringsten kannte oder verstand. Die Zuverlässigkeit, oder richtiger "Unzuverlässigkeit," der Praefatio wäre in beiden Fällen die gleiche.

c. In Versus 31-34 lesen wir, dass der bisherige Ackerbauer metrische Gedichte in einer gelehrten Sprache (*docta lingua!*) diktierte und dabei:

v. 31, "coeperat a prima nascentis origine mundi,  
quinque relabentis percurrrens tempora secli,  
venit ad adventum Christi, qui sanguine mundum  
faucibus eripuit tetri miseratus Averni."

Was hat nun der Scharfsinn von anerkannten Meistern der Sprachforschung aus diesen vier Versen herausgelesen, nur, um die ganz unmögliche Hypothese aufrecht zu erhalten, dass diese vier Verse auf unsern Heliand gemünzt seien? Wir müssen bei diesem Schlussabschnitt etwas länger verweilen, weil wir ihn als den Schlussstein unserer Beweisführung für die völlige Unzuverlässigkeit der Praefatio inbezug auf den Heliand benutzen wollen.

Zunächst geben wir eine, von keines Gedankens Blässe angekränkelte, d. h. von keiner vorgefassten Meinung beeinflusste Übersetzung dieser schlichten Verse:

"Er (der Dichter-Bauer oder Bauer-Dichter) begann mit dem ersten Ursprunge der entstehenden Welt (v. 31), Fünf Zeiten des zurückfallenden Zeitalters durchlaufend (v. 32). Er kam bis zur Ankunft Christi, welcher durch sein Blut die Welt (v. 33)

Aus dem Rachen der grässlichen Unterwelt (Hölle) mitleidsvoll herausriss." (v. 34)

Um diese Verse zu verstehen, bedarf es bloss *einer* Erklärung, nämlich des in v. 32 benutzten Ausdruckes, über dessen Bedeu-



tung glücklicher Weise fast alle Forscher einig sind. Die dort erwähnten fünf Zeiten oder fünf Zeitalter bedeuten in der Kirchen- und Gelehrtensprache des Mittelalters: die gesamte vorchristliche Weltgeschichte von der Schöpfung *bis zu* Christi Geburt.

Versuchen wir nun, uns einmal auf den Standpunkt zu stellen, als ob wir noch nie etwas vom Heliand gehört oder gelesen, und konstruieren wir uns, lediglich auf Grund der Angaben dieser vier Verse, den Inhalt der Dichtung, die sie beschreiben wollen. Jeder von uns würde ihn dann nicht anders als folgendermassen konstruieren:

“Coeperat” d.h. *Beginn* der Dichtung: Ursprung der Welt  
(Schöpfung).

“Percurrens” d.h. *Fortgang* der Dichtung: Fünf Zeitalter von  
Adam bis Christi Geburt.

“Venit ad” d.h. *Schluss* der Dichtung: Ankunft Christi.

Man sollte denken, dass sich auch dem voreingenommensten Auge dies als der Inhalt der in v. 31-34 beschriebenen Bibeldichtung ergibt. Diese biblische Dichtung fing an mit der Schöpfung und erstreckte sich bis an die Ankunft Christi. Das kann doch unmöglich etwas anderes heissen, als dass sie eben den Inhalt des *Alten* Testaments poetisch darstellte, *bis zum* Anfang des Neuen Testaments. Dies scheint so einfach und selbstverständlich, dass man sich eigentlich scheut, soviel Worte darüber zu verlieren. Und doch sind wir dazu gezwungen, weil eine Reihe der, auch von uns, höchstgeschätzten Germanisten behaupten, dass diese *selben Verse sich dennoch auf unseren neutestamentlichen Heliand* beziehen, trotzdem der Inhalt dieses *unseres* Heliand jedem einzelnen der in v. 31-34 klar angegebenen Bestimmungen ebenso klar widerspricht, indem unser Heliand

- weder 1. mit der Schöpfung der Welt anfängt,
- noch 2. die fünf alttestamentlichen Zeitalter durchläuft,
- noch 3. mit der Ankunft Christi schliesst,—sondern vielmehr damit *anfängt*.

Wie aber vollbringen jene Germanisten das Wunder der *Identifizierung* des im Heliand vorhandenen *neutestamentlichen* Epos mit der in diesen Versus skizzierten *alttestamentlichen*

Bibeldichtung? Noch Zarncke,<sup>34</sup> verstand die obigen vier Verse genau wie wir<sup>35</sup> und erklärte sie durch die Annahme, dass der Verfasser der Versus nur eine Handschrift des *alttestamentlichen* Teiles der Bibeldichtung vor sich gehabt habe. Aber Windisch selbst wendet sich<sup>35a</sup> dagegen, mit den Worten:

“Und dennoch beziehen sich die letzten vier Verse . . . einzig und allein auf den Heliand. Eine genaue Vergleichung nämlich hat mich überzeugt, dass der Verfasser der Versus in seiner Inhaltsangabe weiter nichts mitteilt als”—und nun kommt die Überraschung,—“ein Exzerpt der Verse des Heliand 38-53. Hier stehen ganz dieselben Gedanken fast mit denselben Wendungen. (vgl. auch S. 24: “Denn, wie wir nachgewiesen haben, hatte der Verfasser der Versus wenigstens den Anfang des Heliand gelesen.”)

Die Einzelheiten seiner Beweisführung haben keine direkte Beziehung auf unser Thema; ihr Resultat aber ist von so vielen unserer bedeutendsten Germanisten acceptiert worden, dass wir uns doch damit auseinandersetzen müssen. Zu dem Zwecke drucken wir hier die Verse aus dem Heliand ab (v. 38-53), welche nach Windisch dem Versus-Dichter die falsche Vorstellung vom Inhalt der Bibeldichtung gegeben haben, und schliessen die hierher gehörigen Urteile der Nachfolger von Windisch an.

- 38 “all so he it fan them anginne thuru is ênes craht  
uualdanid gisprak, thuo hie êrist thesa uuerold giscuop  
40 endi thuo all bifeng mid ênu uuordo,  
himil endi erda endi al that sea bihlidan êgun  
giuuarahtes endi giuuahsanes: that uuard thuo all mid uuordon  
godas  
fasto bifangan, endi gifrumid after thiū,  
huilic than liudscepi landes scoldi  
45 uuf dost giuualdan, eftho huar thiū uueroldaldar  
endon scoldin. Ên uuas iro thuo noh than  
firio barnun biforan, endi thiū fibi uuârun agangan:  
scolda thuo that sehsta sâliglico  
cuman thuru craft godes endi Cristas giburd,

<sup>34</sup> In seinem Aufsätze v. J., 1865.

<sup>35</sup> vgl. auch Windisch “Der Heliand und seine Quellen,” 1863 S. 13-14.

<sup>35a</sup> a. a. O., S. 14 ff.

50 helandero best, hêlagas gêstes  
 an thesan middilgard managon te helpun,  
 frîo barnon ti frumon uuid fiundo nid,  
 uuid dernero duualm.

(Handschrift Monacensis, Ausgabe von O. Behaghel, Halle, 1910)

*Moritz Heyne* findet in seiner obenerwâhnten ausführlichen Besprechung von "Der Heliand und seine Quellen"<sup>36</sup> die Übereinstimmung beider Denkmâler, d.h. der Versus 31-34 und des Heliand v. 38-53, "durchschlagend für die Annahme von Windisch, dass der Versus-Dichter von der in seinen Hânden befindlichen Handschrift des Heliand nur diese Verse las und in ihnen eine Angabe des Inhaltes des Heliand erblickte."

*Wm. Wackernagel*<sup>37</sup> zweifelt, ob v. 31-34 der Versus, wie Windisch<sup>38</sup> u.a. annehmen, in der Art ihrer Fassung auf den Versen 38-53 unseres Heliand beruhen und greift damit das Fundament der Beweisführung von Windisch an. Aber auch er sieht in den Versus 31-34 eine korrekte Inhaltsangabe des "zweiten neutestamentlichen Teils der Dichtung, nâmlich der Geschichte des Herrn von seiner Geburt bis zum Erlösungstode, also eben bloss der *Evangelien*."<sup>39</sup>

Durch welche Hilfsmittel der Interpretation Wackernagel's Auffassung unserer Versus: "ab origine mundi—ad adventum Christi" als eine Wiedergabe des Inhaltes der *neutestamentlichen Evangelien* dem schlichten Menschenverstande klar gemacht werden könnte, vermögen wir nicht zu erkennen.

Auch *Sievers*<sup>40</sup> meint, dass "das Bedenken gegen die Schlussverse durch Windisch hinlänglich aus dem Wege geräumt ist, indem dieser zeigte, dass jene Worte nur aus der Einleitung unseres Heliand zusammengestoppelt sind." Wir fragen erstaunt, mit welchem Rechte Sievers diese Verse (47b-53a) als "Einleitung bezeichnen kann, indem er die natürlich mit v. 1 beginnende wirkliche Einleitung völlig ignoriert und nur einer Theorie zu liebe diese nicht einmal auf der ersten Seite der Handschriften stehenden Verse dafür substituiert? Sievers

<sup>36</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. I, 282.

<sup>37</sup> Z. f. d. Ph. I, 291 ff.

<sup>38</sup> a. a. O. S. 14 ff.

<sup>39</sup> S. 292 f.

<sup>40</sup> In der Einleitung zu seinem "Heliand" (S. 37).

schreibt ferner: "Dem Verfasser der Versus lag nur der Heliand, nicht auch die alttestamentlichen Stücke vor."

Endlich lesen wir in Wagner's "Die Heliand Vorreden"<sup>41</sup> "Ich behaupte mit Windisch, dass sich die Verse 31-34 nicht nur auf den Heliand beziehen, sondern direkt aus demselben hervorgegangen sind. Ich halte sie für ein misslungenes Exzerpt der Heliand-Verse 38-53. Die Ausdrücke *coeperat* (v. 31) und *percurrrens* (v. 32) lassen keinen Zweifel, dass er im Heliand v. 38-53 eine Inhaltsangabe vor sich zu haben wähnte und demgemäss berichtete. Entweder lag ihm nur der Anfang des Heliand vor, oder er las nicht weiter: in jedem Falle glaubte er, der Dichter habe das Alte und das Neue Testament behandelt."

Der Unterschied zwischen Wackernagel und Wagner besteht einzig darin—aber dies ist ein wichtiger Punkt—, dass letzterer in unsern Versus die Inhaltsangabe einer die ganze Bibel (Altes Testament und Neues Testament) umfassenden Dichtung erkennt, während ersterer nur unseren neutestamentlichen Heliand darin abespiegelt sieht.

Jedenfalls sehen wir: es fehlt diesen Versus 31-34 nicht an stattlichen und selbstsicheren Kronzeugen dafür, dass diese Verse den Inhalt des uns erhaltenen Heliand angeben wollen. Und obwohl nun diese Inhaltsangabe *Wort für Wort* dem wirklichen Inhalt unsers Heliand *widerspricht*, bringt das diese Kronzeugen in keine Bedenken oder Zweifel, weil sie dieser Widersprüche Lösung glauben gefunden zu haben in der wunderbaren Hypothese, dass der Versus-Dichter bei seiner kargen Inhaltsangabe sich nur auf v. 47-53 des Heliand, die er zufällig aufschlug und für eine Inhaltsangabe der Dichtung hielt (!!), gestützt habe.

Wir können nicht verhehlen, dass wir dieser psychologischen Erklärungskunst verständnislos gegenüberstehen, auch in ihrem zweiten Wunderwerk, der Lösung des Problems; dass es uns unbegreiflich ist, wie irgend jemand mit gesunden Sinnen den Inhalt des Heliand, wie er uns vorliegt, mit diesen Worten beschreiben konnte, selbst wenn er, was an sich höchst unwahrscheinlich wäre, gerade auf die Verse 47-53 bei seinem Herumschlagen des Cottonianus-Pergaments stiess. Lehrreich ist es, zum Vergleiche heranzuziehen die Art, wie Klopstock, der

<sup>41</sup> Z. f. d. A. XXV, 177 ff.

schwerlich mehr Altsächsisch verstand als der Versus-Dichter, den Inhalt des Heliand so zutreffend und doch so ganz verschieden von den Versus angab:<sup>42</sup> "Das Fragment fängt von Christi Geburt an und geht bis auf das Gespräch mit den Jüngern von Emmaus."

Stellen wir uns die Sache menschlich-natürlich vor: Nach der Annahme dieser Germanisten hatte der Versus-Dichter, ein der lateinischen Sprache mächtiger Mann, die Handschrift Cottonianus unseres Heliand, mit *Kapitel-Einteilung* (!) vor sich, wusste von des Dichters unliterarischer Vergangenheit und seiner himmlischen Berufung zum Bibeldichter und war begeistert von dieses Dichters Werk, sei es durch Hörensagen, sei es durch eigene Lektüre, wenn auch nur im engsten Masse. Dieser Versus-Dichter will nun sein Lobgedicht schliessen mit ein paar Versen, die den Inhalt dieses so bewunderungswürdigen Gedichtes, unseres Heliand, angeben sollen. Die Möglichkeit erscheint ausgeschlossen, dass er den Dialekt des Cottonianus beherrschte: denn dann mussten ein paar Minuten genügen, ihm zu einer richtigeren Einsicht des Inhaltes zu verhelfen als sie sich in v. 31-34 offenbart. Da er nun, wie allgemeine Ansicht der Gelehrten zu sein scheint, als Angelsachse oder Franke oder Romane, des altsächsischen Dialektes von C gar nicht oder doch nur teilweise mächtig war, so gab es für ihn drei Wege: entweder nichts mehr über den Inhalt hinzuzufügen und mit v. 30 abzuschliessen, oder einen Sachverständigen zu Rate zu ziehen oder sich selbst aus dem Werk nach Möglichkeit zu orientieren. Das erste wäre wohl berechtigt gewesen, da der Inhalt schon kurz vorher, v. 25-26, im allgemeinen skizziert war; das zweite war um so leichter, als da, wo das kostbare Manuskript C sich befand, sicher wenigstens *ein* Mensch zu finden sein musste, der es entweder selbst lesen konnte oder doch von dem Inhalte der Dichtung eine Kenntnis hatte, die der Wahrheit näher kam, als unsere Verse. Gesetzt aber den Fall, dass keiner dieser ersten zwei Wege gangbar war für den Versus-Dichter, so konnte er sich, selbst bei sehr mangelhaftem Verständnis des altsächsischen Idioms, doch nicht allzuschwer aus dem Manuskript, das ihm ja vorlag,<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. Sievers Enleitung S. 17 Anm. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. Heyne, Sievers u. a.

selbst bessere Information über seinen Inhalt holen, als v. 31-34 enthalten. Solche Selbstinformierung nehmen ja auch Windisch und seine Nachfolger an.

Aber was für ein sinnwidriges und undenkbares Verfahren muten sie ihm zu! Jeder vernunftbegabte Mensch, der den Anfang einer Dichtung, geschrieben in einer ihm nur wenig bekannten Sprache, angeben soll, würde natürlich zunächst die *erste* Seite des Werkes ansehen und zu entziffern suchen. Hätte der Versus-Dichter dies nächstliegende getan, so hätte er gleich im ersten Satze unseres Heliand (v. 3) erkannt, dass vom "riceo Crist" die Rede ist und nicht von der "Schöpfung der Welt," und hätte gewiss seinem "coeperat" nicht die Worte: "a prima nascentis origine mundi" folgen lassen, zumal selbst einem nicht Altsächsisch noch auch Deutsch beherrschenden, sowie ungelehrten Dichter die bald folgenden Worte: "lêra Cristes" (v. 6), "craft fan Criste" (v. 12), "êuangelium" (v. 13), "Matheus endi Marcus" (v. 18), "Lucas endi Johannes" (v. 19) klar machen mussten, dass hier wohl schwerlich von der Schöpfung der Welt (!!) die Rede sei, sondern von Christus, von den bekannten vier Evangelisten und von dem Anfange des Evangeliums St. Lukä. Nach der Meinung jener Germanisten aber hätte er gegen all' diese selbst für einen Ausländer verständlichen und sicher jedem Christen wohlbekannt Namen völlig blind sein müssen, nur um dann auf einmal bei v. 38 doppelt scharfsichtig zu werden und gerade diese für jeden Übersetzer schwierige Stelle plötzlich aufzugreifen und poetisch wiederzugeben.

Ebenso unbegreiflich erscheint, woher der Versus-Dichter sich das Material für seine Bemerkung über den *Schluss* des Heliand ("ad adventum Christi") verschafft hat. Es wäre wiederum das einzig praktische gewesen, sich die *letzten* Verse oder Seiten der Dichtung anzusehen, um zu erfahren, womit die Dichtung endet. Und wiederum bedurfte er nur einer geringen Kenntnis des Altsächsischen, wie sie wohl von jedem gebildeten Franken oder Angelsachsen damaliger Zeit zu erwarten war, zumal falls er sich für eine altsächsische Dichtung wie den Heliand interessierte, um ihn zu überzeugen, dass am Schlusse des Werkes (v. 5939-68) weder vom alttestamentlichen Israel noch von der "adventus Christi," sondern von Emmaus

(v. 5958) und dem Zusammentreffen des *kürzlich gekreuzigten* Christus mit zwei Jüngern die Rede ist.

Und wenn es dann dem Versus-Dichter noch immer unmöglich war, sich vorzustellen, was wohl *zwischen dem Anfang* des Evangeliums St. Lukä *und dem Ende* (Begegnung der Emmaus-Jünger) in der Bibeldichtung beschrieben sein mochte, —obwohl jedes Kind sich das denken konnte,—so brauchte er ja nur die Anfänge einiger Kapitel, in die, wie die Praefatio selbst bezeugt, die ihm vorliegende Handschrift geteilt war, anzusehen, um sich auch darüber genügend zu informieren. Gar schnell und leicht hätten ihn z. B. zu Beginn des cap. II Namen wie Zacharias (v. 96) Hierusalem (v. 97) Gabriel (v. 120) belehrt, dass auch hier keinesfalls von der Welt-schöpfung, sondern von der Botschaft des Erzengels Gabriel an den Priester Zacharias in Jerusalem die Rede sei. Oder sollen wir uns den Versus-Dichter so völlig baar jeder christlichen Bildung vorstellen, dass er z. B. im 5. Kapitel des Heliand bei den schon damals "international" bekannten Namen: Rômuburg (339), Octauianas (340), kêsure (342), Ioseph (357), Bethlehem (359), Mariun (361), Davides (363) auf die alttestamentliche Anfangsgeschichte des Menschengeschlechtes (Adam und Eva, Kain und Abel, Noah und Henoch) geraten hätte, anstatt sofort das jedem Getauften auch damals schon wohlbekannte Weihnachtsevangelium von der Geburt Christi darin zu erkennen.

Doch genug der Einzelheiten. Sie waren nötig, weil die durch sie zu widerlegenden Behauptungen von einem so hoch angesehenen Germanisten wie Windisch aufgestellt und, soviel sich ersehen lässt, ohne nennenswerten Widerspruch immer aufs neue wiederholt worden sind.

Es sollte eigentlich nicht nötig sein, sich des Längeren mit dem Einwand zu befassen, den nur die Verlegenheit eingeben konnte, dass "adventus Christi" hier nicht die "Ankunft Christi ins Fleisch," sondern die "Wiederkunft Christi zum *jüngsten Gericht*," bedeute. Gegen letztere Erklärung sprechen vier entscheidende Gründe:

a. Die *Wiederkunft* Christi liegt am Ende des *sechsten* Zeitalters und nicht des fünften. Der Verfasser der Versus hat aber in den vorhergehenden Versen deutlich ausgesprochen, dass den Bibeldichter das Durchlaufen der "fünf" Zeitalter

nur "ad adventum Christi" geführt habe. Wollte er mit "adventus Christi" die s. g. Wiederkunft Christi bezeichnen, so hätte er unbedingt in v. 32 schreiben müssen: "*sex . . . percurrans tempora.*" Schon dieser eine Grund genügt völlig zum Beweise, dass "adventus Christi," als am Schluss des *fünften* Zeitalters, nichts anderes als die Geburt Christi, mit welcher das sechste Zeitalter begann, bedeuten kann. Doch mögen die anderen Gegengründe noch kurz angeführt werden:

b. "Adventus Christi" kann zwar *unter gewissen Umständen* auch von der Wiederkunft Christi verstanden werden, aber nur wenn durch den ganzen Zusammenhang, oder durch ein hinzugefügtes "secundus" oder "tertius" irgend eine Verwechslung mit dem "primus adventus" ausgeschlossen ist, z. B. wenn Christus selbst zu seinen Lebzeiten von seiner *künftigen* "adventus" redet oder die Apostel und die Kirche *nach Christi Himmelfahrt* von seiner "adventus" sprechen. In den ganzen Versus wird aber Christus, sein Leben und Sterben und Himmelfahrt kein einziges Mal erwähnt, ausser hier in dem Ausdruck "adventus" Christi, der deshalb hier einzig und allein die Ankunft Christi im Fleisch, d.h. seine Menschwerdung, bezeichnen kann.

c. "Adventus" kann auch deshalb hier unmöglich "Wiederkunft" bedeuten, weil dann der von den Versus angegebene Inhalt der Dichtung weit über die Grenzen einer "Bibeldichtung" hinauswiese. Denn dann hätte diese Dichtung ausser dem Alten Testament (v. 31-32) nicht nur das irdische Leben Jesu, sondern die ganze Weltgeschichte bis zur Wiederkunft Christi beschrieben, einschliesslich zum mindesten der Apostelgeschichte, der Episteln und der Offenbarung St. Johannis, d.h. sie wäre ein Werk gewesen, dessen Gewaltigkeit,—besonders wenn verglichen mit der Leistungsfähigkeit eines altsächsischen "Bauerndichters"—, uns denn doch zu weit in die mystischen Höhen mittelalterlicher Heiligenlegenden versetzen würde.

d. Der Schlusssatz (v. 33 u. 34) über die Errettung der Welt von der Hölle durch sein Blut" würde durchaus unpassend sein als Ergänzung zu der "Wiederkunft Christi." Wo immer von dieser Wiederkunft die Rede ist, da folgt als Zusatz, fast mechanisch, die Zweckbestimmung: "zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten," oder eine Beziehung auf "das Sitzen zur Rechten



Gottes," aber niemals ein *Rückblick* auf das, was Christus, Jahrtausende vorher, *im Stande seiner Erniedrigung*, durch sein Blut zur Erlösung der Welt vollbracht hat.

Wenn wir nun gezeigt haben, dass gar keine Möglichkeit besteht, das "adventus" auf die "Wiederkunft" Christi zu deuten und durch diese neue Künstelei des Einschlusses des Lebens Jesu den in den Versus angegebenen Inhalt für unsern Heliand zurechtzustutzen, so ist damit wohl der Schlussstein gelegt zu dem Beweise, dass *diese ganze Inhaltsangabe der Versus zwar auf eine alttestamentliche Bibeldichtung passen mag, aber nie und nimmer auf unsern Heliand*. Nehmen wir noch dazu die Persönlichkeit jenes Bauerndichters, wie sie uns in den Versus vor die Augen tritt, und vergleichen sie mit dem Dichter des Heliand, wie er sich uns mit jedem tieferen Eindringen deutlicher offenbart als ein reichbegabter, sozial hochstehender Mann mit weitestem Horizont, wohlvertraut mit der Welt in allen ihren Erscheinungen, mit den Menschen in ihren verschiedensten Ständen und Berufen,—so werden wir keinen Augenblick daran zweifeln, dass diese beiden Persönlichkeiten unmöglich mit einander identisch sein können. Damit aber fallen für unsern Heliand die Versus als gänzlich unzuverlässig aus. Ebenso aber auch A2, das ja nur den Versuch darstellt, eine künstliche Brücke zu schlagen zwischen dem in den nicht interpolierten Teilen von A1 gegebenen nüchternen Bericht und den in den Versus übermittelten, wohl dem angelsächsischen Caedmon-Cyklus angehörenden Legenden.

Wir kehren nun zurück zu dem Schema der Windischen Beweisführung, dass die Praefatio in fünf von sechs Punkten die Wahrheit über den Heliand angebe (s. o. S. 202). Punkt 4 (s. o. S. 204) hatte uns Anlass zu dieser längeren Auseinandersetzung gegeben, weil er für unser Thema von grösserer Bedeutung war. Wir hatten bestreiten müssen, dass die Versus sich auf unseren Heliand oder irgend eine *neutestamentliche* Dichtung beziehen, und diese Versus daher gänzlich abgelehnt, soweit irgendeine *Heliand-Forschung* in Betracht kommt.

Die letzten Punkte: 5 und 6, in denen nach Windisch die Praefatio den Heliand richtig schildert, sind nicht von Bedeutung, am wenigsten für unser Thema. Doch wollen wir sie der Vollständigkeit halber in aller Kürze behandeln.

*Punkt 5.* Dieser betrifft die Angaben der Praefatio über die Einteilung der Bibeldichtung in Kapitel, "vitteae." Solche Kapitel-Einteilung finden wir nun in der Tat im Cottonianus, aber in keiner anderen uns erhaltenen Handschrift. Es lässt sich nichts dagegen einwenden, dass, falls die Praefatio sich auf den Heliand bezog, sie höchst wahrscheinlich dem Codex Cottonianus zugehört haben muss, wofür auch andere Anzeichen sprechen würden. Dann muss aber eine alttestamentliche Bibeldichtung, und zwar von demselben Dichter herrührend, unbedingt mit dem Cottonianus und der Praefatio (zu einem Bande) verbunden gewesen sein, weil sonst alle die in A1 und 2 und in V erhaltenen Inhaltsangaben nicht mit dem Codex in Übereinstimmung zu bringen wären (s. o. S. 202 ff.). Die verschiedensten Vermutungen sind nun betreffs dieser alttestamentlichen Bibeldichtung aufgestellt worden: Teile von ihr seien in ags. Übertragung in den Genesis-Fragmenten gerettet; oder: ihre ersten Verse seien in den Einleitungsversen zum Wessobrunner Gebet bewahrt; oder: unser Heliand-Dichter habe selbst diese alttestamentliche Dichtung verfasst, aber nach dem neutestamentlichen Heliand,—was jedoch mit den Angaben der Praefatio (bes. Versus 25 und 31) schwer in Einklang zu bringen sein würde: denn eine Besingung der jüdischen Geschichten des Alten Testaments wäre schwer vereinbar sowohl mit den Anschauungen eines altsächsischen "skop" als auch mit den Zwecken einer Missionsschrift zur Gewinnung der alten Sachsen. Wir übergehen die Begründung bzw. Zurückweisung dieser und ähnlicher Hypothesen als ausserhalb unsers Themas liegend, mussten sie jedoch erwähnen, um zu zeigen, auf wie schwachen Füßen sogar die Angaben der Praefatio über die Bearbeitung des Alten Testaments stehen.

*Punkt 6.* Dieser bezieht sich auf die Bemerkungen der Praefatio über die hohe Anerkennung, welche die Bibeldichtung gefunden "bei denen, die sie verstanden!" (letztere Worte mit Recht von Windisch bzw. Sievers als Interpolation bezeichnet). Wenn die Forschung ehrlich sein will, so muss sie bekennen, dass irgendwelche historischen Zeugnisse auch für diesen Punkt nicht vorhanden sind. Es besteht viel mehr Grund zu der Annahme, dass zur Zeit Ludwigs des Frommen weder die höhere Geistlichkeit noch die Mönche in der uns im Heliand vorliegenden Form der Bibeldichtung das Ideal einer Missionsschrift gese-

hen haben, da es in Sprache und Lebensanschauung doch gar zu sehr von dem kirchlich approbierten Stil der Missionspredigten abstach und zu wenig von dem kirchlich sanktionierten "dreifachen Schriftsinn" (vgl. Otfrid) enthielt. Auch die Geschichte der Manuskripte des Heliand spricht eher gegen als für eine so hohe Anerkennung und Bewunderung, wie sie in der Praefatio ausgedrückt sind. (Vgl. auch, was Thegan in seinem "Leben Ludwigs d. Frommen" über dessen Verachtung der Volksgesänge sagt, S. 11).

Überblicken wir noch einmal den etwas langen Weg unserer Untersuchung über die Praefatio, so können wir unser Urteil dahin zusammenfassen:

Trotz aller Versuche hat sich bisher eine *Beziehung der Praefatio auf unsern Heliand nicht beweisen lassen*. Insbesondere erscheint die Zuverlässigkeit der Praefatio in ihren Angaben über den Zweck des Heliand sowie über die Persönlichkeit seines Dichters bei tieferem Eindringen immer zweifelhafter. Deshalb müssen wir auch bei unserer Frage nach der Heimat der Adressaten des Heliand *auf die Praefatio als Erkenntnisquelle in allen ihren Teilen verzichten*.

## II

### WAS KANN AUS DEM HELIAND SELBST ERSCHLOSSEN WERDEN?

Zwar ist unser Epos schon verschiedentlich auf Anzeichen untersucht worden, aus denen der Forscher etwas über die Persönlichkeit des Dichters, seinen Stand, seine literarische und theologische Vorbildung, oder über die Heimat der Dichtung und des Dichters kühn erraten oder wissenschaftlich erschliessen könnte. Jedoch war der Erfolg bisher wenig befriedigend, und zwar, wie es scheint, z. T. aus folgenden Gründen:

*Erstens* ist bei dem s.g. Heimats-Problem vielfach nicht scharf genug in der Fragestellung unterschieden worden zwischen der Heimat des *Dichters*, der Heimat der *Dichtung* und der Heimat der *Adressaten*. Es wäre natürlich theoretisch denkbar, dass alle drei zusammenfielen, dass z. B. der Dichter aus der Essener Gegend stammte, in einem benachbarten Kloster das Werk verfasste und es auch für seine sächsischen Volksgenossen im angrenzenden Ruhrgebiet oder doch in Westfalen bestimmte. Wir können die Möglichkeit einer solchen Identität

nicht für ausgeschlossen erklären, ebensowenig aber die entgegengesetzte, nämlich, dass der Dichter zwar in der Essener Gegend sein Werk verfasste, deshalb aber durchaus nicht dort seine eigene Heimat hatte, und dass sein Werk für einen weit entfernten Teil des Sachsenlandes bestimmt war. Und die ganzen damaligen Zeitverhältnisse in Kirche und Staat, die Zustände in Klosterschulen und Bibliotheken, sprechen viel mehr für die letztere Möglichkeit als für die Identitäts-Theorie.

Gerade um diese Identitäts-Theorie von vornherein zu vermeiden, beschränkt sich unsere Arbeit gemäss ihrem Titel auf die Untersuchung der Frage nach der Heimat allein der *Adressaten*, wobei wir uns wohl bewusst bleiben, dass auch bei dieser scharfen Sonderung in der Untersuchung und bei Nichtübereinstimmung der "drei Heimaten:" des Werkes, des Dichters und der Adressaten—ein gegenseitiger Einfluss der einen Heimat auf die andere nur naturgemäss wäre, in der Weise, dass der Dialekt der Handschriften eine Mischung der Dialekte der drei Heimaten oder zweier derselben sein könnte oder dass der landschaftliche Hintergrund des Gedichtes durch die Landschaftsverhältnisse in zwei oder drei Heimaten seine Farben erhielt.

*Zweitens* scheint manchmal ein gewisser Lokalpatriotismus oder die zufällige intimere Bekanntschaft mit dem Dialekt einer besonderen Gegend, vielleicht unbewusst, die Untersuchung beeinflusst zu haben. Sonst würde die überreiche Buntscheckigkeit der gefundenen "Resultate" schwer erklärlich sein. Gibt es doch kaum eine Gegend im damaligen Mittel-Europa, auf die nicht hingewiesen ist als die wahrscheinliche "Heimat des Heliand," von England selbst her, über Holland, Ostfriesland, entlang der Nordseeküste bis Hamburg und Schleswig; sowie weiter südlich, von Werden a. d. Ruhr über Hildesheim und Halberstadt bis Magdeburg, oder auf der Linie von Mainz, Würzburg, Bamberg, Merseburg,—ganz zu schweigen von Reichenau.

Von irgend einer Einigkeit oder auch nur einer überwiegenden Meinung kann bisher durchaus noch keine Rede sein. Dabei darf nicht geleugnet werden, dass jede Anschauung hervorragend tüchtige Vertreter gefunden hat, die, ein jeder an seinem Teile, wichtige Bausteine zur endgiltigen Lösung herbeigetragen haben. Von einer solchen aber sind wir noch immer weit entfernt. Sollte *drittens* und letztens der Haupt-

grund dafür nicht in der bisherigen Vernachlässigung der *literarischen* Seiteliegen? Kann nicht der *Inhalt* der Dichtung, neben und über der *Form*, viel mehr noch ausgebeutet werden auf Anzeichen hin, die uns das dunkle Heimatsproblem erhellen?

Wenn wir unter diesen Umständen ausschliesslich vom philologischen Standpunkt aus an das Heimatsproblem herantreten, so haben wir mit schier unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen und müssen uns vorderhand begnügen mit dem Versuch, zuerst *die* Frage zu beantworten: in welchem Dialekt und wo ist die Handschrift M<sup>1</sup> oder C<sup>1</sup> oder V<sup>1</sup> *abgeschrieben* von ihrer Vorlage? Mit der Beantwortung dieser Frage hätten wir immer erst das Heimatsproblem *dieser einen Handschrift* gelöst, aber noch lange nicht das des Heliand selbst. Da ferner die Philologen auch darin einig sind, dass unsere Manuskripte sämtlich *nicht* vom Original *abgeschrieben* sind, so scheint es in der Tat ein fast hoffnungsloses Unternehmen, den Dialekt des Originals mit wissenschaftlicher Sicherheit festzustellen, solange uns weder das Original noch sogar eine originale erste Abschrift des Originals vorliegt (Näheres hierüber wird in Kapitel III zu sagen sein).

Es ist deshalb keine Verkleinerung der Verdienste der Philologen um die Heliandsprobleme, wenn wir aus vorstehendem folgern, dass inbezug auf unser Heimatsproblem von der Philologie allein, angesichts des Fehlens des Originals des Heliand, eine endgiltige Lösung nicht zu erwarten ist.

Etwas aussichtsvoller aber steht die Sache für die Literaturhistoriker, die, statt aus der Form, aus dem Inhalt des Heliand eine Lösung des Heimatsproblems und insbesondere eine Antwort auf die Frage nach der Heimat der Adressaten zu gewinnen suchen. Denn über den ursprünglichen *Inhalt* kann kein Zweifel bestehen; den haben wir ja wohlbewahrt in wenigstens 2 von unseren Handschriften, gesichert und gleichmässig, vor uns.

Wenn wir nun hier versuchen, aus dem *Inhalt* des Heliand Anhaltspunkte für die Bestimmung der Heimat der Adressaten zu gewinnen, so muss sich unsere Untersuchung auf das beschränken, *worin die Darstellung des Heliand sich von der ursprünglichen und ihm zu Grunde liegenden Darstellung der Bibel*

<sup>1</sup> M = Monacensis (München); C = Cottonianus (London); V = Vaticanus (Rom).

*bzw. des Tatian'schen Diatessaron oder anderen seiner Quellen unterscheidet.*

Dabei dürfen wir freilich nicht ausser Acht lassen, dass die Gründe für solche Änderungen sehr verschiedenartiger Natur sein konnten. Es ist z.B. schon öfters und mit Recht darauf hingewiesen worden, dass der Dichter, der ein Epos verfassen wollte, natürlich die biblischen Stoffe danach scheiden musste, wie weit sie für diese besondere Dichtungsart geeignet waren oder nicht, dass er, um sie dem epischen Stil anzupassen, Zusätze und Auslassungen sich erlauben, Umstellungen und mannigfache Änderungen vornehmen musste. Vgl. dazu u.a. Eduard Lauterburg "Heliand und Tatian" Diss. 1896; Edmund Behringer "Zur Würdigung des Heliand," Schulprogr. Würzburg 1863 (S. 22), Windisch (a.a.O. S. 32). Es ist ferner als richtig anerkannt worden, dass der Verfasser, um seinen deutschen Lesern des 9ten Jahrhunderts verständlich zu werden, Namen, Sitten, Anschauungen und Formen des Judentums zur Zeit Christi nicht einfach übertragen, sondern der Auffassungsfähigkeit seiner Adressaten anähneln musste. Aber es scheint, als ob die Germanistik bis heute diese richtige Erkenntnis noch nicht energisch, konsequent und gründlich zur Anwendung und Ausführung gebracht hat.<sup>2</sup> Wir können uns hier auf das Urteil eines solchen Kenners wie Ernst Windisch berufen, der sich folgendermassen ausgesprochen hat.<sup>3</sup>

"Merkwürdiger Weise fehlt immer noch vor Allem eine gründliche Untersuchung des Werkes selbst, etwa in ähnlicher Weise, wie sie von Kelle über Otrfrids Krist angestellt ist, obwohl eine solche doch gerade beim Heliand so notwendig ist, da uns dieses Werk bekanntlich ohne Titel, überhaupt ohne irgend welche äussere Nachricht überliefert ist, und dieser Mangel nur durch mehr oder minder kühne Combinationen, die eben erst, um glaubwürdig zu werden, anderweitiger Unterstützung bedürfen, ersetzt werden kann."

Auffallenderweise schränkt Windisch später, auf S. 31, seine eigene Äusserung gerade in bezug auf die von ihm mit so vorbildlicher Gründlichkeit bearbeiteten "Auslassungen" selber ein mit den Worten, die, scharf genommen, seine eigene Arbeit

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. hierzu auch Jellinek A. f. d. A. XXI 204 ff. (1895) und Jostes Z. f. d. A. XL 349 ff. (1896).

<sup>3</sup> S. 1 seines "Der Heliand und seine Quellen."

als zweck- und wertlos verurteilen: "Es wäre eine unnötige Verschwendung von Zeit und Mühe, wollte man bei jedem einzelnen weggelassenen Stücke nach der Ursache fragen." Auch Bruckner<sup>4</sup> erklärt: "Die Motive (für die Änderungen) entziehen sich unserer Kenntnis." Und doch gibt gerade die Arbeit von Windisch mit dem Verzeichnis aller, auch der kleinsten Auslassungen und Änderungen eine so treffliche Grundlage für die Prüfung der Gründe des Dichters, dass wir für über 90% der Auslassungen solche Gründe erkennen oder doch mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit mutmassen können.

Für unsere Aufgabe haben wir es natürlich zu tun mit solchen Änderungen, von denen anzunehmen ist, dass sie ihren Grund in der Rücksicht auf das Verständnis oder den Gesichtskreis der *Adressaten* haben. Freilich gibt es auch hier nicht immer Gewissheiten, und Manchem mag das Fundament hier noch schwankender erscheinen, als bei den philologischen Schlussfolgerungen. Dennoch glauben wir allseitig Zustimmung zu finden mit folgenden Sätzen, die wir als Prämissen unseren Einzeluntersuchungen voranstellen wollen:

1. Der Verfasser des Heliand hat die schwierige Aufgabe übernommen und nach einstimmigem Urteile aller Kenner trefflich durchgeführt: die seinem Publikum vielfach fremdartigen und schwerverständlichen neutestamentlichen Geschichten demselben doch anschaulich und begreiflich zu machen, indem er sie aus dem Orient in den Occident, aus der jüdischen in die germanische Atmosphäre, aus der Zeit Christi in die Zeit der Blüte der Karolinger übertrug.

2. Es ist deshalb als sicher anzunehmen, dass der Dichter alles, was seinem Publikum vertraut und verständlich war oder gemacht werden konnte—sei es eine Sitte oder Tätigkeit, eine nationale, landschaftliche oder geographische Eigenart, Bezeichnungen von Gebrauchsartikeln oder Ortschaften, eine Lehre Christi oder die Bedeutung eines Gleichnisses—ohne Änderung beibehielt, schon aus Ehrfurcht vor der heiligen Überlieferung, und dass er *nur das* zu ändern sich für berechtigt und verpflichtet hielt, was seinen Adressaten fremdartig oder fernerliegend oder gar völlig unbekannt war.

3. Selbstverständlich musste des Dichters Grundsatz dabei sein, solch' fremdartige Züge, Bezeichnungen, Bilder und Vor-

<sup>4</sup> In seiner Diss. "Der Heliand-Dichter ein Laie" S. 14.

stellungen durch seinen Lesern *zweifellos wohlvertraute*, ihrem Gesichtskreis naheliegende zu ersetzen.

Zur Veranschaulichung dieser rein theoretischen und deshalb zunächst in sich noch nicht überzeugenden Sätze füge ich gleich ein praktisches Beispiel bei:

Der Dichter weiss aus der Bibel oder dem Tatian genau, dass der Leichnam Jesu in ein *Felsengrab* gelegt wurde. Er berichtet nun die Grablegung getreulich, weicht aber von seiner Quelle ab, indem er spricht von dem

“graf an theson griote” (v. 5824),

während die Evangelisten es sämtlich, und mit Recht, als ein *Felsengrab* bezeichnen.

Wäre nun seinen Lesern solch ein Felsengrab irgendwie verständlich oder bekannt gewesen, so hätte ihm gewiss schon sein Glaube an die Inspiration der biblischen Berichte und, falls er ein Laie war, der ihm anerkennender Respekt vor der kirchlichen Überlieferung davon abgehalten, irgendeine Änderung zu unternehmen. Wenn er es dennoch tat, so ist es für uns ein sicherer Beweis dafür, dass seinen Lesern ein Felsengrab etwas völlig fremdartiges war. So lebhaft und allbeherrschend war aber sein Wunsch, das für seine Leser unverständliche ihnen verständlich zu machen, dass er, sogar auf die Gefahr hin, gewissermassen den Kern der biblischen Erzählung zu zerstören—man denke an die Szenen bei Schliessung des Grabes durch die Felsplatte sowie bei seiner Öffnung am Ostermorgen:—, das Felsengrab in ein Sandgrab verwandelt. Und hierdurch verrät er uns schon, dass diese Leser nicht in einer Gebirgsgegend mit Felsen und Höhlen, sondern in einer Sandgegend zu suchen sind, d. h. nicht in Ober- oder Mitteldeutschland, sondern *im nordischen Flachlande*.

Zur Gewissheit aber wird diese Schlussfolgerung, wenn wir betreffs der Kreuzigung Christi lesen:

v. 5532: Thuo sia thar an griote galgon rihtun  
An them felde uppan, folc Judeono,

und dass auch das Grab Johannis des Täufers in dem *Sande* angelegt ist (v. 2795: endi ine an sande bigrôbun).

Dies Beispiel wird zur Veranschaulichung unserer obigen Prämisse ausreichen und zugleich die Art unserer Beweisführung im allgemeinen kennzeichnen.



Zur besseren Übersicht und schärferen Heraushebung der Hauptpunkte teilen wir die von uns zu behandelnden Abweichungen des Heliand von seinen Quellen unter folgende Hauptgesichtspunkte:

A. Naturprodukte:

Weizen, Senfkorn, Salz, Süßwasser.

B. Landschaftliche Eigenarten:

Sand, Berg, Wald, Wurd, See, Fluss, Westwind.

C. Berufsarbeiter:

Weinbauern, Pferde knechte, Fischer, Seefahrer.

D. Ortsbezeichnungen

auf: burg, wik, holm, klif.

E. Verschiedenes.

Alle Zitate, aus dem Heliand, der Praefatio und der versus in der vorliegenden Studie sind entnommen aus Otto. Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, 2. A. Halle a/S. 1910.

A. NATURPRODUKTE:

1. Korn statt Weizen:

Es ist auffallend, dass der Heliand nicht *einmal* das doch in den Evangelien und bei Tatian wiederholt zu findende "Weizen" (ahd: uueizi) gebraucht, obwohl doch das alts. Wort "hwêti" durchaus bekannt war. So lesen wir im Gleichnis vom "Unkraut unter dem Weizen" v. 2542: hluttar hrêncorni, v. 2550: hluttar corn, oder dafür v. 2556 fruchtio (vgl. v. 2390: hrêncorni) statt des biblischen: Weizen.

Das kann weder zufällig noch absichtslos geschehen sein. Was für einen Grund kann der Verfasser dafür gehabt haben? Falls seinen Adressaten Weizen eine bekannte Frucht war, würde der Ersatz des hwêti durch korn unmotiviert und irreführend gewesen sein. Nur für den Fall, dass in ihrem Ackerbau Weizen unbekannt oder doch weniger bekannt als Korn war, hatte der Dichter die Berechtigung, ja die Pflicht, es durch etwas ihnen vertrauterer zu ersetzen.

Nun wissen wir, dass<sup>5</sup> "der Roggen mehr im Norden als im Süden Deutschlands gebaut wurde," und zwar durch die Korveyer Heberollen, wo Roggen häufig unter den Gefällen er-

<sup>5</sup> S. Theo. Sommerlad, "Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland," Leipzig, 1900 und 1905, I S. 65 Anm. 2.

scheint.<sup>6</sup> Was liegt dann näher als zu folgern: Also war der Heliand *nicht* für den Süden Deutschlands bestimmt, wo Weizen wohlbekannt war, besonders nicht für Südostsachsen, Merseburg oder Hassegau und Friesenfeld, wo schwerer Weizenboden vorhanden war.

## 2. Senfkorn:

Ebenso auffallend, wenn auch auf den ersten Blick scheinbar nur eine "quantité négligeable," ist es, dass der Heliand in dem Gleichnisse vom Senfkorn (Matthäus 13, 31) den biblischen Ausdruck: "granum sinapis" bzw. den Tatian'schen: "corn senāfes" gänzlich vermeidet und ihn durch die verallgemeinernde Bezeichnung

luttilis huat (v. 2625)

wiedergibt. Um so auffallender, erstens, weil er mit diesem unbestimmten Ausdruck gegen den epischen Grundsatz klarer Anschaulichkeit und Bestimmtheit gröblich verstösst; zweitens, weil, wie wir aus Karls des Grossen "Capitulare de villis" positiv wissen, Senf sowohl auf den Krongütern hergestellt als auch in den kaiserlichen Gärten angebaut wurde.<sup>7</sup>

Wenn also der Heliand für irgendeinen der mit Kaiserlichen Krongütern durchsetzten, in hoher landwirtschaftlicher Kultur befindlichen Distrikte des Frankenreiches bestimmt gewesen wäre, hätte er keine ersichtliche Veranlassung gehabt, dies Gleichnis seines *Kernwortes* zu berauben, ebensowenig wie Tatian es für angezeigt hielt. Da der Dichter es nun doch getan hat, muss etwas vorgelegen haben, das ihn *aus Rücksicht auf seine Adressaten*—denñ ihm selbst konnte, gemäss den obigen Zitaten, die Senfpflanze nichts unbekanntes gewesen sein—bewog, das "Senfkorn" in "luttilis huat" zu verändern und unter dem Zwange dieser Verallgemeinerung auch den Rest dieses kurzen Gleichnis-Wortes abzufachen und seine Eigenart zu zerstören. Sein Grund wird schwerlich ein anderer gewesen sein, als der oben für den Ersatz des "Weizen" durch "Korn" erschlossene, nämlich der, dass seine Adressaten in ihrer Land- und Gartenwirtschaft die Senfpflanze eben nicht kannten und

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. auch Knüll.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Franz v. Löher, "Kultur-Geschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter," München 1896, II 214 und 215; O. Lauffer: Göttinger Diss. "Das Landschaftsbild Deutschlands," S. 36, und Karls "Breviarium," S. 72 und 78.

deshalb Jesu Gleichnis nicht verstanden hätten. Seine Leser können also nicht auf dem hochentwickelten Kulturboden des Frankenreiches gewohnt haben, sondern in einem noch unkultivierten und, fügen wir hinzu, rauheren Bezirk, den wir am ersten im äussersten Nordosten des Reiches suchen können. Da wir ausserdem wissen, dass die Klostergärten auf hoher Kulturstufe standen, den Krongütern nacheiferten und für die angrenzende Landwirtschaft mustergiltig waren, so dürfen wir uns die Leser des Heliand nicht "im Schatten der Kirchen," in der Nachbarschaft solcher Klostergärten wohnhaft denken, weshalb wir die Hypothesen derjenigen Germanisten ablehnen müssen, welche den Heliand als für irgendwelchen älteren Bischofs- oder Klosterbezirk bestimmt ansetzen.

### 3. Salz:

In der Bergpredigt (Lc. 6, 27, Mt. 5, 13) lesen wir:

"Vos estis sal terrae. Quodsi sal evanuerit, in quo salietur? Ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut proiciatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus." Tatian gibt dies so wieder (c. 24, 2, 3): "Ir birut salz erda. Oba thaz salz áritalet, in hiu selzit man íz thanne? Zi niouuihtu mag íz elihor, nibi thaz man íz úzuerphe, inti si fúrtretan fon mannun." Was macht der Heliand daraus? Wir zitieren:

v. 1370: "than is im só them salte, the(m) man bi sé(w)es stade  
uuido teuirpit, than it te uuihte ni dóg,  
ac it friho barn fótun spurnat,  
gumon an greote.

Der Dichter führt hier in das Gleichnis einen ganz neuen und überraschenden Zug ein, sicherlich mit der Absicht, es für seine Leser anschaulicher zu machen. Denken wir uns diese Leser nun mit den meisten Germanisten im *Innern* Deutschlands, fern der Seeküste, lebend, so stehen wir hier vor einem Rätsel. Denn der Dichter würde für solche Leser etwas ihnen ganz fremdartiges hineinragen, was nur geeignet war, das Gleichnis ihnen zu verdunkeln durch die ganz unmotiviertere Verlegung der Situation an das Meeresgestade. Um so unberechtigter, als Jesus diese Worte, auch nach dem Bericht des Heliand, in der *Bergpredigt* gesprochen hat. Was konnte des Dichters Blicke vom Berg aufs Meer gerichtet haben? Es gibt keine andere Erklärung, als die, dass ihm selbst bzw. seinen Lesern das Meer etwas völlig vertrautes war und dass die Erwähnung

des Salzes seine Gedanken unwillkürlich auf die Stätte, wo es, *für ihn und seine Leser*, gewonnen wurde, lenkte.

Damit aber haben wir einen neuen und sehr starken Grund gewonnen für die Annahme, dass die Adressaten des Heliand nirgends im Innern Deutschlands gesucht werden dürfen, sondern an der Küste oder doch nicht fern davon. Ganz besonders spricht aber die Einführung des Seegestades und des Seesalzes gegen die Hypothese, für die eine Reihe von Germanisten mit sonst recht starken Gründen eintreten, dass die Adressaten des Heliand im mittleren oder südlichen Ostfalen anzusetzen sind. Denn gerade dort wurde das Salz schon in ältester Zeit von *Steinen* gewonnen, so dass den dortigen Sachsen der Gedanke an *Seesalz* besonders fern lag. Dort haben wir den Ort Saltwedili schon auf einer Karte v. J. 1000; woraus sich erschliessen lässt, dass dort schon lange vorher Steinsalzlager vorhanden waren und benutzt wurden. Wir haben dort den "Salzigen See" bei Walsleben, 20 km. westlich von Halle a/S. Wir finden ein Salzgut erwähnt bei Stassfurt, nahe Nienburg und Bernburg, 32 km. südlich von Magdeburg, bereits i. J. 1151; auch bei Aschersleben, 15 km. südwestlich von Stassfurt, wurde Salz gewonnen. G. Steinhausen bestätigt:<sup>8</sup> "Salzquellen waren im innern Deutschland früh von grosser Wichtigkeit; man kämpfte sehr heftig um sie und weihte ihnen auch wohl besondere Verehrung." Auch der Name des südostsächsischen Flusses "Saale" deutet auf das Vorkommen von Salz in jener Gegend.

Wie aber wäre es denkbar, dass ein Meister epischer Anschaulichkeit, dessen Grundsatz ersichtlich überall war, im Interesse des besseren Verständnisses seines Publikums, fremdartiges durch bekannteres zu ersetzen, hier gerade das Gegenteil getan hätte, nämlich die seinen Lesern, wie den Juden, unbekannt *Seesalzgewinnung* einzufügen da, wo davon garnicht die Rede war in seinen Vorlagen, während doch seinen Adressaten, falls sie in Ostfalen lebten, das Steinsalz ein wohlvertrautes Produkt ihres heimischen, fern vom Meere gelegenen Bodens war.

Von mehreren Heliand-Forschern ist daher diese Stelle schon mitbenutzt worden, um darauf die Annahme zu gründen, dass die Heimat des Heliand an der Küste zu suchen ist, besonders von Jostes und Jellinghaus. Ersterer sucht die Heimat bekanntlich in Nordalbingien, nicht fern übrigens von der Gegend,

<sup>8</sup> In "Germanische Kultur der Vorzeit," (S. 124).

wohin wir sie auch verlegen; letzterer aber in Holland, bei Deventer. Jedoch ist letztere Gegend noch immer 40 km. von dem Zuider See, und noch viel weiter vom Meere selbst entfernt, und sie entbehrt des Sand-Charakters, der, wie wir schon oben sahen und bald noch völliger begründen werden, in der Landschaft des Heliand so vorherrschend ist.

Eine Bestärkung unserer Hinneigung zur holsteinischen Küste als der Heimat der Heliand-Adressaten finden wir auch in dem Namen des die Ostküste Holsteins bespülenden Meeres, den uns, auf Grund der "Monumenta historica Germaniae," Scriptorum 195 anno 808, O. Lauffer<sup>9</sup> liefert: "Orientalis maris sinus, quem illi (nämlich die Holsteiner) *Ostersalt* dicunt"—man beachte das Jahr 808, also etwa 20 Jahre vor der Abfassung unseres Heliand!

Für diese Anwohner der Ost- oder Westküste Holsteins konnte daher die eigentümliche Wendung der Salz-Parabel auf das "Seegestade" hin keine Verdunkelung, sondern nur eine Erhellung bedeuten, wogegen sie für Binnenlandbewohner gerade das Umgekehrte sein musste.

#### 4. Süßes Wasser:

Während wir in Nr. 3 wahrscheinlich eine wohlbeabsichtigte Änderung des Dichters annehmen dürfen, macht die Änderung, welche wir jetzt zu betrachten haben, den Eindruck des *absichtslosen* und fast unbewussten.

Es handelt sich um die Wiedergabe einer der wenigen Reden aus dem Johannis Evangelium, die unser epischer Dichter als geeignet für sein Werk aufgenommen hat; die meisten Streitreden Jesu bei Johannes mochten ihm wohl mit Recht "zu hoch," d.h. zu spirituell und mystisch für seine Naturkinder erscheinen. Wir hören den geheimnisvollen Ruf Jesu, Joh. 7, 37: Qui sitit veniat ad me et bibat! v. 38: Qui credit in me, sicut dicit scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae.

Die letzten uns hier allein angehenden Worte "fluent aquae vivae" sind bei Tatian (c. 129, 5) ahd. wiedergegeben mit "fluzzi flozzent lebentes uuazares."

Im Heliand ist die Szene breit ausgemalt, wobei gegen diejenigen, welche aus dem Schwelgen des Heliand in aristokratischen Ausdrücken eine antidemokratische Gesinnung des Dichters zu folgern geneigt sind, die Verse 3901-6, betreffs des verschiedenen Verhaltens der "smale thioda" und der "rikeon man"

<sup>9</sup> In seiner obengenannten Dissertation S. 48 Anm. 2.

zu Jesu, die Volksfreundlichkeit unseres Dichters zu beweisen geeignet sein dürften. Bei dieser breiten Ausmalung gefällt sich der Heliand in immer neuen Ausdrücken für das "lebentes uuazares" oder "aquae vivae" des Tatian. Wir finden v. 3917: libbiendi flôd, v. 3918: irnandi uuater," "ahospring mikil," v. 3919: "quica brunnon;" alles dies den Gegensatz zum "stehenden Wasser" (Pfuhl, Pfütze, Zisterne) nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin charakterisierend. Dies stimmt ganz mit den Worten und Absichten Jesu zusammen, der hier gerade diese Überlegenheit des lebendigen Quellwassers über das leblose Zisternenwasser als Gleichnis benutzt zur Veranschaulichung der Überlegenheit persönlichen, lebendigen Glaubens über unbewegliche Tradition und lebloses Dogma. Was aber konnte nun den Dichter veranlassen, abweichend von seinen Quellen, in v. 3914 den Ausdruck "suôties brunnan" einzuführen, der ohne Frage das ganze Bild verschiebt und das Gleichnis seiner Pointe beraubt? Denn der Gegensatz zum Süßwasser ist nicht lebloses, stehendes Wasser, sondern Salzwasser.

Für wen hat, so fragen wir, der Ausdruck "Süßwasser" überhaupt einen Sinn? Gebrauchen wir dies Wort einem Bauern in Binnenlande gegenüber, so wird er uns erstaunt anblicken und nicht begreifen, was für Wasser das überhaupt sei. Reden wir aber zu einem Küstenbewohner vom Süßwasser, so denkt er sofort im Gegensatz dazu an sein salziges Seewasser. Ja, für ihn gibt es überhaupt nur diese beiden Arten von Wasser: Seewasser und Süßwasser; "lebendiges" Wasser aber sind sie beide für ihn.

Bei einem mit der See völlig unbekanntem und für Binnenländer schreibenden Dichter wäre dieser "lapsus linguae" oder "pennae" unbegreiflich und unentschuldigbar. Für die Bewohner der Hallige an der Nordsee-Küste aber lag ein schöner, tiefer Sinn in der Verheissung einer unerschöpflich sprudelnden Süßwasserquelle, die für diese rings von Salzwasserfluten umgebenen Inseln von unschätzbarem Werte ist.

So weisen beide: das früher besprochene "Seesalz" und das soeben behandelte "Süßwasser," uns beim Suchen nach den Adressaten des Heliand in ein und dieselbe Richtung, nämlich ans Meer.

(To be continued)

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## THE LATIN PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE AND MEDIEVAL OCCULT SCIENCE

The immense influence of Aristotle upon medieval learning has long been recognized, and sometimes unduly emphasized. The tendency to speak of it in sweeping generalities has been largely due to a lack of detailed research on the subject based upon the medieval manuscripts themselves. Take, for example, the medieval Latin translations of the works of Aristotle generally received as genuine. The only investigation of the problem as a whole is that of Jourdain made a century ago and now quite inadequate.<sup>1</sup> Since then the translations of two or three individual works have been separately investigated,<sup>2</sup> but the recent work of Grabmann,<sup>3</sup> while more general in scope, omits the twelfth century entirely and is in the main a disappointing compilation. If so little real attention has been given to translations of the genuine works of Aristotle, still less have the writings of the Pseudo-Aristotle been satisfactorily investigated and surveyed.<sup>4</sup> In this article I propose to give some account—based chiefly upon the medieval manuscripts themselves, although in some cases the works have been printed in early editions—of those works of the Pseudo-Aristotle which deal with natural and more especially occult science. It is these that are most closely connected with the Alexander legend and from which the vernacular literature on Alexander doubtless borrowed

<sup>1</sup> Amable Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'age et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1819; 2nd edition, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Such as P. Duhem, "Du temps où la scolastique latine a connu la physique d'Aristote," in *Revue de philosophie*, (1909) pp. 163-78; and C. H. Haskins, "Medieval Versions of the Posterior Analytics," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXV (1914) pp. 87-105.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristoteles-Uebersetzungen des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1916. He gives but three pages to the Pseudo-Aristotle.

<sup>4</sup> The works of V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* and *De ordine et auctoritate librorum Aristotelis*; Munk's article, "Aristote" in *La France littéraire*; Schwab, *Bibliographie d'Aristote*, Paris, 1896; R. Shute, *History of the Aristotelian Writings*, Oxford, 1888; are largely limited to antiquity and in so far as they deal with the Pseudo-Aristotle at all, scarcely reach the middle ages.

some of its stories.<sup>5</sup> It is indeed very difficult to distinguish works of occult science ascribed to Alexander from those attributed to Aristotle or to distinguish the stories told of Alexander in the works of the Pseudo-Aristotle from those found elsewhere. I shall therefore include some of both of these. I do not, however, intend to include here the early medieval stories of Alexander and Nectanebus in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Julius Valerius and his epitomes, the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle on the marvels of India, and so on. These early medieval Greek and Latin bases of the medieval Alexander legend have been much studied and discussed. My study is rather of twelfth and thirteenth century Latin treatises ascribed to Aristotle and Alexander which have been largely neglected.<sup>6</sup>

It is not surprising that many spurious works were attributed to Aristotle in the middle ages, when we remember that his writings came to them for the most part indirectly through corrupt translations, and that some writing from so great a master was eagerly looked for upon every subject in which they were interested. It seemed to them that so encyclopedic a genius must have touched on all fields of knowledge and they often failed to realize that in Aristotle's time the departments of learning had been somewhat different from their own and that new interests and doctrine had developed since then. There was also a tendency to ascribe to Aristotle any work of unknown or uncertain authorship. At the close of the twelfth century Alexander Neckam<sup>7</sup> lists among historic instances of envy Aristotle's holding back from posterity certain of his most subtle writings, which he ordered should be buried with him. At the same time he so guarded the place of his sepulcher, whether by some force of nature or power of art or prodigy of

<sup>5</sup> Ch. Gidel, "La Légende d'Aristote au moyen âge," in *Assoc. des études grecques*, (1874) pp. 285-332, except for the Pseudo-Callisthenes uses only the French vernacular literature or popular legends concerning Aristotle. Similar in scope is W. Hertz, "Aristoteles in den Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters," in *Abhandl. d. philos.-philol. Classe d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XIX (1892) pp. 1-103; revised in W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1905, pp. 1-155.

<sup>6</sup> G. H. Luquet, who wrote on "Aristote et l'université de Paris pendant le XIIIe siècle" in *Bibl. hautes études, Sciences relig.*, XVI, 2, 1904, announced a general work on the knowledge of Aristotle's writings and teachings in the middle ages, but it does not seem to have appeared.

<sup>7</sup> *De naturis rerum*, II, 189.



magic is uncertain, that no one has yet been able to approach it, although some think that Antichrist will be able to inspect these books when he comes. Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century believed that Aristotle had written over a thousand works and complained bitterly because certain treatises, which were probably really apocryphal, had not been translated into Latin.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, some of the works ascribed to Aristotle in the Oriental and Mohammedan worlds were never translated into Latin, such as the astrological *De impressionibus coelestibus* which Bacon mentions, or the Syriac text which K. Ahrens edited in 1892 with a German translation as "Das Buch der Naturgegenstände," or first appeared in Latin guise after the invention of printing, as was the case with the so-called *Theology* of Aristotle,<sup>9</sup> a work which was little more than a series of extracts from the *Enneads* of Plotinus.<sup>10</sup> Some of the treatises attributed to Aristotle which were current in medieval Latin do not bear especially upon our investigation, such as the *Grammar* which Robert Grosseteste is said to have translated from the Greek.<sup>11</sup>

For our purposes the Pseudo-Aristotelian writings may be sub-divided under seven heads: experiment, alchemy, astrology, spirits, occult virtues of stones and herbs, chiromancy and physiognomy, and last the famous "Secrets of Secrets." Under the first of these heads may be put a treatise on the conduct of waters, which consists of a series of experiments in syphoning and the like illustrated in the manuscript by lettered and colored figures and diagrams.<sup>12</sup> In a Vatican manuscript it is perhaps more correctly ascribed to Philo of Byzantium.

<sup>8</sup> *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, ed. Brewer, (1859) p. 473.

<sup>9</sup> It was translated into Arabic about 840 A.D.; an interpolated Latin paraphrase of it was published at Rome in 1519, by Pietro Niccolo de' Castellani,—*Sapientissimi Aristotelis Stagiritae Theologia sive mistica philosophia, secundum Aegyptios noviter reperta et in latinam castigatissime redacta*; a French version appeared at Paris in 1572 (Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 74). F. Dieterici translated it from Arabic into German in 1883, after publishing the Arabic text for the first time in 1882. For divergences between this Arabic text and the Latin one of 1519, and citation of Baumgartner that the *Theology* was known in Latin translation as early as 1200, see Grabmann (1916), pp. 245-7.

<sup>10</sup> Indeed Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, p. 73 says, "Tout un livre qui ne contient en réalité que des extraits des Enneades IV à VI de Plotin."

<sup>11</sup> See Arundel MS. 165, 14th century.

<sup>12</sup> Sloane MS. 2039, fols. 110-13.

From experiment to alchemy is an easy step, for the alchemists experimented a good deal in the period which we are now considering. The fourth book of the *Meteorology* of Aristotle, which, if not a genuine portion of that work, at least goes back to the third century before Christ,<sup>13</sup> has been called a manual of chemistry,<sup>14</sup> and apparently is the oldest such extant. Its doctrines are also believed to have been influential in the development of alchemy; and there were passages in this fourth book which led men later to regard Aristotle as favorable to the doctrine of the transmutation of metals. Gerard of Cremona had translated only the first three books of the *Meteorology*; the fourth was supplied from a translation from the Greek made by Henricus Aristippus who died in 1162; to this fourth book were added three chapters translated by Alfred of England or of Sarchel from the Arabic,<sup>15</sup> apparently of Avicenna.<sup>16</sup> These additions of Alfred from Avicenna discussed the formation of

<sup>13</sup> Hammer-Jensen, "Das sogenannte IV Buch der Meteorologie des Aristoteles," in *Hermes*, vol. 50 (1915) pp. 113-36, argues that its teachings differ from those of Aristotle and assigns it to Strato, his younger contemporary. Not content with this thesis, which is easier to suggest than to prove, Hammer-Jensen contends that it was a work of Strato's youth and that it profoundly influenced Aristotle himself in his last works. "The convenient Strato!" as he is called by Loveday and Forster in the preface to their translation of *De coloribus* (1913) vol. VI of *The Works of Aristotle* translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross.

<sup>14</sup> So Hammer-Jensen, p. 113 and earlier Heller (1882) 1, 61.

<sup>15</sup> Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek (centur. V, 59, membr. 13th century)—cited by Rose, *Hermes* 1,385—"Completo est liber metheorum cuius tres primos libros transtulit magister Gerardus Lombardus summus philosophus de arabico in latinum. Quartum autem transtulit Henricus Aristippus de greco in latinum. Tria ultima capitula transtulit Aluredus Anglicus sarensis de arabico in latinum."

Steinschneider (1893) pp. 59 and 84; (1905) p. 7; and others, including Hammer-Jensen, give the name of the translator of the fourth book from the Greek as Hermann and of the last three chapters as Aurelius, whom Steinschneider is more correct in describing as "otherwise unknown." On the other hand, we know that Aristippus and Alfred translated other Aristotelian treatises. Evidently Steinschneider and the others have followed MSS where the copyist has corrupted the proper names.

<sup>16</sup> Steinschneider and Hammer-Jensen quote from MSS, "tria vero ultima Avicennae capitula transtulit Aurelius de arabico in latinum." Albertus Magnus, *Mineral*. III, i, 9, also ascribed the passage to Avicenna; others have suggested that it is by disciples of Avicenna. See J. Wood Brown (1897) pp. 72-3, for a similar passage from Avicenna's *Sermo de generatione lapidum*.

metals but attacked the alchemists.<sup>17</sup> Vincent of Beauvais<sup>18</sup> and Albertus Magnus<sup>19</sup> were both aware, however, that this attack upon the alchemists was probably not by Aristotle. The short treatise *On colors*,<sup>20</sup> which is included in so many medieval manuscript collections of the works of Aristotle in Latin,<sup>21</sup> by its very title would suggest to medieval readers that he had been interested in the art of alchemy, although its actual contents deal only in small part with dyes and tinctures. Its form and contents are not regarded as Aristotle's but it was perhaps by someone of the Peripatetic school. Thus works which, if not by Aristotle himself, at least had been written in Greek long before the medieval period, gave medieval readers the impression that Aristotle was favorable to alchemy.

It is therefore not surprising that works of alchemy appeared in medieval Latin under Aristotle's name. The names of Plato and Aristotle had headed the lists of alchemists in Greek manuscripts although no works ascribed to Aristotle have been preserved in the same. Berthelot, however, speaks of a pseudo-Aristotle in Arabic,<sup>22</sup> and in an Oxford manuscript of the thirteenth century under the name of Aristotle appears a treatise *On the twelve waters of the secret river* said to be "translated

<sup>17</sup> They were printed at Bologna, 1501, as *Liber de mineralibus Aristotelis* and also published, sometimes as Geber's sometimes as Avicenna's, under the title, *Liber de congelatione*.

BN 16142 contains a Latin translation of the four books of the *Meteorology* with an addition dealing with minerals and geology which is briefer than the printed *Liber de mineralibus Aristotelis*, omitting the passage against the alchemists: published by F. de Mély, *Rev. des Études grecques*, (1894) p. 185 et seq. (cited Hammer-Jensen, 131).

<sup>18</sup> *Speculum naturale*, VIII, 85.

<sup>19</sup> See note 16 above.

<sup>20</sup> Greek text by Prantl, Teubner, 1881; English translation by Loveday and Forster, 1913. See also Prantl, *Aristoteles über die Farben*, 1849.

<sup>21</sup> Just a few examples are: Mazarine 3458 and 2459, 13th century; 3460 and 3461, 14th century; Arsenal 748A, 15th century, fol. 185; BN 6325, 14th century, No. 1; BN 14719, 14-15th century, fol. 38-; BN 14717, end 13th century; BN 16633, 13th century, fol. 102-; S. Marco, 13th century, beautifully illuminated, fols. 312-17; Assisi 283, 14th century, fol. 289-; Volterra 19, 14th century, fol. 196-.

<sup>22</sup> Berthelot (1885) p. 143, "Platon et Aristote sont mis en tête de la liste des alchimistes œcumeniques sans qu'aucun ouvrage leur soit assigné."

<sup>23</sup> Berthelot (1888) I, 76; citing Manget, *Bibl. Chemica*, I, 622.

from Arabic into Latin."<sup>24</sup> In the preface the author promises that whoever becomes skilled, adept, and expert in these twelve waters will never lose hope nor be depressed by want. He regards this treatise as the chief among his works, since he has learned these waters by experiment. They are all chemical rather than medical; a brief "chapter" or paragraph is devoted to each. In another manuscript at the Bodleian two brief tracts are ascribed to Aristotle; one describes the seven metals, the other deals with transmutation.<sup>25</sup> In a single manuscript at Munich both a theoretical treatise in medicine and alchemy and a *Practica* are attributed to Aristotle, and in two other manuscripts he is credited with the *Book of Seventy Precepts* which sometimes is ascribed to Geber.<sup>26</sup> Thomas of Cantimpré cites Aristotle in the *Lumen luminum* as saying that the best gold is made from yellow copper ore and the urine of a boy, but Thomas hastens to add that such gold is best in color rather than in substance.<sup>27</sup> The translation of the *Lumen luminum* is ascribed both to Michael Scot and brother Elias.<sup>28</sup> Aristotle is quoted several times in *De alchimia*, ascribed to Albertus Magnus, but only in

<sup>24</sup> Digby 162, 13th century, fols. 10v-11v, "Incipit liber Aristotelis de aquis secreti fluminis translatus ab arabico in latinum." In the margin the twelve waters are briefly designated: 1 rubicunda, 2 penetrativa, 3 mollificativa, et ingrediente, 4 de aqua eiusdem ponderis et magnitudinis, 5 ignita, 6 sulphurea, 7 aqua cineris, 8 aurea, etc. In one or two cases, however, these heads do not quite apply to the corresponding chapters.

<sup>25</sup> Ashmole 1448, 15th century, pp. 200-202, de "altitudinibus, profundis, lateribusque," metallorum secundum Aristotelem (name in the margin). It opens, "Plumbum est in altitudine sua ar. nigrum." It takes up in turn the *altitudo* of each metal and then discusses the next quality in the same way.

*Ibid.*, pp. 239-44, opens, "Arestotilus, Cum studii etc. Scias preterea quod propter longitudes"; at p. 241 it treats "de purificatione solis et lune" (i. e. gold and silver), at p. 243, "de separatione solis et lune." It ends with a paragraph about the composition of a golden seal.

<sup>26</sup> CLM 12026, 15th century, fol. 46-, "Alchymia est ars docens. . ./. . . Explicit dicto libri (*sic*) Aristotelis de theorica in rebus naturalibus; fol. 78, Liber Aristotelis de practica summae philosophiae, "Primo de separatione salis communis. . . ."

CLM 25110, 15th century, fols. 211-45, Liber Aristotelis de 70 preceptis.

CLM 25113, 16th century, fols. 10-28, A. de alchimia liber qui dicitur de 70 preceptis.

<sup>27</sup> Egerton 1984, fol. 141v; in the *De natura rerum*.

<sup>28</sup> Riccardian MS. 119, fols. 35v and 166r.

the later "Additions" to it, where Roger Bacon also is cited, is the specific title *Liber de perfecto magisterio* given as Aristotle's.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes works of alchemy were very carelessly ascribed to Aristotle, when it is perfectly evident from the works themselves that they could not have been written by him.<sup>30</sup>

The alchemical discoveries and writings ascribed to Aristotle are often associated in some way with Alexander the Great as well. In one manuscript John of Spain's translation of the *Secret of Secrets* is followed by a description of the virtues and compositions of four stones "which Aristotle sent to Alexander the Great."<sup>31</sup> It seems obvious that these are philosopher's stones and not natural gems. The *Liber ignium* of Marcus Grecus, composed in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, ascribes to Aristotle the discovery of two marvelous kinds of fires. One, which he discovered while traveling with Alexander the king, will burn for a year without cessation. The other, in the composition of which observance of the dog-days is requisite, "Aristotle asserts will last for nine years."<sup>32</sup> A collection of chemical experiments by a Nicholas, perhaps de Bodlys and of Poland and Montpellier, gives "a fire which Aristotle discovered with Alexander for obscure places."<sup>33</sup> A letter of Aristotle to Alexander in a collection of alchemical tracts is hardly worth noting, as it is only seven lines long, but it is interesting to observe that it cites Aristotle's *Meteorology*.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps by a mistake one or

<sup>29</sup> Caps. 22 and 57. It was printed with further "Additions" of its own in 1561 in *Verae alchemiae artisque metallicae citra aenigmata*, Basel, 1561, 11, 188-225.

<sup>30</sup> Thus in *Auriferae artis quam chemiam vocant antiquissimi authores*, Basel, 1572, pp. 387-99, a treatise which cites Morienus, Rasis, and Avicenna is printed as *Tractatus Aristotelis de Practica lapidis philosophici*. Apparently the only reason for ascribing it to Aristotle is that it cites "the philosopher" in its opening sentence, "Cum omne corpus secundum philosophum aut est elementum aut ab elementis generatum."

<sup>31</sup> Laud Misc. 708, 15th century, fol. 54.

<sup>32</sup> Berthelot (1893) I, 105 and 107.

<sup>33</sup> Ashmole 1448, 15th century, p. 123.

<sup>34</sup> Ashmole 1450, 15th century, fol. 8, "Epistola ad Alexandrum. O Alexander rector hominum. . . et audientes non intelligant."

Harleian 3703, 14th century, fols. 41r-42r, *Aristoteles ad alexandrum*. "In primo o elaxandor tradere tibi volo secretorum maximum secretum. . .," is a similar treatise.

two alchemical treatises are ascribed to Alexander rather than Aristotle.<sup>35</sup>

Aristotle's genuine works give even more encouragement to the pretensions of astrology than to those of alchemy. His opinion that the four elements were insufficient to explain natural phenomena and his theory of a fifth essence were favorable to the belief in occult virtue and the influence of the stars upon inferior objects. In his work on generation<sup>36</sup> he held that the elements alone were mere tools without a workman; the missing agent is supplied by the revolution of the heavens. In the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* he describes the stars and planets as eternal and acting as intermediaries between the prime Mover and inferior beings. Thus they are the direct causes of all life and action in our world. Charles Jourdain regarded the introduction of the *Metaphysics* into western Europe at the opening of the thirteenth century as a principal cause for the great prevalence of astrology from that time on, the other main cause being the translation of Arabian

<sup>35</sup> Ashmole 1384, mid 14th century, fols. 91v-93r, "Incipit Epistola Alexandri. Dicunt philosophi quod ars derivata sit ex creatione hominis cui omnia insunt . . . / . . . ex omni specie et colore nomine. Explicit epistola Alexandri." In the text itself, which is written in the manner of a master to a disciple, there is nothing to show that the work is by Alexander rather than Aristotle.

The following is apparently the same treatise but the closing words are different.

Riccard. 1165, 15th century, fols. 161-3, Liber Alexandri in scientia secretorum nature. "Dicitur quod hec ars derivata sit ex creacione hominis cui omnia insunt . . . / . . . et deo annuente ad optatum finem pervenies."

The next would seem to be another treatise than the foregoing.

Arezzo 232, 15th century, fols. 1-14, "Liber transmissus ab Alexandro rege ex libro Hermogenis."

Hermogenes, who is cited on the subject of the philosopher's stone in at least one MS of the Secret of Secrets (Bodleian 67, fol. 33v, "Et pater noster Hermogenes qui triplex est in philosophia optime philosophando dixit"), is apparently none other than Hermes Trismegistus. He is also mentioned in a brief work of *Aristotle to Alexander*; Harleian 3703, 14th century, fols. 41r-42r, ". . . hermogenes quod (*sic*) egypti multum commendunt et laudant et sibi attribuant omnem scientiam secretam et celerem (?)." The use of the reflexive pronoun in this sentence to refer to Hermogenes I would have the reader note, as it appears to illustrate a fairly common medieval usage.

<sup>36</sup> II, 9.

astrological treatises.<sup>37</sup> Jourdain did not duly appreciate the great hold which astrology already had in the twelfth century, but it is nevertheless true that in the new Aristotle astrology found further support.

Astrology crops out here and there in most of the spurious works extant under Aristotle's name, just as it does in the medieval learning everywhere. One section of a dozen pages in the *Theology* discusses the influence of the stars upon nature and the working of magic by making use of these celestial forces and the natural attraction which things have for one another. It regards artificial magic as a fraud, but natural and astrological magic as a reality. However, it is only the animal soul which is affected by magic and the man of impulse who is moved thereby; the thinking man can free himself from its influence by use of the rational soul. In the treatise, *De pomo*,<sup>38</sup> which seems not to have been translated into Latin until the thirteenth century under Manfred,<sup>39</sup> Aristotle on his death bed, holding in his hand an apple from which the treatise takes its title, is represented as telling his disciples why a philosopher need not fear death and repudiating the doctrines of the mortality of the soul and eternity of the universe. He also tells how the Creator made the spheres and placed lucid stars in each and gave them the virtue of ruling over this inferior world and causing good and evil and life or death. They do not, however, do this of themselves, but men at first thought so and erroneously worshiped the stars until the time of Noah who was the first to recognize the Creator of the spheres.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Excursions historiques*, etc., p. 562.

<sup>38</sup> I have read it in an incunabulum edition numbered IA.49867 in the British Museum.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 21v-23r, "Nos Manfredus divi augusti imperatoris frederici filius dei gratia princeps tharentinus honoris montis sancti angeli dominus et illustris regis conradi servi in regno sicilie baiulus . . . quem librum cum non inveniretur inter cristianos, quoniam eum in ebrayco legimus translatum de arabico in hebreum, sanitate rehabita ad eruditionem multorum et de hebreo lingua transtulimus in latinam in quo a compilatore quedam recitabilia inseruntur. Nam dictum librum aristotiles non notavit sed notatus ab aliis extitit qui causam hylaritatis seu mortis discere voluerunt sicut in libri serie continentur."

<sup>40</sup> Edition No. IA.49867 in the British Museum, fols. 25v-26r.

There are also attributed to Aristotle treatises primarily astrological. A "Book on the Properties of the Elements and of the Planets" is cited under his name by Peter of Abano at the end of the thirteenth century in his work on poisons,<sup>41</sup> by Peter d'Ailly in his *Vigintiloquium*<sup>42</sup> written in 1414, and by Pico della Mirandola, who declares it spurious, in his work against astrology written at the close of the fifteenth century. D'Ailly and Pico cite it in regard to the theory of great conjunctions; Abano, for a tale of Socrates and two dragons which we shall repeat later. It is probable that all these citations were from the paraphrase of and commentary on the work by Albertus Magnus<sup>43</sup> who accepted it as a genuine writing of Aristotle.

In a manuscript of the Cotton collection in the British Museum is a work of some length upon astrology ascribed to Aristotle.<sup>44</sup> After a discussion of general principles in which the planets, signs, and houses are treated, there are separate books upon the subjects of nativities,<sup>45</sup> and of elections and interrogations.<sup>46</sup> In a Paris manuscript a treatise on interrogations is ascribed in a marginal heading to "Aristoteles Milesius, a Peripatetic physician."<sup>47</sup> In the Cotton Manuscript in commentaries which then follow, and which are labelled as commentaries "upon the preceding treatise" Ptolemy is mentioned rather than Aristotle.<sup>48</sup> In an astrological manuscript of the fifteenth century at Grenoble written in French, works of Messahala and

<sup>41</sup> Cap. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Verbum 4.

<sup>43</sup> *De causis et proprietatibus elementorum*, IX, 585-653 in Bognet's edition of Albert's works; Albert himself in his treatise on Minerals cites the title as "Liber de causis proprietatum elementorum et planetarum."

<sup>44</sup> Cotton Appendix VI, fol. 8r, "liber iste est aristotelis in scientia ipsius astronomie."

<sup>45</sup> fol. 11v, "Alius liber de nativitatibus"; opens, "Superius prout potuimus promissorum partem explevimus."

<sup>46</sup> fol. 13r, "De electionibus alius liber;" opens, "Unde constellationibus egyptios imitantes nativitates satis dilucide dixerimus." This book intermingles the subjects of interrogations and elections, and ends at fol. 20v, "Finit liber de interrogationibus."

<sup>47</sup> BN 16208, fol. 76r—, "liber arystotelis milesii medici perypathetici in principiis iudiciorum astronomorum in interrogationibus."

<sup>48</sup> Cotton Appendix VI, fol. 20v, "Incipit commentum super praemissa scilicet praedictum librum" fol. 23v, "Expositio ad litteram superioris tractatus. Ptolomaeus summus philosophus et excellentissimus egyptiorum rex. . ."



Zaë translated for Charles V of France are preceded by "a book of judicial astrology according to Aristotle," which opens with "the preface of the last translator," and is in four parts.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps both the above-mentioned manuscripts contain, like a third manuscript at Munich, "The book of judgments which is said by Albert in his *Speculum* to be Aristotle's."<sup>50</sup> This work also occurs in a manuscript at Erfurt.<sup>51</sup> Roger Bacon was much impressed by an astrological treatise ascribed to Aristotle entitled *De impressionibus coelestibus*, and told Pope Clement IV that it was "superior to the entire philosophy of the Latins and can be translated by your order."<sup>52</sup>

A treatise found in two manuscripts of the Bodleian Library bears the titles, *Commentary of Aristotle on Astrology* and *The book of Aristotle from two hundred and fifty-five volumes of the Indians, containing a digest of all problems, whether pertaining to the sphere or to genethliology*.<sup>53</sup> From the text itself and the preface of Hugh Sanctellensis, the twelfth century translator from Arabic into Latin, addressed to his lord, Michael, bishop of Tarazona, we see that the work is neither entirely by Aristotle nor from the books of the Indians but is a compilation by someone who draws or pretends to draw from some 250 or 255 books<sup>54</sup> of the philosophers, including in addition to treatises by both Aristotle and the Indians, 13 books by Hermes, 13 by Doronius (Dorotheus?), 4 by Ptolemy, one by Democritus, two by Plato, 44 by the Babylonians, 7 by Antiochus, and others by authors whose names are unfamiliar to me and probably misspelled in

<sup>49</sup> Grenoble 814, fols. 1-24. "Cy commence le livre de jugemens d'astrologie selon Aristote. Le prologue du derrenier translateur. Aristote fist un livre de jugemens. . ."

<sup>50</sup> CLM 25010, 15-16th century, fols. 1-12, "liber de iudiciis qui ab Alberto in Speculo suo dicitur esse Aristotelis."

<sup>51</sup> Amplon. Quarto 377, 14th century, fols. 25-36, de iudiciis astrorum. Schum identifies it with the work ascribed to Aristotle by Albert in the *Speculum astronomiae*.

<sup>52</sup> Bridges (1897) I, 381, 389-90; Brewer (1859) p. 473.

<sup>53</sup> Digby, 159, 14th century, fols. 87, mutilated at the end. "Liber Aristotelis de ducentis lyque Indorum voluminibus, universalium questionum tam genecialium quam circularium summam continens." At fol. 5v, "Explicit prologus. Incipit Aristotelis commentum in astrologiam." This is the MS which I have chiefly followed.

Savile Latin 15 (Bernard 6561), 15th century, fols. 185-204v, is similar.

<sup>54</sup> In the text the number is given as ccl; see Digby 159, fol. 2r.

the manuscripts. In one of the works of Aristotle of which the present work is supposed to make use, there are said to have been described the nativities of twelve thousand men, collected in an effort to establish an experimental basis for astrology.<sup>56</sup> It is not so surprising that the present work bears Aristotle's name, since Hugh had promised his patron Michael, in the prologue to his translation of the *Geometry* of Hanus ben Hanne,<sup>56</sup> that if life endured and opportunity was given he would next set to work as ordered by his patron, not only upon Haly's commentaries on the *Quadripartite* and *Almagest* of Ptolemy, but also upon a certain general commentary by Aristotle on the entire art of astrology.

The *Secret of Secrets* of the pseudo-Aristotle is immediately followed in one manuscript by chapters or treatises addressed to Alexander and entitled, *Of ideas and forms, Of the impression of forms, and Of images and rings*.<sup>57</sup> The theory, very like that of Alkindi, is maintained that "all forms are ruled by supercelestial forms through the spirits of the spheres" and that incantations and images receive their force from the spheres. The seven planets pass on these supercelestial ideas and forms to our inferior world. By selecting proper times for operating one can work good or ill by means of the rays and impressions of the planets. The scientific investigator who properly concentrates and fixes intent, desire, and appetite upon the desired goal can penetrate hidden secrets of secrets and occult science both universal and particular. The writer goes on to emphasize the importance of understanding all the different positions and relationships of the heavenly bodies and also the distribution of terrestrial objects under the planets. He then describes an astrological image which will cause men to reverence and obey you, will repel your enemies in terror, afflict the envious, send visions, and perform other marvelous and stupefying feats too numerous to mention.

<sup>56</sup> Digby 159, fol. 2r.

<sup>56</sup> Savile 15, fol. 205r.

<sup>57</sup> Bodleian 67 (Bernard 2136), 14th century, fol. 54r, *De ydeis et formis*; fol. 54v, *De impressione formarum*; fol. 56v, *De ymaginibus et annulis*. This last item, though noted in Bernard, is or was omitted in the proof sheets of the new Summary Catalogue of Bodleian MSS now in preparation.

As the *Speculum astronomiae* of Albertus Magnus listed a *Book of Judgments* by Aristotle among deserving works of astronomy and astrology, so in its list of evil books dealing with necromantic images appear a treatise by Hermes addressed to Aristotle and opening, "Aristotle said, 'You have seen me, O Hermes,'" and a treatise ascribed to Aristotle with the sinister title, *Death of the Soul*, opening, "Said Aristotle to King Alexander, 'If you want to perceive.'" This treatise the *Speculum* calls "the worst of all" the evil books on images. Roger Bacon, too, alludes to it by title as filled with figments of the Magicians, but does not name Aristotle as author.<sup>58</sup> Peter of Abano in his *Lucidator* follows the *Speculum astronomiae* in listing it among depraved, obscene, and detestable works.<sup>59</sup>

Alexander himself, as well as Aristotle, had some medieval reputation as an astrologer. In the tenth and eleventh century manuscripts of the *Mathematica* of Alhandreus, supreme astrologer, "Alexander of Macedon" was more than once cited as an authority, and there were also given "Excerpts from the books of Alexander, astrologer, king," and a "Letter of Argafalan to Alexander." Different from this, moreover, was the *Mathematica* of Alexander, supreme astrologer, found in a thirteenth century manuscript, in which from the movements of the planets through the signs one is instructed how to foretell prosperous and adverse journeys, abundance and poverty, misfortune or death of a friend, or to discover stolen articles, sorceries, buried treasure and so forth.<sup>60</sup> A treatise on seven herbs related to the seven planets is sometimes ascribed to Alexander,<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Brewer (1859) p. 532, *De secretis*, cap. 3.

<sup>59</sup> BN 2598, fol. 101r, "liber quem Aristoteles attribuit Alexandro et quem nonnulli mortis intulit anime."

<sup>60</sup> Ashmole 369, late 13th century, fols. 77-84v, "Mathematica Alexandri summi astrologi. In exordio omnis creature herus huranicus inter cuncta sidera xii maluit signa fore / nam quod lineam designat eandem stellam occupat. Explicit." Cap. x, de inveniendis de prospero aut adverso itinere; xi, de copia et paupertate; xiv, de nece aut casu amici; xvi, de latrocinio inveniendis; xxiv, de pecunia in terra defossa; xxxviii, de noscendis maleficiis.

<sup>61</sup> In the preface to the *Kiranides*; in Montpellier 277, 15th century; and in Ashmole 1448, 15th century, pp. 44-45, "Virtutes 7 herbarum a septem planetis secundum Alexandrum Imperatorem." It is also embodied in some editions and MSS of the *Liber aggregationis* or *Experimenta* attributed to Albertus Magnus, where it is entitled, "Virtutes herbarum septem secundum Alexandrum Imperatorem."

but perhaps more often to Flaccus Africanus, and at least once to Aristotle.<sup>62</sup>

The association of astrological images with spirits of the spheres in one of the above-mentioned works ascribed to Aristotle has already brought us to the border-line of our next topic, Aristotle and spirits. Under this caption may be placed a work found in a fifteenth century manuscript.<sup>63</sup> It also is in part astrological and is associated with the name of Hermes as well as of Aristotle. Its title runs, *The book of the spiritual works of Aristotle, or the book Antimaquis, which is the book of the secrets of Hermes: wonderful things can be accomplished by means of this book and 'tis the ancient book of the seven planets.* The treatise opens, "To every people and clime pertains a group of spirits." It then maps out these regions of different spirits in accordance with the planets and signs of the zodiac. Apparently this is the same work as that which Hunain ibn Ishak translated into Arabic and of which he says, "Among the works of Aristotle which we have found and translated from Greek into Arabic was *The book of the Causes of Spirituals* which has Hermes for author. . . . It is the book in which Aristotle treats of the causes of spirituals, talismans, the art of their operation, and how to hinder it, ordered after the seven climates."<sup>64</sup> It was probably some such spurious work that William of Auvergne had in mind when he spoke of Aristotle's boast that a spirit had descended unto him from the sphere of Venus.<sup>65</sup>

No genuine work of Aristotle on vegetables or minerals has come down to us to accompany his celebrated *History of Animals*, but supposititious writings were soon found by the Arabs to fill this gap. On plants a brief treatise by Nicolaus Damascenus passed for Aristotle's. Alfred of Sarchel translated it from Arabic into Latin,<sup>66</sup> presumably before the close of the twelfth

<sup>62</sup> Ashmole, 1741, late 14th century, fol. 143, "Incipiunt virtutes septem herbarum Aristotilis. Et has quidam virtutes habent ipse septem herbe ab ab influenza 7 planetarum. Nam contingit unamquamque recipere virtutem suam a superioribus naturaliter. Nam dicit Aristotelis quod corpora inferiora reguntur per superiora.

<sup>63</sup> Sloane 3854, 15th century, fols. 105v-110.

<sup>64</sup> E. Blochet, "Études sur le Gnosticisme musulman," in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, IV, 76.

<sup>65</sup> *De universo*, II, ii, 39 and 98; II, iii, 6.

<sup>66</sup> One MS is Harleian 3487, 14th century, No. 11.

century, since he dedicated it to Roger of Hereford, and Albertus Magnus expanded its two short books into seven long ones in his *De vegetabilibus et plantis*. There also existed in Arabic a *Lapidary* ascribed to Aristotle,<sup>67</sup> which was cited as early as the ninth century by Costa ben Luca. Ruska believes the work to be of Syrian and Persian origin,<sup>68</sup> although one Latin text professes to have been originally translated from Greek into Syriac.<sup>69</sup> Valentin Rose regarded it as the basis of all subsequent Arabic mineralogy, but found only two Latin manuscripts of it.<sup>70</sup> Albertus Magnus in his *Minerals* confesses that, although he had sought diligently in divers regions of the world, he had seen only excerpts from Aristotle's work. But another writer of the thirteenth century, Arnold of Saxony, cites translations of Aristotle on stones both by "Diascorides," which would seem sheer nonsense, and by Gerard, presumably of Cremona. Gerard's translation occurs in one of Rose's manuscripts; the other seems to give a version translated from the Hebrew.

In Gerard's translation, a work marked by puerile Latin style, the *Lapidary* of Aristotle is about equally devoted to marvelous properties of stones and tales of Alexander the Great. After some general discussion of stones and their wonderful properties, particular gems are taken up. The *gesha* brings misfortune. Its wearer sleeps poorly, has many worries, many altercations and law-suits. If it is hung about a boy's

<sup>67</sup> V. Rose, "Aristoteles de lapidibus und Arnoldus Saxo," in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XVIII (1875) 321 et seq. More recently the *Lapidary* of Aristotle has been edited by J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles, nach der arabischen Handschrift*, Heidelberg, 1912, who gives both the Latin of the Liège MS and the text of the translation into Arabic by Luca ben Serapion from BN 2772, with a German translation of it.

<sup>68</sup> Ruska (1912) p. 43.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* p. 183, "Et ego transfero ipsum ex greco sermone in ydyoma su(r)-orum vel Syrorum."

<sup>70</sup> Liège 77, 14th century; printed by Rose (1875) pp. 349-82.

Montpellier 277, 15th century, fol. 127-; printed by Rose (1875) pp. 384-97.

The following treatises, also ascribed to Aristotle, I have not examined: Sloane 2459, 15th century, fols. 9v-16, de proprietatibus herbarum et lapidum; Vienna 2301, 15th century, fols. 81-2, "Isti sunt lapides quorum virtutes misit Aristotiles in scriptis maximo imperatori Alexandro." Perhaps the last may have reference to philosopher's stones, like the similar treatise of Aristotle to Alexander noted above in our discussion of the pseudo-Aristotelian alchemical treatises.

neck, it makes him drivel. "There is great occult force" in the magnet, and instructions are given how to set water on fire with it. Several stones possess the property of neutralizing spells and counteracting the work of demons. With another stone the Indians make many incantations. Vultures were the first to discover the virtue of the stone *filcrum coarton* in hastening delivery. When a female vulture was near death from the eggs hardening in her body, the male flew off to India and brought back this stone which afforded instant relief. Another stone is so soporific that suspended about the neck it induces a sleep lasting three days and nights, and the effects of which are thrown off with difficulty even on the fourth day, when the sleeper will awake but act as if intoxicated and still seem sleepier than anyone else. Another stone prevents a horse from whinnying, if suspended from his neck.

Other gems suggest stories of Alexander. Near the frontier of India in a valley guarded by deadly serpents whose mere glance was fatal were many precious gems. Alexander disposed of the serpents by erecting mirrors in which they might stare themselves to death, and he then secured the gems by employing the carcasses of sheep in a manner already described by Epiphanus. A somewhat similar tale is told of Socrates by Albertus Magnus in his commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian work on the properties of the elements and planets.<sup>71</sup> In the reign of Philip of Macedon, who is himself described as a philosopher and astronomer, the road between two mountains in Armenia became so poisoned that no one could pass. Philip vainly inquired the cause from his sages until Socrates came to the rescue and, by erecting a tower as high as the mountains with a steel mirror on top of it, saw two dragons polluting the air. The mere glance of these dragons was apparently not deadly, for men in air-tight armor went in and killed them. The same story is told by William of St. Cloud, who composed astronomical tables based upon his own observations from about 1285 to 1321, in which he detected errors in the earlier tables of Thebit, Toulouse, and Toledo.<sup>72</sup> In Peter of Abano's treatise on poi-

<sup>71</sup> *De causis elementorum*, etc., II, ii, 1 (Borgnet, IX, 643).

<sup>72</sup> *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXV, 65.

sons,<sup>73</sup> however, although he too cites the pseudo-Aristotle on the causes of the elements, the mirror has become a glass cave in which Socrates ensconces himself to observe the serpents. A *Lapidary* dedicated to King Wenzel II of Bohemia tells of Socrates' killing a dragon by use of quicksilver.<sup>74</sup> That Socrates also shared the medieval reputation of Aristotle and Plato for astrology and divination is seen from the *Prenostica Socratis Basilei*, a mode of divination found in the manuscripts.

Similar to Abano's tale of Socrates in the glass cave is the story told a century earlier by Alexander Neckam of Alexander himself. So sedulous an investigator of nature was the Macedonian, says Neckam, that he went down in a glass vessel to observe the natures and customs of the fishes. He would seem to have remained submerged for some time, since Neckam informs us that he took a cock with him in order to tell when it was dawn by the bird's crowing. This primitive submarine had at least a suggestion of war about it, since Neckam goes on to say that Alexander learned how to lay ambushes against the foe by observing one army of fishes attack another. Unfortunately, however, Alexander failed to commit to writing his observations, whether military or scientific, of deep-sea life; and Neckam grieves that very few data on the natures of fishes have come to his attention.<sup>75</sup>

Neckam's account differs a good deal from the story as told by the Arabian historian, Mas'ûdî, in the tenth century. There we read that, when Alexander was building the city of Alexandria, monsters came from the sea every night and overthrew the walls that had been built during the day. Night watchmen proved of no avail, so Alexander had a box made ten

<sup>73</sup> *De venenis*, ca. 5; probably written in 1316.

<sup>74</sup> Aristotle, *Lapidarius et Liber de physionomia*, Merszborg, 1473, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> *De naturis rerum*, II, 21. In an illustrated 13th century MS of the vernacular Romance of Alexander three pictures are devoted to his submarine. CU Trinity 1446, 1250 A. D., fol. 27r, "Comment Alisandre vesqui suz les ewes; a covered ship with windows under green water, Alexander and three men in it; fol. 27v, Des nefes ke sont apelees colifas; a similar ship in the water, no one visible in it; Coment Alisandre encercha la nature de pessons; Alexander and two men in the ship, fish and mermaid below." I have quoted James' description of the MS (III, 488). See also the volume of Lacroix on Science and Literature in the Middle Ages, fig. 87, for a view of Alexander descending to the bottom of the sea in a glass cask, from a 13th century MS.

cubits long and five wide, with glass sides fastened into the frame work by means of pitch and resin. He then entered the box with two draughtsmen, who, after it had been let down to the bottom of the sea, made exact drawings of the monsters, who had human bodies but the heads of beasts. From these sketches Alexander had images constructed and placed on pillars, and these magic figures served to keep off the monsters until the city was completed. But the effect apparently began to wear off and talismans had to be added on the pillars to prevent the monsters from coming and devouring the inhabitants, as they had begun to do again.<sup>76</sup> Another Arab, Abu-Shâker, of the thirteenth century, repeats a current tradition that Aristotle gave Alexander a box of wax soldiers which were nailed, with inverted spears and swords and severed bow-strings, face-downwards in the box, which in its turn was fastened by a chain. As long as the box remained in Alexander's possession and he repeated the formulae which Aristotle taught him whenever he took the box up or put it down, he would triumph over his foes in war.<sup>77</sup> This reminds one of the methods of warfare employed by Alexander's fabled natural father, Nectanebus.

While we are speaking of military matters, it may be noted that in a manuscript of the thirteenth century which once belonged to an Albertus Bohemus or Beham, dean of the church at Padua and seems to have been his note-book, we find between the *Secret of Secrets* of the pseudo-Aristotle and a treatise on the significations of the moon in the signs "a delineation of a brazen horn made with marvelous art by which Alexander in time of war summoned his army from a distance of sixty miles."<sup>78</sup>

But to return to other tales of Alexander in the *Lapidary*. Once he saw afar enchanters and enchantresses who slew and wounded the men of his army by their diabolical power until Alexander prayed to God who revealed two stones which counter-acted the sorcery. On another occasion when by Alexander's order his barons had carried off certain gems, during the night following they suffered much insult from demons and were sore afraid, since sticks and stones were thrown about the camp by

<sup>76</sup> Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 1899, pp. 152-6; Mas'ûdi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. B. de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, 1861, II, 425 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Budge (1899) pp. 95-6.

<sup>78</sup> CLM 2574b, bombyc. 13th century, fol. 69v.



unseen hands and men were beaten without knowing whence the blows came. It thus became apparent that the demons cherished those gems as their especial property and were accustomed to perform occult operations with them of which they did not wish men to learn the secret. Alexander found that these gems would protect him from any beast, serpent, or demon, although the nocturnal experience of his barons would scarcely seem to support this last point. On a third occasion his army were held motionless and gazed open-mouthed at certain stones, until a bird fluttered down and covered the gems with its outstretched wings. Then Alexander had his followers close their eyes and carry the stones away under cover and place them on top of the wall of one of his cities so that no one might scale the wall to spy upon the town.

Yet another curious story of Alexander and a stone is repeated by Peter of Abano in his work on poisons from a treatise "On the Nature of Serpents" which he ascribes to Aristotle. Alexander always wore a certain stone in his belt to give him good luck in his battles, but on his return from India, while bathing in the Euphrates, he removed the belt, whereupon a serpent suddenly appeared, bit the stone out of the belt, and vomited it into the river. Deprived of his talisman, Alexander presently met his death.<sup>79</sup>

Another *Lapidary*, printed as Aristotle's at Merseburg in 1473, is really a compilation of previous medieval works on the subject with the addition of some items derived from the personal knowledge or experience of the author. It was composed "to the honor of almighty God and the glory and perpetual memory of that virtuous and most glorious prince, Wenzel II, King of Bohemia" (1278-1305). As the treatise itself states,

<sup>79</sup> Very similar is the story in the Gilgamesh epic, a work "far more ancient than Genesis," of a serpent stealing a life-giving plant from Gilgamesh while he was bathing in a well or brook. The plant, which had been revealed to Gilgamesh by the deified Ut-napishtim, "had the miraculous power of renewing youth and bore the name 'the old man becomes young.'" Sir James Frazer (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 1918, I, 50-51) follows Rabbi Julian Morgenstern ("On Gilgamesh-Epic, XI, 274-320," in *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, XXIX, 1915, p. 284 ff.) in connecting this incident with the serpent and tree of life in the Biblical account of the fall of man, and gives further examples from the folklore of primitive peoples of other jealous animals, such as the dog, frog, duck, and lizard, perverting divine good tidings or gifts to man to their own profit.

"the Lapidary of Aristotle in the recent translation from the Greek" is only one of its sources along with Avicenna, Constantinus Africanus, Albertus Magnus, and others.

Another work which claims Aristotelian authorship only in its title is the *Chiromancy of Aristotle*, printed at Ulm in 1490, which quotes freely from Albertus Magnus and Avicenna. There are also brief tracts on chiromancy ascribed to Aristotle in manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth century,<sup>80</sup> Forster has identified Polemon as the author of the Greek treatise on physiognomy ascribed to Aristotle.<sup>81</sup> The art of physiognomy of course professed to read character from the face or other parts of the body, and chiromancy which we have just mentioned is really a branch of it. In Latin translation the treatise was accepted as Aristotle's by such medieval schoolmen as Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus. There are many manuscripts of it in the British Museum, including one which perhaps dates back to the twelfth century.<sup>82</sup> Its popularity continued long after the invention of printing, as is shown by separate editions of it brought out at Paris in 1535 and at Wittenberg in 1538, and by commentaries upon it<sup>83</sup> published at Paris in 1611, at Bologna in 1621, and at Toulouse in 1636. Besides such separate manuscripts and editions of it, it was also regularly embodied in the numerous copies of the pseudo-Aristotelian work to which we next turn.

Most widely influential upon the medieval mind of all the spurious works attributed to Aristotle was the *Secret of Secrets*. Förster enumerated two hundred and seven Latin manuscripts of it and his list is probably far from complete.<sup>84</sup> Gaster calls it

<sup>80</sup> Sloane 2030, fols. 125-26; Additional 15236, fols. 154-60; BN, 7420A (14th century) No. 16.

<sup>81</sup> Richard Förster, *De Aristotelis quae feruntur physiognomicis recensendis*, Kiliae, 1882; *De transl. latin. physiognom.*, Kiliae, 1884; *Scriptores Physiognomici* Lipsiae, 1893-1894.

<sup>82</sup> Cotton Julius D-viii, fol. 126 ff.; Harleian 3969; Egerton 847; Sloane 2030, fol. 95-103; Additional 15236, fol. 160 (in abbreviated form); Sloane 3281, fols. 19-23; Sloane 3584; Egerton 2852, fol. 115v. et seq.

<sup>83</sup> There is a manuscript copy of a commentary on it of the fourteenth century at Erfurt, Amplon. Quarto 186. See Schum's catalog for MSS. of the Physiognomia itself in the Amplonian collection.

<sup>84</sup> R. Förster, *De Aristotelis quae feruntur secreta secretorum Commentatio*, Kiliae, 1888; *Handschriften und Ausgaben des pseudo-Aristotelischen Secretum secretorum*, in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, VI (1889) 1-22, 57-76.

"The most popular book of the middle ages.<sup>85</sup> This is not surprising since it purports to sum up in concise form what the greatest of ancient philosophers deemed it essential for the greatest of ancient rulers to know, and since under the alluring pretense of revealing great secrets in parable and riddle it really masses together a number of the best-tested and most often repeated maxims of personal hygiene and practical philosophy, and some of the superstitious to which men have shown themselves most inclined. Every European library of consequence contains a number of copies of it. It was translated into almost every European language and was often versified, as in Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees of old Philisoffres*.<sup>86</sup> Albertus Magnus cited it as Aristotle's;<sup>87</sup> Roger Bacon wrote a rather jejune commentary upon it.<sup>88</sup> It was printed a number of times before 1500.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> M. Gaster, in his Introduction to a Hebrew version of the Secret of Secrets, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1908, part 2), pp. 1065-84; for the Hebrew text and an English translation, *Ibid.* (1907) pp. 879-913 and (1908, part 1) pp. 111-62.

<sup>86</sup> Ed. Robert Steele, EETS LXVI, London, 1894. Volume LXXIV contains three earlier English versions. There are numerous MSS of it in Italian in the Riccardian and Palatini collections at Florence.

<sup>87</sup> *De somno et vigilia*, 1, ii, 7.

<sup>88</sup> Tanner 116, 13th century; Corpus Christi 149, 15th century. Recently edited, together with Bacon's peculiar arrangement of the text, by Robert Steele, 1902, as Fasc. V of his *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*.

<sup>89</sup> There are considerable discrepancies between the different early printed editions, which differ in length, order of arrangement, tables of contents, and number of chapters. And in the same edition the chapter headings given in the course of the text may not agree with those in the table of contents, which as a rule, even in the MSS, does not fully cover the subject-matter of the text. The different printers have probably used different manuscripts for their editions rather than made any new additions of their own. The following editions are those to which references will be made in the following pages.

An edition printed at Cologne about 1480, which I examined at the Harvard University Library, divides the text into only thirty chapters and seems imperfect.

An edition of about 1485, which I examined at the British Museum, where it was numbered IA.10756, has 74 chapters, and the headings of its 25th and 30th chapters, for instance, agree with those of the 11th and 13th chapters in the Harvard copy.

A third edition of Paris, 1520 has no numbered chapters and contains passages not found in the two earlier editions.

As a check upon these printed texts I have examined the three following MSS, two of the 13th, and one of the 14th century. Of these Egerton 2676

The *Secret of Secrets* is believed to be the outcome of a gradual process of compilation from very varied sources, and to have reached something like its present form by the seventh or eighth century of our era. But its chapters on physiognomy, as we have seen, go back to Polemon's treatise, and part of its medical discussion is said to be borrowed from Diocles Caristes who wrote about 320 B.C. Some Graeco-Persian treatise is thought to be the basis of its discussion of kingship. It is also believed to have appropriated bits from popular literature to its own uses. In Arabic there is extant both a longer and a shorter version, and Gaster has edited a Hebrew text which is apparently derived from a different Arabic original than any Latin text. The process of successive compilation, or at least, re-editing and repeated translation which the work underwent is suggested by a series of prologues which occur at the beginning. Following the preface of the Latin translator and the table of contents comes what is called "the prologue of a certain doctor in commendation of Aristotle,"<sup>90</sup> in which omnipotent God is prayed to guard the king and some anonymous editor states that he has executed the mandate enjoined upon him to procure the moral work on royal conduct called *The Secret of Secrets*, which Aristotle, chief of philosophers, composed. After some talk about Aristotle and Alexander a second prologue begins with the sentence, "John who translated this book, son of a patrician, most skilful and faithful interpreter of languages, says." This John appears to have been Yuhanna ibn el-Batriq and what he says is that he searched the world over until he came to an oracle of the sun which Esculapides had constructed. There he found a solitary abstemious sage who

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corresponds fairly closely throughout to the edition numbered IA.10756 in the British Museum.

Egerton 2676, 13th century, fols. 3-52

BN 6584, 13th century, fols. 1r-32v

Bodleian 67, 14th century, fols. 1-53v, is much like the preceding MS.

<sup>90</sup> BN 6584, fol. 1v, "De prologo cuiusdam doctoris in commendatione aristotelis." See also Digby 228, 14th century, fol. 27, where a scribe has written in the upper margin, "In isto libello primo ponitur prologus, deinde tabula contentorum in libro, deinde prologus cuiusdam doctoris in commendationem Aristotelis, deinde prologus Iohannis qui transtulit librum istum. . . ." In Egerton 2676, fol. 6r, "Deus omnipotens custodiat regem. . . ."

presented him with this book which he translated from Greek into Chaldaic and thence into Arabic. This passage reminds one of Harpocration's prefatory remarks to his daughter in the *Kiranides*; indeed, it is quite in the usual style of apocryphal writings.

In the matter of the Latin translation we are on somewhat more certain ground. John of Spain in the first half of the twelfth century seems to have translated only the medical portion.<sup>91</sup> Manuscripts of this partial translation are relatively few,<sup>92</sup> and it was presently superseded by the complete translation made either in the twelfth or early thirteenth century<sup>93</sup> by Philip, "the least of his clerics" for "his most excellent lord, most strenuous in the cult of the Christian religion, Guido of Valencia, glorious pontiff of the city of Tripoli." Philip goes on to say in his dedicatory preface that it was when he was with Guido in Antioch that they found "this pearl of philosophy, . . . this book which contains something useful about almost every science," and which it pleased Guido to have translated from Arabic into Latin. Although the various printed editions and manuscripts of the *Secret of Secrets* in Latin vary considerably, they regularly are preceded by this ascription of the Latin translation to Philip, and usually by the other prologues aforementioned. Who this Philip was, other than a cleric of Tripoli, is still undetermined. If he was the same as the papal physician whom Alexander III in 1177 proposed to send on a mission to Prester John, he had probably made his translation before that date. J. Wood Brown would identify him with Philip of Salerno,

<sup>91</sup> Steinschneider (1905) p. 42, it is true, says, "Ob Joh. selbst das ganze Secretum übersetzt habe, ist noch nicht ermittelt;" but the following passage, cited by Giacosa (1901) p. 386 from Bibl. Angelica Rome, Cod. 1481, 12th century, fols. 144-146v, indicates that he translated only the medical part.

"Cum de utilitate corporis olim tractarim et a me quasi essem medicus vestra nobilitas quereret ut brevem libellum et de observatione diete et de continentia cordis in qualibus se debent contineri qui sanitatem corporis cupiunt servare accidit ut dum cogitarem vestre iussioni obedire huius rei exempliar aristotelis philosophi Alexandro dictum repente in mente occurreret quod excerpti de libro qui arabice vocatur ciralacerar id est secretum secretorum que fecit fieri predictus Aristotelis philosophus Alexandro regi magno de dispositione regni in quo continentur multa regibus utilia. . . ."

<sup>92</sup> Ed. H. Souchier, *Denkmäler provenzal Lit.*, Halle, 1883, I, 473 et seq.

<sup>93</sup> Thirteenth century MSS of Philip's translation are numerous: I have not noted a 12th century one.

a royal notary whose name appears in 1200 on deeds in the kingdom of Sicily.<sup>94</sup>

Returning to Philip's preface to Guido, it may be noted that he states that Latins do not have the work and it is rare among the Arabs.<sup>95</sup> His translation is a free one since the Arabic idiom is different from the Latin. Aristotle wrote this book in response to the petition of King Alexander his disciple who demanded that Aristotle should either come to him or faithfully reveal the secrets of certain arts, namely, the motion, operation, and power of the stars in astronomy, the art of alchemy, the art of knowing natures and working enchantments, and the art of geomancy. Aristotle was too old to come in person, and although it had been his intention to conceal in every way the secrets of the said sciences, yet he did not venture to contradict the will and command of so great a lord. He hid some matters, however, under enigmas and figurative locutions. For Alexander's convenience he divided the work into ten books, each of which is divided into chapters and headings. Philip adds that for his readers' convenience he has collected these headings at the beginning of the work and a table of contents follows.<sup>95a</sup> Then come the two older prologues which we have already described, next a letter of Aristotle to Alexander on the extrinsic and intrinsic

<sup>94</sup> Brown (1897) pp. 19-20, 36-7. But not much reliance can be placed on the inclusion of this name "Master Philip of Tripoli" in a title which Brown (p. 20) quotes from a De Rossi MS, "The Book of the Inspections of Urine according to the opinion of the Masters, Peter of Berenico, Constantine Damascenus, and Julius of Salerno; which was composed by command of the Emperor Frederick, Anno Domini 1212, in the month of February, and was revised by Master Philip of Tripoli and Master Gerard of Cremona at the orders of the King of Spain" etc., since Gerard of Cremona at least had died in 1187 and there was no "king of Spain" until 1479.

Brown does not give the Latin for the passage, but if the date 1212 could be regarded as Spanish era and turned into 1174 A.D., Gerard of Cremona would still be living, the emperor would be Frederick Barbarossa instead of Frederick II, and Master Philip of Tripoli might be the same Philip whom Pope Alexander III proposed to send to Prester John in 1177.

<sup>95</sup> BN 6584, fol. 1r, "Hunc librum quo carebant latini eo quod apud paucissimos arabies reperitur transtuli cum magno labore. . . ." A considerable portion of Philip's preface is omitted in the Harvard edition.

<sup>95a</sup> The preliminary table of contents, however, gives only chapter headings, which in BN 6584 are 82 in number, but the beginnings of the ten books are indicated in the text in BN 6584 as follows. The numbers in parentheses

sic causes of his work,<sup>96</sup> and then with a chapter which is usually headed *Distinctio regum* or *Reges sunt quatuor* begins the discussion of kingship which is the backbone of the work.

It is evident from Philip's preface that occult science also forms a leading feature in the work as known to him. Gaster, who contended that the Hebrew translation from the Arabic which he edited was as old as either John of Spain's or Philip's Latin translations, although the oldest of the four manuscripts which he collated for his text is dated only in 1382 A.D., made a rather misleading statement when he affirmed, "Of the astrology looming so largely in the later European recensions the Hebrew has only a faint trace."<sup>97</sup> As a matter of fact some of the printed editions contain less astrology than the thirteenth century manuscripts, while Gaster's Hebrew version has much more than "a faint trace" of astrology. But more of this later.

On the other hand, I cannot fully subscribe to Steinschneider's characterization of *The Secret of Secrets* as "a wretched compilation of philosophical mysticism and varied superstition."<sup>98</sup> Of superstition there is a great deal, but of philosophical mysticism there is practically none. Despite the title and the promise in Philip's preface of enigmatic and figurative language, the tone of the text is seldom mystical, and its philosophy is of a very practical sort.

are the corresponding leaves in Bodleian 67 which, however, omits mention of the book and its number except in the case of the fourth book.

fol. 3v(5r), Incipit liber primus. Epistola ad Alexandrum

fol. 6r, Secundus liber de dispositione Regali et reverentia Regis

Fol. 12r (18v), Incipit liber tertius. Cum hoc corpus corruptibile sit eique accidit corruptio. . . .

fol. 22r (36r), Incipit liber quartus. transtulit magister philippus tripolitanus de forma iusticie

fol. 28r (44v), Liber Quintus de scribis et scriptoribus secretorum

fol. 28r (45r), Liber Sextus de nuntiis et informationibus ipsorum

fol. 28v (46v), Liber Septimus de hiis qui sr' intendunt et habent curam subditorum

fol. 29r (47r), Liber Octavus de dispositione ductoris sui et de electione bellatorum et procerum inferiores.

fol. 29v (48r), Liber Nonus de regimine bellatorum et forma aggrediendi bellum et pronatationibus eorundem

fol. 30v (50v), Sermo de phisionomia cuiuslibet hominis.

<sup>96</sup> It is omitted in some printed editions but occurs in both 13th century MSS which I examined.

<sup>97</sup> Gaster (1908) p. 1076.

<sup>98</sup> Steinschneider (1905) p. 60.

Nor can *The Secret of Secrets* be dismissed as merely "a wretched compilation." Those portions which deal with kingcraft and government display shrewdness and common sense, worldly wisdom and knowledge of human nature, are not restricted by being written from any one premise or view-point, and often evince real enlightenment. Those historians who have declared the love of fame a new product of the Italian Renaissance should have read the chapter on fame in this most popular book of the middle ages, where we find such statements as that royal power ought not to be desired for its own sake but for the sole purpose of achieving fame. Other noteworthy utterances indicative of the tone and thought of the book are that "the intellect . . . is the root of all things praiseworthy"; that kings should cultivate the sciences; that liberality involves respect for other's property; that "war destroys order and devastates the lands and turns everything to chaos"; that no earthly ruler should shed blood, which is reserved for God alone, but limit his punishments to imprisonment, flogging, and torture; that the king, as Chief Justice Coke later told James I, is under the law; that taxes upon merchants should be light so that they will remain in the country and contribute to its prosperity; that his people are a king's true treasury and that he should acquaint himself with their needs and watch over their interests.

From the medical passages of the book one would infer that the art of healing at first developed more slowly than the art of ruling in the world's history. The medical theory of the *Secret of Secrets* is not of an advanced or complex sort, but is a combination of curious notions such as that vomiting once a month is beneficial and sensible ideas such as that life consists of natural heat and that it is very important to keep the abdomen warm and the bowels moving regularly. The well-known apothegm of Hippocrates is quoted, "I would rather eat to live than live to eat."

Much of the advice offered to Alexander by Aristotle in *The Secret of Secrets* is astrological. Among those studies which the king should promote the only one specifically mentioned is astrology, which considered "the course of the year and of the stars, the coming festivals and solemnities of the month, the course of the planets, the cause of the shortening and lengthening of days and nights, the signs of the stars which determine the future and many other things which pertain to prediction of



the future.<sup>99</sup> Alexander is adjured "not to rise up or sit down or eat or drink or do anything without consulting a man skilled in the art of astronomy."<sup>100</sup> Later the two parts of astronomy are distinguished, that is astronomy and astrology in our sense of the words. Alexander is further warned to put no faith in the utterances of those stupid persons who declare that the science of the stars is too difficult to master. No less stupid is the argument of others who affirm that God has foreseen and foreordained everything from eternity and that consequently all things happen of necessity and it is therefore of no advantage to predict events which cannot be avoided. For even if things happened of necessity, it would be easier to bear them by foreknowing and preparing for them beforehand, just as men make preparations against the coming of a cold winter—the familiar contention of Ptolemy. But *The Secret of Secrets* also believes that one should pray God in his mercy to avert future evils and ordain otherwise, "For He has not so ordained things that to ordain otherwise derogates in any respect from his Providence" But this is not so approved an astrological doctrine. Later in the work Alexander is once more urged never to take medicine or open a vein except with the approval of his astronomers,<sup>101</sup> and directions are given as to the constellations under which bleeding should be performed and also concerning the taking of laxatives with reference to the position of the moon in the signs of the zodiac.<sup>102</sup> Later the work discusses the relations of the four elements and of various herbs to the seven planets,<sup>103</sup> and in the next to last chapter Alexander is advised to conduct his wars under the guidance of astrology.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Cap. 11 (Harvard copy); cap. 25 (BM. IA.10756); Egerton 2676, fol. 12r; BN 6584, fol. 9v.

<sup>100</sup> Cap. 13 (Harvard copy); cap. 30 (BM. IA.10756); Egerton 2676, fol. 13r; BN 6584, fol. 10r; also in Gaster's Hebrew text.

<sup>101</sup> Egerton 2676, fol. 32r.; cap. 62 (BM. IA.10756); fol. xxxiii. (Paris, 1520). BN 6584, fol. 19v.

<sup>102</sup> The Paris, 1520 edition then goes on to explain the effects of incantations and images upon astrological grounds, but this passage seems to be missing from the earlier printed editions and the thirteenth century manuscripts. Roger Bacon, however, implies that incantations were present in Philip's original translation: Steele (1920) 258-9.

<sup>103</sup> This passage is found both in Egerton MS. 2676 and in BM. IA.10756. BN 6584, fol. 21r-v. Bodl. 67, fol. 32v-35v.

<sup>104</sup> Cap. 73 (BM. IA.10756); fols. 44v-45r. (Paris, 1520). BN 6584, fol. 30v.

There is much indulging in astrological theory in the midst of the chapter on Justice, and the constitution of the universe is set forth from the first and highest simple spiritual substance down through the nine heavens and spheres to the lowest inferiors. To illustrate the power of the stars the story is presently told of two boys,<sup>105</sup> one a weaver's son, the other a royal prince of India. Sages who were chance guests in the weaver's house at the time of the child's birth noted that his horoscope was that of a courtier high in royal councils but kept their discovery to themselves. The boy's parents vainly tried to make a weaver of him, but even beatings were in vain; he was finally allowed to follow his natural inclination, secured an education, and became in time a royal governor. The king's son, on the contrary, despite his royal birth and the fact that his father sent him through all his provinces to learn the sciences, would take no interest in anything except mechanics conformably to his horoscope.

In *The Secret of Secrets* the pseudo-Aristotle refers Alexander for the virtues of gems and herbs to his treatises on stones and plants, presumably those which we have already described. He does not entirely refrain from discussion of such marvelous properties in the present work, however, mentioning the use of the virtues of stones in connection with incantations. We also again hear of stones which will prevent any army from withstanding Alexander or which will cause horses to whinny or keep them from doing so; and of herbs which bring true or false dreams or cause joy, love, hate, honor, reverence, courage, and inertia.<sup>106</sup> One recipe reads, "If you take in the name of someone seven grains of the seeds of the herb called androsimon, and hold them in his name when Lucifer and Venus are rising so that their rays touch him (or them?), and if you give him those seven grains to eat or pulverized in drink, fear of you will ever abide in his heart and he will obey you for the rest of his life."<sup>107</sup> Astrological images are discussed at least in some versions.<sup>108</sup>

The extreme powers attributed to herbs and stones in *The Secret of Secrets* aroused some skepticism among its Latin readers

<sup>105</sup> BN 6584, fol. 21r; also in Gaster's Hebrew version; cap. 26 in the Harvard copy.

<sup>106</sup> Gaster, pp. 116, 160-62; Egerton 2676, fols. 34r-35r; cap. 66 (BM. IA.10756); fol. 37v. (Paris, 1520). BN 6584, fol. 20r-22r.

<sup>107</sup> Egerton 2676, fol. 36v; BN 6584, fol. 22r.

<sup>108</sup> Paris (1520) fol. 37; Steele (1920) lxii, 157-63, 252-61; Gaster, p. 159.

of the thirteenth century.<sup>109</sup> Geoffrey of Waterford, a Dominican from Ireland who died about 1300, translated *The Secret of Secrets* into French. He criticized, however, its assertions concerning the virtues of stones and herbs as more akin to fables than to philosophy, a fact of which, he adds, all clerks who know Latin well are aware. He wonders why Alexander had to win his battles by hard fighting when Aristotle is supposed to inform him in this book of a stone which will always rout the enemy. Geoffrey decides that such false statements are the work of the translators and that Aristotle is the author only of what is well said or reasonable in the work.

Something is said in *The Secret of Secrets* of the occult properties and relative perfection of numbers, and as usual the preference is for the numbers, three, four, seven, and ten.<sup>110</sup> The Hebrew version adds a puerile method of divining who will be victor in a battle by a numerical calculation based upon the letters in the names of the generals. The treatment of alchemy is rather confusing and inconsistent. A recipe for the Philosopher's stone is given, but in some versions Alexander is warned that *Chimia* or *Kimia* is not a true science.<sup>111</sup>

We may conclude our picture of the work's contents with two of its stories, namely, concerning the poisonous maiden and the Jew and the Magus. A beautiful maiden was sent from India to Alexander with other rich gifts. But she had been fed upon poison from infancy "until she was of the nature of a snake. And had I not perceived it," continues Aristotle in the Hebrew version, "for I suspected the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by tests that she would kill thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she surely would have killed thee."<sup>112</sup> This venomous maiden is also alluded

<sup>109</sup> HL. XXI, 216 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Caps. 68 and 72 (BM. IA.10756); cap. 68 appears in Egerton 2676; cap. 72 in Gaster's text and in the Paris (1520) edition. I could not find the passage in BN 6584.

<sup>111</sup> BN 6584, fol. 20r-v; Egerton 2676, fol. 33v.-34r.; cap. 65 (BM. IA. 10756); fols. 36v.-37r., and fol. 38r. (Paris, 1520); Gaster, 159-60. The warning against alchemy does not appear in the two 13th century MSS but only the printed edition of 1520 and Gaster's Hebrew version.

<sup>112</sup> Gaster, p. 127; cap. 12 (Harvard copy); also in BM. IA.10756, and BN 6584, fol. 10r, where Aristotle seems to detect the venomous nature of the maiden by magic art—"Et nisi ego illa hora sagaciter inspexissem in ipsam et arte magica iudicassem. . ."; while it is her mere bite that kills men, as Alexander afterwards proved experimentally.

to in various medieval discussions of poisons. Peter of Abano mentions her in his *De venenis*.<sup>113</sup> Gilbert of England, following no doubt Gerard of Cremona's translation of Avicenna, cites Ruffus rather than the Pseudo-Aristotle concerning her and says nothing of her relations to Alexander, but adds that animals who approached her spittle were killed by it.<sup>114</sup> In "Le Secret aux philosophes," a French work of the closing thirteenth century, where the story is told at considerable length, Socrates rather than Aristotle saves Alexander from the poisonous maid.<sup>115</sup>

In the other story a Magus is represented in a much more favorable light than magicians generally were; he seems to represent rather one of the Persian sages. He was traveling on a mule with provisions and met a Jew traveling on foot. Their talk soon turned to their respective religions and moral standards. The Magus professed altruism; the Jew was inclined to get the better of all men except Jews. When these principles had been stated, the Jew requested the Magus, since he professed to observe the law of love, to dismount and let him ride the mule. No sooner had this been done than the Jew, true to his law of selfishness and hate, made off with both mule and provisions. This misfortune did not lead the Magus to lose his faith in God, however, and as he plodded along he by and by came again upon the Jew who had fallen off the mule and broken his neck. The Magus then mercifully brought the Jew to the nearest town where he died, while the king of the country made the Magus one of his trusted ministers of state.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Cap. 3.

<sup>114</sup> Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium medicinae*, Lyons, 1510, fol. 348v.

<sup>115</sup> HL. XXX, 569 ff. "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen" is the theme of a long monograph by W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1905) pp. 156-277.

<sup>116</sup> BN 6584, fol. 27; IA. 10756, cap. 68; also in Paris, 1520 edition, etc. The various writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who have been cited in this article, and the whole subject of medieval occult science, will be treated of more fully in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science and their Relation to Christian Thought during the first thirteen centuries of our era*, which is now in press.

## THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS IN TIECK'S WRITINGS

The writings of Ludwig Tieck abound in evidences of a lively interest in the lower middle class. How can we account for the indifference of writers and critics to his views on this subject? The explanation is not difficult. The plots of only three of Tieck's writings deal primarily with lower middle class situations, and in most of his works the interest centres about the plot or the moral rather than about the delineation of character. When, however, a character is clearly and sympathetically drawn, it almost invariably belongs to the lower group of society. Highly individualized characters belonging to this class form the centre of the action in Abraham Tonelli, Der Runenberg and Der junge Tischlermeister; in other works they frequently overshadow the nominal hero of the story. Although the chief personages of the Novellen belong to the moneyed or aristocratic group of society, they are for the most part mere lay figures upon which the action is hung, or oftener yet the objects of Tendenzsatire. Instances also occur in the plot or dialogue of many of Tieck's works, in which, neglecting the growing spiritual leadership of the upper bourgeoisie of his own day, he ascribes much of its culture and some of its ideals to the lower middle class.

Tieck's treatment of his theme contains much which indicates the inadequacy of two common definitions of the term "romantic."<sup>1</sup> Wide currency has been attained by the statement of Heinrich Heine that the German Romanticists, in so far as they were concerned with social questions, were attracted, as a result of their interest in the Middle Ages, chiefly by the institution of chivalry. With special reference to Tieck, Heine

<sup>1</sup> The writer is not ignorant that, as A. W. Porterfield has pointed out in *Some Popular Misconceptions Concerning German Romanticism (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 479 ff.)*, inadequacy is a fault inherent in most definitions of this term; "that Heine was at (the) time (at which he wrote his essay on the Romantic School) an errant journalist, that suggestiveness and unreliability were dancing partners in his book, that he himself was honestly interested in Mediaeval legends"; or, with regard to the second of the two definitions here discussed, that from 1790-1798 Tieck's writings were mainly rationalistic, from 1798-1804 romantic and largely

wrote in his famous essay on *Die romantische Schule*: "Wie Herr Tieck und die Schlegel . . . gegen Männer, die im Leben und in der Litteratur eine ehrsame Bürgerlichkeit beförderten, die grimmigste Abneigung hegten; wie sie diese Bürgerlichkeit als philisterhafte Kleinmisere persiflierten, und dagegen beständig das grosse Heldenleben des feudalistischen Mittelalters gerühmt und gefeiert, so hat auch Aristophanes, . . . "u.s.w."<sup>2</sup> Heine himself perceived a change in Tieck's attitude during his later period of literary activity. "Eine merkwürdige Veränderung begiebt sich aber jetzt mit Herrn Tieck, und diese befindet sich in seiner dritten Manier, . . . Der ehemalige Enthusiast, welcher einst . . . nur Mittelalter, nur feudalistisches Mittelalter atmete, . . . dieser trat jetzt auf als . . . Darsteller des modernsten Bürgerlebens, . . . So sehen wir ihn in einer Reihe neuerer Novellen."<sup>3</sup>

In direct opposition to the above statements, the comparisons which Tieck from time to time drew between the lower middle class and the nobility will be shown to be invariably favorable to the former. Such comparisons form the chief topic not only of the *Novellen*, *Die Ahnenprobe* (1832) and *Eigensinn und Laune* (1835) but of a work of such early origin as *Der junge Tischlermeister* (conceived before Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, composed 1811-1835), besides appearing incidentally in numerous other writings, early as well as late. These two social groups, the lower middle class and the nobility, which he regarded as the chief surviving representatives of the great mediæval classes, Tieck desired to see remain outwardly distinct, while at the same time he affirmed the equal capacity of both with regard to mental and moral attainments. The increased realism of his later works lessened his favor for the

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mediæval in subject-matter, from 1804-1820 romantic and much less mediæval, and that the period from 1820-1853 might be called one of incipient realism. The chief emphasis in this paper is laid not upon an attempt to discredit any given definition of romanticism or to show how Tieck's attitude toward the lower middle class was related to that of German authors of earlier or later date, but upon an explanation of this attitude, aided by its comparison with certain definitions of romanticism and with the attitude of other men toward the same topic.

<sup>2</sup> *Heinrich Heines Gesammelte Werke*. Hg. von Gustav Karpeles. 5. Bd. Berlin, 1887. pp. 210, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 222.

nobility without appreciably altering his conception of the lower middle class. In the *Novelle, Eigensinn und Laune* he states that this class alone is true to its own best traditions, whereas the isolated and privileged position of the nobility constitutes a menace to its moral strength.

Of more recent date than the definition of romanticism given by Heine is another, expressed by Professor W. A. Neilson in the words: "Romanticism is the tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact."<sup>4</sup> In support of this statement he writes, with reference to Heine's definition of German Romanticism: "There are to be found in the literature and art of the Middle Ages abundant phenomena that explain, if they do not justify, such a dictum as that of Heine."<sup>5</sup> In another passage this statement is connected with the definition of romanticism as characterized pre-eminently by imagination: "To sum up: the elements in mediæval life and art that have provided stimuli to modern romantic writers have been those which, whether secular or religious, were marked by a high degree of ideal aspiration; in other words, by ruling conceptions in which the dominant power is imagination."<sup>6</sup> Having thus based the assumed partiality of the Romanticists for mediæval chivalry on the predominance of imagination in their works, in a third passage Professor Neilson quotes Wordsworth to show how "the poetry of common life may become the theme of a romantic writer." "(Wordsworth) himself states in his famous Preface that his object was" to choose incidents and situations from common life, . . . and to throw over them a certain coloring of the imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect; . . . "(Wordsworth, Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800). It appears from this statement that Wordsworth's main aim was not that truth to fact which characterizes the Realist; nor was it to give support to a democratic view of society. It was the legitimate purpose of the imaginative artist; . . ."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Essentials of Poetry*, by W. A. Neilson. Riverside Press, 1912, Chap. 1, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Essentials of Poetry*, by W. A. Neilson. Riverside Press, 1912. Chap. 3, pp. 79, 80.

Tieck's example is no less at variance with the above definition of romanticism than with that of Heine. Broadly speaking, literary treatment of the lower middle class by German writers is either descriptive or controversial. Descriptive treatment may be imaginative or realistic, or it may combine elements of both manners, as does Tieck when, besides making abundant use of realistic description, he connects the artisan with the artist and endows the lower middle class with some of the refinement and virtues of its social superiors. Controversial treatment usually contrasts the common citizen and the noble. This method is least realistic when it takes the shape of bitter opposition to class privilege, as is often the case when it arises from tendencies of the Storm and Stress or revolutionary periods. At times it attempts a reconciliation of the classes by blending real conditions with idealistic visions. It becomes especially realistic when it contrasts an outworn feudal aristocracy with the most energetic element of the upper middle class, the merchants and industrialists. Tieck generally employs the second of these methods, but also makes use of the third to contrast the noble and the merchant alike unfavorably with the laborer. Thus both his descriptive and his controversial treatment of the lower middle class contain a generous proportion of realism. The faculty of reason he employs especially in the selection of typical detail.

In several important respects Tieck appears to have been an innovator, whose works either influenced or foreshadowed a long line of subsequent productions. From his predecessors particularly he is distinguished by his decided yet conciliatory attitude and by the peculiar blend of reason and the sense of fact with imagination which marks his portrayal of the class he favors. Our analysis of his treatment of this class will be introduced by a brief outline of the same theme as it appears in the works of earlier German authors of the eighteenth century and followed by a discussion of its appearance up to 1870. This outline does not pretend to be exhaustive. Yet even a brief comparison of Tieck's works with those of the men by whom he might have been influenced or upon whom his own influence may have been exerted will not perhaps be wholly valueless.

In German poetry of the eighteenth century the middle class, both upper and lower, receives comparatively slight



attention. Of the few instances occurring in the earlier decades none are of a controversial nature and few are actually descriptive. Friedrich von Hagedorn, in *Johann der muntere Seifensieder* (1738), praised the cheerful toiler without attempting to describe his character or existence. In *Zachariä's Renommist* (1744) the incidental figure of a hair-dresser is noteworthy because of its resemblance to one of Tieck's types. Gellert's *Fables* (1746-1748) appealed to middle class sentimentalism and morality, without portraying closely the life of this social group. In the *Idyllen* of Salomon Gessner (1756), pictures of rural life devoid of all reality combined features of the herdsman's patriarchal existence as depicted by Klopstock in the idyllic passages of the *Messias* and *Adams Tod*, with the insipid arcadian atmosphere of French shepherds and shepherdesses. Similar traits are not uncommon in some of Tieck's earlier lyrics and *Märchen*. The realistic reaction against such descriptions of life in the country led in a few cases to a faithful and detailed portrayal of actual conditions. "Maler" Müller, in his *Schafschur* (1775) and *Das Nusskernen*, was the first to describe peasant life in the Pfalz in a vein of realism which at times is even coarse. Following him, Johann Heinrich Voss, in *Luise* and *Der siebenzigste Geburtstag* (1784, 1785), gave detailed pictures of North Germany country life. Among the imitators of Voss were Baggesen, F. W. A. Schmidt and Kosegarten, the author of *Jukunde, eine ländliche Dichtung*, and Goethe himself was inspired by *Luise* to write *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797). Both this poem and those of Voss deal with members of the lower middle class, including the artisan but excluding the peasant. Upon the latter, who forms the subject of Müller's poems, Tieck bestowed little or no attention. The fisher, hunter, shepherd, and weaver in *Luise* and above all the landlord in *Hermann und Dorothea* constitute a few noteworthy predecessors of similar types occurring in his works.

A rôle of much greater importance was assigned the middle class in eighteenth century drama. That the "bürgerliche Tragödien" and "Lustspiele," however, were concerned at the outset chiefly with the upper bourgeoisie appears clearly in the works of their first exponent, Lessing, which are both controversial and descriptive in character. Especially is this true of *Miss Sara Samson* (1755), *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767) and

Emilia Galotti (1772). The landlord in *Minna von Barnhelm* alone exhibits certain characteristics of a type later developed by Tieck. Emilia Galotti contains a protest against the abuses of the nobility in their relations to their social inferiors. Apart from Lessing, the writers of drama who treat the subject controversially are relatively unimportant. A number of middle class situations depicted in writings of the Storm and Stress period are conceived as protests against the oppressive privileges of a higher social order. As an example we may cite Törring's *Agnes Bernauerin* (1780), in which the heroine is sacrificed not to society at large, as by Hebbel, but to the conflict of classes. A second favorite Storm and Stress motif is that of the humble maiden led astray, as in H. L. Wagner's *Kindermörderin* (1776). These subjects naturally did not appeal to the classic writers except in their period of youthful production. In *Egmont* (1788) a noble is not only the friend of the masses but receives love and inspiration from a maiden of lowly birth. Iffland's works, unlike those of Schröder, also treated the subject of class conflicts. The presentation of this theme in nearly all of the works above named is more bitter and uncompromising than in the works of Tieck.

The numbers if not the importance of the writers of drama who treat the subject descriptively are much greater. Lessing's early friend, C. F. Weisse, like the more famous writer himself depicted principally the upper middle class in his popular *Lustspiele*; in his operettas based on English and French originals, such as *Der Teufel ist los* (1752), *Der lustige Schneider* (1759) and *Der Dorfbarbier* (1771), emphasis is laid upon the innocence and simplicity of country life in contrast with that of cities; while individual characters, such as the cobbler in *Der Teufel ist los*, show a certain resemblance to types described by Tieck. In opposition to the "Ritterdramen" of the period, Otto von Gemmingen wrote in 1780 *Der deutsche Hausvater*, based on Diderot's *Père de Famille* and confined within a narrower social sphere than the plays of Lessing. The realistic and typical figures here portrayed influenced Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* (1784) as well as the *Sittengemälde* of Iffland.<sup>8</sup> In *Clavigo* (1774), Goethe adopted the social atmosphere of Lessing's

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte von der deutschen Litteratur* von Fr. Vogt und Max Koch. Leipzig und Wien, 1877, p. 613.

dramas for a setting; in *Die Geschwister* (conceived 1776, appeared 1787) the plot involves the domestic joys of a life devoted to industrious 'Erwerb im Kleinen.' Goethe's friend Merck, in his review of Werthers *Leiden*, wrote: "Wer nicht den epischen und dramatischen Geist in den geheimsten Scenen des häuslichen Lebens erblickt, der wage sich nicht in die ferne Dämmerung einer idealischen Welt," and later followed his own advice by writing a series of just such dramatic "Genrebilder des häuslichen Lebens."<sup>9</sup> In conclusion, Iffland and Schröder were the foremost portrayers of middle class existence in the German drama of the eighteenth century. Though lacking the creative artistry of Lessing, they did more toward exact reproduction of the social milieu. Similar to theirs but artistically much inferior are the plays of Kotzebue. Many of the dramatic works here enumerated describe the life of the upper middle class, others deal with domestic situations rather than with the broader range of professional or class existence. As a result of these qualities, precursors of Tieck's sociological views are almost as rare among them as among the dramas of a controversial nature.

Unlike the dramas, the few novels of this century which deal with middle class characters and situations are almost exclusively controversial. Wieland in *Die Abderiten* (1774) satirized the life of the middle class in provincial communities: the trial concerning the donkey's shadow he terms "ein feines bürgerliches Drama"; the characters of the tinker and shoemaker, both demagogues, in a measure anticipate similar types in Tieck's writings.<sup>10</sup> In two works of about the same period the evils of class prejudice are represented. Werther's (1774) hypochondria is increased by his unpleasant experiences among the nobility. Siegwart (1776), by J. H. Müller, involves two pairs of lovers in difficulties arising from unequal social rank. Karl Phillip Moritz' *Anton Reiser* (1785), written under the influence of Rousseau's *Confessions*, is a Storm and Stress novel of introspection, its hero the son of an artisan. The work contains a realistic account of sufferings arising from the conflict of an

<sup>9</sup> Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 111, Band. 1. Abtheilung, pp. 414, 415.

<sup>10</sup> *Deutsche National Literatur*, Bd. 53. *Geschichte der Abderiten*, pp. 259, 260.

emotional nature with the restrictions of "das deutsche Kleinleben." Finally, in certain works of Jean Paul Richter, the forerunner of Romanticism, the author's unrestrained flights of fancy are curiously combined with sentimental description of the quiet life of a small community. Such are the realistic idylls, *Leben des vergnügten Schulmeisters Wuz*, *Quintus Fixlein*, *Katzenbergers Badereise*, portions of *Siebenkäs* and *Die Flegeljahre*. As Jean Paul himself was anything but a lover of plain fact, these stories with all their peculiar realism do not afford true pictures of middle class life.

Tieck's strong belief in the dignity and importance of the artisan as well as his hostility or indifference to the upper middle class and the peasantry explains the difference between his treatment of these social groups and that of most of the writers who preceded him. Thus, as has already been noted, the spirit of his works bears no resemblance either to the earlier "bürgerliche Dramen" or to the realistic descriptions of peasant life by "Maler" Müller, because of his comparative indifference to the sections of society therein represented. On the other hand, owing to his high conception of the artisan's calling, Tieck was far from regarding the restrictions of lower middle class existence as a fit subject for satire like that of *Die Abderiten*, an excuse for spiritual unrest such as is described in *Moritz'* *Anton Reiser*, for melancholy resembling that of *Werther* or revolt in the manner of other Storm and Stress authors. Apparent exceptions to the truth of this statement, such as *Die Schildbürger* and other works written in satire of Philistinism, only prove the general rule by their adverse criticism of what Tieck by no means regarded as the essential character of "das Kleinbürgertum." His keen interest in professional detail appears in all his pictures of middle class family life, distinguishing them from the domestic *Genrebilder* of *Iffland*, *Schröder* and *Kotzebue*, as well as from the moralizing poetry of *Hagedorn* and *Gellert* and the prose idylls of *Richter*. Finally, Tieck's writings show no resemblance to the treatment of different classes of society in most of *Goethe's* works, because these works are also devoid of any significant reference to lower middle class occupations. *Clavigo* and *Die Geschwister* moreover deal respectively with the upper bourgeoisie and the merchant. *Egmont's* friendship for the people is based purely upon generous senti-

ment, without any suggestion of the moral quality of the classes, so often emphasized by Tieck. Even in *Werther*, the motif of class-distinctions is of an incidental nature.

Of very different importance is a work which has so far escaped mention—a work which served as a model not for Tieck only but for the Romantic School in general—Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. This romance is the precursor of many of Tieck's views with regard to the lower middle class. In the *Lehrjahre*, Goethe reconciled the difference between the commoner and the noble through the medium of culture. Mielke writes: "Wenn Goethes *Wilhelm Meister* in dem edelsten Freundschaftsverhältnis zu den adligen Personen des Romanes steht; so eilt die Anschauung des Dichters von der Ebenbürtigkeit des Geistes den gesellschaftlichen Begriffen seiner Zeit weit voraus." In the *Wanderjahre*, Goethe displayed a marked advance beyond his standpoint of twenty-five years before. The representative of the middle class in the *Lehrjahre* is Meister, a merchant's son, a member of the upper bourgeoisie. In the *Wanderjahre*, the interest of Odvardo and Lothario is attracted by artisans who are inspired by an ideal of culture peculiarly adapted to their existence, the connection of handicraft with art, or the universal dignity of creative labor.

It is now time to consider in detail Tieck's treatment of the lower middle class. The statements already made concerning this subject must be arranged in proper relation to one another, and illustrated by reference to the various works by the authority of which they are supported. Owing to the limitations imposed by a brief summary, few quotations will be given. Our effort will be directed towards showing how Tieck's views differed not merely from those of the writers who preceded him, but from the traditions which define romanticism as a tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact and as favoring the nobility above other social classes. Among earlier writers it has been seen that controversial treatment was less common than descriptive. In this connection, the full extent of Tieck's originality is shown by his views on the relation between the lower middle class and the nobility.

In his comparisons of laborer and nobleman Tieck shows at first an impartiality which develops into a decided preference

for the former. In the earliest of these comparisons he insists on the necessity for strict maintenance of outer class distinctions. This appears in two satirical episodes, one of which contrasts the idyllic existence of the shepherd with the noisy bustle of the world of rank. In *Die Sieben Weiber des Blaubart*, we read of a wounded knight who is nursed by a shepherd's daughter. At length, when cured of his wounds and after some hesitation, he decides to marry his nurse. Magdalene, however, proves a coquette, and the unhappy husband is driven to exclaim: "Verflucht sei das Landleben, verflucht sei alle ländliche Natürlichkeit."<sup>11</sup> Discontent with his condition on the part of a member of the lower class is satirized in the Märchen, Abraham Tonelli, in which a discontented tailor, after having left home and encountered the most improbable adventures, is changed into a donkey as the result of having eaten a magic herb. Upon tasting some thistles and finding them to his satisfaction, he exclaims: "Kann man mehr als sich satt essen?—warum, Tonerl, willst du die Nase immer so hoch tragen? Kannst du nicht auch einmal mit deinem Stande zufrieden leben?"<sup>12</sup>

Thus far we have encountered no clear description of either class upon which to base the contentment so strongly recommended. In Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, the only remaining instance from the romantic period, Franz delivers a eulogy upon the dignity and happiness of a life of toil. This truth is still more strongly impressed upon him by a man whose life has been ruined through an impractical enthusiasm for art. Connected both with this and with a later period of Tieck's literary production is the novelle, *Der junge Tischlermeister* (1811-1836), the original conception of which, antedating even that of Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, was matured by a slow completion. It contains numerous references to the contentment, selfrespect and security of the laborer. A noble praises earlier conditions among the working class, while the value of class distinctions is asserted by a servant of the same character. It is the formal distinctions of class and occupation, however, upon which Tieck here insists; happiness and self-respect, as

<sup>11</sup> *Tiecks Schriften*, Berlin bei G. Reimer, 1828-56, Bd. 9, pp. 202, 203, 206, 216.

<sup>12</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 9, pp. 247, 260.

will later be shown yet more clearly, being the common possession of noble and artisan.

In thus emphasizing outer class distinctions Tieck clung to an order which was rapidly passing at the time in which he wrote. Freytag writes in connection with this period, about 1790: "Outer distinctions between the classes begin to dwindle whereas the inner difference has become even greater." Tieck protests against this new development. Baron Elshelm in *Der junge Tischlermeister* remarks: "Es ist sehr schädlich, dass seit lange die sogenannten höheren Stände so völlig abgesondert vom Bürger und Handwerker leben, dass sie diesen nun gar nicht kennen, und auch das Vermögen verlieren, ihn kennen zu lernen. Nicht nur geht das schöne Vertrauen verloren, wodurch sich Höhere und Niedere verbinden und einfügen würden, welches eben aus dieser Kenntniss Stärke und Kraft erwirkte; sondern der Vornehmere kommt nun auf den thörichten Wahn, dass seine Art und Weise des Haushalts, die nichtssagende Etikette, die er einführt, sein nüchternes Leben mit den Bedienten und Domestiken ein besseres, anständigeres sei, und diese Thorheit verdirbt nachher den Bürgerstand."<sup>13</sup> A converse example of this tendency is given in the same story by an artisan who is filled with hatred and distrust of the nobility, and bitterly criticizes a comrade who enjoys free intercourse with congenial spirits in the higher class.

While the maintenance of outer distinctions is still insisted upon Tieck here first shows an inclination to regard them as of less importance than the development of character. Yet in none of his other works are the differences between the two classes in habits of living, manners and appearance more clearly defined. First of all, the home surroundings of the lower middle class, as has been suggested by the closing words of the last quotation, are regarded as of a peculiar value for the character of its members. Even the outer appearance of such persons betrays their social standing, through characteristics acquired in the course of their occupation. Professional habits are no less marked than personal appearance and manners of living. Yet this difference in appearance, habits and surroundings is quite compatible, according to Tieck, with an inner equality between the classes. Both *der junge Tischlermeister* and his

<sup>13</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 28, p. 402.

friend, Baron Elsheim, are inspired by a love for art which draws them together: both, it is true, are exceptionally cultivated members of their respective social groups. With regard to their mental and moral capacity Tieck here represents both classes as potentially equal. Moreover, those individuals who surpass others of their own class in these qualities are less dependent upon their milieu for strength of character. It is from choice rather than from necessity that der junge Tischlermeister returns from the house of the baron to the surroundings in which the greater part of his life has been spent.

As times change, however, one class has gradually surpassed the other in the proportion of its members who attain to high mental and moral development. Tieck admits that in his day the lower middle class was fast out-distancing the nobility in the possession of qualities which confer moral leadership. In der junge Tischlermeister, the modesty and open bearing of the artisan are contrasted by ladies of rank with the haughty manners and ambiguous language of his friend, the baron.<sup>14</sup> The latter's faithful servant exclaims to the artisan: "Ach, die Vornehmen. Sie müssen ja immer mehr und mehr das Regiment in unserer verwirrten Welt verspielen."<sup>15</sup>

In the later works the same ideas are further developed. At the outset, we encounter the theme of distinctive physical characteristics in *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen*.<sup>16</sup> With regard to the mental qualities of the lower class Tieck is here more conservative and realistic than in *Der junge Tischlermeister*: "Das ist es ja, warum es in dieser Klasse von Leuten so oft besser gelingt, als in den Höhern: Bildung haben sie nicht, aber die rechte Glaubensfähigkeit."<sup>17</sup> In the same work occurs an intimation of superiority of character in the lower class. The son of a noble reproaches his father for having invited a miller lad to his table in the company of travellers of higher birth, with whom he has been sheltered during a storm. The father replies: "Was deinen Müller betrifft, so war mir sein kindliches Gesicht und herzliches Wesen lieber und ehrte mein Tisch mehr, als es

<sup>14</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 28; *Der junge Tischlermeister*, Erster Teil, pp. 199, 200.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>16</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 26, *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen*, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.



dein Marschall Montrevel . . . jemals könnte."<sup>18</sup> Later in the story the potential moral equality of the classes is suggested. The young noble, who had been full of contempt for members of a lower social order and particularly for the insurgent Camisards, becomes converted and joins their ranks. At first he finds the situation no less peculiar than do his humbler companions; soon, however, to their astonishment he entreats them to address him as "Du."<sup>19</sup>

A second Novelle, *Dichterleben*, contains an instance in which the social standing of a character is guessed at from his appearance.<sup>20</sup> *Der Dichter und sein Freund* contains the following words, spoken by a poet: "Man soll nie vergessen, dass auch in der ruhigen Beschäftigung, in der Arbeit des Feldes oder der Gewerke, im scheinbar Niedrigen und Unbedeutenden das Himmlische gegenwärtig sein kann."<sup>21</sup> We next encounter two historical pictures, showing the quarrels of artisans with the nobility in the middle ages. In *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser*, various guilds revolt against the impositions of the nobility. On the other hand, a member of the latter class warns a friend against the greed and fickleness of the masses.<sup>22</sup> In *Der Hexen Sabbath*, the wealthy guild-masters refuse to make a loan to the nobility, from motives of fear and jealousy.<sup>23</sup> Here the relation of the classes, so often idealized by Tieck in works whose scene is laid in his own day, is represented with greater realism in the description of their mediæval rivalry, which implies moral weakness on the part of both.

In *Die Ahnenprobe*, Tieck at first depicts with approval the external distinctions and inner equality which existed between the classes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A young noble, in love with an artisan's daughter, vainly beseeches her to disregard their respective stations and become his wife. To the entreaties of her lover the young girl opposes a firm refusal, reminding him of the duties of his position. Later in life the count realizes the value of that which he has preserved

<sup>18</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 26, p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 205.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 18, p. 178.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 18, Zweiter Theil, p. 201.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 22, pp. 210, 294, 316.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 20, pp. 405, 406.

at the cost of his personal happiness. In the meanwhile, the son of the artisan's daughter, who has married and spent her life amid her accustomed surroundings, is engaged as a tutor in the count's family and falls in love with his daughter. The youth is ignorant of his mother's early love, the noble, of the young man's parentage. It is now the count's turn to reject all thought of such a union, by employing the arguments used by his former sweetheart, yet at the same time he declares that he regards all class-distinctions as possessing originally but an arbitrary value, to which in time true worth attaches by their honorable continuance.

On the point of despair, the youth discovers a document deposited for safe keeping in a church three hundred years previously by one of his ancestors. The latter's father had failed of deserved promotion in the army on account of his common birth, and had established a shop in the woolen trade. After relating these facts, the ancestor's account contains the reflection that the possession of noble birth implies the assurance of an honorable descent, and contrasts with this implication the behaviour of certain nobles, whose deviation from an upright life nevertheless leaves them in the enjoyment of their privileges. The manuscript then continues: "So bin ich denn alt geworden, ich Johannes Frimann, ein ehrsamer Schneidermeister hier in der Hauptstadt unseres Fürsten. Da kam ich auf den Gedanken, ob es denn nicht möglich sei, eine Art von Bürgeradel oder eine begründete Bürgerlichkeit zu stiften—Ich liebte meinen Sohn und in Gedanken schon meine Nachkommenschaft, und wie es des Regenten schönste und bitterste Sorge ist, seinen Enkeln ein unzerrüttetes Reich zu hinterlassen, so schien es mir wichtig, einen guten Namen den Meinigen zu stiften und zu erhalten. Ich schenkte eine Summe der Kirche Lambertus, und stiftete hiermit, dass jeder Frimann sein Leben einreicht, wenn er alt ist, und Probst und Geistlichkeit das Ehrbare seines Wandels bestätigen. Auf drei Jahrhunderte hinaus soll diese Grille oder Gedanke reichen, wenn mein Geschlecht nicht vorher ausstirbt."<sup>24</sup> The difference between the old and this new order of nobility is clearly a matter of outer forms, which in both cases are the symbols of strength of character that gives them their true value. Only, in the case of the regular nobility, it is sug-

<sup>24</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 22, pp. 160, 161.

gested that inner worth does not always correspond to external dignity. The subordinate value of outer class distinctions is now further emphasized.—The count, who had promised his consent to his daughter's marriage if the suitor could prove his nobility of birth, is moved to the fulfillment of his word by the above discovery and by the sudden appearance of his former love, now a widow. To her he exclaims in newly awakened affection: "Sage mir, ach! sage mir, Geliebteste, was ist die Liebe?" "Unser unverschleiertes Selbst, sagte sie, . . . Nein, nicht Stand, Pflicht, Amt, nicht diese Kleider unseres Lebens sind wir." The idea of an inherent moral distinction between the classes is rejected because honor and love are shown to be the exclusive possessions of neither and are of greater importance than external differences. The bridegroom is granted a patent of nobility by the king, who thus in recognition of his moral worth bestows upon him the outer distinctions of his bride and her more ancient social order.

The idea that the nobility is not always so faithful as the lower middle class to its own best traditions, expressed by Tieck in the above work and in *Der junge Tischlermeister*, reappears in the following passage from *Die Vogelscheuche*: "Aber die Blumen an sich, die weiter nichts als solche sind, sind in der Natur das, was eine gewisse unnütze vornehme Welt in den Staaten ist, die nicht arbeitet, die aller Sorgen enthoben ist und mit Verachtung auf die braven gewerbtreibenden Klassen hinunterblickt."<sup>25</sup>

The first part of the *Novelle*, *Eigensinn und Laune* contains the same idea. A *Geheimrat*, on discovering that his daughter is in love with a stage-driver, consoles himself with the thought that the latter's exceptional character must be a mark of higher than plebian birth. The young fellow, however, declares that he has simply abstained from the vulgar associates and surroundings which are so often encountered in his calling. Left to himself, the father soliloquizes as follows: "Wir denken immer, unsere sogenannte gute Erziehung bringe erst Menschen hervor. Und wie oft verhüllt sich nur in unserm Stande die Gemeinheit der Seele und der Sitten, und ist dabei viel schlimmer als die der niederen Stände. . . . Wo es noch Bürgerstand giebt, liefert

<sup>25</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 27, p. 76.

er . . . oft so zu sagen Musterbilder, wahre Männer, die das Handwerk, statt sie zu erniedrigen, erst zu ihrer festen Bestimmtheit herausgearbeitet hat."<sup>26</sup>

In the remainder of the story a new connection is established between this assumption of the spiritual inferiority of the noble and the familiar plea for the maintenance of outer class-distinctions. It is clear that such distinctions have not hitherto been regarded by Tieck as inseparable from the virtues which both orders of society should possess. In *Der junge Tischlermeister* we were told that there are in each class individuals of higher and lower capacities, the former of whom are less dependent on their accustomed surroundings for moral support than the latter. *Die Ahnenprobe* described a young woman who at first refused to abandon the outer marks of class distinction, but who in the end realized that these are not necessarily inseparable from the highest qualities of human nature. Now, however, we find Tieck insisting that these distinctions must be preserved, for the protection of lower class character.—The wardrobe of the young man in *Eigensinn und Laune* is replenished, he takes lessons in dancing, fencing and music, and is zealous in his attempt to become adapted to his new surroundings. On the day of the betrothal, all the guests are astonished at his attractive manners and fund of information; only the bride-to-be flees from his presence exclaiming to her father, who has followed her: "Ach! es ist zum Erbarmen! er ist ja ganz wie die übrigen Menchen geworden! . . . Sieh nur selbst, wie geziert und steif er ist, wie er die Phrasen drechselt und ihm die eigentlichen Gedanken abgehen. So ein Leben, wie er es jetzt führt, ist kein wahres, lebendiges, nein, er ist ein Gespenst, eine schlechte, Menschen nachgekünstelte Puppe." The poor youth himself flees from this fatal environment, leaving a note for the father, in which he writes: "Für meinen ehemaligen Stand verdorben, ist doch keine Fähigkeit in mir, irgend einen andern mit Sicherheit zu ergreifen."<sup>27</sup>

A similar though intentionally exaggerated estimate of the relative merits of the two classes appears in *Die Verlobung*: "Es fehlte noch, dass die Verleumdung, Klatscherei, Neid und Verfolgung der grossen Gesellschaft einen Lobredner fänden;

<sup>26</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 24, pp. 299, 300.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 24, pp. 318, 321.

es bleibt dann nur noch übrig, die stille Tugend, die schöne Bürgerlichkeit, die kindliche Unschuld und edle Einfalt der nicht vornehmen Welt zu schmähen."<sup>28</sup> The last instance in which the nobility is mentioned bears witness to the same attitude on the part of the writer. A passage in *Die Klausenburg* describes a nobleman with the words: "War dieser Mann von seinen Untergebenen geliebt, so wurde er auch von vielen seines Standes gehasst und beneidet, von den die Klügern ihm zurnten, weil er sie vermied und sie wohl einsahen, das er sie wegen ihres Unfleisses nur gering schätze: . . . Der Graf also zog sich missmuthig immer mehr in sich zurück, und ihm war nur wohl wenn er sich von Geschäften mit verständigen Bergleuten, Maschinenmeistern oder Gelehrten unterhalten konnte."<sup>29</sup>

There can be no doubt that in his last period of literary activity Tieck regarded the lower middle class as the mental and moral superior of the nobility. In *Die Vogelscheuche*, the idle egotism of the latter is contrasted with the industry of the former. In *Eigensinn und Laune*, empty rhetoric and artificial conventions are opposed to unfettered common sense. *Die Verlobung* defines one class as scandal-loving, envious and malicious, the other as marked by innocence, simplicity and public-spirit. Finally, in *Die Klausenburg*, the idle and unproductive life of the nobility marks its inferiority to the industry and common-sense of the lower class. Though this extreme attitude characterizes only Tieck's later works, his earlier ones sufficiently contradict Heine's statement that Tieck's interest in the lower middle class was confined chiefly to his later period. While yet in Nicolai's service, he ridicules the sentimental discontent of members of either class with their own conditions of existence. In *Der junge Tischlermeister* he lays increased stress upon distinctions, though he now considers them of minor importance for highly developed individuals. At the same time he holds that both classes are potentially one another's equals with respect to moral and mental qualities, though fewer of the nobility than of the lower class attain full self-development. If we include *Der junge Tischlermeister* among the works of Tieck's earlier period—where it certainly belongs with respect to its original conception and perhaps also, in the main, to its

<sup>28</sup> *Schriften*, Bd. 17, p. 138.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Bd. 25, *Die Klausenburg*, p. 83.

composition—the difference between the point of view of the two periods is much less than Heine would make it appear. At no time did Tieck favor the nobility of any age at the expense of their social inferiors.

Tieck's views on the relation of the two classes are likewise at variance with the definition which affirms the predominance of imagination in romantic works. In Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen he presents a fairly realistic picture of the virtues and rewards of the life of toil among the lower class. The realistic depiction of class conflicts in *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser* and *Der Hexen Sabbath* is the more striking because it treats of mediæval conditions which are supposed to have appealed especially to the imagination of the Romanticist. Minor instances of realism abound in the works of Tieck's earlier period. The faculty of reason, displayed in the selection of typical detail is also apparent in his treatment of this theme. Instances have already been noted of the manner in which he asserts the inferiority of the noble by re-iterated reference to certain weaknesses of his order. In Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, the traits mentioned as characteristic of lower middle class existence are industry, independence and happiness. Various passages in *Der junge Tischlermeister* emphasize the laborer's contentment with his social position, pride in his work, respect for his superiors, physical characteristics acquired in his trade and increasing cultivation. All of the above traits are expressly stated to be typical of the classes to which they are ascribed.

As has been already remarked, few German writers before Tieck approached the subject of the lower middle class in a controversial manner. Most of the exceptions to this statement consist in writings of the Storm and Stress period, which are sufficiently distinguished by their bitterness from Tieck's conciliatory views on the relations of the lower class to the nobility. Between Tieck's descriptive treatment of the lower middle class and that of his predecessors, on the other hand the difference is frequently one of degree rather than of kind.

The chief indication of Tieck's interest in this class consists in the characterizations of its members which are scattered through his works. Their variety and frequency of recurrence are noteworthy: eighteen different occupations are represented,

none of which appears less than three times. That the characters belonging to each of these occupations possess qualities which are strongly marked and well-nigh invariable, proves the frequency of Tieck's employment of the supposedly unromantic faculty of reason in the creation of types. Among these types the landlord and the stage-driver stand somewhat apart, distinguished by few of the qualities which divide the others into two main groups. For reasons of convenience, however, they may be assigned to the first, in which are included the baker, brewer, butcher, weaver, shoemaker, tailor, hairdresser, smith and joiner, who earn their living more or less by the skilled work of their hands. The second group comprises those whose labors are performed in coöperation or close contact with Nature, and includes the tinker, fisherman, forester, shepherd, gardener, miner and charcoal burner. By virtue of a few characteristic qualities we may add the miller to this group.—With the artisan or city-laborer Tieck contrasts unfavorably the manufacturer: to the country types which he favors is opposed a member of the same group, the peasant, who is represented infrequently and with scant praise. The general types which result from Tieck's treatment of these sections of the lower middle class will form the next subject of our consideration.

In the works preceding *Der junge Tischlermeister*, no reference occurs to artisan characters unconnected with a specific calling. *Der junge Tischlermeister*, however, though composed near the middle period of Tieck's literary production, shows evidence of its conception during his more romantic youth. In this *Novelle*, handicraft is declared to be related to art by the skill and industry of the worker, while the artisan is represented as cordial towards his fellow-men, a self-respecting and valuable member of society. Labor simply for the end of practical usefulness is for the hero of the book too meager a content of life, though in itself praiseworthy. At the close of day the master, seated at table together with his family, journeymen and apprentices, warns the latter like a father against evil ways and encourages them in their common interests.

Later on the picture suffers some realistic modifications, especially concerning the relation of handicraft to art and the quality of "bürgerliche Ehre." In earlier *Novellen*, such as *Die Gemälde*, *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen* and *Glück giebt*

Verstand, the connection of handicraft with art is no longer mentioned, though the skill and industry of the artisan are emphasized. In three of the latest, *Der Tod des Dichters*, *Die Ahnenprobe* and *Weihnacht-Abend*, the artisan retains the characteristic of unaffected kindness of heart, but displays a somewhat narrow pride in a hardwon position of respectability, in place of the romantic "Ehre" of *Der junge Tischlermeister*. A frank portrayal of the power of the mediæval guilds in *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser*, *Der Hexen Sabbath* and *Der Tod des Dichters*, though not corresponding to Tieck's ordinary view of the artisan's social importance, at least emphasizes it as a fact. The type thus evolved is an original creation of its author which bears slight resemblance to current conceptions of this section of society. In the popular songs contained in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, emphasis is laid upon the care-free, turbulent and lazy character of apprentices and journeymen; in proverbs and popular sayings it is placed mainly upon the artisan's desire for gain and political influence. Nothing is more apparent than Tieck's aversion to the rationalistic and popular conception of material profit as the goal of the artisan's existence.

The manufacturer as portrayed by Tieck almost always represents the *Aufklärung*. In his free translation of Jonson's *Volpone*, the object of satire becomes the exaggerated "Nützlichkeitslehre" of this movement, which confounds factory-labor with handicraft, material progress with the sole aim of society. In another satire, *Prinz Zerbino*, the hero congratulates a miller (representing the *Aufklärung*), who grinds all heroic characters and virtues into "ein plattes, unschädliches und ganz gesundes Essen," with the words: "Das, mein Freund, ist die wahre Art, ein Handwerk in eine Kunst zu verwandeln, und es kann kommen, dass Sie selbst mit der Zeit die englischen Fabriken übertreffen." A passage from *Phantasmus* contrasts modern manufacturing methods in Fürth with the artistic handicraft of ancient Nürnberg. *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* and *Der junge Tischlermeister* represent the manufacturer as lacking all enthusiasm for art, and to this is added in the second work, indifference to the welfare of his employees, in sharpest contrast with the love for artistic labor and the sympathetic interest in his subordinates which Tieck here attributes



to the artisan. In four of the later Novellen, Glück giebt Verstand, Eigensinn und Laune, Der Mondsüchtige and Der Alte vom Berge, almost all of the traits just mentioned reappear, with the exception of the antagonism to art: in the last instance, even the culture and humanity which mark the factory-owner serve to intensify the curse of the soulless factory-system.

Keen as was Tieck's love for Nature in his youth, we find no reference earlier than that contained in the *Novelle*, *Der Wassermensch*, to the general group of toilers in field, forest and mountain. Here the effect of their close intercourse with elemental forces is described as a tendency to superstition. In *Das alte Buch und die Reise ins Blaue hinein*, a toiler among the mountains is impressed by the similarity of "der gutgeartete Mensch" to an Aeolian harp, the strings of which re-echo to every passing breath of Nature. *Die Klausenburg* contains a reference to the mutual trust and good-will inspired by a life in the solitude. All members of the group, however, do not possess these qualities in an equal degree. A hint of this is conveyed in the passage from *Das alte Buch*, etc., which speaks of the charcoal-burner and miner as especially prone to superstition. This suggests a less overpowering influence of Nature upon those who live on the plain than in the forest or upon the mountain, and in general the shepherd and gardener are described by Tieck as living in especial harmony with Nature. A song from *Die schöne Magelone*, sung by a young girl who had found shelter in a shepherd's hut, mentions the friendship of flowers and animals for man. On the other hand, in a poem from the *Gedichte*, the "Bergeister" demand both boldness and self-sacrifice of him who would approach them-yet they too claim kinship with mankind. This difference in the relation to Nature recurs throughout Tieck's descriptions of the various occupations belonging to the country type.

It is noteworthy that he nowhere dwells upon the limitations of such a life, except to deduce from its solitude certain positive qualities of temperament. In this respect there is a marked difference in his characterizations of peasants, though in the first instance to be noted these limitations appear invested with a sort of romantic charm. Franz Sternbald passes a night at the house of an old peasant, who tells him that his one ambition, not yet fulfilled, is to see Nürnberg. The restricted routine of

the family life forms a sharp contrast with that which Franz has thus far known; its very narrowness appeals to his sentimental, vacillating spirit. In *Der junge Tischlermeister*, Tieck voices his disapproval of the contemporary movement to relieve the peasants' oppressed condition. Two final instances in the *Novellen* lay particular stress on the rude and simple character of the peasant. In *Der Alte vom Berge* he is described briefly as "neugierig" and "vorwitzig," and arouses the contempt of a miner by his ignorance. *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen* contains the bare phrase, "der fromme Ackerbauer." Tieck was in full accord with the spirit of his earlier contemporaries, with the exception of Maler Müller, when he regarded the peasant as outside the pale of ordinary human existence.

These examples of Tieck's treatment of general types furnish abundant exceptions to the definitions of romanticism as a tendency characterized by the predominance of imagination over reason and the sense of fact, and as favoring the nobility above other social classes. In almost every instance the traits above mentioned are expressly stated to be typical of the group to which they are ascribed, showing Tieck's use of the faculty of reason in their selection. In *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* and *Der junge Tischlermeister*, realistic details occur in the descriptions of the life, surroundings and appearance of the general artisan type. Nor was Tieck's definition of these sectional types confined to his later works: if we include *Der junge Tischlermeister* among his romantic writings, mention of both the artisan and country groups is made two-thirds as often in the first as in the second period.

Reference to particular occupations within both groups are far more numerous. The frequency with which the special artisan types occur is as follows: brewer (2), butcher and miner (3), weaver and joiner (4), baker and shoemaker (5), tailor and tinker (6), barber and stage-driver (7), fisher and gardener (8), smith, miller and charcoal-burner (9), shepherd and forester (19), landlord (29). A better indication of the favor with which each type was regarded by Tieck consists in the moral or poetic qualities bestowed by him upon it. Originality of conception is another indication of interest, and its extent is proved by the fact that the majority of these types have no exact parallels in current conceptions of the trades.

Thus, the types of the stage-driver, smith and joiner show no resemblance whatever to a corresponding popular figure, while a far larger number appear in a somewhat more favorable light than that of the proverbs, popular sayings and Volksbücher. Tieck's weaver has a character for piety and lacks his popular attribute of dishonesty;<sup>30</sup> his butcher is not merely greedy and simple, as in current report,<sup>31</sup> but bluff and straight-forward in manner; the shoemaker in his works is professionally alert in addition to being loud-mouthed and a demagogue;<sup>32</sup> the barber not only vivacious and talkative<sup>33</sup> but artistically inclined. In only two instances out of twenty-nine is Tieck's landlord of a murderous disposition:<sup>34</sup> the baker only once dishonest.<sup>35</sup> The tailor alone is the scape-goat, rather excelling than falling behind

<sup>30</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, von R. Eckart, 1901. Nr. 2866. Zehn Müller, zehn Schneider und zehn Weber sind dreissig Diebe. Ibid. Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber verlogene Leute. Ibid. Nr. 3098. Der Leineweber schlachtet alle Jahr zwei Schwein, das eine ist gestohlen, das andere nicht sein.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Nr. 2583. Wo Gerber und Metzger sind, da heisst es: Brot her, Brot her. Nr. 2521. a. Wenn der Fleischer füttert, will er mästen. Nr. 2519. Ein ehrlicher Bandit ist besser als ein Fleischer. Nr. 2526. Metzger, Gerber und Schinder sind zusammen Geschwisterkinder.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Nr. 3006. Schneider und Scher (Barbier) lügen sehr, aber die Schuster noch viel mehr. Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber verlogene Leut. Nr. 3055. Ein predigender Schuster macht schlechte Schuhe. *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Gesammelt und in ihrer ursprünglichen Echtheit wiederhergestellt, von Karl Simrock. Basel, 1850, Bd. 5. Nr. 9227. Schuster, bleib bei deinem Leisten. *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 13 ff.; 383.

<sup>33</sup> *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Bd. 10, Nr. 273. Unter welchen Handwerkern findet man die meisten Schälke? Unter den Barbieren. *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*. Nr. 2416. Barbieri werden nicht so alt als Papageien, aber sie sprechen mehr. Nr. 2420. In einer Barbierstube fehlt es nicht an Neuigkeiten.

<sup>34</sup> *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, gesammelt von L. A. von Arnim und Clemens Brentano. Nach der Originalausgabe: Heidelberg 1806-8 neu herausgegeben von Friedrich Bremer, Leipzig, Reclam 1251-1256. "Die Mordwirthin" slays a soldier sleeping under her roof. p. 472. Host robs and murders a travelling princess. *Volksbücher*, Hrg. von G. D. Marbach, Leipzig, 1838, Bd. 9 and 10, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>35</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2384. Wenn der Arme weint, dann lacht der Bäcker, Nr. 2389. Der Bäcker mit der Kratz, der Müller mit der Matz, der Schneider mit der Schnippscher, wo kommen die drei Diebe her? Nr. 2393. Wenn man zehn Bäcker, zehn Müller und zehn Schneider in einem Sack thut und schüttelt, so ist ein Dieb oben. Nr. 2406. Bäcker und Müller zanken miteinander, wer von ihnen der grösste Schelm sei.

his popular counterpart in the qualities of braggadacio and deceitfulness.<sup>36</sup>

The recurrence of definite traits in almost all of these callings is so frequent as to justify their being regarded as typical. There are no exceptions to the strength, simplicity and self-assurance of the butcher; the shoemaker is always alert, either in connection with his trade or with religion and politics; the barber either vivacious and talkative or artistically gifted. The weaver is thrice described as pious or sincere; the joiner thrice, as intelligent or practical and industrious; the tailor five times as ignorant and self-assured or as a mock-heroic adventurer; the smith eight times as amiable, cheerful and intelligent; while but a single exceptional figure appears in each of these callings. Others, with two exceptions to the type, are the brewer (of whom no recurrent characteristics are given); the timid baker, three times mentioned; and the stage-driver, who in five instances is deliberate or cautious and fond of his horses. In the case of the landlord, four individualized figures occur as contrasted with twenty-five typical instances, the first eighteen being at times greedy, conceited, impatient with poor guests and servile to the rich, at times stout, talkative and discontented, while seven later figures are represented as intelligent, genial and dignified.

A second unimaginitive element, the sense of fact, appears in the numerous realistic descriptions of this group of figures which occur in Tieck's earlier, distinctively romantic works: In Kaiser Octavianus, the butcher affords a striking example of realism against a background of romantic chivalry. The timid baker in *Die verkehrte Welt* is also realistically drawn. In

<sup>36</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2994, Der Schneider mit der Scher' meint, er sei ein Herr. Nr. 3005. Neun Schneider machen einen Mann. Nr. 3006. Schneider und Scher (Barbier) lügen sehr, aber der Schuster noch viel mehr. Nr. 3014. Dem Schneider ist viel Tuch unter den Tisch gefallen (= für sich behalten). Nr. 3062. Schuster, Schneider, Leineweber, verlogene Leut. *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, Bd. 5, Nr. 9149. Das wär Einer, sagte der Teufel, da kriegt' er einen Schneider bei den Beinen. Also cf. Bd. 10. Verses. Nr. 462, (love of display). Nrs. 463, 464, 465 (diminutive size). Nr. 469 (pride). Nrs. 466, 467, 471 (stupidity). *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Das tapfere Schneiderlein, p. 52, ff.; Schneider im Himmel, p. 87 ff.; Daumerlings Wanderschaft p. 108 ff.; Die beiden Wanderer, p. 259 ff.; Vom klugen Schneiderlein, p. 279 ff.; Der gläserne Sarg, 364 ff.; Der Riese und der Schneider, p. 406.

Abraham Tonelli, a landlord is depicted with sober realism, as well as in two of the three instances in which this figure occurs in *Fortunat*. Perhaps the most true to life of all the characters in *Der junge Tischlermeister* are the three which belong to this calling, while Meister Krummschuh, the joiner, is intentionally described in a much more matter-of-fact style than the hero, Leonhard. The young smith in Franz Sternbalds *Wanderungen*, though later enveloped in the romantic atmosphere of the entire work, is at first more soberly represented. Finally, to these instances of complete realism should be added a number of others, where characteristic or professional detail is prominent in otherwise imaginative figures. Such are the shoemaker and landlord in *Der gestiefelte Kater*, the landlord in *Die verkehrte Welt*, the landlord and smith in *Prinz Zerbino*, the shoemaker and barber in *Däumchen* and the barber and joiner in *Fortunat*.

Nor is Tieck's interest in the artisan callings confined, as Heine suggests, chiefly to his later period. In the aggregate, the different occupations recur with almost equal frequency in the earlier and in the later works, while the artisan types which receive most sympathetic treatment appear almost twice as often in those of the earlier period as in the *Novellen*.

No preference can be distinguished for either the artisan or the country laborer. Though the general artisan type recurs with four times (16) the frequency of the general country type (4), yet the types of the various artisan callings appear somewhat less often (81) than those of the country group (83). Judged by the degree of sympathetic treatment accorded them by Tieck, rather than by the frequency of their occurrence, his favorites among the country types are the shepherd, gardener, forester, miner and charcoal-burner.

Tieck's originality is even more apparent in his depiction of the country than of the city types, and consists largely in the more poetic qualities ascribed to the representatives of the country group. Those types which are wholly original are also the most poetic: such are the fisher, shepherd, gardener, forester and miner. The charcoal-burner is also clearly a favorite, though he invariably possesses the trait of hospitality ascribed to him by the *Märchen*.<sup>37</sup> Types which are represented in more

<sup>37</sup> *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, p. 136 ff. *Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein*.

favorable colors than those assigned to them by current report are the miller, who is kindly and upright instead of thieving and treacherous,<sup>38</sup> and the tinker, who in only one instance out of four shares his popular reputation for drunkenness.<sup>39</sup>

Typical qualities are prominent in most references to members of the country group. Throughout nineteen instances the forester displays a love for his dog and out-of-door life and is keenly responsive to the appeal of Nature. Types in which one exceptional figure is found include the miller, who is twice described as kindly and honest and whose appearance in three other instances is suggestive of his trade; the charcoal-burner, who is eight times described as superstitious, friendly and hospitable; and the miner, who is twice credited with an especially strong tendency to superstition. In the case of the gardener, who is four times characterized by piety and the love for flowers but thrice given a less flattering description, we also encounter two purely individual figures, and three in that of the fisher, who is five times represented as kindly and superstitious. Emphasis is thrice laid upon the wandering existence of the tinker, who is elsewhere thrice described as loquacious and of a grotesque appearance. Finally, love of Nature and of music coupled with hospitality characterize the shepherd in fifteen instances as compared with four exceptional cases.

No less unimaginary are the realistic descriptions which are found in Tieck's distinctively romantic works. These include the description of the shepherd's existence in *Der blonde Eckbert* and *Die schöne Magelone*, the gardener in *Wil-*

<sup>38</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2389. Der Bäcker mit der Kratz, der Müller mit der Matz, der Schneider mit der Schnippscher', wo kommen die drei Diebe her? Nr. 2393. Wenn man zehn Bäcker, zehn Müller und zehn Schneider in einen Sack thut und schüttelt, so ist ein Dieb oben. Nr. 2830. De Dum ist erlikste an de Müller. Nr. 2832. Mühlmahler, Roggenstahler. Nr. 2864. Wenn der Müller ohne Brot, ist im Lande grosse Not, etc. Die deutschen Volksbücher, Bd. 5. Nr. 7127. In der Mühle ist das Beste, dass die Säcke nicht reden können. Nr. 7147a. Er nährt sich aus dem Stegreif, wie ein Müller. Nr. 7140. Müller und Bäcker stehlen nicht, man bringt's ihnen Bd. 7, Nr. 188. Warum nisten die Störche nicht auf Mühlen? Sie fürchten, der Müller stehle ihnen die Eier. Des Knaben Wunderhorn, p. 573. Miller steals corn when grinding. p. 222. Miller kills rich locksmith's son for supposed treasure. p. 148. Miller sells wife and children to murderers.

<sup>39</sup> *Stand und Beruf im Volksmund*, Nr. 2686. Kesselflicker haben Durst.

liam Lovell, the matter-of-fact forester in Rothkämpchen and the charcoal-burner in *Genoveva*. As instances of partial realism, where characteristic detail is prominent in figures otherwise imaginatively conceived, we may mention the miller in *Prinz Zerbino*, the shepherd in *Genoveva* and the gardener in *Der Runenberg*. Tieck's use of realism is more apparent; however, in the artisan types than in those of the country group.

On the other hand, Heine's statement that Tieck's interest in the middle class is confined chiefly to his later period, is disproved as conclusively by the country as by the city types. In both, the less important occupations recur with almost identical frequency in the two periods, while the five country types which receive most sympathetic treatment are distributed between the earlier period and the *Novellen* in the following ratio; shepherd, 14 to 5; forester, 11 to 8; gardener, 3 to 5; charcoal-burner, 2 to 7; miner, twice only, in the *Novellen*.

Tieck's sympathetic analysis of the general types of the toilers in city and country finds no parallel among his predecessors. Most cases of similarity between his middle class descriptions and those of earlier writers consist of individual characters in works of the latter which resemble figures in Tieck's writings, but which are distinguished from them by all the difference between carefully created types, usually of frequent recurrence, and single instances of character portrayal. Such figures are in particular the skilful hair-dresser in Zachariä's *Renommist*, the quarrelsome cobbler in Weisse's *Der Teufel ist los*, the pious weaver in Voss' *Luise*, the greedy landlord in *Minna von Barnhelm* with his more intelligent and dignified counterpart in *Hermann und Dorothea*, the shoemakers in Kleist's *Erdbeben in Chili* and Wieland's *Abderiten*, together with the tinker in the latter work, all three of the last-named characters being noisy demagogues. Kleist's shoemaker and the poetically conceived miner in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, though belonging to authors who will be mentioned among Tieck's successors, were characters after his own heart and may well have afforded suggestions to the friend and posthumous editor of both writers. These and the figures created by Lessing and Goethe seem most likely to have directly influenced Tieck.

Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, on the other hand, suggested not so much individual characters or types as a new conception of the middle class and its relation to the nobility. The idea of the potential equality of both classes contained in the *Lehrjahre*, Tieck reproduced in *Der junge Tischlermeister* and later works, until he was forced to take a further step and admit that the evidence of contemporary reality placed the artisan in many instances above the noble. The combination of real and ideal elements implied by the connection of handicraft with art which is found in the *Wanderjahre*, also appears in *Der junge Tischlermeister*, though as Tieck's work was composed from 1811 to 1835 and the *Wanderjahre* appeared in 1819, it is uncertain how great the influence of the latter upon the former may have been. Several of Tieck's writings of different periods also resemble the *Wanderjahre* in contrasting handicraft with the soulless machine, which robs the laborer of spiritual and physical nourishment alike.

In discussing the further appearance of the middle class in German writings of the nineteenth century, we will first consider the development of class contrasts and later the purely descriptive work.

Achim von Arnim in *Die Kronenwächter* (1817), written four years before *Die Wanderjahre* were begun, contrasted the various classes of society in the sixteenth century, representing "das kleinstädtische Bürgertum" as the most typical embodiment of national power and intelligence. In Tieck and Wackenroder's conception of national art he found the power which levels social barriers and dignifies the simplest product of the artisan's toil.<sup>40</sup> In many respects he foreshadowed the theory of class-distinctions found in Tieck's *Novellen*: for example, though opposed to the abolition of outer class-distinctions (cf. *Der glückliche Färber*, pp. 302, 312 ff), he conceived the nobility of the future as consisting of the exceptional members of all classes.<sup>41</sup> He also faced squarely the actual conditions of his day, (as Tieck did only toward the close of his career), and acknowledged that the industrious middle class was of

<sup>40</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims "Kronenwächter"* II. Theil Goldap. 1910, pp. 4, 9, 10.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45.



more service to the state than many a nobleman.<sup>42</sup> Though he defended the nobility, provided they did not oppose the inevitable readjustment of class relations, he went further than Tieck in advocating the political and social enfranchisement not only of the middle class but of the peasantry, in so far as the latter could be educated for its new position.<sup>43</sup> In an earlier work, *Die Gräfin Dolores* (1809), Arnim had contrasted with the nobility the brutal greed of the upper middle class as represented by the merchant.<sup>44</sup> This type, although later abandoned by Arnim, Tieck everywhere depicts in unpleasant colors. Arnim's works probably rank next to *Wilhelm Meister* as precursors of Tieck's method of treatment of social questions in the *Novellen*. It is, however, noteworthy, that neither *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* nor *Die Kronenwächter* could have influenced the romantic period of Tieck's production.

Arnim was less directly connected with Tieck than was Karl Immermann, a later member of the Romantic school. A close friend, admirer and imitator of Tieck, he was, like the latter, of a conservative temperament and opposed to the extreme tenets of the Revolution. On the other hand, he was even more opposed to the narrow class pride of the nobility than Tieck,<sup>45</sup> who was intimate with many persons of rank. Both writers viewed anxiously the part played by the manufacturer in the transition from the feudal to the industrial order of society. Dr. O. Wohnlich has remarked the close parallelism between the two manufacturers, "der alte Onkel" in *Die Epigonen*, and Balthasar in Tieck's *Novelle, Der Alte vom Berge*, ascribing it to direct influence upon the part of Tieck.<sup>46</sup> In *Die Epigonen* (1836), the nobility is bitterly satirized on the score of having lost its "innere Existenzberechtigung," while the soul-destroying counting-house and factory lack this quality altogether. The favor which Tieck showed to the lower middle class, in contrast with the nobility and the industrialists, Immermann reserved for the peasantry. In *Münchhausen* (*Der*

<sup>42</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims "Kronenwächter" II*. Theil Goldap. 1910, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>45</sup> (p. 35) Alfred Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. 2. p. 541. Dr. Oskar Wohnlich, *Tieck's Einfluss auf Immermann*. Tübingen, 1913, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69.

Oberhof, 1838) the same classes are satirized as in *Die Epigonen*: hope for the future is afforded chiefly by the sturdy qualities of the peasant, though that Immermann also conceives of "das Volk" more broadly, is seen in the words of the Diakonus: "Das unsterbliche Volk! . . . ich meine mit Volk die Besten unter den freien Bürgern und den ehrwürdigen, tätigen wissenden, arbeitsamen Mittelstand." The same speaker, referring to the power of tradition in both peasantry and nobility, declares: "Im Mittelstande allein gilt die Freiheit des Individuums, in diesem Stande fließt einzig der Strom der Selbstbestimmung, nach Charakter, Talent, Laune und Willkür."<sup>47</sup>—Although Immermann is opposed to Tieck's conception of the peasant, it seems probable that he owed to the older writer certain features of his attitude toward the middle class.

A number of other writers who contrasted the lower middle class with the nobility or the manufacturer, displayed more or less affinity in their works to certain of Tieck's ideas. Whereas *Die Ritterbürtigen* (1846) by Lewin Schücking, satirized the pride and ignorance of the Westphalian Junkers, <sup>48</sup> Franz Dingelstedt, in *Unter der Erde* (1841), and Berthold Auerbach in *Neues Leben*, represented members of the nobility as fleeing from the artificial existence of their class to the toilsome life of the miner<sup>49</sup>—a favorite type with Tieck. In *Weisse Sklaven* (1845), Ernst Willkomm contrasted the famishing workmen of the Lausitz with the rich manufacturers, bitterly denouncing machine labor as destructive alike to soul and body.<sup>50</sup> A similar situation leads to the destruction of the factories and the restoration of handicraft in Robert Prutz' *Das Engelchen* (1851).<sup>51</sup>

Of far greater importance than any of the above-mentioned writers is the genius of Friedrich Hebbel and the resemblance which appears between his and Tieck's conception of class equality. Though Hebbel was not a member of the Romantic

<sup>47</sup> *Deutsche National-Literatur*, Bd. 160. *Immermanns Werke*, II. Theil. Münchenhausen. II. Bd. p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> H. Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 133.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

school, he was chiefly attracted by Tieck's earlier works.<sup>52</sup> He was, however, acquainted with the Novellen, and Camillo von Klenze has drawn attention to the parallelism between certain passages in *Die Gesellschaft auf dem Lande* and *Die Ahnenprobe* on the one hand and *Agnes Bernauer* and *Gyges und sein Ring* on the other, without attempting to determine Tieck's possible influence on Hebbel. Both writers regard class traditions as possessing value only from their association with moral ideals. Tieck indicates this belief most clearly in the attitude of the count in *Der Ahnenprobe*, who is led to a compromise between the traditions of his own and those of a lower class. Similar problems lead with Hebbel only to disaster:<sup>53</sup> Agnes and Albrecht seek in vain to bridge the chasm of class prejudice. Nevertheless, one class is not oppressed by another, as in Töring's *Agnes Bernauerin*. On the contrary, both characters represent the individual's fruitless resistance to the traditions of society as a whole, and are placed on a level of equality by their common disaster.

Last among the greater prose writers before 1870, Gustav Freytag and Friedrich Spielhagen described the conflict between feudalism and industrialism originally indicated by Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister* and after him portrayed by most of the authors above mentioned. In *Soll und Haben* (1855) Freytag followed the suggestion of Julian Schmidt to "seek the German people where alone it is to be found, viz. at its labor."<sup>54</sup> With this purpose in mind he described sympathetically the existence of the lower middle class, limited in its mental horizon but filled with all the charm of German "Gemüt." He also contrasted sharply three different classes, in general the same as those depicted by Tieck, "den redlichen Gewinn und Segen bürgerlicher Tätigkeit, die Leidenschaft unredlichen Gewerbes und niederer Habsucht und den wirtschaftlichen Niedergang adligen Hochmuts und adliger Schwäche."<sup>55</sup> Like Tieck, both Freytag and Spielhagen still sympathized with the nobleman, made

<sup>52</sup> Emil Kuhs *Kritische und Literarhistorische Aufsätze*. Hg. von A. Schaer. Wien. 1910. p. 145 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Euphorion*, 20. Bd. 1 & 2. Heft. 1913. p. 165.

<sup>54</sup> H. H. Boyesen, *Essays on German Literature*, N. Y. 1892. Scribner's p. 243.

<sup>55</sup> Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, p. 165.

him not infrequently the hero of their works, and were even (unlike Tieck) most successful in the delineation of such characters. Spielhagen did this especially in *Problematische Naturen* (1860). In *Reih' und Glied* (1866) and *Hammer und Ambos* (1869) reflect more strongly the increasing unrest of the proletariat, for which the latter work finds a solution in profit-sharing by factory laborers.<sup>56</sup> Lastly, in the novel *Sturmflut* (1876), the same problem is treated, this time with greater impartiality in describing the weakness both of the noble and the citizen.<sup>57</sup>

Proceeding from controversial to descriptive treatment of the lower middle class in nineteenth century German writings, we will first consider the works of pre-eminently Romantic authors. Among the older school Novalis, in his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (edited by Tieck, published 1802), represented the hero as learning the art of poetry from an old miner—a character truly after Tieck's own heart. Heinrich von Kleist drew several graphic pictures of lower middle class characters, especially in *Der zerbrochene Krug* (1808) and *Käthchen von Heilbronn*. Little as the armorer in the latter play resembles the smith type found in the writings of Tieck, the editor of Kleist's works may well have received suggestions from various artisan figures, such as the demagogue shoemaker in *Das Erdbeben in Chili*. On the other hand, Tieck's influence is perhaps reflected in the merchant of Hoffmann's *Der Artushof*, whose lack of artistic feeling is peculiarly like that of a similar character in Franz Sternbald's *Wanderungen*, while the relation of master to apprentices and of handicraft to art as depicted in *Meister Martin und seine Gesellen*, by Hoffmann, reminds the reader strongly of certain passages in *Der junge Tischlermeister*. Unlike Hoffmann, who in general made the "Philisterwelt" and "Spiessbürgertum" the objects of literary satire, Brentano (a no less romantic spirit) cherished a secret reverence for such an existence, even though he too wrote of it satirically. "Sei fleissig and mache, dass dir das Bürgerlich-Mechanische nicht verächtlich wird, es ist die Quelle von viel Geistigem," he counselled his sister, Bettina.<sup>58</sup> In *Die Geschichte vom schönen Annerl und braven Kasperl* (1817), the Romantic progenitor

<sup>56</sup> Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, pp. 203, 204.

<sup>57</sup> Boyesen, pp. 256, 257. Mielke, pp. 231, 232.

<sup>58</sup> Alfred Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. II, p. 418.

of the later *Dorfgeschichten*, he revealed, in contrast with Tieck, the poetry of the peasant's spirit and the strong qualities which spring from the very limitations of his surroundings. On the other hand, the gardener with his love for plants in Eichendorff's *Taugenichts* (1826) bears a certain resemblance to several of Tieck's characters.

Like Arnim, Willibald Alexis rivalled Tieck in vivid portrayals of the various social classes in a mediæval city, in *Der Roland von Berlin* (1840); a later work, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht* (1852), lovingly describes the simple existence of the modern Prussian Bürgertum, while Isegrimm (1856) represents the narrow, hum-drum life and strong character of the Brandenburg peasant. *Dies Buch gehört dem König* (1849) by Bettina von Arnim struck a more modern note, in anticipation of the *sozialer Roman*, revealing the misery of the working population of Berlin. Above all the group of so-called Heidelberg Romanticists owed their interest in mediæval Germany to the patriotic aspect of Tieck and Wackenroder's essays on art.<sup>59</sup> Yet the mediæval setting served them only as a disguise for wandering apprentices and similar characters, by means of which they expressed their love for the lower middle class of their own day and time.<sup>60</sup> Thus, Franz von Gaudy continued the style of Eichendorff's *Taugenichts* in *Aus dem Tagebuch eines wandernden Schneidergesellen*. A larger number of parallels to Tieck appears in the verse of this group than in their prose works. Chamisso gave his readers simple popular types, such as *Die alte Waschfrau*, and journeymen, fishers, foresters or miller's apprentices constitute the principal figures in the *Lieder* of Wilhelm Müller.

Among the writers of the nineteenth century not primarily of the Romantic school, whose works contain descriptions dealing with the lower classes of society, parallels to Tieck are less common. The peasant, in whom Tieck showed so little interest, had become a favorite subject of literary treatment, as is seen in the flood of *Dorfgeschichten* by such writers as Zschokke, Gotthelf and Auerbach. Nevertheless, several authors of the mid-century still displayed interest in other

<sup>59</sup> Dr. Karl Wagner, *Die historischen Motive in Arnims Kronenwächter*, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. II, pp. 512, 513, 521.

divisions of the lower middle class. Karl Gutzkow, in *Die Ritter vom Geist* (1847) and *Aus der Knabenzeit*, faithfully portrayed the restricted, half poetic, half prosaic life of the Berlin Kleinbürgertum. In *Maria Magdalena*, Hebbel drew a picture of the tyranny of tradition in this class, unlike anything to be found in Tieck's writings. The peasant and the artisan are portrayed respectively in Otto Ludwig's *Heiterethei* (1854) and *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* (1856), the second work containing an especially realistic and detailed account of the slate-roofer's trade. The lower middle class characters in Gottfried Keller's *Leute von Seldwyla* (1856, 1874) show a family resemblance to those both of the *Dorfgeschichten* and of Romanticism. Wilhelm Raabe was perhaps the last noteworthy writer before 1870 to depict (in his *Hungerpastor*, 1864) the ideal element in the life of an artisan.

Possibly the chief reason for the disappearance of such conceptions of the lower middle class as Tieck had once made popular lay in the fact that through the progress of industrialism, the lower middle class itself had lost much of its former character. Descriptions of the proletariat had already appeared in some of the Romantic works above mentioned. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, in his *Kulturgeschichtliche Novellen* (1856) set the fashion of substituting for characters prominent in history, representatives of the unknown masses, the "misera plebs." Herewith was formulated a program according to which the modern laboring class became the peasant's rival in popular interest. The cause for the change lay not in a decreased interest in the lower middle class, but rather in an increase of literary realism coupled with a change in the realities of the artisan's existence. As the representative of a great social class, Leonhard, der junge Tischlermeister, had been succeeded by members of the proletariat, a product of the system of modern industrialism so bitterly opposed by Tieck.

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## CHAUCER'S LADY OF THE DAISIES

From the dust and din and disorder of the strife that has vexed the many pages of *Anglia* in which, during the past three years, two irrepressible disputants, Lange and Langhans, have vehemently debated the so-called "Legendenprologfrage," the reader hies him worlds away to the antipode of all this discord, Chaucer's own Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, with its repose of daisied fields and its charm of courtly manners and speech. When loudly acclaimed "Wissenschaft," in half a dozen articles, blasphemes the bright lyrist to his face by solemnly assigning the most personal of all his poems, the F. or Fairfax version of the Prologue, to an alleged monkish plagiarist, or when vaunted "Philologische Aufklärungsarbeit" achieves a characteristic triumph by setting Richard of Bordeaux' liveries to making in Nature's own green and white, the daisy flower goes to rest, "for fere of nyght, so hateth she derknesse." The only adequate corrective of this recent Chaucer scholarship seems to be Chaucer himself. Happy indeed is he who, unwitting of us interpreters, reads the Prologue with an open mind until his eyelids drop their shade.

The most cursory survey of the outcome of earlier and better discussions of the book now open before us, soon makes the student painfully aware of the seeming futility of much of the finest research. In two notable essays in our *Modern Language Publications* (1904-1905), Professor Lowes, by his study of sources, demonstrated, one is tempted to say, to the last demands of proof, the priority of the F. Prologue over the G (Cambridge Gg. 4. 27) version; and yet in the current number of *Englische Studien* the veteran Koch shows himself still an obstinate heretic in despite of all this cogent reasoning, and casts his dented sword into the scale. Things in possession have so firm a grip and men are so sensitive to the power of names that the misleading A and B titles of the Prologue versions will long continue to counteract the most potent arguments. Professor Tatlock—my present host, for I write this on Stanford ground—gives full voice in his *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (p. 103) not only to the matured

conviction of the scholar, but to the immediate impression of any layman unbefogged by vapors, when he argues that the poet, following the amorous fashion of the Marguerite cult of the late fourteenth century, pays, throughout the earlier of the two Prologues (F), deep personal homage to the daisy not merely as a fair and fresh flower, but as the symbol of a noble feminine soul; and that in the later version (G) he displays only "the minimum of devotion necessary to justify the introduction of the daisy at all." But note that Professors Lowes and Kittredge,<sup>1</sup> and others, including Langhans of late, reject—quite without warrant, as it seems to some of us—this vivid human element, the all pervasive living woman of the poem. To them the daisy represents, if anything at all, only the dream figment, Alceste, who is the mythical Alceste, and no creature of fourteenth-century flesh and blood. Thus our scholarship, like Penelope, outwits its followers by unweaving in the darkness what it has woven in the light. After the apparent failure of these brilliant demonstrations to carry general conviction, dare I, the latest comer, hope that the personal story which Chaucer so lucidly tells me everywhere in and between the lines of Prologue F. will not seem as shadowy to many as the "clerical plagiarist" of Langhans and the "Bordeaux liveries" of Lange? "By assay ther may no man it preve." In such a reading as I offer, there can be no absolute certainty, only a balance of probabilities.

And now, may I suggest, with all deference to those whom "I come after, gleaning here and there," that the solution of that most fascinating problem of the Prologue, the identity of Alceste, has been thwarted by a disregard of this balance of probabilities, by a lack of a clear issue. The line has been wrongly drawn between the scholars who, like Ten Brink and Tatlock, have proclaimed that the daisy and Alceste portray one lady that Chaucer knew, and that lady the young Queen Anne, at whose request, Lydgate tells us, he made the *Legend*, and to whom the Alceste of the earlier Prologue bids him send the finished book; and the scholars who, like Lowes and Kittredge, have dismissed Queen Anne from the daisied fields and from the dream-vision, and, with her, all traces of a living presence. The ones have accepted the woman and Queen;

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, VI, 435 f.



the others have rejected the Queen and woman.<sup>2</sup> Now I agree with both and differ with both, for I reject the queen and yet accept the woman. My reasons for discarding irrelevant royalty are none of them new. First, because Alceste, so far from seeing herself in Anne's glass, explicitly recognizes in the dedication the separate personality of the English Queen,<sup>3</sup> secondly, because the unlike histories of Alceste and Anne do not tolerate the forced identification; and thirdly, because the poet's passion for the daisy and for the lady whom it symbolizes are such as Chaucer could and would never have felt and expressed for his young Queen, I cannot accept my friend Tatlock's conclusion that "Chaucer used the daisy and Alcestis as vehicles for his personal tribute to Queen Anne, and that the personal devotion expressed in F. was meant and understood as a compliment to her." But I am equally far from believing that all this rapturous homage voices no real devotion and that there is no contemporary woman in the story. "Cherchez la femme!" The chief aim and end of the present writing is the quest of a lady more artfully hidden than the nymph among the reeds. Let us together seek and find the woman whose beloved being pervades Chaucer's waking thoughts and transmutes his romantic visions in the earlier Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*.

<sup>2</sup> Compromise arguments have not served to break the deadlock. Mr. B. L. Jefferson seems to me not only to dodge the issue, but to disregard the poem's essential unity of thought, with the conciliatory suggestion (*J. E. G. Ph. XIII*, 1914, 434) that "till the beginning of the dream Chaucer's worship of the daisy does homage to Queen Anne and to Anne alone. Then from the beginning of the dream (210) Anne, Alceste, and the daisy merge into one. In the last 150 lines Alceste stands practically alone. The prominence of Anne and the daisy gradually diminish to the vanishing point." And while Professor Samuel Moore's opposition (*Modern Language Review*, VII, 1912, 189) to the identification of Alceste and Anne is effectively destructive, less cogent seems, at least to one reader, his subtle plea that "Alceste, though herself and nothing more as a character in history and fiction, is chosen as a model of the wifely virtue exemplified in Anne."

<sup>3</sup> Alceste, the Queen of Thrace, bids Chaucer send the finished book with her compliments to the Queen of England (F 496-497). May I echo Professor Kittredge's pertinent protest (*Modern Philology*, VI, 435): "If Chaucer had feared that some ingenious interpreter might fancy that Alceste was meant for Queen Anne, and had wished to forestall such a misapprehension, he could hardly have done it better. But unfortunately he did not reckon with us moderns."

We need no scholar to tell us that the F. Prologue is divided into two parts—the first, a long day's prelude to a dream (1-196) and the second, the dream itself. So he who runs may read. We do need a scholar to show us, as Professor Lowes has done most convincingly, that the structure of the first part owes not a little to Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise* and that the second confesses its plain indebtedness to Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*. Both these French poems unquestionably brought a wealth of suggestions to the Englishman's shaping brain. But the "great translator," if he be great poet too, is the master and not the slave of his sources; and Chaucer moves among borrowed material with the unfettered step of the royal invader. Or rather let us regard him as a skilful architect using, it is true, in the foundation of his Prologue, much material that was ready to his hand, but plotting primarily with a view to the superstructure and to the unity of the whole. The prime factor in the making, at this later stage of his growth, is the dexterous adjustment of part to part, due not so much to the free use of other men's verses, as to the poet's intimate knowledge of the motives and stimuli of dream phenomena. As Shakspeare, in his frequent illustrations of crowd consciousness, anticipates directly the findings of social psychologists, so Chaucer, in his happy presentations of dream sources and symbols, forecasts in a dozen striking ways the discoveries of present-day psychoanalysis, without many of its attendant horrors. Nor need we marvel at this foresight, for Freud himself has observed with truth:<sup>4</sup> "Much of the artificial dreams contrived by poets are intended for symbolic interpretation, for they reproduce the thought conceived by the poet in a disguise found to be in accordance with the characteristics of our dreaming, as we know these from experience"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *The Interpretation of Dreams*, translated by Brill, 1913, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Skeat's annotations in the *Complete Works* indicate the sources of many of Chaucer's comments upon dreams,—a distracting *Quellenjagd*, which we cannot now pursue at length. There is large evidence of the poet's interest in all phases and sorts of visions. In the introduction to the *House of Fame*, he broaches their causes, kinds, meanings and the large question of fulfilment. Are they psychic—that is, do people's temperaments make them dream of what they have been thinking on? So Jean de Meung had argued in a lengthy passage of the *Roman de la Rose*, 19116f. and so Claudian had testified in verses which had inspired a notable stanza in the *Parlement of Foules*, 99-105. Are they somatic or supernatural—the question debated so earnestly by those

The first two hundred lines of Prologue F.—the sunlit hours in daisied fields—are structurally valuable as providing the psychic stimuli of the chief phenomena in the dream that comes with the darkness.

The poet's imaginative use of the daily interest as the psychic source of his dream is in close accord with truth. Our dreams are built largely upon the sensory impressions of the preceding day, experiences on which one has not yet slept for a night. Machaut in his *Dit du Vergier* and Deschamps in his *Lay Amoureux* and many another French weaver of fancies prepared for the dream background by a similar actual setting of outdoor life on the morning before the vision.<sup>6</sup> To this convention of the *genre*, which has its roots deep in human experience, Chaucer has imparted proper psychical significance. Men have failed to read aright the *Legend* Prologue because they have overlooked the close relation of the phantasies of the vision to their exciting sources, the thought and mood of the poet's immediate past. The stimuli of the dream in the *Book of the Duchess* were not only such explicit causes as the poet's melancholy and the Ovidian tale of bereavement; but a graver implicit reason, the "rooted sorrow" of Blanche's death which fills all his recent memory. Our study here as there is to trace the translation of the waking thoughts of the poet's day into the picture writing of the next night, to examine the speedy conversion of actual ideas, latent dream-material, into dream-content.

This material so soon to undergo vivid transformation had long proved delightfully provocative of visions—the daisy complex of the Marguerite cult. A mass of ideas and emotions had

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scholarly experts in dream-lore, Chauntecleer and Pertelote? Must we deem them the products of physical disorders and distresses, or are they sent from above as warnings of the future? Macrobius, in his famous *Commentary* upon Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, and Cicero himself, in *De Divinatione*, had given many instances of dream prophecies which the Cock pompously retails. Macrobius, too, had classified the chief forms of dream; so Chaucer now tells them over in the *House of Fame* foreword. The *Parlement* passage suggests the chief Freudian tenet—that "a dream is the imaginary fulfilment of some ungratified wish." And the waking preludes of the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Legend* Prologue show that the English poet could link,—as French vision-makers had often done before him—the actual and dream states.

<sup>6</sup> For valuable comment upon the structure of love-visions, French, Italian, English, see Sypherd, *Chaucer's House of Fame*, *Chaucer Society*, 2d Ser., 39.

already collected around the common nucleus of the little flower. It is dangerous to assert a negative, but there are, to my knowledge, no "daisy" poems of Machaut, Deschamps or Froissart that do not voice loving homage to living women,—Marguerites, whose full names we often know. The flower is never worshiped by these Frenchmen for its own sake, but for its erotic symbolism and suggestion. Through the daisy a poignant personal element penetrates their dreams. Hence, on literary grounds alone, many—with Professor Tatlock as their spokesman—refused to believe that Chaucer is honoring only a flower when he exalts the daisy as his "maistresse," his lady sovereigne," his "erthly god," or when he passionately proclaims that "ther loved no wight hotter in his life." Was this rapture mere pretence, conjured up to serve occasions of poetic pomp? As if to refute any misconception of this amorous intent, elective affinity becomes vocal in lines of yet deeper spiritual intimacy. 'She whom the poet serves is the guiding light that leads the sorrowful lover through this dark world, the mistress of his wit, knitting in her bond his word and work and making his heart, like a harp under her fingers, speak to her liking.' In the *Filostrato* Prelude (as Mr. Lowes himself has taught us) Boccaccio had thus chanted the loving omnipotence of his paramour, the flame-like Maria d'Acquino. Thus French and Italian precedents (of which much more in a later place) alike suggest that no daisy, no queen, no myth, but an Englishwoman of his own class was in Chaucer's thought when he made the continental heartcries his own.<sup>7</sup>

The psychological grounds for believing that, in the first part of the Prologue, Chaucer has in mind a woman as real as Beatrice "col sangue suo e con le sue giunture" are even stronger

<sup>7</sup> "Mere commonplace and convention," cries the genius of devitalization which drains great imaginative creations of their life-sap and leaves only juiceless pulp. Men live and love and worship through catchwords and use the borrowed phrases of poems and of prayers to utter their deepest emotions. Even the masters of verse, particularly in the Middle Ages, often unlock their hearts with borrowed keys. If Boccaccio himself conveys his genuine feeling for Maria in that exquisite reminiscence of Dante at the opening of the *Fiammetta*, "O donna, tu sola se' la beatudine nostra," wherefore shall any man conclude that Chaucer's potent reminiscences of Boccaccio's own glowing words of love are only empty phrases signifying nought but a daisy? When the author of the *Pearl* turns to his purpose the lines of the *Olympia* eclogue (XIV),

than those of literary tradition. The dream image of Alceste, lady of the daisies, can be stimulated only by an earlier symbolic association of the flower with a noble living creature not unlike the mythical love's martyr in certain striking features of her story, and finally identified with the "Thracian" queen—as far as an actuality can be with a product of phantasy—in the god of Love's revelation at the poem's end. The unhappy argument of Lowes and Kittredge that the daisy is "equated only with Alceste, who is her mythical self and nobody else" has already been successfully countered by Jefferson's sensible protest<sup>8</sup> that "it would seem absurd for Chaucer, who is no visionary, no chaser after moonbeams, to lavish such extravagant homage upon the pale figure of a long forgotten, mythical heroine like Alceste, and that, as Alceste has not yet been introduced, we should hardly expect Chaucer to make Alceste the guiding star of his life here in the waking day in the field." With the choice of the subject of Chaucer's adoration hitherto limited to Queen Anne, a living woman, and to Queen Alceste, a figment of dreams, it is not surprising that, despite the overwhelming objections to this particular personal identification, men should have chosen the human alternative and should have defended it so persistently. To believe that Chaucer worships through

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in which Boccaccio mourns the death of his little Violante, why should we not infer that the Englishman is bewailing a like grief? But the love of the child and the love of the lady are squeezed by scholarly hands out of the *Pearl* and the *Legend*. And the result is mechanism. Is Chaucer's need in 1399 the less real, because "Complaints to Purses" are things of a long tradition? Was young James I at Windsor the less in love with Lady Joan Beaufort, because, in the *King's Quhair*, he sings of their first meeting to the tune of Chaucer's young kinsmen glimpsing Emelye from the tower. H. O. Taylor has spoken truly and eloquently of such indebtedness in his *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, II, 225. "When Sidney looked into his heart and began to write according to its promptings, he found a heart or mind stored with love-thoughts and images derived from reading which had become part of himself and his own musings. He could 'look into his heart and write' and make use of all its thoughts and sentiments, whatever their provenance. Thus others' conceits appropriated became expressions of genuine feelings and others' thoughts were made part of a lover's argument. Sincerity of imagination is called for rather than originality." Concerning Chaucer this story may be narrated without the change of a word. His imagination is never more sincere than in his moments of deepest indebtedness.

<sup>8</sup> *J. E. G. Ph.*, XIII, 436.

the daisy seen in the morning sunlight a dream-lady whom he does not meet until the sleep of the next night, and whom he does not then recognize, betrays a confusion of thought which leaps blindly over the barriers between the world of actual experience and dreamland. To believe, on the other hand, that the daisy symbolizes to the poet in his waking state a beloved woman, whom his dreaming fancy later transfigures beyond immediate identification by his dazzled sense perceptions, is merely to recognize the natural process of dream formation.

"We dream by night what we by day have thought." What were the thoughts of the poet on the day before his dream? Before Chaucer leads us forth into the fields on the May morning, his mind is running on books and the marvels to be found in their pages—even high authority for the joys of heaven and the pains of hell. When he declares, at the very outset of the Prologue (3-6), that "there is no one dwelling in this country that has been in either heaven or hell," I not only agree with those who think that he is anticipating the self-sacrifice of Alceste who went to hell for her lord, but I scent also a suggestion of his later sustained comparison between Alceste and an Englishwoman, who, honoring her husband's memory as highly as her Greek prototype, was yet denied the boon of taking his place among the shades. Late in the dream, to Love's account of the mythical martyr, the god appends this comforting assurance (553): "Ne shal no trewe lover come in helle." The poet muses over old books, because the ladies whom he will meet in his dream and chant in his balade step from oft-read pages, and because the god of Love will point him to old authors for their stories. He recalls, too, new books wrought by "lovers who can make of sentiment," for they furnish him awake in the fields with many happy phrases for homage to his lady through the daisy symbol, and provide the psychic stimuli of many visual features of his dream—the so-called conventional setting. Now let us to the fields with the poet, to discover there the promptings of later visionary pictures. Take one notable instance of this close relation between the impressions of the day and plastic images of the night. The May-day rover sees "this flour agein the sonne sprede" early in the morning (48-49) and watches it go to rest at sunset (60-63), for

"Hir chere is pleynly sprad in the brightnesse  
Of the sonne, for ther it wol uncloze."

Again he tells us that he is "at the resurrection of the flower, when it should uncloze against the sun that rose as red as rose" (F. 110-112). Now watch the vivid transformation of this natural phenomenon and of the emotions it provokes into picturesque dream-content. The daisy lady of the vision enters, we are told twice (F. 213, 241), in the hand of the god of Love, who is thus portrayed, (F. 130 f):

"His gilte heer was crowned with a sonne  
Instede of golde for hevynesse and wyghte;  
Therwith me thocht his face shon so brighte  
That wel unnethes myght I him beholde," etc.

The psychic justification of this vision of a sun-crowned love-deity of blinding brightness leading by the hand a daisy-lady lies in the poet's waking thought, which has already conceived of the daisy, opening in the sunlight so necessary to its life, as a symbol of his lady unfolding her gentle graces in the light and warmth of love. Or mark a notable difference between the earlier and later versions of the Prologue. The resurrection of all nature after the winter season, which in F. belongs to the actual day in the field, becomes in G. the initial feature of the dream, and, I am inclined to think, with far less structural fitness, because the *leitmotif* of every bird's song, truth in wedded love, connects in F. the waking and sleeping states by promoting the central idea of the dream-composition. When the "tydif" and other winged transgressors against love, beseeching mercy for their trespassing and humbly singing their repentance, are for a time in danger of judgment, but are finally forgiven by Pity "through his strong gentle might" we find in these lines, which occur only in F. (152-170) an imaginative forecast of the offending dreamer's defense before the Love god's tribunal and of his ultimate escape through the same "Innocence and ruled Curtesye." So, because the waking poet kneels by the fresh daisy flower upon the small sweet grass (F. 117), he is found by the Love god and his train in the dream kneeling by Love's own flower (308 f.), his "relyke digne and delytable," and is rebuked for his boldness. Only by thus carefully observing the elaboration of the psycho-

logically significant experiences of the poet's May-day into entralling dream-pictures, can we appreciate the keenness of Chaucer's analysis and the fineness of his art. The very phrases of his waking moments recur to his lips in sleep. The daisy is, to the doting poet, the "empress and flower of flowers all" and he adds, thinking of a certain English gentlewoman, (F. 186): "I pray to God that faire mote she falle." So the lady-sovereign of his dream passeth all other women (F. 277): "I prey to God that ever falle hire faire." This is but one of many ways in which the lady of his life and the lady of his dream are linked. Need we multiply instances of such repetition?<sup>9</sup>

In the preliminary staging of the dream, Chaucer is not content to offer only psychic stimuli of a vision of flower-like love amid lovely flowers. He must provide also physical or "somatic" exciting sources. And, so, recognizing the influences that bodily position and slight occurrences during sleep exercise upon the formation of dreams, he lays him down to rest in a little arbor newly banked with fresh turves on a couch strewn with flowers. External stimulus of touch and smell reinforces the internal stimulus of tangible and fragrant memories.

Chaucer's dream thus exhibits the continuation of the waking state by uniting itself with those ideas which have shortly before been in his consciousness, for, as we have seen, he had learned from bookish sources as well as from experience that "dreams are in general reflex images of things that men in waking hours have known."<sup>10</sup> Like other dreamers mediæval and modern,—the French vision-makers among the rest—he thinks in a series of living pictures, because he now perceives the impressions of the day in the form of sensory activities—and of such activities sight is the chief. The first of these pictures is that of a lady clad and crowned right like a daisy. Indeed she is the poet's own lady, already adored through the symbol of the flower, and now idealized and sublimated, after

<sup>9</sup> This device of verbal repetition, to heighten the naturalness of the dream, had already been employed by Chaucer in the *Book of the Duchess*. At the outset the poet says of his own love-sorrow and sickness (39-40); "Ther is phisicien but oon, That may me hele." So the bereaved Man in Black in the dream (570), "Ne hele me may no phisicien."

<sup>10</sup> So Cicero in *De Divinatione*, XX, "Maximeque reliquiae earum rerum moventur in animis et agitantur de quibus vigilantes aut cogitavimus aut egimus."



the radiant fashion of dreams, into a great queen, a being so rich and rare that the dreamer knows her not. Nothing could be truer to the dream-life than such a lack of recognition. Havelock Ellis has remarked<sup>11</sup> "the fundamental split of dreaming intelligence. On the one side is the subconscious yet often highly intelligent combination of imagery along rational although often bizarre lines. On the other hand is concentrated the conscious intelligence of the dreamer struggling to comprehend and explain the problems offered by the pseudo-external imagery thus presented to it. In dreams subconscious intelligence plays a game with conscious intelligence."<sup>12</sup> Hence arises the problem which the dreaming Chaucer cannot solve without the aid of the god of Love—a problem which baffles readers still—the earthly identity of the daisy-lady of the dream. Indeed, until the final revelation, the sleeper is unable either to name the dream-woman or to draw the parallel, constantly suggested through the imagery and long suspected by the reader, between her and the object of his waking worship.<sup>13</sup> Love's analysis of the psychological situation is as accurate as his humor is delicious (F. 547):

"Thy litel witte was thilke tyme aslepe."

The repeated use of the phrase, "my lady," in the refrain of the dream balade (F.) sung in praising of the noble queen,

<sup>11</sup> *The World of Dreams*, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> "The things that happen in dreams, the pseudo-external world that is presented to the sleeping consciousness, the imagery that floats before the mental eyes of sleep" are to Chaucer as to other dreamers a perpetual source of astonishment and argument. Both in the *Book of the Duchess* and in the *House of Fame* the sleeper seems unable to test and sift the new experience, he perceives but does not apperceive. Professor Kittredge says very truly of the dreamer in the earlier poem (*Chaucer and his Poetry* p. 49): "He understand nothing, not even the meaning of his dream. He can only tell what happened and leave the interpretation to us. The dreamer . . . is always wondering and never understanding." But when Mr. Kittredge adds that "the childlike dreamer who never reasons but only feels and gets impressions is not Geoffrey Chaucer, the humorist and man of the world," he ignores the essential quality of all dreaming. In their visions men, both wise and simple, show ever this childlike wonder.

<sup>13</sup> Let me insist that the "belated recognition" motive in the *Legend Prologue* has literally nothing in common with the dreamer's failure to recognize his guide in the *Paradys d'Amours*. In the French poem the unrecognized person is merely an allegorical figure, of whom we have heard nothing in the

and in the poet's comment upon the subject of the verses, culminating in "my lady sovereign" (275), serves to blend the actual and visionary women into one in the reader's mind, as did green garb and daisy crown. But such identification is always implicit and subconscious and, until the end, is hidden from the dreamer himself, so that we, in partial possession of the secret, enjoy a situation abounding in "dramatic irony." The feminine symbolism of the daisy in the lover's waking hours is recalled and emphasized in the homage paid in the dream by the great troop of true women to the flower "that displays the glory of us all in a figure or emblem." (F. 293 f).<sup>14</sup>

The dreamer, at first a mere spectator, is soon drawn into the center of the action, for dreams are absolutely egotistic. Chaucer asleep, under the sway of phantasy, is doubtless a less rational creature than Chaucer awake, but he is Geoffrey Chaucer still. As the eagle in the *House of Fame* reproaches the poet for his ignorance of love's folk through absorption in work and study (II, 135), so the god in the Prologue rebukes him (322) for the harm done to love's folk by his writings. And the gracious queen who undertakes his defence is not merely the mythical Alceste, but, although the dreamer's sleeping wit knows it not, the transfigured self of his "lady sovereign" and hence the woman most deeply versed in his poems of love. Indeed, if she be the person we think her, she must have known all his work for over twenty years and hence have been able to discuss the date and the substance of each book far more fitly and fully than, shall we say, young Queen Anne, whose English life and speech were so new. At length the dream-woman discloses her name near the end of her plea to the Love god, "I your Alceste, whilom Queen of Trace" (F. 432); but this suspended disclosure seemingly conveys as little to the dreamer as

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waking prelude to the poem; in the English, she is the poet's own lady, symbolized by the daisy in his waking moments. Again in the French this lack of recognition is a trivial incident occupying two or three lines at most; in the English, it seems to spring from the very nature of dreams, provides the poem with its dominant idea and furnishes the necessary suspense. Great should be the compensations of source-hunting to atone for the losses in straight thinking entailed by too stern and unimaginative a chase.

<sup>14</sup> I accept Macaulay's apt rendering (*Modern Language Review*, IV, 19) of the line, "that bereth our alder pris in figuringe."

the frequent repetition of "Alceste" in G. (179, 209, 317, 422).<sup>15</sup> His conscious intelligence, groping for the actual *ego* of the woman, confesses, in answer to Love's query, that he knows not whether she is wife or maid or queen or countess, he can only acknowledge the goodness of this fit leader of good women. The light of identification of the ideal with the actual comes only after Love has once more mentioned her name, and has reminded the dreamer, whose wit is now waking, of her sacrifice and metamorphosis. Then and not until then does the sleeper read the riddle in his words (F. 518-519),

"And is this good Alceste  
The daysie and myn owene hertes reste?"

Thus Alceste the mythical is equated with a woman of the poet's world. Who was that woman?

Precedent and probability point to another and humbler woman than the flesh-and-blood Queen Anne or than the phantom, Queen Alceste. The varying interpretations of Machaut's *Voir Dit* provide at once suggestion and warning. Early scholars like Caylus and Tarbé found its heroine in Agnes de Navarre, as Ten Brink and his clan saw in the *Legend Prologue* only Anne of Bohemia, although many lines in both poems could never have been written of such high-placed ladies. Others of dehumanizing bent like Hanf<sup>16</sup> discovered in the *Voir Dit*, as Lowes and Kittredge in the *Prologue*, only pure fiction without any real foundation. Then Paulin Paris in his edition<sup>17</sup> read the hidden name of the two anagrams as "Peronne d'Armentieres"—a solution amply confirmed by Deschamps (Balade 447), who surely must have known. In like fashion we shall seek to pluck out the heart of our mystery. Were not the Marguerite poems that most influenced Chaucer written by the Frenchmen to women of their own rank who bear the flower's name? Who doubts that the girl in Froissart's *Dittië de la Fleur de la Margherite* and of the *Paradys d'Amours* was the charming reader of the *Cléomadès* in the *L'Espinetle Amoureuse*—

<sup>15</sup> G. is, in this regard, *Hamlet* without Hamlet. Motives like this theme of the doubtful identity of the lady survive from F. without the living personality and the consequent dream-psychology that gave them full warrant.

<sup>16</sup> *Zs. für rom. Phil.* XXII, 145-96, cited by Raynaud, I, xl.

<sup>17</sup> See Machaut's fondness for such devices, Tarbé's index, s. v. "Énigme."

no queen but a maiden of good family, a Marguerite whose full name like Froissart's, is hidden in four lines:

"Je hantoie la tempore et tart  
Dont frois, dont chauds, navres d'un dart  
D'amours; et lors de fleurs petites  
Violetes et margherites."<sup>18</sup>

Deschamps, it is true, writes at least three balades (417, 463, 469) to a royal lady, Marie of Hungary, but in all these he keeps his humble distance, addressing her in the first as "the future Empress of Rome," picturing her in the second as "pour un roy tresjoieuse pasture" and comparing her in the third with a dozen flowers, the Marguerite among them. But his chief Marguerite balade (539), which, as Mr. Lowes says, "repeats the substance and often the phraseology of the *Lai de Franchise*," is doubtless addressed to "Marguerite la Clivete, nonain d'Ormont," with whom Deschamps couples his own name, "Eustache Morel" in the word-play of the very next balade (540). As we have seen, the prelude of the *Filostrato*, which Chaucer converts to the praise of his lady, was penned to no queen, but to Boccaccio's innamorata, the lively Fiammetta. And let us remember that, although Boccaccio wished to dedicate his "book of good women," *De Claris Mulieribus*, to Joan, Queen of Naples, he did not dare approach so near the throne, but conveys his homage to the royal dame through a letter to that worthy wife, Andrea d'Acciaiuoli. Who is the worthy English wife that bids Chaucer send the book to Anne? A study of analogues thus speeds us on our way to truth.

Such an equation as this of Alceste with a living woman is in accord with Chaucer's custom elsewhere. Very recently he had boldly coined for his ends a personal allegory directly in the teeth of old myths and fables as men knew them. The "Fair Anelida" of story could never have been associated by tradition with Arcite of Thebes as she is, on the evidence of both the *Intelligenza*, st. 75, and Froissart's *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier*

<sup>18</sup> *L'Espinette Amoureuse*, 3380-3383. Scheler, *Poésies de Froissart*, 1, 389, suggests *Vrediau* as the lady's name, but he breaks the rules of the game by going outside of the four lines of the problem. I should prefer *Petil*, a common French surname, which fulfils the conditions of the enigma, but is perhaps too bourgeois for our purpose. In any case, Froissart's lady like Chaucer's was so obscure that the riddle is hard to solve.

(301), which couple her with Iwain, a heroine of the Arthurian cycle. But Chaucer brings the two together from opposite poles of romance, merely because Anne Welle, Anelida's counterpart in real life, was mated to Arcite's name-fellow, d'Arcy or James Butler. Moreover Chaucer, turned Kingmaker, lavishly bestows upon this "character in the matter of Britain" the far-off Kingdom of Ermony, simply because Anne Welle was the then living Countess of Ormonde (Comtissa Ermonie).<sup>19</sup> And since the third Earl of Ormonde had been untrue to his lady, our poet unhesitatingly substitutes a "false Arcite" (save the mark!) for Boccaccio's paragon of lovers. These fire-gilt innovations, unblushingly invented for contemporary application and consumption, are bolstered up by an appeal to pseudo-antiquity and to such spurious authority as "Corinne." So here we may be sure that the metamorphosis of Alceste into a daisy—which men have vainly sought "with thimbles and care" in the old Greek world of wonder—is of the English poet's own making.<sup>20</sup> The miracle is demanded by his allegorical needs of the moment, for only thus can the Alceste of his dream be directly identified with the beloved lady of his waking moments in the field, "the daysie and myn owene hertes reste." An apocryphal "Agaton" is cited to sustain the setting of Alceste in the heavens as a star, whose shape recalls the daisy. Fortune smiles upon our poet's daring. "Corinne," it now appears, was an old Theban poetess, to whom a legend of the ruined city might well be attributed. Agathon, Aristotle tells us,<sup>21</sup> wrote a tragedy called "The Flower"—"in that all is invention, both incidents and names." Could Chaucer have forged more likely sources for his allegorizings?

Alceste of the dream and the living lady symbolized by the daisy of Chaucer's May-day are obviously one and the same. By the riddling use of the name "Anelida,"<sup>22</sup> the reader is led

<sup>19</sup> I have thus interpreted the *Anelida and Arcite* in my article, "Chaucer's Tale of Ireland," *P. M. L. A.*, June 1921.

<sup>20</sup> In this bit of myth-making Chaucer may possibly have caught a hint (at least, many so think) from Froissart's story, in his *Marguerite Dillie*, of the birth of the daisy from the tears shed by Heres on the grave of Cephel.

<sup>21</sup> *Art of Poetry*, Twining, I, 128, cited by Skeat, III, xxxii-xxxiii.

<sup>22</sup> Let us remember that *Anelida and Arcite* is very close to the *Legend* not only in its date, but in its theme, man's inhumanity to noble womanhood.

to see that the name of Alceste is quite as significant as her story. As I have already indicated, Chaucer had large precedent for his name-play. Machaut was particularly fond of anagrams and number-riddles disguising ladies who had touched his heart.<sup>23</sup> The other French Marguerite poets had played upon the names of their loves;<sup>24</sup> but an Englishman debarred from the obvious parallel between the names of maiden and flower must pun more subtly. Pun he must, as name-play had become traditionally associated with the daisy-cult. Even the trick of concealing a modern name within the compass of a classical one was known before Chaucer. Froissart wraps the name "Aelix" in that of "Polixena":

"Polixena, vostre nom me remainne  
Dedens le vostre en V lettres et qui  
M'ont pluisours fois en pensant resjoy."<sup>25</sup>

Interestingly enough Boccaccio employs, in the Sixth Eclogue, the name "Alcestus" to denote King Louis of Hungary: "Alcestus dicitur ab Alce, quod est Virtus, et Aestus quod est Fervor." Chaucer's word-play will surely be better than this. If "Anelida" equals "Anne Welle," what is our "Alceste" equation? No long scrutiny of the Prologue's form of the mythical name was necessary to convince me that, in fourteenth-century England, "Alceste" could fitly suggest only "Alice Cestre." Now was it not entirely reasonable to argue that, if a woman of such a name played any part in the story of Chaucer's life, the trail was the right one and the goal was near? So I turned me hot-foot to Professor Kuhl's serviceable index<sup>26</sup> of the *Life Records of Chaucer*, where I straightway found this startling entry:—"Alice de Cestre, K. H. 163, 53, 1368; 170, 55, 1369; 173, 58,

<sup>23</sup> Hoepffner, "Anagramme und Rätselgedichte bei Guillaume de Machaut" (*Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXX, 1906, 401 f.) shows that Machaut in puzzles of every sort half conceals and half reveals not only his own name and that of the royal or ducal patron of the moment, but the names of many ladies from Peronelle d'Armentieres (*supra*) to the shadowy women of the Berne manuscript, Johanne, Alis, Francoise, Agnes, Marie.

<sup>24</sup> So Chaucer's follower, James I, puns upon the name of Lady Joan Beaufort in the description of the chaplet in the *Kings Quhair* (st. 47): "The plumys eke like to the flour *Jonettis*, etc."

<sup>25</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, I, 32.

<sup>26</sup> *Modern Philology*, 1912, p.

1369." Then to the corresponding pages of Kirk<sup>27</sup> to discover that in the "Schedule of Names of the Household of Edward III for whom Robes for Christmas 1368 were to be provided, including Philippa Chaucer among the Damoiselles and Geoffrey Chaucer among the Esquires," one of the four Souzdamoiselles was "Alliceon de Cestre." On March 10, 1369, in a "Writ of Privy Seal to Henry de Snayth, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, to deliver certain quantities of cloth and furs to the Damoiselles in the Queen's Service, including Philippa Chaucer for Christmas last past," Alice de Cestre, as a Souzdamoiselle, receives "x alnes de drap, 1 furure, ½ de bys." Her final appearance in the Household Book is six months later, Sept. 1, 1369, in yet another "Writ of Privy Seal to Henry de Snayth, Clerk, Keeper of the Wardrobe, directing him to issue divers lengths of black cloth to the Members of the King's Household for their mourning at the funeral of Queen Philippa." Philippa Chaucer and Aliceon de Cestre, like other damoiselles, receive, each, six ells of black cloth, long, and Geoffrey Chaucer, three ells of the same, short. Alice Cestre, as a member of the Royal Household, was associated with both Chaucer and his wife in 1368 and 1369. She must have known them well, as the company of damoiselles and esquires was not very large.

Now was Alice Cestre maid, wife or widow, during these last days of Queen Philippa?<sup>28</sup> She could not be Chaucer's Alceste, if she were not 'a pattern to any woman that will love a man,' and if her own life had not

"taughte al the crafte of fyne loving  
And namely of wyfhode the lyvyng,  
And al the boundes that she oghte kepe."

Nor do I think that she could be Chaucer's Alceste, unless she had early lost her husband, and had long cherished his memory.

<sup>27</sup> *Chaucer Society*, 1900, 2d Ser. 32.

<sup>28</sup> It is probable that the three sousdamoiselles with whom Alice Cestre is three times mentioned were all married women. Marie or Margery Olney was certainly the wife of John Olney, one of the esquires. On May 11, 1420, John Olney of Weston, Bucks, in his last testament (Furnivall, *Fifty English Wills*, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 78 P. 48) made Margery his wife, his executrix, and, after several legacies, bequeathed to her the residue of his estate. Marie or Marion Hervey was doubtless married to William Hervey, and Joan de Hynton to Thomas Hynton, both men about court. Few doubt that Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer were then man and wife.

Alice Cestre might not 'for her husband choose to die and eke to go to hell rather than he'; for Chaucer deprecates that comparison at the outset by telling us that 'no one that dwelleth in this country hath either been in hell or heaven; but if she be the woman of our seeking, she was assuredly one of love's martyrs. Just what do we know of the married life of this fourteenth-century lady? At the end of June 1356, John de Cestre and Alice his wife received from the King an annuity of ten marks out of the twelve pounds which the husband was required to pay him yearly for the farm of the hundred of Kynton in Warwickshire.<sup>29</sup> If this grant was made not long after the marriage of the pair, Alice might well be the exact contemporary of Geoffrey Chaucer, for in these days girls were mated in their early and middle teens. The next mention of John and Alice together is just nine years later, July 2, 1365,<sup>30</sup> when a license for 100 shillings is paid by John de Carthorp, parson of the church of West Tanfield, for the alienation in mortmain to him by Alice de Cestre and John de Cestre, Chaplain,<sup>31</sup> of two messuages, 28 acres of land, and five acres of meadow in West Tanefield, Thornebergh and Byncehowe,<sup>32</sup> to celebrate divine service daily for the souls of Alice and John, when they are departed this life and of their heirs and ancestors." This seems to have been a timely spiritual investment on the part of Alice's husband, as he died within five years. On Jan. 26, 1370, in the Close Rolls, and on April 3, 1370, in the Patent Rolls, is recorded "a grant for life or until further order to Alice, *late the wife* of John de Cestre, for long service, of 10.£ yearly of the issues of

<sup>29</sup> *Calendar Patent Rolls*, June 29, 30, 1356.

<sup>30</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls* under date.

<sup>31</sup> There seems little reason to suppose that our "John de Cestre, chaplain," was the John Cestre, chaplain," to whom the Bishop of Winchester granted on June 25, 1361, land and rent at Farnham for celebrating divine service every day in the chapel of the Bishop's castle at that town for his health and for his soul after death (*Cal. Close Rolls*). It is not unlikely that our John was the John de Chestre, who, on Oct. 18, 1361, was appointed with Thomas Prest to "the office of the saucery during pleasure," as Prest's name appears later on a list of esquires at court during Alice's service there (Dec. 1368).

<sup>32</sup> West Tanfield is on the Ure in Yorkshire, midway between Ripon and Masham. Thornbrough, Bingoe and Carthorp are neighboring hamlets. A far cry from these Northern localities to Kynton in Warwickshire!



the manor at Haveryng-atte-Boure [in the present Epping Forest, Essex] on surrender by her of previous letters patent dated June 30 in the King's thirtieth year (*supra*), which granted her and *her late husband, who has gone the way of all flesh*,<sup>33</sup> 10 marks yearly of the farm due the king from the hundred of Kyn-ton in Warwickshire."

Let us mark that King Edward, who had solemnly promised the dying Philippa to pay all legacies and pensions to the squires and damsels who had served her (Froissart), was requiting Alice for her "long service." From the *Life Records* we have seen that she was a sousdamoiselle of the Queen for at least a year before her Majesty's death in 1369. And one entry in the *Patent Rolls* a dozen years later, June 3, 1380, seems to attest a length of service that conforms to the phrase in the King's grant. It is here duly recorded that, at the time of the visitation of the Hospital of St. Katherine near the Tower of London, on Thursday, August 6, 1377, Katherine de Cologne, one of the damsels of the Princess of Wales, alleged a grant to her by the King of a corrody in the Hospital which Queen Philippa founded for her damsels and bestowed in succession on Isabella Hild, Margaret Chene, Margaret Monceux, Alice Chester and Joan Moris. John de Hermesthorp, the Master of the Hospital, and three chaplains and three sisters unanimously declared upon oath that the alleged corrody had never been founded or be-

<sup>33</sup> The compiler of the Index to the *Patent Rolls* seems to think that Alice's husband (dying between 1365 and 1370) was the John de Chestre, for whose killing John Horpal was pardoned May 17, 1367 on the plea of self-defense. I doubt very much whether our John the Chaplain died thus violently. As Horpal was confined in Northampton-Jail, and as in 1365 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-7, p. 147) one John de Chestre of Stamford was associated with the Sheriff of Northampton in an inquisition of the names of certain felons who had stolen silver vessels of the King, the probabilities are that it was this John of Stamford, once outlawed for the murder of his servant, who was slain. Moreover, there were many John de Chestres or Cestres in fourteenth-century England: a John Chestre of Plymouth appointed with others to guard that port against the King's enemies, June 3, 1360 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*), a John Chestre who was killed by William Brerele of West Wardon, May 28, 1377, (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*), a John Chestre, Fellow of Merton College, 1348, and Bursar in 1368-9 and afterwards (Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, 1885, p. 204), a John de Cestre, Barber of Leicester in 1368-9 (Bateson, *Records of Borough of Leicester*, 1901, p. 143) and doubtless many more. Only when "John" is associated with "Alice," can we be sure of our man.

stowed by the Queen. The allegation, true or not, implies that Alice Cestre held a well established place at court. The denial of Hermesthorp and his subordinates would seem to show that she was never a sister at the hospital. Of Alice's later history, after the granting of the Havering pension, we at present know nothing.<sup>34</sup> But the association of her widowhood with Queen Philippa's service in the days of Chaucer's attendance at court adapts her fitly for the rôle of Alceste.

Alice Cestre was at least Chaucer's age, perhaps in her late forties, when she enters the *Legend* Prologue as "my lady" and "Alceste."<sup>35</sup> He who likes to think of greybeards with green girls, of Machaut at sixty doting upon a juvenile Peronelle, of senile Edward in the arms of Alice de Perrers, rather than of Chaucer chanting his loving regard for a woman also in middle age, whom he had known for twenty years, will cry out against our identification. But why, in the study of literature, should we reject what would be so normal and natural in life<sup>36</sup>—particularly in the study of the *Legend* whose very first pair of lovers, Antony and Cleopatra, had passed the middle of the way? If, moreover, in balancing the probabilities, a reader deems it more likely that the glowing lines of the F. Prologue, the Fiammetta and the Marguerite passages, were addressed by our warm-blooded poet to Queen Anne rather than to Madame Alice, and that the comparison of the dream lady, love's martyr, Alceste, who had gone to hell for her husband, fits the young wife of Richard in her girlish light-heartedness, better than the middle-aged widow of John Cestre in her lifelong devotion to a memory, I must ask him to turn with me from the first Prologue

<sup>34</sup> Mr. A. C. Wood of the Public Record Office writes: "I will see if I can find anything about the Chaucerian lady, but I am not very hopeful. The entry on the *Close Roll* referred to (Jan. 26, 1370) looks as though the pension would not come in the Exchequer, but in the accounts of the bailiff of Havering, which are only fragments." Next summer in London, among British rolls and records, I faintly hope to find "Alice Cestre" and to learn something about her middle and later life.

<sup>35</sup> Nowhere in F. are we told that Alceste is young. She is womanly, benign and meek, beautiful and above all good, but never youthful. The daisy is, of course, 'young and fresh' (F. 103)—for, not only are fairness and freshness its natural properties, but these symbolize the spiritual qualities of the beloved.

<sup>36</sup> If Bartholomew atte Chapel had been a poet, what verses might have honored his bride, Chaucer's mother, when her son was approaching thirty!

to the second of some years later. What has gone out of the story is not reverence for a queen, but love for a woman. The poet has deliberately excised all the passages of personal affection for a creature of flesh and blood, penned at the promptings of "lovers that can make of sentiment" (Boccaccio and the Frenchmen), now unromanticized into mere "folk," and becomes in Love's eyes an "old fool" who scoffs at him, "that loves paramours too hard and hot" (G. 288. 314). So the god could never have spoken of the devotee, who himself boasted in F. (59), "There loved no wight hotter in his life." He is now no longer explicitly writing "in honor of love" as in F. 81-82. Indeed G. is a love-poem without the love. The second Prologue has gained greatly in external grace and finish, but it has lost the human soul of the cruder first version.<sup>37</sup> Either Alice Cestre has died in the interim of six or eight years between the two Prologues,<sup>38</sup> or she has still clung to her dead Admetus, or else Chaucer, despite his vow to love the daisy (that is, the daisy-lady) "till that myn herte dye" has ceased to love. But, in any case, a woman whom the poet has loved as an equal has gone out of the story.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there were in Chaucer's mind strong personal and local reasons for the association of Alice Cestre, and, through her, of Alceste, with the daisy. The Englishwoman, whose affiliations were with the court, may have been one of the party of the Flower, like Philippa of Lancaster, and hence may have gone forth on May-day, in company with those of her order, clad in green and garlanded with daisies, chanting adoration of the Marguerite—thus providing a very real suggestion of the dream company in the Prologue. Herein would lie ample occasion not only for Chaucer's consistent application of the Marguerite motive—daisy symbolism

<sup>37</sup> Gone from G., as Professor Tatlock has shown, (*Chronology*, p. 115) are seventy lines more or less closely connected with hearty personal feeling—the poets repeated expression of his pleasure in the daisy, and his warm love for the little flower and for her whom it symbolizes, his description of his eagerness to see it and of his long May-day kneeling and reclining by it in the fields, full of thoughts of his lady, and many human touches in the dream itself. At the end, which has undergone fewer changes, the Alceste word-play is still suggested but very faintly, as we have little sense of a living presence.

<sup>38</sup> I heartily agree that the absence from G. of the dedication to Anne points to a date after 1394 for the second Prologue.

and daisy garb and crown—to Alice Cestre, the actual woman, and to Alceste, her dream counterpart, but also for his repeated references to the strife between Flower and Leaf. As elsewhere, we are merely weighing probabilities.

Now it is not to be denied that Chaucer might have cherished another woman while his wife, Philippa, was living. Neither courtly love nor human nature put a ban upon such devotion,<sup>39</sup> and well, we cannot altogether forget that unhappy business of Cecilia de Champagne. But he surely could never have professed a lavish devotion to another woman than his wife in the Prologue to a group of poems exposing and berating unfaithful husbands, if that Prologue was written before his wife's death in the latter half of 1387.<sup>40</sup> The author of the *Canterbury Tales* is a mighty master of irony. His sinners loathe and attack their own outrageous faults, exhibited in like degree by other men. The wildly angry Somnour tells the story of a friar who is made as wroth as a wild boar after sermonizing and pleading against Ire. The avaricious Pardoner, drinking and blaspheming upon a tavern bench, directs his preachment and tale against Avarice and Tavern Sins. The Manciple, after large abuse of the Cook, scores in his story and its moral a too free use of the tongue. But the unconscious humor of each of these offenders would pale beside that of the poet himself, should he, in the compass of a single work, attack at length false lovers and husbands and prove, even in words, false to his wife. If the *Legend of Good Women* was written before Philippa Chaucer's death, the lady

<sup>39</sup> Coulton, *Chaucer and his England*, p. 28, says in another connection: "Nobody who has closely studied medieval society, either in romance or in chronicle, would suppose that Chaucer blushed to feel a hopeless passion for another or to write openly while he had a wife of his own."

<sup>40</sup> The wide belief that F. was written before 1387 may explain in a measure the instinctive unwillingness of those who defend its priority to recognize the presence of an "unknown lady"—other than Anne or a mythical Greek heroine. No poet could be unfaithful in a poem that extolled fidelity in marriage, hence there could be no "other woman." That any scholar thus reasoned, is sheer assumption, for it does not appear that anyone ever came close enough to the heart of our matter to perceive its most obvious implications. And perish the thought that a man in praising good wives could begin with a paean upon his own! Indeed such a possibility seems never to have occurred to any interpreter. Poor Philippa! That those who deem F. to be late should have failed to find any traces of the concealed lady to whom the widower might have paid legitimate homage is somewhat harder to understand.

of his waking moments, she who is symbolized by the daisy and is extolled in the lines from the *Filostrato*, can be only the poet's wife. But as there seem to be no reasons for equating Alceste and Philippa either in name or in story, and as there exist the two strong arguments of characteristic word-play and a common widowhood for the identification of Alceste with Alice Cestre,<sup>41</sup> I conclude that the F. Prologue was written after Philippa's passing in 1387—certainly not earlier than 1388.

Now let us see how far remaining evidence in the case—it is very slight—supports or opposes this 1388 date of the *Legend* Prologue. Chaucer could not have had access to Deschamps *Lai de Franchise*, 1385, before the spring or summer of 1386 (Lowes). But have we any right to draw the inference that Chaucer used the Frenchman's poem at the earliest possible opportunity, when we remember that another important source of the Prologue, Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* had lain by him for nearly twenty years since the days of the *Book of the Duchesse*? The year 1386 is valuable only as a *terminus a quo*. Now we have seen that the *Anelida and Arcite*, which resembles the *Legend* in its theme of true wife and false husband and in its word-play upon the lady's name, could hardly have been written before 1386.<sup>42</sup> Between the *Anelida and Arcite* and the *Legend* is a version of the *Knights Tale*, "al the love of Palamoun and Arcite" (which may have been long in the making). Prologue F, in no way, contradicts but rather confirms either a 1387 or 1388 date for the last. We must however, give due weight to Professor Tatlock's argument,<sup>43</sup> from the close likeness between *The Testament of Love*, I, Prol. 94-114, and F. 66-77, that Thomas Usk must have known the "gleaning" passage in the earlier version of the Prologue and that therefore F. was written sometime before Usk's death in March 1388, or rather before the penning of the *Testament* in 1387. Usk's indebtedness to Chaucer in this instance—and his passage is quite in the manner of

<sup>41</sup> The happy recognition of the possibilities of the faithful Alceste as a heroine, in the twofold citation of her and her story in the *Troilus*, V, 1527-1533, 1777-1778, anticipated by several years the far happier thought of identifying in a dream-poem the mythical queen with a living woman of similar name and character.

<sup>42</sup> See my article, "Chaucer's Tale of Ireland," *P. M. L. A.*, June 1921.

<sup>43</sup> *Chronology*, p. 22.

his borrowings from the *House of Fame* and *Troilus*, with alteration, expansion and disfigurement—would militate against our view that Chaucer's wife was dead when he wrote the *Legend Prologue*. The time between Philippa's death in the summer of 1387 and Usk's execution in the spring of 1388, seems far too short for so many happenings—the widower's finding of a new love, the penning of a long poem in her praise, and Usk's use of this in the prologue to a prose tract of large compass. We can only overleap the obstacle, which is a very real one, by concluding either that Chaucer borrowed from Usk, a possibility suggested by Tatlock in the case of likenesses between the *Testament* and the poet's later works; or that both writers drew the idea, which has all the earmarks of a literary convention, from a common source. It is noteworthy that this is the single significant parallel between the two works. If Usk had known the *Legend*, which may be called Chaucer's own "testament of love," would he not have lifted as largely from this as from the *Boethius* or the *Troilus* or the *House of Fame*? Personally, I am inclined to think that Usk did not know or use the Prologue and that the resemblance in question does not therefore militate against our 1388 date for the first version. Other men may be of another mind.

With the passing of the Anne-Alceste equation, if pass it ever will, should also perish the desperate attempt to identify the conventional figure of the Love god with young Richard II. One must admit, however, that Chaucer could hardly have written Alceste's admonitions to the god and ruler, without some thought of the parlous plight of the English monarch through his own unwisdom. The warnings of the Thracian queen are a medley of traditional precepts of royal conduct drearily familiar to anyone versed in John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, in the "regimens of princes" and in the chess-book moralities of which I must speak elsewhere. To connect such long current "polity" with this or that year of the young King's misrule is a fascinating though rather futile pastime. For instance, it is easy to show that such counsel would have been most timely in the spring and summer of 1388, and to indicate some really striking verbal parallels between the cautions of Alceste (in F. as well as G.) and the petition of the commons

to the King<sup>44</sup> in this year of the Merciless Parliament. But any "chronological conclusions," thus derived, are admittedly insecure. Our dates will be surer, if some day we learn something more of Alice Cestre.

So this is the love-story that Chaucer tells in the F. Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. To Alice Cestre, whom he has known since his early days at court, twenty years before, and whom he now deems the light of his life, his guide, his earthly God, he pays May-day homage through the daisy. Was his "lady sovereign" merely a lover of the fresh and fair flower, or was she perchance a member of the courtly order that vaunted it as an emblem? We know not, but this we know—that the English poet chose to symbolize her by the same pretty floral device with which French dames of her class had been honored by their lovers. When the long May day is over and he lays him down to rest, he sees, because she has been so lately in his thought, his daisy-lady transfigured by dream-magic into a great queen wearing a flowery crown of white and gold above her green raiment. In this sublimated being, this phantom of delight, he fails to recognize the woman of his waking worship, because his little wit, like the man himself, is "thilke time aslepe." Though she attests full knowledge of the writings of all his life, and grants him effective protection against the Love god's wrath, the dreamer seems to know nought of her save that she is good. And then comes Love's revelation that arouses his conscious intelligence; and the lady of the dream is known at last as 'his own heart's rest,' the daisy-lady of his adoration. Alceste, in name, in ideal loving, in devotion to a husband's memory, in transcendent grace and goodness, and in her flowery metamorphosis, is no other than Alice Cestre, Chaucer's lady of the daisies.

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<sup>44</sup> This document, couched in French, is given in full by Knighton, *Chronicle* II, 266 f.

## THE CHILDREN OF THE KING'S REVELS AT WHITEFRIARS

Professor Joseph Quincy Adams, in his *Shakespearean Playhouses*, has written the best account that has yet appeared of the Children of the King's Revels at Whitefriars. He has done much to relieve history of some of the fictions which the devious minds of scholars have woven about the company. Hereafter, let us hope, no man will be seduced to believe with Fleay, that brilliant exemplar of the triumph of mind over fact, that the Whitefriars boys were a continuation of the Children of Paul's. And Professor Adams has rightly scorned the spurious document with which John Payne Collier sought to fill the gaps in his evidences. The eminent forger had published in his *New Facts regarding Shakespeare a Survey of the Precinct of Whitefriars* containing a number of interesting lies, for example that the theatre was situated over the Bishop's House, was built in the refectory of the dissolved monastery, and had been used as a theatre for more than thirty years past by the children of her Majesty. This *Survey* was liberally used by Cunningham in an article on "The Whitefriars Theatre, the Salisbury Court Theatre, and the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens," published in *Transactions* of the Shakespeare Society (IV, 89), and Cunningham's article in turn was drawn upon by Wheatley and Cunningham in their *London Past and Present*. Thus, by the deliberate falsehood of Collier and the rash deduction of Fleay, the Children of Whitefriars were involved in error until E. K. Chambers, with his admirable essay in the *Modern Language Review*,<sup>1</sup> and more recently Professor Adams, have pretty effectively sifted truth from fancy.

My own motive for continuing the discussion is twofold. In the first place, I have a little that is new to add to history. In the second place, the first Whitefriars company interests me from a point of view which seems not to have appealed to any other of the historians. It interests me as an example of wildcat business. It was an ephemeral enterprise, promoted by greed and managed by chicane. It was from first to last

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IV, Jan. 1909, p. 153.



unsound, a parasitic growth on the Jacobean theatre. It was doomed to failure before it began, and it left a trail of ruinous lawsuits that kept alive its unsavory memory long after it had died. This essential unsoundness shows both in the conduct of business, and in the plays which the company produced.

## I.

The first Whitefriars company was rotten from the start. Just when or how it began is not known. The mainstay of our knowledge consists in the extremely interesting lawsuit of *George Andrews v. Martin Slatier*, of 1609, discovered by Greenstreet and published in the *Transactions* of the New Shakespeare Society (1887-93, Pt. III). Andrews begins his story in February of 1608, when he came into the company of shareholders, but the theatre had been in operation before that. The earliest play licensed for the Children of the King's Revels was Sharp-ham's *Cupid's Whirligig*, S.R. June 29, 1607. It is safe to infer that the play had been acted some months before then. And there is proof positive, as I shall show later, that the company was playing in August of 1607. But whether it was organized early in 1607, or in 1606, or in 1605 as Adams supposes, must remain for the present a matter of conjecture. I see no reason to date the beginning earlier than the latter part of 1606.

The leading spirit in organizing the company was not, as Adams believes, Michael Drayton, but was one Thomas Woodford. This man may yet prove to be an important figure in early Jacobean theatrical history. It is known, for example, that he owned an 18th share in the Red Bull Playhouse.<sup>2</sup> A few years ago, while rummaging in that most fascinating Hall of Mysteries, the Public Records Office in London, I came upon an intriguing notice of a suit for damages brought by one Thomas Woodford against one Edward Peerce in Easter term of 1606.<sup>3</sup> It seems that on December 2, 1604, Peerce fell upon Woodford and beat him "ita quod de vita eius desperabatur." The Court awarded damages. Unfortunately the *casus belli* was not recorded, nor is it quite certain that the Thomas whom Peerce "verberavit, vulneravit, et maletravit" in 1604 was the

<sup>2</sup> The decrees in his suit in 1613 against Aaron Holland for recovery of his dues may be read in Fleay's *Hist. of the Stage*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Easter, 4 Jas. I, fol. 536.

founder of Whitefriars playhouse, but when one remembers that a man named Edward Peerce was master of the Children of Paul's in 1604, one is strongly persuaded to smell out a theatrical row between the master of Paul's and the man who was perhaps even then attempting to set up a rival company. If this is indeed our Woodford, then his encounter with Peerce is prophetic of long years of wrangling, and of hundreds of pounds squeezed out of his dupes with the powerful aid of the King's Bench.

Thomas Woodford associated with himself in his enterprise the poet Michael Drayton, probably because of his connections with men of letters, but what part Drayton played, or whether he played any, is hard to tell. At any rate, he is merely a name in the documents which concern the Whitefriars theatre. Woodford then went about gathering his shareholders. By August of 1607 he had added Lording Barry, the playwright, William Trevill, and Edward Sibthorpe, as is evidenced by the fact that on the 12th of that month these three, with Drayton, became bound to Woodford for the payment of £60 on the 25th of November following.<sup>4</sup> The boys were acting then, as is proved by another lawsuit I found in the Records Office.<sup>5</sup> In Trinity term, 1608, one Richard Edwards sued Thomas Woodford, who for once is defendant, for debt incurred in the purchase of various properties used in plays. It seems that on August 30, 1607, Edmund Sharpham became indebted to Edwards in the sum of 17s. 2d. for "quatuor galeris anglice felt hattes & tribus legaminibus galeri anglice hatbandes," and on the same day Edward Sibthorpe became similarly indebted in 6s. 6d. "*pro vno galero Anglice a felt hatt & vno legamine galeri anglice a hat band.*" Then Woodford, on December 23, 1607, persuaded Edwards to accommodate him with "*vnum galerum phrigiatum cum argento anglice a felt hatt embrodered with silver & vnum ligamen galeri sum margaritis ornatum anglice a pearle hatt band,*" for use in a play to be given that day; promising that within three days after the present date he would pay Edwards the combined debts of the other two men, amounting to 23s. 8d. The trusting Edwards listened to the wily tongue of Woodford

<sup>4</sup> In Easter term, 1609, Woodford sued these four men for £120 in default of payment, and won. See *Placita Coram Rege*, Easter, 6 Jas. I, m. 483b.

<sup>5</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Trinity, 6 Jas. I, m. 1032.

and supplied the articles of apparel, but payment was not forthcoming, neither at the time stipulated nor after repeated demands. The Court awarded damages and costs of £5-6-8.

This slight bit of legal gossip contributes to the history of the Whitefriars company in two ways. In the first place, it corroborates my description of the enterprise as a dishonest one, and in the second place, it should remove any doubt that may still remain as to whether the children of Whitefriars and the children of the King's Revels were the same. The Edmund Sharpham here proved to be associated with the Whitefriars directors was of course the Sharpham who in 1607 published *Cupid's Whirligig* as acted "by the Children of his Majesty's Revels."

At some time between December, 1607, when he was negotiating with Edwards over the felt hats, and February, 1608, Thomas Woodford withdrew from the company, selling out his half interest to Lording Barry, the playwright. The probable reason for his action was that he had made what he could and was escaping before the crash, which he could foresee was inevitable. His name is absent from the articles of agreement which were drawn up in March of 1608. But he did not on that account cease to be active in bringing ruin on the company which he had founded.

In February of 1608 George Andrews was taken in. Andrews said that the lease of the Whitefriars monastery premisses was made to Thomas Woodford and Michael Drayton by Lord Buckhurst, but as regards the date of that lease his language is puzzling. What he said was, that about February, 1608, Lording Barry, the playwright, pretended to be possessed of a moiety of the playhouse premisses "by and under a lease made thereof, aboute Marche then next followinge, from the right honorable Robert, lord Buckhurst, vnto one Michaell Drayton and Thomas Woodford for the tearme of sixe yeares, eight monthes and twentie dayes then followinge." We should expect the lease to antedate the negotiations with Andrews. One is driven to suppose, either that Woodford had used some other premisses than the monastery previous to March of 1608, or else, as Professor Adams supposes, that the lease in question was a renewal. I am inclined to the first opinion, merely because the company was evidently being reorganized between

January and March of 1608, new shareholders were being brought in, an expert director was hired, and articles of agreement were drawn up. All this business would be more suitable to a broadening of the enterprise or the acquisition of new premises than to a mere renewal of lease.

The "proposition" that was put up to Andrews was very smooth. The promoters asked a mere £90 for a sixth part in the house and furnishings, explaining "that if it had not bene in love to the complaynante that they would not have parted soe easely with it, consideringe the benefitt which they affirmed would be to your orator the cleere somme of one hundred pounds yearely, aboue charges." Then he was shown theatrical apparel which was declared to be alone worth £400. Completely taken in by these "faire and false flatteringe speeches," he paid over his money. Then came disillusion. The apparel, which had moved him the most, he found to be worth not more than £5 in true value, and the expenses, upon which apparently he had not counted, fell upon him to the tune of £300. Granting a certain amount of heightening of his case, I see no reason to doubt the main truth of Andrews' story. It fits in very well with what we know of the management of the King's Revels.

Martin Slatier came in, seemingly, a short while after Andrews. In his Answer to Andrews' Bill of Complaint, he said that he could not have told Andrews in February, when Barry and Andrews were negotiating, about the value of the properties in the theatre, nor indeed have had any hand in the deal, because he had not at that time met the two men or taken any part in the affairs of the theatre. This may be true, but I doubt it. At any rate, he came into the company before March 10, when the articles of agreement were signed. This Slatier was an actor of long experience, who was brought in to take charge of the boys, train them and care for them. The only new fact I have been able to discover regarding him is not to his credit. In 1598 he was sued by another actor, Thomas Downton, for the value of a play book lost by him and found and kept by Slatier. Apparently Slatier then staged it with his own company, for so I take the words "in vsum & Commodum suum proprium disposuit & convertit." Judgment was awarded the plaintiff.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it was in memory of this unscrupulous deed

<sup>6</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Trinity term, 40 Eliz., Pt. 2, m. 830b.

that the shareholders in their articles of agreement covenanted "that if, at any time hereafter, any apparell, bookes, or any other goods or commodities shalbe conveyed or taken awaye by any of the said parties without the consent and allowance of the said residue of his fellow sharers, and the same exceedinge the value of twoe shillings, That then he or they so offendinge shall forfeite and loose all such benefitt, profit and comoditie as otherwise should arise and growe vnto him or them by their shares, besides the losse of their places and all other interest which they may clayme amongst vs."

These articles of agreement, signed March 10, 1608, between Martin Slatier and the rest of the shareholders, form one of the most interesting documents illustrating the interior economy of a Jacobean company that we possess, but they belong to general theatrical history rather than to the present study, and so I shall not pause over them. The full roster of shareholders now reads: Martin Slatier, Lording Barry, George Andrews, Michael Drayton, William Trevill, William Cooke, Edward Sibthorpe, and John Mason. I am not sure that these men were all the persons interested in the theatre. There is, among the *Decrees and Orders* of the Court of Requests, a note of a suit brought June 27, 1610, by William Trevill, of London, tallow chandler, together with Hugh Fountayne, Esq., Emanuel Fenton, Thomas Savage, Margaret Deborse, Edward Cowlin, Henry Crathorne, and divers others of the creditors of Trevill, against William Methold, William Cooke, Felix Wilson, Thomas Woodford, George Andrews, Richard Brogden, Richard Jobbes, Martin Slatier, John Marks, Michael Drayton, Elizabeth Brown, Richard Black, and Richard Hunter, others of his creditors, to be relieved in equity concerning certain debts which Trevill owed the defendants upon bonds and otherwise. The complainants, because Trevill was very poor and they had pity on him, consented on the mediation of Sir Edmund Bowyer to remit part of the debts and give long terms of payment. But the defendants would not consent thereto, and, with the exception of John Marks, had gone about to vex and annoy Trevill in common law upon "divers bonds and other specialties wherein or in the most whereof the said Trevill is onelie suretie for others although there are diverse others more sufficient then hee bound with him in the same." There is no way of telling whether all

these creditors were concerned in the Whitefriars theatre, but the presence of most of Trevill's associates among them creates a presumption.

The life of the newly organized company was brief and stormy. Immediately after the signing of the articles Lording Barry, who as Woodford's successor doubtless occupied the most important place, began to suffer a bombardment of law-suits. In Easter term (April 15 to May 8) he was sued by one Anthony Wilkins on two counts: first for £7 on a bond dated August 15, 1607, promising payment of 20s. a week beginning October 3 next; and secondly for £4-6-9 on another bond of the same date.<sup>7</sup> Judgment in both cases was given the plaintiff. In the same term, Thomas Woodford won judgment of £122 for forfeiture of a bond dated August 12, 1607.<sup>8</sup> In the following Trinity term (May 22 to June 12) Woodford brought three suits against Barry, two of £40 and £11 on a bond of August 15, 1607, and one of £7 on a bond of November 16.<sup>9</sup> These likewise were successful. Such a deluge of suits must have had the effect of greatly cooling Barry's interest in the Whitefriars theatre.

The theatre was closed within less than a year after the signing of the articles of agreement. Andrews, who sued on February 9, 1609, said that "the originall lease made by the said Robert, lord Buckhurst, for non-payment of rent due, before any assignement of the said sixth parte of the same made to your orator, was forfeited and in extremitie of lawe lost." I am inclined to agree with Professor Adams that the crash came about the middle of 1608. In April came the inhibitions of acting caused by the performance of Chapman's *Biron* at Blackfriars, and in July a further general inhibition resulted from the plague, which raged until December. But I am not so ready to agree with his theory that the lease held by Barry and his fellows was transferred to the company of Blackfriars children, who moved over to Whitefriars in the early spring of 1609. The original lease made by Lord Buckhurst to Woodford and Drayton was, as Andrews explicitly says, forfeited for non-

<sup>7</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Easter, 6 Jas. I, m. 483.

<sup>8</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Easter, 6 Jas. I, m. 483b.

<sup>9</sup> *Placita Coram Rege*, Trinity, 6 Jas. I, m. 1312.

payment of rent. Corroborating evidence comes from the suit of *Trevill v. Woodford*.

This suit was referred to by Cunningham in his article on the Whitefriars theatre of which I have already spoken. This is what he says: "The theatre in the Whitefriars was not, I believe, rebuilt, although the case of *Trevill v. Woodford*, in the Court of Requests, informs us that plays were performed in the Whitefriars Theatre as late as 1621; Sir Anthony Ashley, the then landlord of the house, entering the Theatre in that year, and turning the players out of doors, on pretence that half a year's rent was unpaid him." Cunningham is grossly and inexcusably wrong in his date, but the rest of his facts are accurate. For some reason he printed no more than this brief note of the case. Following his lead I was able to find a summary in the *Decrees and Orders Books* of the Court of Requests.<sup>10</sup> The suit is brought by Susan Trevill, widow of the unfortunate William, to revive a suit formerly brought by her husband against Woodford to be relieved against two judgments obtained by Woodford in 1608. These judgments amounted respectively to £41 and £121, and were grounded on two obligations by which Trevill had become bound to Woodford. "The consideration which induced the said William Trevill to become bound in the said bonds being only for a sixt parte of the Lease of a Playhouse in the Whitefryers whereunto the said William Trevill was drawne by the perswasion of S<sup>r</sup>. Anthony Ashley knight & one M<sup>r</sup>. Smith & the Defendant who likewise preuailed with the said Trevill (being ignorant in the Course of sharers in a Playhouse) to become ingaged in seuerall other bonds & billes to diuerse persons for payment of diuerse sommes only to make a stocke for supply of the Playhouse And although that the said S<sup>r</sup>. Anthony Ashley being Landlord on the Playhouse by combinacion with the Defendant vpon pretence that halfe a yeares Rent for the Playhouse was unpaid entred into the Playhouse & turned the Players out of doors & tooke the forfeiture of the Lease whereby the said William Trevill was frustrated of all benefitt which he was to haue by the said Lease." Notwithstanding this loss, the plaintiff goes on to say, Woodford took forth two several executions upon the said judgments, levied the same upon the goods of Trevill, and having satisfied

<sup>10</sup> 17 & 18 Chas. I, fol. 247.

himself of all that was due him, delivered up the bonds to be cancelled. But not having acknowledged satisfaction in proper form, after about ten years, that is to say in 1621, he threatened to levy his judgments again by *scire facias*, and thus frightened Trevill into paying £6 more. Then Woodford sealed a general release to Trevill, which the latter ignorantly conceived to be sufficient, not knowing what satisfaction upon record meant, and omitting to have Woodford perform such satisfaction. So matters rested for twenty years. Then Woodford, having got into his hands the bonds and the release, threatened to levy the judgments a third time. Trevill having died just at this time, Woodford proceeded against his estate, whereupon the widow preferred her bill of revivor and obtained an order reviving all the former proceedings. The judgment of the Court is that the judgments were fully satisfied twenty years ago, and the plaintiff is ordered discharged of all obligations to the defendant.

These proceedings prove pretty well, I should say, what kind of man Woodford was. To win a judgment of debt, to have it fully satisfied, and then on two succeeding occasions extending over thirty years, to attempt to execute the judgment again, argues an extraordinarily tenacious rapacity. Such was the founder of the first Whitefriars theatre. No business in which he had a main hand could be an honest one. It is quite clear that he floated the theatre to draw in shareholders and sell stock, then got out before the collapse, and thereafter set about mulcting his debtors.

A few matters in this suit are of interest. In the first place, Andrews' statement that the theatre was closed for nonpayment of rent is corroborated, with additional details. The lease was originally made by Robert, Lord Buckhurst, but the landlord who threw the company out was Sir. Anthony Ashley. Evidently the property had changed hands since the lease was made. Lord Buckhurst became the second Earl of Dorset on April 19, 1608, and died February 27, 1609. The transfer must have taken place before his death, because Andrews' bill of complaint is dated February 9. The widow Trevill stated that Ashley combined with Woodford both in drawing her husband into the trap and in ousting the company. This looks as though Ashley was abetting Woodford in his plot to ruin the company.



One would like to know something more about the relations of Ashley to Woodford and the Children of the King's Revels. And one would like to know more about "Mr. Smith."

Thus ended the King's Revels at Whitefriars. Their place was taken on or about March 1609 by the expelled children of the Queen's Revels from Blackfriars, and the subsequent history of the Whitefriars theatre belongs to them and to their successors. The whole organization of the first company came to an end in 1608. None of the shareholders had connection with the Queen's Revels company. It was a complete smash-up. If Woodford had founded the company expressly to ruin it, he was successful. Not George Andrews or William Trevill, who paid for their shares without receiving any dividends, nor Richard Edwards, who had to go to law to recover the cost of articles sold to the company, nor Sir Anthony Ashley, who evicted the company for nonpayment of rent, nor Lording Barry, who paid for his investments in the Court of King's Bench, nor Martin Slatier, who with his family of ten was turned out of doors, nor I dare say any of the other members of the association except Thomas Woodford could tell what benefit they had derived from their outlay, or what chance of benefit they stood from an enterprise so rotten at heart as this company of the King's Revels at Whitefriars.

## II.

Seven plays, aside from a *Torrismount* mentioned in the Andrews-Slatier suit, may with a sufficient degree of certainty be assigned to the first Whitefriars Revels Company. All bear on their title pages the statement that they were acted by the "Children of the King's Majesty's Revels."

<i>Cupid's Whirligig</i> (Edmund Sharpham) . . . . .	S. R. June 29, 1607, pub. 1607
<i>The Family of Love</i> (Middleton) . . . . .	S. R. Oct. 12, 1607, pub. 1608
<i>Humour out of Breath</i> (Day) . . . . .	S. R. Apr. 12, 1608, pub. 1608
<i>The Dumb Knight</i> (Machin and Markham) . . . . .	S. R. Aug. 6, 1608, pub. 1608
<i>Two Maids of Morlake</i> (Robt. Armin) . . . . .	S. R. ? pub. 1609
<i>The Turk</i> (John Mason) . . . . .	S. R. March 10, 1609, pub. 1610
<i>Ram Alley</i> (Lording Barry) . . . . .	S. R. Nov. 9, 1610, pub. 1611

Perhaps we should add Day's *Law Tricks*, published in 1608.

Of these plays, *The Turk* and *Ram Alley* were almost certainly written for the company, because Mason and Barry were

shareholders. With almost equal certainty *The Family of Love* and *Two Maids of Mortlake* were not written for this company, but were revived plays, as I shall show later. *Cupid's Whirligig* I believe was written for the company, and in the absence of any clew to the contrary we must assume the same for *Humour out of Breath* and *The Dumb Knight*. As these plays are all of them little known except to the specialist, it may not be amiss to glance briefly over them.

Robert Armin's *Two Maids of Mortlake*, to begin with the oldest, was written before the deaths of Elizabeth and Dean Nowell. When the Earl is summoned to court he says, "We will attend her:"<sup>11</sup> and John the idiot speaks of having seen "Master Dean Nowell" at St. Paul's.<sup>12</sup> One limit of composition is thus fixed at the death of Nowell in 1602. The other may be fixed in 1597, if I understand a passage correctly. Toward the end of the play<sup>13</sup> Sir William Verger says:

"Yet remember Donington's man, Grimes,  
Who for an heir so stolne and married,  
Was hanged, and the sergeant at armes,  
For assisting them did loose his place."

The *Acts of the Privy Council*, under date June 14, 1597, record that Alice Stoite, a young woman of Dorset, was abducted by one Dinington and others. No further particulars are given, and I have been able to trace no other likely reference to "Donington's man Grimes," but it seems reasonably sure that the abduction of Alice Stoite was the one meant by Sir William. If that were not so, the coincidence of names would be singular.

It is not easy to tell where Armin was in the period 1597-1602 within which the *Two Maids* was presumably written. Collier, in his sketch of Armin's life,<sup>14</sup> says that the actor belonged at one time to the company of Lord Chandos, who died in 1602, but that he may have gone over to the Lord Chamberlain's company at the Globe about 1598. Yet the *Two Maids* would seem not to have been written for the Lord Chamberlain's company, because in the address "To the friendly peruser" Armin says that the play "in part was sometime acted more

<sup>11</sup> Sig. B4 verso.

<sup>12</sup> Sig. B4 recto.

<sup>13</sup> Sig. I verso.

<sup>14</sup> *Pub. Shakes. Soc.* 1846.

naturally in the City, if not in the hole." This would exclude the Globe. Armin himself, as he goes on to say, had acted "John in the Hospital" at the first presentation.

As a play the *Two Maids* leaves a good deal to be desired. Starting out pretty well, with a clearly conceived and handled plot, it degenerates into episodes which defy credulity. Such incidents as the supposed death of Mary, her burial in the Scilly Isles, her exhumation by the Governor and restoration to her father, savor of the carefree invention of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, which was written about the same time. The style is fantastic in the extreme, being characterized by a kind of grammatical shorthand and a preciosity of diction that drives the reader to despair. It is the style of a man determined to be "literary," and proud of his fund of Latin quotations.

Middleton's *Family of Love*, thought Fleay, was acted "early in 1607, after Middleton left Paul's, and before he joined the Blackfriars Boys. . . . But it appears from the Address to the Reader that this play had been performed with some success before (probably by the Paul's boys in 1604, when the Family of love were such subjects of public attention), and marks of alteration are manifest in the extant version."<sup>15</sup> Let us examine briefly Fleay's evidence. The address "To the Reader" merely apologises for printing the play when it was "stale," after "the General voice of the people had sealed it for good." This might be construed to mean that the play had enjoyed its greatest success prior to 1607, and hence in another theatre, but such an interpretation is hardly justified by the wording. As to the "alterations," which Fleay implies were due to transfer from one company to another, they consist merely in the use, in two cases, of two names for the same character, a confusion such as one finds occasionally in Shakespeare quartos and which is sufficiently explained by Middleton's statement that the play was printed without proper supervision. Hence Fleay's argument does not amount to much. Yet I believe he was right in thinking the play antedated 1607, on the strength of an allusion in the text which he overlooked. In IV 3 (p. 81. Vol. III, of Bullen's Middleton) Gerardine says: "I am, if it please you, of the spick and span new-set-up company of porters." Here is a very definite topical reference. The company of porters was

<sup>15</sup> *Biog. Chron.*, II, 94.

instituted, apparently, in the forepart of 1605, as I judge from the fact that on June 15 of that year a ballad was licensed entitled: "A newe ballad Composed in commendacon of the Societie or Company of the porters."<sup>16</sup> Gerardine's emphasis on the brand-newness of this company would have point only if it followed soon after the event. I therefore would date the play about the middle of 1605. And in that case it was probably given by the St. Paul's boys for whom Middleton was then writing.

Another and more elaborate topical reference, in I 3, to a play of Samson carrying the "town-gates on his neck from the lower to the upper stage" is of little service, because the only play of the period on Samson which is known is one mentioned by Henslowe in July of 1602. And this play is not extant.

*The Family of Love* is not one of Middleton's best. Although not so bawdy as some, it is bad enough in all conscience. The main idea of a gallant who makes sure of his mistress by getting her with child strikes the tone of the play. Except for occasional clever turns of dialogue, such as only Middleton could do, there is little to amuse or interest. The blank verse, which appears in the Gerardine-Maria plot, is mostly turgid and cold.

*Cupid's Whirligig*, by Edmund Sharpham, was licensed so early in the career of the King's Revels as to give rise to the supposition that it also was a revived play. He had already written *The Fleire* for the Blackfriars boys. But Sharpham was in 1607 connected with the King's Revels, as I have proved by the Richard Edwards suit, and he very likely wrote his *Whirligig* for that company. In Act II Nan says that Sir Timothy Troublesome's heart beats "for all the world like the Denmarke Drummer." If, as seems likely, this be a reference to the visit of the king of Denmark in July of 1606, the play could hardly have been written and produced before 1607.

Day's *Humour out of Breath* belongs without doubt to the spring of 1608. This is determined on the one hand by the date of license, April 12, and on the other hand by a reference to the great frost of December, 1607. In III 4 Aspero says: "For my beard, indeed that was bitten the last great frost, and so were a number of Justices of the peace besides." Though Fleay is

<sup>16</sup> Arber's *Stationer's Register*.

not accurate in saying that there was no frost between 1598 and 1607-8, it is nevertheless true that no other frost approached in vigor that which began on December 8, 1607, and returned more violently on December 22, freezing the Thames and keeping it frozen through most of January.<sup>17</sup> In the address "To Signior No-body" we read: "Being to turne a poore friendlesse child into the world, yet sufficiently featur'd too, had it been all of one mans getting, (woe to the iniquitie of Time the whilest) my desire is to preferre him to your seruice." This might be understood to mean, and in fact has been so understood, that Day had help in writing the play, but his name stands alone on the title page, and, more conclusively, there is no deviation in the style of the play from Day's known manner.

This play is the only one on our list which one would mark as written for children. It is a comedy of artificial situation, written without passion in a style of considerable delicacy and charm. Yet these qualities are attributable to Day, rather than to his players. He was the foremost disciple of Lyly in the 17th century, and while undergoing certain inevitable influences of contemporary drama he wrote as much in his master's vein as he could. The plot of *Humour out of Breath*, with its banished duke living in sylvan seclusion and its regnant duke disguising himself as a serving man to watch over his sons, reminds us of *As You Like It* and the *Fleire* (or the *Fawn*). But the artificially paired lovers (two sons and a daughter with two daughters and a son), the pages, and the general conduct of the dialogue are all Lyly.

Not without plausibility is the suggestion that Day's *Law Tricks* was also acted by the Whitefriars boys. The 1608 quarto states that the play had been "divers times acted by the Children of the Revels." Ordinarily this would mean the Queen's Revels at Blackfriars, and Fleay so understood it. He puts the play in 1606, but Bullen, in his edition of Day, shows references to speeches in *Pericles*, which is generally assigned to 1607-8. It is perhaps unlikely that Day, after his disastrous venture with *The Isle of Gulls* produced by the Blackfriars boys in 1607, should have written another play in the same satirical vein for the same company. In IV 2 Jocolo, the page,

<sup>17</sup> See Stowe's *Chronicle*.

tells a rigamarole about recent events in England, particularly a flood in July so great that the boatmen landed fares in the middle aisle of Paul's and men caught fish in the Exchange; this may be a reminiscence of the mighty wind which in January of 1607 caused an inflooding of the sea.<sup>18</sup> The mention of July puts the play between July of 1607 and the summer of 1608, when the company went out of existence. The following allusion, if one could identify it, might serve to date the play more conclusively. It occurs in the course of a discussion of tobacco in Act III:

"Yet there is one dunce, a kind of plodding Poet,  
Sweares twas not in the first creation  
Because he finds no ballad argument  
To prove old *Adam* a Tobacconiste."

*The Dumb Knight*, by Lewis Machin and Gervase Markham, was another play with a satirical tinge. The address "To the Understanding Reader" says that "Rumour . . . by the help of his intelligencer Envy, hath made strange constructions on this Dumb Knight." What caused these strange constructions it is not easy to see. Flcay thought the satire lay in the subplot of the Orator Prate, his wife, and his clients, but offered no explanation of the satirical point. I think it rather more likely that if the play gave offense it was through the savage attacks on law and lawyers which are put into the mouths of Mechant. Berating the law was a favorite pastime at Whitefriars.

There are no references within the play to give us a clew to its date. It is a heavy-handed tragicomedy, whose heroics and bawdry are alike without distinction.

*The Turk*, by John Mason, and *Ram Alley*, by Lording Barry, were surely written for the first Whitefriars company, because their authors were shareholders therein. Neither, so far as we know, was connected with the company which came over from Blackfriars early in 1609 and which had no business or other affiliation with the ill-starred company launched by Thomas Woodford. Of John Mason practically nothing is known. Professor J. Q. Adams, who has edited his play for Bang's *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, supposes that *The Turk* was written in 1606-7. There is no internal

<sup>18</sup> Stowe's *Chronicle*.

evidence to assist in finding the date. It is a bloody, extravagant tragedy of the Marston type, composed of murders, lust, incest, ghostly visitations, and seeking comic relief in a lecherous subplot. It is in all respects an imitative play, without the requisite energy to make its blood-and-thunder tyrades strike fire.

*Ram Alley* is an easy going pot-pourri of popular situations, mainly of the school of Middleton, including a spendthrift younger brother who marries his mistress to a rascally lawyer, the rivalry of various gallants for the hand of the rich widow Taffeta, and a maid who masquerades as a man to follow her lover. There are allusions to the statute of 4 Jac. I, c. V, (1606-7) which authorized stocking a man for drunkenness, as when Justice Tutchin says:

"Now could I sit in my chair at home and nod,  
A drunkard to the stocks by vertue of  
The last statute rarely."

This proves that the play was not written before the organization of the Whitefriars Revels. The Prologue protests against "the Satyres tooth and Waspish sting;" declares that the play is to be free of any satirical purpose, and is to be so innocent that even the Puritans will be pleased. Needless to say, such protests as these go for little. This play, like others of the same company, is hard on the legal profession.

### III.

I said at the beginning that the first Whitefriars company was a piece of wildcat speculation, and that the proof of this statement was to be found in their conduct of affairs and in their plays. I have dealt sufficiently with their conduct of affairs; a few comments on their plays will be enough to make my point clear in that respect. In the first place, with the exception of Middleton and Day they had no connections with the better class of dramatists of the day. And Middleton should be discounted because the one play of his which they used was probably borrowed from another company, and he wrote no more for them. As to Day, although he enjoys a certain reputation today, it is certain that he had very little in his own time and should be counted as one of the obscure. All the other men are nobodies. In the second place, if one considers quality of play rather than prominence of author, the

conclusion is equally unfavorable. In the whole list only Day's *Humour out of Breath* may be read with any sense that one is associating with an author of literary taste. All the rest are dull, imitative, second-hand material cut on patterns popular in the first decade of the 17th century, but without style.

It is quite plain what Thomas Woodford and his coadjutors in the King's Revels at Whitefriars were up to. They intended to capitalize the great popularity of the theatre in London, and the success which the children's companies at St. Paul's and the Blackfriars had enjoyed, by founding a similar company in the liberty of Whitefriars, just outside the City (a precinct, be it observed, of unsavory reputation in that day as it continued to be for a hundred years). And because their purpose was dishonest (at least Woodford's) they set about selling as many shares as possible and putting on a bold front, while at the same time they gathered a shoddy repertory of plays, partly from old plays given elsewhere, partly from amateurs on their own board of shareholders, and partly from a few hangers-on of the writing profession. The result was what everyone could have foreseen—ruin. At least one did foresee it, and saved himself before the crash. That man was the wily promoter of the enterprise, Thomas Woodford.

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## “DAS KOMMT MIR SPANISCH VOR”

The immediate origin of the expression “das kommt mir spanisch vor,”<sup>1</sup>—practically synonymous with the more usual proverb “das sind mir böhmische Dörfer”<sup>2</sup>—in its customary present-day connotation of something strange, rare or outlandish,<sup>3</sup> has probably been correctly traced to the seventeenth century. For although in discussing it, Borchardt<sup>4</sup> says that it arose at the time of the introduction of Spanish customs into Germany by Charles V, he quotes only *Simplicissimus*: “Bey diesem Herrn kam mir alles widerwertig und fast Spanisch vor” and no sixteenth century author. Wander,<sup>5</sup> too, does not attempt to trace the saying any further back, but mentions the reports of German travelers and adventurers who had been in Spain as having given rise to it.

In Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, sub *Spanisch* (5), the phrase is traced as follows: (1) it referred to a proud, haughty person: Schuppius (1663), 114:<sup>6</sup> “da sasz Müllerhans über tische und sasz oben an und machte ein solch spanisch gesicht, als wann er mich sein lebtag nit gesehen hätte”; (2) its meaning was extended to refer to matters that are strange, unfamiliar, less frequently wondrous: Goethe, *Egmont*, III, 2: “ich versprach dir einmal spanisch zu kommen”; (3) a rarer connotation of “haughty” existed parallelly with (1) and (2): Weckherlin (1648), 665:<sup>7</sup> “ja, spannisch bist du neyd, und torrecht du miszgunst”; (4) the now current connotation existed at the same time: Schuppius (1663), 321:<sup>8</sup> “es wird Euch zwar, Lucidor, die

<sup>1</sup> Simrock, *Deutsche Sprichwörter*, No. 9620; Eiselein, No. 571.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Borchardt, *Die sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* (Wustmann revision), p. 76, explains its origin by the linguistically and geographically exotic nature of the Bohemian towns, or, less plausibly, by the fact that many of them were destroyed beyond recognizability during the Thirty Years' War.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the English “That is Greek to me,” the French “C'est du Latin” or “Pour moi, c'est de l'Hébreu” and the Spanish “Hablar en griego.”

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> *Deutsches Sprichwörter Lexikon*, IV, sub *Spanisch*.

<sup>6</sup> *Lehrreiche Schriften*, 1684.

<sup>7</sup> *Geistliche und weltliche Gedichte*, Amsterdam, 1648.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit.

herberg etwas spanisch vorkommen," and M. Abele:<sup>9</sup> "deme dergleichen, wiewol sonsten gewöhnliche Wort, fremd und spanisch vorkommen"; (5) instead of the more common "böhmisches Dorf," the phrase "spanisches Dorf" was used: J. V. Andreae:<sup>10</sup> "die Ding mir spanisch dörffen waren," and Goethe:<sup>11</sup> "das waren dem Gehirne spanische Dörfer."

This purely lexicographical presentation of the matter, however, offering only material from the seventeenth century, does not throw much light upon its development. In turning back, at Borchardt's suggestion, to the sixteenth century, we find that Spain and its people were practically unknown in Germany, and that such knowledge on the subject as existed can be traced to unreliable, wildly imaginative adventurers or to pilgrims. In fact, at the beginning of the century, Spain was hardly considered a part of the European continent at all. Thus Brant, in his *Narrenschiff*,<sup>12</sup> tells us:

Ouch hatt man sydt jnn Portugal  
Und in hispanyen uberall  
Gold, jnseln funden, und nacket lüt  
Von den man vor wust sagen nüt.

And Hutten complains in *Die Räuber*<sup>13</sup> that the bishops send the people for penance "in das äusserste Spanien."

But after the accession of Charles V, when Spain became an integral part of the Empire, these conditions changed. The Spaniards, as a race, began to attract more attention. At first we find ample praise of Charles V<sup>14</sup> but also a certain solicitude lest he may prove too foreign to play the rôle of a German emperor. Hutten expresses the following hope in his *Clag und vormanung gegen dem übermässigen, unchristlichen gewalt des Bapsts zu Rom*:<sup>15</sup>

So hoff ich zû künig Carles müt,  
Das sey in jm ein Teütsches blüt,

<sup>9</sup> *Gerichtshündel*, I, 320, Nürnberg; 1668.

<sup>10</sup> *Das gute Leben*, 221.

<sup>11</sup> *Werther*, Hempel ed., XIV, 69.

<sup>12</sup> Zarncke ed., 66, 53, p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> D. F. Strauss, *Gespräche von Ulrich von Hutten*, III, 362.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen*, No. 343 and elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> Kürschner, DNL, 17<sup>2</sup>, pp. 242-3.

Und werd mit eeren üben sich  
Dem Bapst entgegen gwaltiglich.

Similarly in the folk-song *An die deutsche Nation*<sup>16</sup> Charles is praised

in züchten und in ehren  
ist er ganz wol erkant;  
darnach thût er sich keren,  
wann er das reich soll mehren  
und aller fürsten land.

Here it may even be possible to read between the lines a certain apprehension lest this praise may not be justified. Hutten goes so far as to hint in his *Beklagunge der Freistette deutscher Nation*<sup>17</sup> at the fact that Charles bought his imperial election.

The period of expectation soon passed and any enthusiasm that might have existed over the Spanish explorers and conquerers passed with it, at least in the Protestant sections. For when Charles proved to be an enemy of the Reformation and when the Jesuits came, the friendship for the Spaniards turned to dislike and to outright hatred among the classes inclined toward Protestantism.

Thus a Protestant, writing on the war of Schmalkalden, says in 1546:<sup>18</sup>

wo ihr der sachen nicht kompt vor,  
ein Spanier nem einen ducaten,  
thet in eins Christen blût um waten  
und heissen uns die teutschen hund. . .

and continuing, he threatens the invading Spanish (lines 378 ff.) that they will be driven out of Germany. He exclaims (line 388): “Got bhût uns vor den spanischen zungen” and prays God to protect the Germans from “der Spanier übermût. Ihr herz und sinn ist nicht gût.” (lines 397-8). In No. 521 of Liliencron’s collection, Charles himself is charged with “hochmût und falsche lehr” (line 95), and repeatedly the Spanish intruders are accused of murder, adultery, robbery, incendiarism and other

<sup>16</sup> Liliencron, Op. cit., No. 469; cf. also Schade, *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, 2nd ed., II, 181, lines 194 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Kürschner, *ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>18</sup> Liliencron, Op. cit., No. 519, lines 363 ff.

excesses.<sup>19</sup> They are rebuked for their "untrew"<sup>20</sup> and they are called "die spanisch sew und hund."<sup>21</sup> The Protestant songs of the period around 1550 are full of such references.<sup>22</sup>

Earlier than this, Hutten, too, in *Die Anschawenden*, trying to be impartial, lets Sol say to Phaethon of the Spanish warriors:<sup>23</sup> "Sün, vor allen seindt es fleissige dieb, aber im feld redlich, wie yemant ander. Denn sye seind geübt, des kryegs erfaren unnd über das hertzhaftig und trotzig" and later in the same work<sup>24</sup> he charges them again with "dieberey."

The sinking of the Spanish Armada was an occasion which Fischart particularly seized for the purpose of pouring forth his venomous hatred of the Spaniards, whom he conceived as tyrannical, arrogant and rapacious. Immediately after the event, in 1588, he wrote his *Gantz gedencwürdige und eygentliche Verzeichnuss, wie die mächtig und Prächtigt von vielen Jahren her zugeruste Spanische Armada . . . abgefahren . . . und getrent, erlegt, verjagt und mehrtheils zu grund gerichtet worden. . .*<sup>25</sup> The work is a scathing condemnation of the Spanish and of their maladministration of the Netherlands. The sinking, says Fischart, is a righteous work of God. A minute description of the incident follows, in which the chief credit is given to the English and not to unfavorable weather conditions, which, according to Fischart, set in only after the victory had been achieved. Depositions of Spanish prisoners concerning the size and cost of the Spanish fleet follow, and finally Fischart bursts into verse, first presenting a Latin eulogy of Queen Elizabeth, and then the German *Siegdanck oder Triumpffspruch, zu Ehren der vortrefflichen Königin in Engellandt*. Here Fischart uses a veritable volley of nouns and epithets descriptive of his opinion of the Spaniards. He says that they were tempted by "Ehrsucht" and "Geitz," "Weltgeitz," "Geltgeitz," "Hoffart"

<sup>19</sup> Liliencron, Op. cit., No. 524, line 63; No. 526, strophe 33; No. 530, strophe 10; No. 587, strophe 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 530, strophes 10 and 11; No. 570.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 527, strophe 10.

<sup>22</sup> Wander, Op. cit., *sub Spanier*, quotes proverbs which charge the Spaniards with faithlessness (entries 3, 21, 37), thievery (45), obstinacy (49), haughtiness (50, 56), braggadocio (54), and mendacity (55, 57).

<sup>23</sup> Kürschner, Op. cit., 17<sup>2</sup>, p. 301.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318.

<sup>25</sup> *Kleinere Schriften*, 1848, pp. 1047-1122.

“Ehrgir,” “Hochmut,” and they are “aufgeblasene gsellen” and “unersättlich Räuber”; they have no “Gottsforch,” he adds.

Subsequently, when Spanish power waned, these prejudices against the Spanish character seem to have died out in Germany, until they were revived during the Thirty Years' War. The expedition of Marquis Spinola, an Italian leader in the services of Spain at this time, who at the head of a Spanish army plundered and pillaged in Germany, probably contributed to this revival. But, as is correctly noted in the Grimm *Wörterbuch* article, the connotation referring to objectionable traits of character is rather rare in the seventeenth century, making way once more for the element of strangeness and exoticness. This was doubtless due to the reports of travelers, as Wander says, and to the fantastic ideas about Spain and the Spaniards prevailing at that time more than ever before and nurtured by the wandering actors, who presented exaggerated versions of Spanish plays of horror, pomp and bombast, and by the “Schelmenroman,” in which Spain is depicted as a land of beggars and adventurers. Works of literature of the better class, such as the imitations of Spanish poetry by members of the “Blumenhertenorden,” of course, never reached the general public.

We may, therefore, sum up by saying that during the earliest period—in the time of Brant—“Spanisch” was considered from the point of view of the Grimm definition (2), namely, “strange,” “unfamiliar.” Next there developed definitions (1) and (3), “proud” and “haughty,” also with the connotation of moral depravity<sup>26</sup> frequent during the sixteenth century. Then, in the seventeenth century, definition (2) came into usage again, and with it the proverb itself (4), while (1) and (3) became subordinate. Definition (5) probably developed from (4), on the analogy of “böhmische Dörfer.”

The explanation which A. W. Schlegel gives of Voss' verses:<sup>27</sup>

Fremd wie Böhmen und Spanien  
Sah das Mädchen mich an,

<sup>26</sup> The implication of moral depravity passed out of modern High German, but it is still contained in the Low German “dat küemt mi ganz spanisk vüör,” for which compare Wander *sub Spanisch*.

<sup>27</sup> Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, *sub Spanisch*, column 1838.

(he sees in the "fremd wie . . . Spanien" a reference to the rigid war discipline which Duke Alba wished to introduce in Germany) seems hardly to be apt. The very fact that the text has both "Böhmen" and "Spanien" would lead one to believe that Voss had in mind only the strange, foreign, unusual element of definition (2), with possibly an admixture of (3), which he wished to express by his reference to the two proverbially exotic countries.

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## A SOURCE FOR "ANNABEL LEE"

"Annabel Lee," one of the most admired and widely known of Edgar Allan Poe's poems, was first published October 9, 1849, two days after the poet's death.<sup>1</sup> Much has been written about the circumstances of its publication, particularly as to the rights of rival publishers, and also about supposed references in the poem to Poe's wife, Virginia Clemm, to Mrs. Whitman, and to others.<sup>2</sup> But although Mrs. Whitman was convinced that the poem was composed in response to her "Stanzas for Music,"<sup>3</sup> and Professor W. F. Melton has revealed a close analogue of the poem in Poe's prose tale of "Eleonora,"<sup>4</sup> no real source of "Annabel Lee" appears to have been found.

### I.

In the *Charleston Courier* of December 4, 1807, over a year before Poe's birth, were printed these lines, together with the modest introduction: "Messrs. Editors, I will trouble you with an occasional trifle, if you can spare it a corner."

#### THE MOURNER

How sweet were the joys of my former estate!  
Health and happiness caroll'd with glee;  
And contentment ne'er envy'd the pomp of the great  
In the cot by the side of the sea.

With my Anna I past the mild summer of love  
'Till death gave his cruel decree,  
And bore the dear angel to regions above  
From the cot by the side of the sea!

<sup>1</sup> In the evening edition of *The New York Tribune*. See Campbell, *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1917), p. 294. The original manuscript is reproduced in facsimile in Woodberry's *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, revised edition (1909), vol. ii, facing p. 352. This MS. was submitted by Poe to John R. Thompson, editor of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, in September, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Such views are summarized concisely by Campbell, *opus cit.*, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> These Byronic lines, also termed "Our Island of Dreams," together with Mrs. Whitman's liberal claims stated in her own language, may be found conveniently in Caroline Ticknor's *Poe's Helen* (1916), pp. 129-130.

<sup>4</sup> *South Atlantic Quarterly* (1912), XI, 175 ff.

But the smile of contentment has never return'd  
 Since death tore my Anna from me;  
 And for many long years I've unceasingly mourn'd  
 In the cot by the side of the sea.

And her sweet recollections shall live in the mind  
 Till from anguish this bosom is free,  
 And seeks the repose which it never can find  
 In the cot by the side of the sea!

D. M. C.

For comparison let us quote in full the familiar lines of Poe:

ANNABEL LEE

It was many and many a year ago,  
 In a kingdom by the sea,  
 That a maiden there lived whom you may know  
 By the name of Annabel Lee;—  
 And this maiden she lived with no other thought  
 Than to love and be loved by me.

*She* was a child and *I* was a child,  
 In this kingdom by the sea,  
 But we loved with a love that was more than love—  
 I and my Annabel Lee—  
 With a love that the winged seraphs of Heaven  
 Coveted her and me.

And this was the reason that, long ago,  
 In this kingdom by the sea,  
 A wind blew out of a cloud by night  
 Chilling my Annabel Lee;  
 So that her highborn kinsmen came  
 And bore her away from me,  
 To shut her up in a sepulchre  
 In this kingdom by the sea.

The angels, not half so happy in Heaven,  
 Went envying her and me:—  
 Yes! that was the reason (as all men know,  
 In this kingdom by the sea)  
 That the wind came out of the cloud, chilling  
 And killing my Annabel Lee.

But our love, it was stronger by far than the love  
 Of those who were older than we—  
 Of many far wiser than we—  
 And neither the angels in Heaven above



Nor the demons down under the sea,  
 Can ever dissever my soul from the soul  
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee:—

For the moon never beams without bringing me dreams  
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;  
 And the stars never rise but I see the bright eyes  
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;  
 And so, all the night-tide, I lie down by the side  
 Of my darling, my darling, my life and my bride,  
 In her sepulchre there by the sea—  
 In her tomb by the side of the sea.

Every reader will note the situation and theme of both poems: a solitary mourner lamenting his separation from the long lost wife of his youth; the similarity between the names of "my Anna" and "my Annabel"; the underlying cadence of both lyrics—a line of anapestic tetrameter, followed by a line of anapestic trimeter, with alternate lines riming; the closeness of the two refrains: "In a cot by the side of the sea," and "In a kingdom by the sea;" and of the respective conclusions: "In a cot by the side of the sea," and "In her tomb by the side of the sea."<sup>5</sup> On this evidence the case must rest, but in passing one may remark on the ideas common to both poems of angels and heavenly regions, of envy, and of the dead body borne away. Such coincidences and so many are, to my mind, not to be explained by the law of chances.

But let me acknowledge that I am fully sensible of the marked contrast between the poems. "The Mourner" is only a fair example of American newspaper verse of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, echoing the conventional sentiments and diction of decadent British classicism. Assuming, for the moment, Poe's indebtedness to be a fact, to him nevertheless must be credited all the romantic coloring of "Annabel Lee," its bold figures, its rich melody, its emotional strain and climactic structure, and indeed the transformation of the buried nugget into fine gold. Certainly the poetic reputation of Poe will lose nothing if the charge of borrowing in this case be sustained.

<sup>5</sup> I am not unmindful of the fact that certain texts of the poem make this line read, "In her tomb by the sounding sea," but, as Campbell observes, *opus cit.*, p. 294, the text followed above "has an incontestable claim to finality." That is the reading of Woodberry's facsimile of the MS. See note 1, above.

## II.

"The Mourner" was printed in the *Courier*, a daily newspaper of Charleston, South Carolina, on December 4, 1807. So far as my knowledge goes, it has not been reprinted, although it may easily have been copied or borrowed by some contemporary newspaper. "D. M. C." was presumably a local versifier, the riddle of whose initials I am unable to solve.<sup>6</sup> Then how could his lines have fallen under the eye of Edgar Allan Poe? This question I will not presume to answer positively, but more than one explanation is possible. Poe was an editor during two or three periods of his career, is known to have kept something of the nature of a scrap-book, and to have at least taken hints from several American poets of distinctly minor rank.<sup>7</sup> Now "The Mourner" may have got into some Baltimore or Richmond paper of the time, where it was later noticed by Poe.

It is also possible that he saw it in an old file of the *Courier*, itself. If Poe had been a resident of Charleston, he would probably have found such a file accessible in three semi-public institutions. The particular file that I have used, now in the Littlefield Southern History Collection of the University of Texas, was for more than a century in the possession of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce. Another file has been for possibly a still longer time in the Charleston Library, and a third in the library of the College of Charleston.<sup>8</sup> Now in October, 1827, a few months after Poe had issued his first volume of verse, and while he was enlisted in the United States Army, he became practically a resident of Charleston, for he was stationed at Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor and remained there exactly one year.<sup>9</sup>

Granted the accessibility, why should Poe have cared to pore over twenty-year-old files of even so respectable and inter-

<sup>6</sup> He continued to send "occasional trifles" to the *Courier*, which printed verses from him on December 23, 1807; February 5, 1808; April 7, 1808; and May 31, 1808. On the last named date he was again singing of Anna.

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, pp. lii, liii, mentions Chivers, Willis, T. B. Read, Mrs. Hale, H. B. Hirst, G. P. Morris, and S. W. Cone as American poets who may have influenced Poe.

<sup>8</sup> On inquiry last summer my colleague, Mr. F. F. Covington, Jr., learned that both these libraries still possess the file for 1807.

<sup>9</sup> Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe*, American Men of Letters (1913), p. 37.

esting a paper as the *Courier*? A recent critic, on the basis of the Ellis-Allan papers in the Library of Congress, argues that Poe was deeply interested in learning the details of his parents' lives, and presents evidence for his interest in the fortunes of the company of actors to which both parents belonged.<sup>10</sup> Then on his first acquaintance with the city, Charleston must have impressed Poe as the place where his mother, Elizabeth Arnold, acted soon after her arrival in America, many times later, and in the last months of her life on April 28, 1811;<sup>11</sup> and likewise as the town where his father, David Poe, began his stage career in Placide's company during the season of 1803-4.<sup>12</sup> The file of the *Courier* during that winter contains such comments on the elder Poe's acting as these:

In *The Tale of Mystery*, "Poe performed the character of Stephana (*sic*) handsomely. He looked it well, and his dress did credit to the manager's taste."<sup>13</sup>

In *Richard the Third*, "Young Poe, in the character of Tressel, did more to justify our hopes of him than he has done in any character since his return from Savannah."<sup>14</sup>

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, "Young Poe being less than usual under the dominion of that timid modesty which so depresses his powers, acted Don Pedro so respectably as to animate the hopes we have entertained of his future progress."<sup>15</sup>

As Freeman in *George Barnwell*, "Young Poe begins to emerge from the abyss of embarrassment in which natural diffidence from his first appearance till but two or three of his last performances had plunged him so deep as to deprive him of all power of exertion. But he must have not only courage but patience—slow rises the actor."<sup>16</sup>

True all these notices are to be met in the *Courier* of 1804, while we are trying to find reason for Poe's conning over a volume of three years' later date. But what diligent student of Poe's biography is sure that Poe's parents did not act in

<sup>10</sup> Whitty, J. H., *Complete Poems of Poe* (1917), pp. 195-197.

<sup>11</sup> Whitty, *intro.*, p. xxi.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Courier*, February 4, 1804.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, February 13, 1804.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, February 29, 1804.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, March 10, 1804.

Charleston at some time during 1807? And it is a coincidence that on the very page of the *Courier* facing "The Mourner" is an advertisement of *The Grandfather's Will*, together with the "Grand Historical Pantomime of *La Perouse*," to be played on the evening of December 4, 1807, by Placide's company. In the cast of characters appear the names of Placide, Mrs. Placide, and Turnbull, all fellow actors with David Poe in 1804, as the advertisements of that year show. All that we are trying to suggest is a curiosity on the part of the young poet, leading him to turn the pages of the paper for 1807.

My guess is that in some way like this the newspaper verses attracted the attention of Poe, who for one reason or another kept a copy of them, to be used many years later. But I cannot fail to see in the crude lines of "D. M. C." the suggestion for one of the finest lyrics yet produced in American literature.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*DONNE'S SERMONS*: Selected Passages, with an Essay, by Logan Pearsall Smith. Oxford University Press. pp. lii+264.

*METAPHYSICAL LYRICS AND POEMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*: Donne to Butler; Selected and edited, with an Essay, by Herbert J. C. Grierson. Oxford University Press. pp. lviii+244.

*LES DOCTRINES MÉDIÉVALES CHEZ DONNE, LE POÈTE MÉTAPHYSICIEN DE L'ANGLETERRE (1573-1631)*. Par Mary Paton Ramsay. Oxford University Press. pp. xi+338.

In publishing these two attractive volumes of selections from Donne's sermons and from the whole range of metaphysical poetry of the seventeenth century, the Oxford University Press has performed a needed service to English literature. They will no doubt contribute to make Donne and his followers appear somewhat more approachable, both to the beginning student and to the general reader. The selections have been made with judgment and taste, and the introductory essays are both sympathetic and illuminating, and yet free from any exaggerated claims for the rather unpopular literature they interpret. Especially welcome is the volume selected from the sermons, for few students have ventured to search through the scarce original editions or the six volumes of Alford's edition to find the great passages of Donne's prose. Yet he undoubtedly deserves to be known as a great prose writer. Moreover, these selections may lead to a more general study among scholars of the whole body of Donne's sermons. For it is certain that no sound interpretation of metaphysical poetry is possible without a knowledge of Donne's mind and personality; and such a knowledge of course necessitates a study of his sermons as well as of his verse.

Miss Ramsay's book, a doctoral thesis at the University of Paris, is a study of all of Donne's work, both verse and prose, to ascertain his relation to medieval thought. She rightly insists on the importance of medieval thought, not only in Donne, but in the whole seventeenth century. For medievalism did not die from sheer futility, as is sometimes believed, nor did it suddenly become extinct with the arrival of humanism. In fact, medieval thought not only remained a vital force after the Renaissance, it even contributed some valuable elements to modern thought; for instance, the affinity of the idealism of Descartes with some persistent elements in medieval thought

has often been the subject of comment. Much of the characteristic intellectual turbulence of the seventeenth century is to be explained by this double nature of the period, both medieval and modern. In insisting on this medieval aspect of the seventeenth century, Miss Ramsay is following her eminent teacher of philosophy at the University of Paris, Professor Picavet, whose volumes (*Esquisse d'une Histoire Générale et Comparée des Philosophies Médiévales*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1907; *Essais sur l'Histoire Générale et Comparée des Philosophies Médiévales*, Paris, 1913) deserve the attention of students of literature as well as philosophy, who wish to understand the history of thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. M. Picavet has also emphasized the Neo-Platonic or Plotinian character of medieval philosophy, a wholesome corrective to the common conception that medieval thought was merely a series of subtle variations on the syllogism. Whatever reservations philosophers may make regarding M. Picavet's contention, it is very fruitful for the student of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is in the most complete discipleship to M. Picavet that Miss Ramsay writes of Donne, seeking to explain by the persistence of this medieval Plotinian tradition "la mentalité du poète lui-même, et celle de sa génération" (p. 2).

But Miss Ramsay finds two difficulties in this attempt to show that Donne was a Plotinian. In the first place, such authorities as Courthope and Grierson have spoken of the "Pyrrhonism" of Donne, of his scepticism, of his failure to achieve a synthetic view of life and the world. She replies by denying that Donne was a sceptic. "Nos remarques," she says, "sont limitées à la littérature, mais nous croyons pouvoir affirmer qu'il ne faut pas parler de l'esprit sceptique dans la première partie du siècle. L'esprit de critique sceptique ne fit vraiment son apparition en Angleterre qu'avec Hobbes" (pp. 11-12). The second difficulty, which she frankly admits, is that Donne nowhere gives any systematic account of his own philosophy. But by taking passages from the sermons, letters or poems, a paragraph here, a line or a fragment of a line there, and arranging them coherently, with illustrative passages from Plotinus and the medieval philosophers, she is able to make a fairly complete system, as her chapter headings indicate. The third section of the thesis, devoted to the exposition of the "doctrines" of Donne, has chapters on the following subjects: "De l'Univers ou de l'Etre"; "De Dieu"; "Des Anges ou Substances Séparées"; "De l'Homme"; "De L'Union avec Dieu ou de l'Extase"; "Des 'Sciences.'"

The result of this method is interesting but questionable, for the method itself is not without a danger which Miss Ramsay has insufficiently guarded against, namely, the misinterpretation of a passage apart from its context. As it is necessary to justify

this criticism in as brief a manner as possible, I shall select my illustrations from the first twenty pages out of the one hundred and fifty devoted to the "doctrines" of Donne.

On the first page of this chapter Miss Ramsay says that Donne is medieval in the close relationship between his philosophy and his theology. She gives in a paragraph a summary of Donne's thought, which is at the same time a summary of Neo-Platonism. I quote the latter half of the paragraph:

"L'Être Suprême c'est l'éternelle perfection, c'est Dieu, Unité et Trinité. Le monde matériel est le symbole du monde intelligible; Dieu nous parle constamment par ses créatures. Donne prend plaisir à développer ces idées, il y revient à tout moment. L'âme cherche toujours à remonter vers Dieu. 'Dieu, dit il, 'seul est tout; non seulement tout ce qui est, mais tout ce qui n'est pas, tout ce qui aurait pu être, s'il avait voulu que ce fût . . .'" (p. 129).

But in its context the passage quoted does not suggest that "l'âme cherche toujours à remonter vers Dieu." It is part of a passage which is distinctly *not* Plotinian:

"First then, in our first part, we consider the persons, the shepherd and the sheep, him and them, God and man; of which persons the one for his greatness God, the other for his littleness, man, can scarce fall under any consideration. What eye can fix itself upon east and west at once? And he must see more than east and west that sees God, for God spreads infinitely beyond both: God alone is all; not only all that is, but all that is not, all that might be, if he would have it be. God is too large, too immense, and then man is too narrow, too little to be considered; for, who can fix his eye upon an atom? . . . He comes to us, God to man; all to nothing; for upon that we insist first, as the first disproportion between us, and so the first exaltation of his mercy towards us." (Alford I, 129-130.)

In her enthusiastic search for the Plotinian tradition in Donne, Miss Ramsay has overlooked some negative evidence even in passages which she quotes. For instance, impressed with the importance of the reason, the *vous*, in the Plotinian tradition, she ignores Donne's remarkable disparagement of the reason just as she minimizes the sceptical element in his work. She quotes (p. 135) the first line from the verse letter to the Countess of Bedford:

"Reason is our soul's left hand, Faith her right,"

but does not pause to ask why reason is placed in the second rank. A rather remarkable mistranslation immediately follows, on the same page: "L'homme régénéré n'est point fait de la foi seule; il est composé de la foi et de la raison. Bien que la racine de notre assentiment soit dans la foi, c'est la raison qui nous présente la chose et l'illumine." In the original the passage stands thus: "It is a great degree of mercy that [God] affords us signs. A natural man is not made of reason alone, but of reason and sense; a regenerate man is not made of faith alone, but of faith and reason; and signs, external things, assist us all. . . . He disobeys God in the way of contumacy, who

refuses his signs, his outward assistances, his ceremonies which are induced by his authority, derived for him, upon men, in his church, and so made a part, or a help, of his ordinary service, as sacraments and sacramental things are" (Alford, I, 29). Obviously, the words, "and signs, external things, assist us all," have been completely transformed in the process of translation.

Again, on page 136 an essential part of a passage has been omitted, and what is quoted is consequently liable to misunderstanding: "Il voyait aussi qu'elle [la raison] a ses limites et qu'elle peut faillir. La phrase suivante résume bien l'ensemble de sa pensée. 'Par la lumière de la raison,' dit Donne, 'dans le théâtre du monde, et par le moyen des créatures, nous voyons Dieu.'" The original is as follows: "By the light of nature, in the theatre of the world, by the medium of creatures, we see God; but to know God, by believing, not only him, but in him, is only in the academy of the church, only through the medium of the ordinance there, and only by the light of faith" (Alford, I, 420).

I shall take one more illustration, from page 149 of Miss Ramsay's book:

"Dans un sermon du mois de Mars, 1624, notre auteur fait allusion à la question de l'Ecole', savoir: s'il y a quelque chose qui soit *essentiellement* bon . . . Sur cette question du bien *essentiel* Donne offre sa réponse 'd'après l'Ecole.' Si par *essentiellement* l'on comprend une idée d'indépendance, d'existence parfaite qui subsiste par elle-même, il n'y a rien alors qui soit *essentiellement* bon sauf Dieu. Mais si l'on veut dire, au contraire, que *l'essence, l'être*, est bon, toutes choses sont bonnes car l'existence implique un bien *essentiel*."

But in Donne's sermon this question is debated more at length and with a different conclusion. Donne develops this question of the non-existence of evil by reference to Augustine's reply to the Manichees. He discusses the two kinds of evil, the *malum culpae* and *malum poenae*, the latter of which conduces to our welfare by its "medicinal correction." Donne approaches last the definitely philosophical question of the existence of the *malum culpae*:

"So then, this which we call *malum poenae*, affliction, adversity, is not evil; that which occasions this, *malum culpae*, sin itself, is not evil; not evil so, as that it should make us incapable of this diffusive goodness of God. You know, I presume, in what sense we say in the school, *malum nihil*, and *peccatum nihil*, that evil is nothing, sin is nothing; that is, it hath no reality, it is no created substance, it is but a privation, as a shadow is, as sickness is; so it is nothing. It is wittily argued by Boethius, God can do all things; God cannot sin; therefore sin is nothing. But it is strongly argued by St. Augustine, if there be anything naturally evil, it must necessarily be contrary to that which is naturally good; and that is God. How, *contraria aequalia*, says he; whatsoever things are contrary to one another, are equal to one another; so, if we make anything naturally evil, we shall slide into the Manichee's error, to make an evil God. So far doth the school follow this, as that there, one archbishop of Canterbury, out of another, that is, Bradwardine out of Anselm, pronounces it *Haereticum esse dicere, malum esse aliquid*. To say that anything is naturally evil, is an heresy.



"But if I cannot find a foundation for my comfort, in this subtlety of the school, that sin is nothing (no such thing as was created or induced by God, much less forced upon me by him, in any coactive degree) yet I can raise a second step for my consolation in this, that be sin what it will in the nature thereof, yet my sin shall conduce and cooperate to my good. . . ." (Alford, I, 288-289).

Certainly Donne could not indicate more decisively his own critical independence of the various doctrines of the scholastic traditions.

Obviously, in trying to state Donne's "doctrines" and religious experience in terms of Plotinianism, Miss Ramsay has done violence to our conception of him by excessively simplifying him, ignoring all the most characteristic extravagances, paradoxes, flashes of insight—she has, in short, obscured his peculiar genius. She compares him (p. 12) to Sir John Davies, author of *Nosce Teipsum*—a misleading comparison. Davies was content with a thoroughly conventional philosophy such as never at any stage in his career could have satisfied Donne. Any mention together of these two men should rather serve to emphasize the personal, individual, original nature of Donne's religious experience as well as of his poetry. As Grierson says in his *Introduction* (p. xxvii), Donne "is our first intensely personal religious poet, expressing always not the mind simply of the Christian as such, but the conflicts and longings of one troubled soul, one subtle and fantastic mind." It is this unique and intense religious experience which lies back of the metaphysical conceits of the sermons, as of the religious poetry. It gives the poetic force and the psychological fascination to the metaphysical style of Donne. The editor of the sermons confesses that he finds in them something "baffling and enigmatic which still eludes our last analysis. Reading these old hortatory and dogmatic pages, the thought suggests itself that Donne is often saying something else, something poignant and personal, and yet, in the end, incommunicable to us. It sometimes seems as if he were using the time-honored phrases of the accepted faith, its hope of heaven, and its terror of the grave, to express a vision of his own—a vision of life and death, of evil and horror and ecstasy—very different from that of other preachers; and we are troubled as well as fascinated by the strange music which he blows through the sacred trumpets" (p. xxv).

Throughout her study of Donne, Miss Ramsay has repeated that he was peculiarly the disciple of Augustine (see pp. 179, 181-2, 220, 225, 252-3, 257, etc.), but in her eagerness to prove Donne a Plotinian she has missed the significance of this discipleship. For it has a double significance, first regarding Donne's relation to medieval thought, and second, regarding the nature of his religious experience. As these are subjects which I intend to develop more at length elsewhere, I shall discuss them here only very briefly.

Siebeck, the learned historian of psychology, has long ago emphasized that the influence of Augustine in the Middle Ages, especially among the Nominalists and Mystics, counteracted the intellectualism of Aquinas (See Siebeck, *Die Anfänge der neueren Psychologie in der Scholastik* in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und phil. Kritik*, vol. 93, 1888, pp. 188 ff.). This opposition of religious temperaments was of course intensified by the Reformation. The Jansenist movement in France was an illuminating phase of it, and Pascal, far more than Sir John Davies, furnishes suggestive parallels to Donne. For Donne had learned in the school of affliction and anguish, which he so often refers to as the best school for the soul, that he needed another blessedness than truth and knowledge. Thomism, in its intellectualistic interpretation of the world, was an exposition, under Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian terms, of the Logos. But both Augustine and Donne were dissatisfied with the impersonal and intellectual conception of God in the Platonic tradition. In Plato we may find God, said Donne, but "without a Christ." (Alford, III, 47). The Word became flesh and living among us, partaking of our miseries and frailties, giving us the inexpressible consolation and comfort of a personal love and sacrifice for us, this was the religion of Augustine and Donne. Miss Ramsay has indeed noticed in passing this similarity between Donne and Augustine, and quotes an eloquent passage on the latter from Gaston Boissier (p. 252). But she has not recognized that this peculiar craving for peace was not to be satisfied by the Plotinian *νόσος*. Donne and Augustine desired, not primarily to *know* God, but to rest their souls in the bosom of God, in the bosom of Christ, who was God become humanity and therefore full of the sympathy they craved. This sense of the living personality of God and of Christ, and the dependence of his own soul upon its preciousness in the sight of Christ, is the essence of Donne's religious experience.

Upon this religious experience the restless intellect of Donne was working, and the result was the "metaphysical" or "conceited" style. In his labor to understand, to communicate, the experiences of his burning, passionate nature, he draws upon all life and all knowledge, upon the most homely matters of daily experience as well as upon the distinctions of the scholastic philosophies. It is a great error to represent Donne as always preoccupied with the subtleties of medieval thought. He was really preoccupied with the subtleties of his own soul. Donne preached out of his own experience, as he had startled his contemporaries, and as he has startled all his discerning readers since, by the sincerity of his poetry written out of his own experience. No one has looked more directly upon the realities of life, no one has had his vision of reality less impeded by tradition, than Donne. But in the expres-

sion of even the most subtle, evanescent or mystical phases of his experience, he sought to translate it into intellectual terms, into "conceits." There is a truth, in spite of its perverse and unsympathetic statement, in the familiar comment of George Macdonald, in *England's Antiphon*: "The central thought of Dr. Donne is nearly always sure to be just: the subordinate thoughts by means of which he unfolds it are often grotesque, and so wildly associated as to remind one of the lawlessness of a dream, wherein mere suggestion without choice or fitness rules the sequence." This remark may at any rate serve as a warning to us, when we read Miss Ramsay's book, to look for the solution of the riddle of this unique Renaissance saint, not in any systematization of his subordinate thoughts, so "often grotesque," but in those central thoughts which are not only just, but intensely poetical and intensely human.

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*EINFUEHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER INDOGERMANISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT.* By Josef Schrijnen, Professor an der Reichsuniversität Utrecht. Uebersetzt von Dr. Walther Fischer, Privatdozent an der Universität Würzburg. Heidelberg 1921, Carl Winter. 8-vo, X+340.

*LANGUAGE.* An Introduction to the Study of Speech. By Edward Sapir. New York, 1921, Harcourt, Brace & Co. 8-vo, VII+258.

It is a rare pleasure to review two books of such unquestionable value for the study and advancement of linguistic science. But while of equal merit, they present a most striking contrast to each other, differing radically in scope, attitude, and style, and in all of those subtle ways in which the writer's personality is stamped upon his work.

Schrijnen's book, while written by a Dutch scholar, is a characteristic exponent of German achievements and the German attitude towards science. It professes to be a relatively elementary introduction to the study of Indo-European linguistics, but at the same time it offers welcome orientation even to a well-trained specialist in Indo-European philology and should prove an invaluable aid to linguistic work in other branches. Its wealth of information is quite out of proportion to its small size. It contains a thoroughly adequate bibliography (though I missed reference to Buck's important *Ablaut*-articles); a more detailed discussion of the general principles of linguistics than is found in any other book of similar scope; a brief, but sufficient chapter on phonetics, including a satisfactory account

of the present state of experimental phonetics; and it presents Indo-European phonology in a clear and thoroughly up-to-date although conservative manner. It is unfortunate that the excellent little book stops short at this point. A chapter on morphology would seem entirely feasible and extremely desirable. Perhaps we may hope for a second volume, filling that gap? The Dutch edition (Leiden 1917) is not at my disposal, and the preface of the German edition does not suggest any such prospect, nor does it indicate the reason of this rather arbitrary limitation. We have passed that stage of Indo-European grammar, it would seem, when morphology was either too vague, or too complicated for an elementary book. Schrijnen's terseness and clearness would fit him admirably for striking a happy medium between the morphological chapters in the introductory books by Meillet and Meringer.

Concreteness—the presentation of definite facts with a minimum of stylistical embellishment, is the dominant note in Schrijnen's book. In moot questions he generally refrains from committing himself, but offers a lucid survey over the prevailing theories. This is true, for instance, in his chapter on the various attempts of linguistic classification, including the 'Mischsprachen' and the problems of the Hittite, Etruscan and Basque languages. Likewise, the question of the home of the Indo-Europeans is discussed without prejudice, although the author, on the whole, inclines towards the European hypothesis; I cannot admit, by the way, that the conservative character of the Balto-Slavic languages supports that view, as Schrijnen asserts (p. 60); I believe, on the contrary, that *emigrant* languages show a tendency to become petrified—Icelandic offers a striking instance. The Origin of Language; Language and Writing; Language and Race; Linguistic Changes (with a valuable digression on linguistic 'substrats,' pp. 86-88); Dialects; Social Linguistics; Linguistic Psychology (with a brief, but fair outline of the Sievers-Rutz investigations)—these are other chapters of the general part of the book that are characteristic of the author's objective and thorough method of skilful condensation.

Slightly less than one half of the book is devoted to Indo-European phonology. The extreme brevity of the phonetic chapter (fourteen pages, aside from experimental phonetics) leads occasionally to questionable statements; for instance, Schrijnen's definition of sonorous sounds (p. 178) does not apply to certain kinds of *r* and *l*, as the author states himself on p. 182. It is, however, valuable for the student of phonetics—and is not meant for the layman. Here as elsewhere, the book will prove to be of greater advantage to those students who have already gained some preliminary acquaintance with linguistic principles and methods than to beginners. Some chapters, for instance

chapter three, which deals with the most important categories of phonetic laws, are concentrated to such an extent that their wealth of information would bewilder the latter, but is highly instructive to the former.

The fourth chapter takes up in some detail the development of the individual Indo-European sounds, in accordance with Brugmann's methods and results. In the paragraph on the *Palatalgesetz* ('Collitz' Law', p. 243) I noticed with regret that the name of the real discoverer is mentioned merely incidentally, in the midst of five other names, while p. 34 at least mentions 'vor allem aber Collitz und Joh. Schmidt mit ihren massgebenden Veröffentlichungen.' Conservative everywhere, Schrijnen follows the traditional theories concerning Gc.  $\xi(\zeta)$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}(\delta)$ , IE.  $\beta$ , IE. *bh*, *dh*, *gh* (he does not mention my assertion that they were voiceless spirants) and the *ablaut*. The chapter on *ablaut* is especially clear and concrete, but the chapter on the Germanic soundshift is rather mechanical and disappointing in a book of such excellent type; the same is true of the treatment of the High German soundshift, which revives the time-honored delusion of its spread from the south to the north (p. 297), and more or less of the discussion of the consonants in general. It is too brief for reference and too skeleton-like for a physiological understanding of the general linguistic trends. But in this Schrijnen merely follows the standard of most other recent books on the subject and does not deserve criticism. Wherever he appears to fail the defect is not his own, but belongs to the present generation of linguistic science. His book is not personal, but an excellent exponent of a valuable type.

Sapir's work, on the other hand, is personal in the extreme. The author is a refreshing iconoclast. His style is vivid, teeming with clever aperçus, at times even poetic. It is the style of the inspiring lecturer, of the interesting *causeur*, not of the objective scholar (which Sapir in reality is, to the highest degree). The book "aims to give a certain perspective on the subject of language rather than assemble facts about it." Schrijnen's book is all facts: Sapir is almost anxious to avoid them. The former gives definite information concerning established truths; the latter delights in the keen analysis of basic concepts and is always fruitfully suggestive although, of course, he cannot always present us with concrete results. He avoids "all the technical terms of the linguistic academy," but does not hesitate to coin a multitude of new ones. There is, as he proudly states, not a single diacritical mark in the whole book, and he abstains from giving a detailed survey of phonetics, as being too technical and "too loosely related to our main theme." (However, for the purposes of the book, his phonetic chapter, twelve pages, is quite as adequate as Schrijnen's.) The discussion is based chiefly on English material, but references to other languages

are frequent, and the author's position (Mr. Sapir is chief of the Anthropological Section, Geological Survey of Canada) makes it appear natural that examples are often drawn from the languages of the American Indians. It is characteristic that a warning is uttered against the overrating of the 'inflective' type of languages in comparison with the 'sober logic of Turkish and Chinese' and the 'glorious irrationalities and formal complexities of many 'savage' languages'.—In the selection of his examples, especially on the side of phonetics, Sapir has the advantage of the active experimenter; a systematized report on his experiences in recording and investigating primitive languages would be of the greatest interest.

The beaten paths exist for the author merely to be shunned. For such commonplace categories as parts of speech and inflections he substitutes four categories of linguistic concepts (the limitations of space prohibit my defining these terms): Basic concepts, (objects, actions, qualities), derivational concepts, concrete relational concepts, and pure relational concepts; on these concepts he bases a new classification of human speech, to replace the grouping into isolating, agglutinative, and inflective languages: Simple Pure-relational languages (e.g., Chinese), Complex Pure-relational (Polynesian, Turk), Simple Mixed-relational (Bantu, French), and Complex Mixed-relational languages (Semitic and most Indo-European languages).

Unhampered by any respect for authorities, Sapir displays a brilliant insight into the nature of linguistic processes. Language is 'a merely conventional system of sound symbols' (thus Sapir discards every trace of a belief in the onomatopoeic or interjectional theories of the origin of language); every language possesses a firmly established 'pattern' of sounds and forms, which is rigidly preserved regardless of phonetic morphological, or syntactic changes. Single sounds, or whole series of sounds change, but there is no loss of pattern. (If this empirical assertion—p. 195—should prove to be correct, it would do away with our present scheme of Indo-European consonants, which is clearly in accord with the phonetic patterns of Sanscrit, Tibetan, Burmese, but not with that of the any European language.) While independent from established traditions, in fact, almost intolerant against them, Sapir is less inaccessible to the influence of random assertions. Thus, he attaches considerable weight to Meillet's and Feist's untenable claim that 'there are a surprising number of common and characteristic Germanic words which cannot be connected with known Indo-European radical elements and which may well be survivals of the hypothetical Pre-Germanic language' (p. 226); from vague evidence of this kind he infers that the Germanic languages 'represent but an outlying transfer of an Indo-European dialect (possibly a Celto-Italic prototype) to a Baltic people speaking a language or group of languages that was alien, not Indo-European.'

The chapter on phonetic changes, in which the author rightly sees 'the most central problem in linguistic history' is the most fertile one of the book—indeed, it is the most brilliant exposition of the problem that I ever read. Every language, according to Sapir, possesses a 'phonetic drift' (a much better term than the expression 'tendency' that I was accustomed to use). This drift represents a general movement of the language towards a particular type of articulation—vowels may tend to become higher or lower, voiced consonants may tend to become voiceless, stops may tend to become spirants. As an illustration of a section of such a drift he sketches an ingenious picture of the English and German *umlaut*, basing its systematic spread in part on the same psychological tendency that gave rise to the morphological use of the *ablaut* (compare page 147 of my *Sounds and History of the German Language*). The passage is a striking specimen of the concrete results that might be gained by the consistent application of Sapir's highly subjective, audacious, independent method. But, of course, it is only a specimen.

Schrijnen's book is a summing up of a great past, a firm rock in the present. Sapir's book casts a divining glance into the future. The former is of greater immediate usefulness, but books of the latter type, while *mit Vorsicht zu gebrauchen*, are more inspiring.

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DANTE IN SPAGNA-FRANCIA-INGHILTERRA-GERMANIA (DANTE E GOETHE). By Arturo Farinelli, Torino, Fratelli Bocca, Editori, 1922. IX+506 pp.

This book is a collection of five essays composed at various times, and here assembled, according to the preface, as a "compendium of the so-called fortune of Dante in the nations that are most cultivated and richest in literary and artistic traditions." The author reminds us that all the study devoted to Dante fails to explain "the mystery of his personality, the divine seal that was impressed upon it."

I. The first essay, entitled *Riflessi di Dante nei secoli* (pp. 1-28), is a lecture delivered by the author at Bellinzona on March 24th, 1921. It sums up the most important evidences of Dante's influence. In it the author deprecates the vast amount of publication occasioned by anniversary celebrations. He also deplores the tendency to overlook Dante himself in the mass of commentary devoted to him. He reminds us that we find in Shakespeare a life all nature and instinct; that we can lull ourselves to sleep and forget ourselves in Homer; that we can restore our strength in the divine humor of Cervantes; but that

we can exalt ourselves and feel a proud and powerful human dignity only in Dante. Some attention is paid to the cult of Dante as a classic shortly after his death, even among the merchant classes and lower classes of Italy. We are reminded that the great poet was not appreciated during the Renaissance, and that he was regarded by the formalists as uncouth down almost to our own times. Yet, certain strong spirits in various lands loved him, notably Saint Catherine of Siena, Savonarola, Michelangelo, Bruno, Campanella, Galileo, Vico, Christine of Pisan, Marguerite of Navarre, and Milton. Professor Farinelli calls attention to the services of the German romanticists in rescuing Dante from the contempt of Olympians and pedants. The romanticists found Dante akin to them, even though they did not always understand him. In conclusion we are urged, in the tribulations of today, to turn to Dante, not amid the uproar of an anniversary celebration, but in a spirit of silence and reverence.

II. *Dante in Ispagna nell' Età Media* (pp. 29-195), is a reproduction, with changes and corrections, of a previous *Appunti su Dante in Ispagna nell' Età Media*.<sup>1</sup> It is a species of commentary on B. Sansiventi's *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnola*.<sup>2</sup> The discussion goes down to the end of the fifteenth century. Many criticisms and corrections of Sansiventi's work are offered, and a great amount of new material is contributed. It is shown that in the early 15th century there was more interest in Dante in Spain than in other countries. Among a great number of writers, especial attention is paid to Imperial, the Marquis of Santillana, Juan de Mena, and the Catalans. Spanish imitation of Dante lacked the breath of poetry, and was confined mostly to external matters. The real Dante was not understood. Some of the allegory of the *Divine Comedy* was imitated, mixed with French allegory. In Spain, as elsewhere, the episode of Francesca da Rimini was popular.

III. *A proposito di Dante e la Francia* (pp. 197-229), is a reprint of a letter written by the author to a French friend in March, 1921, in answer to a request for further material related to Farinelli's monumental two-volume work *Dante e la Francia dall' Età Media al secolo di Voltaire*.<sup>3</sup> This last-mentioned work is authoritative and standard, even though the nature of the material makes the result rather barren. A reviewer has said that the whole of the long, learned work of Farinelli may be summed up in a few words describing the admiration for

<sup>1</sup> *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, Supplemento* 8, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Milan, Hoepli, 1902 (not 1904, as stated on p. 30). Cf. *Romania*, XXXII, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Milan, Hoepli, 1908 (not 1906, as stated on p. 198).



Dante by Christine of Pisan and Marguerite of Navarre, and the contempt of Voltaire, which in reality gives "a synthesis, doubtless in his own style, but at bottom faithful, of the real thought or real absence of thought in France about the *Divine Comedy*."<sup>4</sup> Farinelli's letter reviews the conclusions reached in his great work on Dante and France. He says that he did well to stop before romanticism. He regrets the barren nature of his results, but defends them as facts. His letter serves as a discussion of an eventual second edition of *Dante e la Francia*. There is some attention to critical theory. Farinelli opposes a schematic form, according to which critics said that his work should be written, and he defends his method of making Dante the center of his investigation and letting the discussion lead him in natural directions.

IV. *Dante in Inghilterra dal Chaucer al Cary* (pp. 231-349), is an amplified and corrected version of a previous article of the same name.<sup>5</sup> It is an extended review of Paget Toynbee's two-volume *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*.<sup>6</sup> Toynbee's work has been recognized by critics as authoritative and standard.<sup>7</sup> It contains an enormous number of references to Dante in English literature up to the year of Cary's death, 1844. Farinelli admits the learning of Toynbee's work, saying that it would be foolish to attempt to rival it. However, even in the matter of simple references, he adds a considerable number of items to Toynbee's huge list. The most original contribution of Farinelli is his criticism of Toynbee's method. He states that Toynbee buried his own personality in the work; while he went to the greatest extreme to collect others' opinions, and that he injured his work by adopting methods severely chronological and bibliographical. Farinelli shows that authors whose opinions are naturally related are often separated by many pages through some accident of chronology. According to Farinelli there is no aesthetic method in Toynbee's work, which he finally styles a *shapeless, chaotic mass*, in which one feels a *secret breath of life*. Toynbee was clearly trying to compose a bibliographical work, and if Farinelli's strictures seem too harsh, we must remember that they are to be applied to Toynbee's method, and not to its execution. It is interesting to note that Ettore Allodoli characterized Toynbee's book as a bibliography and anthology, and Farinelli's similar work on Dante and France as literary and historical.<sup>8</sup>

Without any pretence at exhaustiveness Farinelli suggests some of the questions that he might have considered, had he

<sup>4</sup> E. G. Parodi in *Il Marzocco*, Sept. 13th, 1908, here quoted from the *Giornale Storico*, III, 397.

<sup>5</sup> *Bullettino della Società Dantesca italiana*, N.S., vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> London and New York, Macmillan, 1909.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. especially *Giornale Dantesco*, XVIII, 29-36.

<sup>8</sup> *Giornale Dantesco*, XVIII, 29.

been the author of Toynbee's work. He wonders at the failure of English Puritans (except Milton) to admire Dante; at the absence of an appreciation among English critics of Dante's knowledge of human nature; at the tendency in the 18th century to follow blindly French criticism of Dante. On the basis of Toynbee's selections Farinelli discusses, in an interesting manner the disparagement of Dante by Scott, Landor, Sherlock, and others, the interest of English women in Dante, the work on Dante by Italian professors and patriots in England, and other subjects.

V. *Dante in Germania nel secolo di Goethe* (pp. 351-490),<sup>9</sup> has more unity than the other essays, probably because it is limited to the age of Goethe, and especially to the latter part of Goethe's career. It is an extended review and commentary based on a book by Emil Sulger-Gebing.<sup>10</sup> Sulger-Gebing's work has three parts—a chronological list of Goethe's remarks about Dante, the relation between the two poets, and traces of the *Divine Comedy* in Goethe's works. The general opinion of critics seems to be that Sulger-Gebing has given a temperate exposition of the somewhat barren facts in the case—i. e., that Goethe did not know Dante very well, that he liked episodes from the *Divine Comedy* without sympathizing with the work as a whole, that his chief interest in Dante and knowledge of him came in his last years, and that very few direct traces of Dante are to be found in Goethe, although there are some in the second part of *Faust*.

Farinelli's article is far more than a mere commentary on Sulger-Gebing. Years before he himself published an article on what a reviewer calls the *tema ingrato* of Dante and Goethe.<sup>11</sup> Farinelli returns to the theme with renewed vigor. His discussion does not deal exclusively with Dante and Goethe, but with Dante in the age of Goethe. After remarking that Dante and Goethe seem at first to be widely different, Farinelli points out similarities between the *Divine Comedy* and *Faust*—in the vastness of their respective worlds, the aspirations of the characters, and the summary of contemporary life. He discusses the enthusiasm for Dante felt by Herder, the Schlegels, Tieck, Werner, and others, and shows how Schiller, Goethe, Grillparzer and Wagner were bored by some of the more enthusiastic appreciations. We learn that Schelling was a sounder critic of the *Divine Comedy* than his predecessors, in

<sup>9</sup> An amplified and corrected version of the article of the same name in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca italiana*, N.S., Vol. XVI, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Goethe und Dante. Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte (Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte. Hrg. v. F. Muncker, XXXII)*, Berlin, A. Duncker, 1907.

<sup>11</sup> See *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXVI, 229, for a brief review of Farinelli's earlier article.

that he studied the poem as a whole. He inspired Abeken, Witte, Fichte, Hegel and others. As time went on, especially after 1820, there was a new and more scientific interest in Dante. Schlosser, the historian, was a keen Dante scholar, and inspired followers. The German artists had a Dante cult.

Farinelli tells us that Goethe was influenced by the spread of interest in Dante. His conclusions are not very different from those of Sulger-Gebing, although the form of discussion is different, in not following an artificial (to Farinelli) scheme of division into three chapters. The conclusions are as follows: To know Dante well Goethe should have known him better in youth; associating Dante chiefly with the *Inferno*, Goethe got an impression of Dante's austerity; Goethe could never reconcile himself to the shadows and specters of the middle ages, for his modern eyes were fixed on the earth, where his purgatory and redemption took place; Faust's restless spirit would have been incomprehensible to Dante; Goethe admired Dante's plastic art and verse form, but did not try to penetrate his allegory; Goethe did not venerate Dante as the romanticists did.

Although not so negative as the results of the work on Dante and France, study of Dante and Goethe is somewhat barren. Yet Farinelli reminds us of some similarities. Dante had some earthly, and Goethe some transcendental qualities. Dante and Goethe approach each other, not in philosophy or science, but in art, in penetrating insight, and in poetic images; finally the *Divine Comedy* and *Faust* end in visions of Paradise, where the central theme is love.

While this collection of essays by Farinelli does not pretend to form a complete history of Dante in Spain, France, England, and Germany, it covers a considerable portion of the field, and it introduces the reader, through discussions and bibliographical notes, to all the literature on the subject. Its usefulness is enhanced by an index. The present reviewer is not competent to suggest corrections or additions.<sup>12</sup> The impression received coincides with what has been said by other reviewers in praise of the tremendous erudition and the critical insight of Professor Farinelli.

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<sup>12</sup> Very few slight errors in accentuation of Spanish names, and in the spelling of English and German words have been noted. On p. 310, the quotation from Moore, *One fatal remembrance—one sorrow that throws its bleak shade o'er our joys and our woes*, lacks the word *alike* between *shade* and *o'er*. On p. 320, in the quotation from Mrs. Hemans, read *wave* for *wade*; in the same quotation the verb *swelled* belongs in the line after *wave*.

## NOTES

The initial number of the University of Iowa's *Philological Quarterly* should be pondered by those who take a dark view of American scholarship. Any one who thinks that the present generation of scholars lacks courage, initiative, and resourcefulness will find his answer here. We recommend subscription to the new quarterly, however, not chiefly as a recognition of merit. We recommend it as a paying investment. To judge from the interest and variety of the first number, subscribers may rely confidently upon their quarterly dividends.

The *Philological Quarterly* is devoted to the classical and the modern languages and literatures; and it publishes reviews as well as independent articles. In the contents of the first number and in the appended list of forthcoming articles, one should note not only the range of subjects but the inclusion of papers of such general interest as Professor Cutting's criticism of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte* and Professor Craig's 'Problems in Renaissance Scholarship.' Following the lead of Professor Manly's article of fifteen years ago on Chaucer's Knight, Professor Knott brings to bear upon the description of the Merchant much pertinent information about fourteenth century commerce; and Professor Thompson, looking backward to Spenser and forward to the author of the Seasons, revives two almost forgotten books: one a book of emblems, the other a calendar of man's life. The English field is further represented by Dr. Helen S. Hughes's argument for Fielding's authorship of *A Dialogue between a Beau's Head and his Heels* and by Dr. Kenyon's 'Note on Hamlet.' Mention should also be made of Professor Searles' characteristically entertaining article on La Fontaine, and of Professor Ullmann's account of a Vatican codex, of interest to students of Caesar, Pliny, and Sallust.

## NOTES ON SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT

The interpretation of the Middle English *Sir Gawain* has been hampered by peculiarities of dialect, by inaccuracies of the scribe of the manuscript, and fundamentally by obscurities of style in the poet himself. The various translators have frequently been at variance, so that no apology seems necessary for the following notes and discussions. In my article "Some Notes on the Pearl," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* xxxvi, 52, I brought together notable peculiarities of the manuscript copyist, and these will be freely used, while some additional examples may now be included.

For conciseness the following abbreviations will be used. The editors Sir Frederick Madden, Morris, and Gollancz will be designated by F. M., M. and G., the first editing for the Bannatyne Club, the second for the Early English Text edition of 1864, revised 1869; the third of the revised text of 1897 and 1912. The prose translation of E. J. B. Kirtlan (Ld. 1912) will be referred to as Kt., that of Neilson and Webster (*Chief Brit. Poets* etc., 1916) by W-N. These two alone are used because presumably more literal than poetic translations. The other poems of the same MS. will be designated as Pl. for *Pearl*, Cl. for *Clannesse*, Pat. for *Patience*. The names Knott, Napier, Thomas, Mrs. Wright refer to single articles by those commentators in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxx, 102; *Ibid.* xvii, 85; *Eng. Stud.* xlvii, 250; *Ibid.* xxxvi, 209 respectively. Other abbreviations will be readily understood, but Br-Str. is the Bradley-Stratmann *Dictionary*, CtDict. the *Century*.

28 selly in siȝt. G. hyphens *in siȝt*, apparently as if OE. *insiht* 'narrative,' a meaning which does not seem to occur in ME. Kt. omits, and Thomas seems to have the right idea in 'a marvel to look upon, a wondrous sight,' perhaps somewhat better 'a marvel in appearance to the sight.' The relation of the next two lines is obscured by W-N's generalized 'which some men count strange and extraordinary among the wonders of Arthur.' It is 'such that some men hold it a marvel to the sight and an extraordinary incident among Arthurian wonders.'

The phrase *selly in sist* refers specifically to the appearance of the Green Knight at the court of King Arthur.

33 stad & stoken. An alliterative expression meaning 'fixed and established.' The two lines of the couplet belong with the preceding as Kt. and W-N. have it, rather than as the punctuation of M. and G. imply.

46 glaumande gle. Br-Str. and Björkman set up a verb *glaumen* for this place only. I suggest that the true reading is *glaum ande gle* 'noisy joy and glee.' Compare *glam and gle* of 1652 and Icl. *glaumr* beside *glamr* with essentially the same meaning. Note similar unions of *ande* with the preceding word in Pat. 269, 279, and Pl. 111 as I have proposed in the article mentioned above p. 61.

55 on sille. M. glossed 'seat,' OE. *sylla* 'chair,' Kt. rendering 'in mirth,' W-N. 'in the hall.' Br-Str., under the Sth. *sülle*, rightly connects it with OE. *syll* 'sill, base, foundation,' the phrase here meaning 'on earth' as implied by the next line.

60 Wyle nw ȝer . . . ȝat. Kt. has only 'when the new year was come,' W-N. 'when New Year was fresh and but newly come,' but it is rather 'while the new year was so fresh because (for the reason that) it was newly come.' *ȝat* 'because' is both Old and Middle English, as for the latter in Chaucer, *Boeth.* iii, pr. iv, 34.

62 Fro ȝe kyng. Kt. 'when,' W-N. 'as soon as,' wrongly beginning a new sentence. *Fro* means 'from the time that' as in Pl. 251, 375, Cl. 1198, Pat. 243. The nobles were not served until the king came.

63 ȝe chauntre. M. glossed 'religious service,' Kt. and W-N. rendering by the general 'chanting,' the latter incorrectly making this the conclusion of a sentence beginning with his 'as soon as' noted above. Here *chauntre* 'endowment for saying mass' is 'the mass' itself, which regularly preceded the meal in the poem, as in 755, 1135, 1311, 1558, and must be so assumed in the general reference of 1414. The order of events is hearing of mass in the chapel, the entrance to the hall by the king and knights, the noisy demanding and receiving of new year's gifts, the feast itself with the double serving (61).

67 ȝeȝed ȝeres ȝiftes on hiȝ. 'Loudly cried new year's gifts.' The ancient custom still survives in Scotland and Europe generally (Fr. *jour d'etrennes* for new year's day), but in Eng-

land and America the gift-giving usually belongs only to Christmas. Here line 65 would seem to indicate both days as for gifts, though with some difference. There is no indication of gifts brought in from the outside, and those that were lost and won were paid at once (*ȝelde bi honde*). I suspect that the gift about which the ladies 'laughed full loud though they had lost,' and 'he that won was not wroth,' was a kiss. Evidence of such a custom in later times is found in the *Memoirs of Lord Langdale* (see *Notes and Queries* III, v, 153). At young people's parties on new year's eve on the stroke of twelve all fall to kissing, each young man taking a kiss from each young lady, after which they separate and go home. The custom of giving gifts on new year's day in Scotland is well known.

68 Debated busyly aboute þo giftes. M. left *debated* un-glossed, and the translators have 'much talking was there about the gifts' (Kt.), 'busily discussed' (W-N.). The meaning is stronger, 'strove, contended, disputed' though doubtless in good spirit. There were questions as to who first called out 'new year's gift.' *Debatande with hymself* in 2179 is nearer our usage, but even there it was no mild thinking over, but rather that implied by our 'cudgeling his brains.'

72 waschen worpyly. M. and G. put *worpyly* into the second half line by their punctuation and the translators have followed. The word belongs to the first half line both by alliteration and syntax, odd as the expression may seem to later refinement.

74 Whene Guenore. The punctuation of the printed texts is misleading. The when-clause extends to the end of line 80, the next two lines concluding the sentence. The when-clause includes a description of Guenevere to *des* (75), which is itself then described in what follows to the end of 80. A dash after *des* and another after 80 would make all clear. In addition there have been other misunderstandings. *Bisides* should be *bi sides* 'by the sides'—or 'at the sides' as W-N. has it—here, and at 856 where W-N. omits it entirely. But W-N. begins a new sentence with line 76, thus obscuring the relation to the when-clause. *Hir over*, translated by W-N. 'over her,' must surely be for *her over* 'here over,' referring to the dais as a whole (dubbed *al aboute*), since the canopy could not have been over Guenevere alone. The copyist has misunderstood the passage,

probably because *hir* and *her* are both used for 'her.' *Hereafter*, *her bisyde*, *herin* (*here inne*) *here utter*, all occur in the poems.

88 *lengē*. The MS. reading is confirmed by Knott, and I suggest it may be Scand. *lengi* adv. 'long' which would have become ME. *lengē*. This may have been used by the poet to avoid repetition of *longe*, although possibly the MS. form is by *e-o* confusion as in other places.

98 *leve*. M. does not gloss in this place, and Kt. generalizes the two lines 98-9. W-N. has 'trusting each to the other, leaving the victory to fortune,' as if *leve* 'believe.' It seems to me better to assume *leve* 'leave' as in Pl. 622, Cl. 1233, Pat. 401: 'each one leave to the other to have the fairer as fortune would aid them,' or 'him' as we should put it.

113 *ette wit hymselfen*. Thomas notes that the translators Kt., Weston, and I may add W-N., have misunderstood the expression, translating 'by himself.' It is of course 'ate with him,' that is Bawdewyn. To the note of Thomas I may add the reference in 128 'each two had dishes twelve.' Six persons sit at the high table, the king and queen, Gawain and Agravayn, Bawdewyn and Ywain (Ywan). Of these Bawdewyn *beginez þe table*, suggesting Chaucer's *the bord bigonne* (*Prol. to C. T.* 52) upon which I hope to make a further note in time.

118 *Nwe nakryn noyse with þe noble pipes*. Cl. 1413 is to be compared, *And ay þe nakeryn noyse, notes of pipes*. In both places *nakeryn* (*nakryn*) has been assumed to be a gen. pl., W-N. translating here 'new noise of kettledrums.' It has not been noted that *noyse* may well be a verb in both places with *nakryn* (*nakeryn*) as a subject, thus supplying verbs to lines which lack them otherwise. The verb *noise(n)* is in good use in Middle English, though we must use a different word today, as 'sound, give forth a sound, resound.' *Nwe* is then 'anew,' that is after the *crakkyng of trumpes* which accompanied the first course. In the Cl. passage the change has the advantage of removing the repetition of the noun *noyse* within three lines, and *sware þe noyse* 'answered the sound' (1415) more naturally follows 'and ever the kettledrums (or nakers) resound.' *Nakerys* appears in Gaw. 1016, but there in rime and the alternative plural may be supposed to be used for that purpose.

132 ff. W-N. reverses 132 and 133, saying "otherwise this passage means that a second course comes in heralded by new



music." The change seems to me unnecessary. The poet says in effect, I will say no more of the service except that there was no lack of food. Then music (an oþer noyse)— indicates that the course is completely served and the people (þe lude, which Thomas erroneously refers to Arthur) are permitted to eat. This music had scarcely ceased when "there comes into the hall" etc. For *for* beginning 134 we should expect a *yet*, but the poet seems to return to his idea 'I will say no more' of 130.

144 Bot. Napier proposed *Both*, without apparently noting the contrast intended between the strong body and the slender waist.

149 fade. M. glossed 'hostile,' comparing Icl. *fæd* 'feud,' and the translators have followed, Kt. having 'fierce,' W-N. the gloss of Morris. Br-Str. gives 'great, powerful' with a question. Mætzner has more nearly the idea when he connects with ON. *fādr* 'splendidus,' at least removing all conception of hostility. In 203 we are told the Green Knight has no weapons, and in 266 he himself says: "I passe as in pes & no plyȝt seche." For the derivation, however, I suggest OE. \**fæd* (*gefæd*) 'orderly, decorous' as still better suiting form and context. This would give ME. *fad*—*fāde*, the latter by analogy of oblique cases, and would suit all examples given by Br-Str. or Mætzner.

152 ff. The passage has given difficulty, as noted by Thomas, and has been variously translated. The equipment of the Green Knight consists of a coat (*cote* 152), a mantle (153), a hood (155), hose (157), and spurs (158). *Scholes* I have elsewhere suggested is nothing more than 'shoeless.' The description of the *cote* presents no difficulty. Description of the mantle includes most of lines 153-5, emphasizing both lining (mensked withinne) and *pane*. The latter has given most trouble and been variously translated. Since the knight is dressed in green (grayþed in grene 151, and the repetition in 161), we must interpret the passage with this in view; that is, the *cote*, *mantle*, *hode* must be of that prevailing color, as the *hose* is again said to be in 157. The bright mantle, then, is adorned with unmixed fur, and is open (apert) to show it. *Pane* 'piece of cloth,' and 'rectangular block' in Gaw. 855 describing the bed coverings, is here I think 'skirt' or outside of the mantle, one of the early meanings and still preserved in Fr. *pan*. It is said to be full fair (see *clene* in 158, 161, 163 and similar uses in Pl., Cl.) with pleasing

white fur (blanner) full bright, doubtless about the edges. Then the hood is introduced as similarly adorned with edging of white fur, while it has also been 'snatched (laȝt) from his locks and laid on his shoulders.'

*Heme* seems the adjective of the adv. *hemely* in 1852 where 'closely'—there is no warrant for M's 'secretly' there—fits the place. In origin *heme* may represent an OE. \**hāme* from *hām* 'home,' with such derived meanings as belong to the parallel OHG. *heimlich* and the Icl. adv. *heimolliga*. G. has hyphenated it to the following *wel*, but that word seems to me to go with *haled* 'hauled, drawn up.' Thus we get 'close-fitting, well drawn up hose of that same green which covered (spenet 'fastened about, enclosed') his calves.' A fairly literal translation of the whole passage, with different word order in one or two instances, is:

A splendid mantle above, open, adorned within with unmixed fur (or fur of one color), the skirt full fair with lovely white fur full bright, and his hood also so edged, which had been snatched from his locks and laid on his shoulder; close-fitting, well drawn up hose of that same green that covered his calves, and underneath fair spurs of bright gold on silk bands (see Sch. *bord* (*borde*) 'broad hem or welt, strip') full richly barred, and shoeless under shanks where the man rides.

178 ful gayn. M. rightly glossed 'fit, proper, serviceable,' the last for this place, and Kt's 'to the man he was full gain' is correct enough, in spite of Thomas, if *gain* is the Scotch *gane* (*gayn*) in the same sense. Thomas's 'he matched his rider' is far too general at least, and W-N's 'and one [the steed] right dear to his rider' has no justification. The word is Scand. *gegn* 'straight, ready, serviceable, useful,' as by Björkman.

180 of his hors swete. The translators have missed the point, Kt. giving "and the hair of his horse's head was green," W-N. "and the hair of his head matched that of his horse," a note to the latter saying "translating hors swete of the MS. as 'horse's suits'". The poet says:

Well gay was this man, dressed in green,  
And the hair of its head of his good (swete) horse.

Then he describes the man in lines 181-6, the *mane* of the horse in ll. 187-90. M. had correctly glossed *swete* as 'sweet, fine,

good,' meanings fully justified by ME. usage. OF. *sieute* (*suite*) is *sute* in Pl. 203, 1108, Cl. 1457, and could not be intended here.

184 umbetorne. F. M. suggested 'about, around,' M. 'about-turned?=twisted?,' and in his note the possibility of *umbecorve*. The word is essentially adverbial, from the participial adjective, and is to be compared with *umbegon* in Pl. 210 which means scarcely more than 'round about'; compare *begone* in our *woe begone* 'woe beset.'

185 halched. I suggest connection with OE. *hylc* 'bend, turn, winding,' presumably equivalent to OAng. *\*helc*, WS. *\*hielc*, and in gradation relation with ME. *halke*, OE *healoc* 'hollow, corner, bending' for OE. *healc*, OE. *holc* 'hollow cavity.' An OAng. verb from the *a*-grade would be *\*helcian* (*hælcian*), or the ME. *a* might be a lowering of the pitch of the vowel by the following *l*. The word *halchen*, which appears only in Gawain, but there six times, has meanings which could all be accounted for by the above etymology.

221 helde; hym in. M. gives three separate entries to forms of this word. It is OAng. *heldan*, WS. *hieldan*, 'bend, incline, tilt,' which like OE. *bāgan* 'bow' became generalized in meaning, as 'go, sit (of a man), set (of the sun),' or other motions implying bending or inclining.

229 reled hym. Napier objected to M's 'swaggered' as not suiting the situation, and it may be added Kt's 'reeled up and down' as well as W-N's 'rode fiercely up and down' are equally bad. Napier proposed to read *hem* for *hym*, perhaps also making *y3e* into *y3en* 'eyes.' No change is necessary if we assume *hym* refers to *y3e*: 'He cast his eye upon the knights and rolled it up and down.' From OE. *hrēol* 'reel' an OAng. *\*hrēlan* might well mean 'make to reel, stagger, rōll (the eyes),' meanings which would fit all the places in Gaw., and Pat. 147, 270. The singular of 'cast his eye' has merely been extended to the following pronoun.

262 preve. M's gloss 'to prove' has misled the translators, Kt. giving 'proof in playing,' and W-N. 'proved opponents.' The word is OF. *privē* 'particular, familiar,' so 'intimate, friendly' here; compare line 902, but *pryvy* in Pl. 12, Cl. 1748.

267 in fere. P. G. Thomas notes that Kt. can not be right in translating 'in company,' and proposes 'in martial array,' comparing Scotch *in feir of war*. W-N. has 'set out with a com-

pany,' but that rendering does not seem justified by other usage of *in fere*. The expression seems to be an alliterative formula in which *in fere*, originally 'in company, together,' sometimes loses its distinctive implication of 'more than one.' Thus in *Rauf Coilþear* 702 as here it is used of a single person, and can not mean 'together' in the ordinary sense. Here surely the Green Knight does not mean 'if I had brought others along,' but merely 'if I had come here (together with you here) in fighting-wise.' The usual 'come together' is here 'come' only.

271 were. M. glossed 'war' and the translators have followed him. But 'war' is *werre* in Cl. 1178, Gaw. 16, and the verb *werreþ* in Gaw. 720. I suggest *were* 'defence, protection,' which seems to me better to suit this place and Gaw. 1628.

296 barlay. F. M. suggested OF. *par loi* 'by law,' here of course the law of knighthood. I suggest that the NF. *par lei* would more closely account for the form, and this is better than M's proposal of a corruption of *by our Lady*—the latter followed by W-N.—or Mrs. Wright's suggestion of OF. *bailler* 'give.'

305. broþeþ. Probably should be *breþeþ*, OAng. *bregþ* ('eyelid, eyebrow' and so also in 961. The *o*-forms seem to occur only in Gaw., while *e*-forms appear in *bregþis* (*Destr. of Troy* 3780); *breþe* (*Spec. of Lyr. Poet.* p. 34), *briþes* (*OE. Misc.* p. 226), *breye* (*OE. Misc.* p. 182). The not uncommon *e-o* variation would account for the MS. form.

310 rous rennes of. M. connected with *rōse* 'praise,' Scand. *hrōs*, but the passage seems to require a different word, as of contemptuous import. I suggest a *\*rūs* 'noise, uproar, boasting,' perhaps OE., perhaps ON., MnE. *rouse* 'drinking bout, shouting.' Skeat notes an OFris. *rūse* 'noise, uproar,' Icl. has *rausa* 'talk loud and fast,' Shet. *rūz* 'boast.' The translators generalize, Kt. 'that all men are talking of' for the whole line, W-N. 'that is famous.' 'That all the boasting runs of through realms so many' is certainly clear.

372 þat þou on kyrf sette. The translators take *þat* as a conjunction and *on* as 'one' (Kt.), 'a' (W-N.), but the first is the relative 'that, that which' and *on* is 'in' as Thomas points out. As we should say, 'Be careful, cousin, what thou in cutting undertakest,' or may'st undertake, since *sette* is pres. subj.

380. M. put a question mark at end of line, and G. retains, but the question is wholly indirect and a period is the proper punctuation.

420 note. F. M. had suggested Fr. *noeud* 'throat-knot,' and Mrs. Wright the dialectal *note* 'ball, knob, head,' but M's *note* 'use, occasion, business' is to be preferred, as in Pl. 155, Cl. 381, 727, Gaw. 358, 599.

435 stel bawe. M. leaves un glossed, but Skeat had rightly hyphenated *stele-bowe* and glossed 'stirrup' in *Wars of Alex.* 778.

440 bluk. F. M. suggested *blunk* (*blonk*) 'horse,' and M. gives both that gloss and 'trunk' for this place, preferring the latter in his note. OF. *bloc* has the meaning 'tronc' in Godefroy, and *tronc* in Cotgrave is 'headless body of man or beast.' The *NED.* gives 'stump or trunk of a figure without the limbs,' but should give 'headless body' also, with this place as an example.

460 be-com. M. gives only 'went,' but it is rather 'came or attained to,' that is after his journey, as sometimes in OE., for example *Andr.* 931. Kt. has the impossible 'of what kith or kin he was' and W-N. an unfortunate 'vanished.'

465 breved. Though M. gives 'tell' for Pl. 755, Gaw. 1393, 1488, Br-Str. glosses 'commit to writing' only, as in Cl. 197, Gaw. 2521. ON. *brēfa* had both meanings, and both are found in these poems.

472 Layking of enterludes. M. did not gloss *layking* (ON. *leika* 'play'), perhaps leading W-N. to the curious translation 'in lack of entertainment.' Kt. has 'gamings and interludes' instead of 'playing of interludes.'

478 doser. M. glossed 'back of seat,' and Br-Str. gives only 'pannier, basket.' It is here 'tapisstry, curtain, hanging as for ornament,' on the wall back of the high table as W-N. implies.

488 woþe þat þou ne wonde. M. glosses *wonde* 'delay,' but it is rather 'turn aside, hesitate, shrink (from duty)'. So *woþe* is 'peril, danger,' not 'harm, injury' as by M. See 563, where 'shrink' is also the meaning. 'Shrink not from the danger' would seem better than W-N's 'blench not from the pain,' a translation better adapted to an imminent peril.

504 þrepeþ. Compare Eng. *threap* 'wrangle,' Sch. *threpe* 'contend, quarrel,' here best 'strives.' Br-Str. gives only 'speak against, contradict,' one meaning only of the word.

508 Boþe groundez & þe grevez. I suggest *Boþe þe*, assuming that the scribe has omitted the second *þe*.

513 rawez. Probably 'hedge-rows,' a meaning still dialectal in East Anglia, according to Forby's *Vocabulary*.

518 Wela-wynne. It is doubtful whether *wela* should be united with the following word here, in Gaw. 2084, or in Cl. 831. It corresponds to OE. *wel la* 'well lo, O lo, alas,' and the *a* would probably not have been preserved in a wholly unstressed syllable.

531 no sage. M. says equivalent to *segge* 'man,' but no such form of that word appears in the poems, while *sage* 'wise' occurs in Cl. 1576. Here the adjective is used as a noun, *no sage* 'no wise man.' The idea is 'winter comes as the world demands (requires), but no wise man would wish it with its cold and trouble.'

537 fare on þat fest. M. gosses 'entertainment,' Kt. giving merely 'made a feast,' and W-N. 'made a feast on that festival.' The word is more general in meaning, as in 694, Pl. 832, Cl. 861. Here it is specifically a 'good time in farewell, a send-off,' the feast being only a part of it. Cf. *CtDict.* 'doings, ado, bustle, tumult, stir.'

563 Quat etc. M. rightly glosses 'How, lo,' our modern *what* in exclamations, but does not indicate the interjection by his punctuation as in 2201. We should read,

Quat! schuld I wonde  
Of destines derf & dere?  
What may mon do bot fonde?

568 tule tapit. M. suggests connection with *tuly* (858), but there wrongly adds "seems to be equivalent to Toulouse, 77, which place seems then to have been famed for its tapestries." It is rather the ME. form of MnE. *tulle* 'fine silk net,' originally named from Tulle in France. The two forms of the word indicate a dissyllable, *tuli* in *Bev. of Hamp.*, *tewly* of Skelton's *Garl. of Lawr.*, *tuly* in Sloane MS. (*CtDict.* under *tuly*). Here 'a carpet of tulle,' not 'Toulouse' as W-N.

577 knoteȝ of golde. M. defined as 'knobs, rivets,' but apart from the fact that rivets of gold would have been ineffective, and knobs have no meaning except as connected with rivets, the text may be supported by the use of knots as badges in medieval times and their occasional employment in attaching parts of the armor. For heraldic knots of various English families see the *CtDict.* under *knot*. W. H. St John Hope, in *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* pp. 184-6, not only

refers to the use of such knots by certain English families, but to those "pounced upon the effigy of Queen Anne of Bohemia." He also figures an elbow piece from the brass of Sir Humphrey Bourchier in Westminster abbey, with the straps which fastened it to the body tied in the Bourchier knot, though also showing the buckle and narrowed end for further fastening perhaps. At least we may safely assume that the knee-cops of Gawain's armor were attached with knotted straps, probably of his favorite device, and gilded as implied by the 'knots of gold.' Since true love knots are part of the ornamentation of Gawain's "urisoun" (608), we may probably assume they were also used in this place.

599 Ay quere. Should be *ayquere* 'everywhere,' as implied by M. in his glossary.

599 for þe note ryched. M. glossed the last word 'enriched' in this place, and Kt. has followed, but M. gave the correct 'prepared' for 2206.

613 As mony burde. W-N. translates 'as many birds there were as had been in town for seven winters,' disregarding *so* of 612 and giving an impossible meaning to *burde* 'lady, maiden.' Kt. has the right idea, but translates freely. I take it *entayled* (612) is to be supplied in proper form for the next line. The birds and trueloves are 'embroidered so thickly as if many a maid thereabout in the town had been embroidering them for seven years.'

635 in mote. M. gives OE. *mot* 'assembly, meeting,' which would spoil the rime requiring a ME. *þ*. The word is our 'moat' in its older sense of 'village, city, castle,' as in Pl. 142 and often, Pat. 422, Gaw. 910. Kt. has followed M., W-N. omitting.

660 fynde. M. suggested *fyned* 'ended' with a question, W-N. following with 'finished always without end at each corner.' The word is rather OE. *fynde* 'able to be found,' here 'to be found': 'without end at any corner anywhere to be found.'

681 hadet. M. suggested *halet*=*haled*, Napier *hacket*=*hacked* 'hacked in pieces,' Thomas translates correctly 'beheaded by an elvish man.' OE. *(be)heafdian* 'behead' might have given *haded*(*hadet*) beside *heded*.

angarde; pryde. For the first, various suggestions have been made, as Mætzner, *NED.*, Skeat. (*Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1903-6, p. 247, Brett (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* viii, 160), but Godefroy's *angarde*

'hauteur, eminence, lieu d'observation' would seem best; 'pride of position' fits the place exactly.

683 caveloun<sub>3</sub>. The alliteration on the first syllable and *kavelacon* of 2275 suggest that OF. *cavellacion(un)* had been shortened to four, perhaps sometimes three syllables in this dialect. Here perhaps *cavelcoun<sub>3</sub>* is to be read.

723 aneled. M. gave 'attack, worry,' but the meaning of the OF. verb would justify at most 'ragged at' here; there was no definite attack.

726 wrathed. See my note on Cl. 230 (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* xxxiv, 494), and for the transitive use here *Lay*. 4577: þa sæ þe wind wrapede.

729 yrnes. See *yrne* 'iron, weapon' in 2267. The word is here 'irons,' that is 'arms, armor,' an ON. meaning apparently reflected only in the OE. use for 'spear' or 'sword.'

745 ragged. Mrs. Wright notes the *EDD.* *rag* 'hoar-frost, rime' and thinks it better here than 'ragged' from the context. On the other hand 'ragged, shaggy' better agrees with *roȝe* 'rough.'

750 carande for his costes. M. glossed 'labours' for this place only, Kt. following with 'careful of his labour.' For this Thomas proposes 'anxious for his reputation,' and W-N. has 'mourning for his trials.' The Scand. word *kostr* means 'chance, condition, circumstance,' generally in a derogatory sense, and this seems best to suit the place: 'anxious for his hard lot.'

kever. M. glossed 'arrive' for this place, but the ordinary meaning 'gain, get, attain' is better here, as in 1221. Kt. generalizes, W-N. has 'should never survive' which is not justified by the word or the context.

751 servy. M. conjectured *servy[ce]* and is followed by G. and the translators. *Servy* may be for *serve (sorve)* 'sorrow,' following the usual conception of the mass as renewal of the sacrifice of Christ. This would be especially appropriate with *se* 'see,' and preserve the textual reading.

762 Cors Kryst. The *NED.*, basing it on a single passage in *Boke of Curtasye* ii, 4 (*Babees Boke* p. 303) gives the meaning 'the alphabet' which was sometimes arranged in the form of a cross, a meaning wholly inapplicable here and other places. The usual form is *Crist cross*, as in Lydgate (*Prohemy Marriage*): How long agoo lerned ye Crist Cross me spede. The formula



was used in school when saying the alphabet, but elsewhere also as indicated here.

769 pyked palays pyned ful þik. M. did not gloss *palays*, and Kt., W-N. have 'palace,' having missed Skeat (*Phil. Soc. Trans.* '91-94, 368) in which *pyked palays* was shown to be 'palisade furnished with pikes or spikes.' Thomas, criticizing Kt., gives 'palisade.' See my discussion of the two words in review of Menner's *Purity (Clannesse)*, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* xx, p. 239). Skeat also explained *pyned ful þik* 'enclosed full thickly,' not 'pinnacled' as by F. M., followed by W-N.

777 gedere; to. Napier's suggestion that this should be *gerde; to*, on the ground of the similar expressions in 2062, 2160, gains added force if we assume that *gorde; of* 2062, *gorde* of Cl. 911, 957 are probably scribal errors for *gerde; (gerde)*. Note the similarity of idiom with *to(into)* in all the examples.

790 enband. In spite of Skeat's elaborate explanation in *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1903-6, p. 359, it still seems to me this expression modifies the preceding *table; 'string courses,'* possibly 'copings.' To my note on Cl. 1459 (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* xxxiv, 494) I add that the form here and in that place may mean *enband = enbanded*, -ed being equivalent to *d (de)* as in *woled* for *wolde* in *Gaw.* 1508. See also *brende* (195) beside *brenned* (832), and the *ed—de* rimes in Pl. 710-719.

795 towre. G. alters to *towre[s]*, and I judge rightly. The number of instances in which the scribe has omitted or miscopied an inflectional ending is fairly large; see my *Notes on the Pearl* in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* xxxvii, 59. In this poem a final *s* has been omitted in *lyve* (706), *water* (727), *mote* (1141), *daynte* 1266, *sybe* 1868, perhaps *lyzt* 1989. The *betwene* of the line supports G's change, and compare Cl. 1383 *troched toures bitwene*.

798 chymnees. Viollet-le-Duc (*Dict. de l'Architect. Franc.* iii, 196 ff.) discusses them at length, and on p. 181 gives a chateau well illustrating a chimney coming out of a *bastel-rof* 'tower-roof.'

820 zarked up wyde. M. glossed 'made ready' for this place, and the translators have misunderstood the passage, Kt. having extemporized 'swung the broad gate widely on its hinges,' W-N. somewhat less specifically 'opened up wide the broad gate.' *zarked* must correspond to Sch. *yerk(yark)* 'beat, strike' and various allied meanings. With *to* in *zarkid to þe ȝatis*

(*Wars of Alex.* 2449) and *zarkit to þe yatis* (*Destr. of Troy* 10738) it means 'threw together, shut to,' and here 'thrown up,' as often of a gate back of the drawbridge of a castle, that is the portcullis. When Gawain leaves the castle (2069-70) the double gates within are *unbarred* . . . *upon boþe halve*, no mention being there made of the portcullis between the drawbridge and inner gates, perhaps because already raised.

821 *he hem raysed rekenly*. Kt. had translated without authority 'saluted them royally,' the salutation not being mentioned until line 829. Thomas proposed 'cause to rise,' and W-N. has 'he raised them courteously,' both as if referring to gates, though only one is mentioned. Surely Gawain would have had nothing to do with raising the gates, had there been more than one. I suggest that *hem* should be *hym*, 'raised himself promptly' meaning no more than 'he bestirred himself.'

841 *felde*. The rime with *welde*, *for-þelde* would seem to require a close *ē*, which might be accounted for by a rare derivative verb from OE. *fealdan*, OAng. *fāldan* 'fold.' Yet compare the rime with *elde*, *Rel. Ant.* i, 120.

849 *lee*. M. glossed 'land, plain,' but it is *le* 'protection, shelter' as Mätzner and Br-Str. The line is a compliment to the protecting power of the knight of the castle, a meaning which the translators have somewhat missed.

863 *charge*. M. did not gloss and the translators have missed. The verb means 'to put on as a charge, to wear,' the line: 'for wearing and changing, and to choose of the best.'

884 *tapit*. G. emends to *tabil* 'table,' and some such emendation must be made. I suggest the possibility of *tablet* (*tablit*) 'little table,' since Gawain alone is served, and perhaps making easier the copyist's blunder.

890 *Double felde*. M. places with *felde* (841) 'folded, embraced,' but does not explain. The translators have correctly 'double fold,' that is 'double portion,' but without further explanation. I think *felde* is another case of *e-o* confusion by the scribe, and that we should read *folde*. The illustration of *feme* 'foam,' given by M., is not a parallel.

932 *hersum*. M. says "attentive and hence devout," the *NED.* adopting the latter for this place only. Sch. *hersum* 'strong, rank, harsh' (of flesh) would hardly seem the same

word, unless greatly modified in meaning. I suggest an OE. \**hērsūm* 'noble, excellent,' like *hērlīc* from adj. *hēr* 'noble.'

941-2 þenne . . . þenne. M. and G. separate 941 from 942 by a period after the former, then connecting 942 directly with the following lines. Kt. follows M. exactly, W-N. connecting the two lines with 'and.' The period belongs after 940, and the two *þenne*'s introduce correlative clauses where we should make the first subordinate and use *whenne*.

943 of flesche and of lyre. M. glossed *lyre* 'complexion, countenance,' which the translators have followed (Kt. 'countenance,' W-N. 'face,' and Kt. the latter in 2050). Even Mätzner says it can hardly be distinguished from OE. *hlēor* 'cheek, countenance.' The latter, however, is distinguished as *lere* in Pl. 398, Gaw. 318, 418. Scotch retains this word as *lire* (OE. *lira*) 'flesh, muscle' as distinct from bone, and *lyre* in this general sense appears in Cl. 1687, Gaw. 2050, 2228. In the latter examples the meaning might be 'body' as derived from 'flesh of body.' Here, since 'muscle' as a synonym for 'flesh' seems inappropriate, I suggest the more general 'body' or 'form' as giving the essential idea.

945 wener. M. and Knigge derive from Scand. *vann* 'promising, fair,' but Björkman (*Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 83) assumes a native original, as OE. *wēne*, with the same meanings.

946 ches. M. has again confused by his punctuation, I think, since the line, though without connecting link, belongs with the preceding. That is, though without expressed union of the clauses, Gawain's wish to approach and salute the lady is owing to her great beauty. I would use a dash after *þoʒt*, and a period after *hende*. M. glossed *ches* 'perceived, discerned,' meanings appropriate enough for 798 but not suitable here. Here it is 'chose to go,' though not quite 'walked' as W-N., since Gawain does not go forward until he has asked permission of his host (971). The poet introduces the idea of Gawain's wish, then stops to describe the fair lady's attendant (947-69), and takes up the action again in 970.

958 Chymbled. Clearly a native word parallel to Scand. *kimbla* 'truss up, fasten,' not 'folded' as M. and Kt., 'wrapped' as W-N. The 'gorger' itself comes up over the chin in 'milk-white coverings,' as today in the dress of certain nuns.

965 for *gode*. The rime with *brode*, *lode* implies an open  $\bar{o}$  as if *gōde* 'God' in a lengthened oblique case form. So M. suggests with a question here and in 1822, and I think it may be more fully affirmed. For *gōde* 'for good, finally' would certainly be inappropriate to 1822, while *for* 'because of, on account of, by' is not uncommon in the oath. See Mätzner for other examples. Kt. omits the expression in both places, W-N. translating 'forsooth' in the first, and by the impossible 'great' in the second.

985 *mene*. M. reads *mene*, but suggests *meve* in footnote. In his glossary, however, he places with *mene* 'signify' in the special sense of 'devise' for this place, 'make attempt on (?)' for 1157. G. alters the first *mene* to *meve* and suggests the same for the second. The MS. reading may be kept by assuming OF. *mener*, for which Cotgrave gives the meanings 'bring, lead, guide, conduct, . . . move, induce, toll on, persude; also to subdue, overreach, fetch in.' The first meanings fully suit this place: 'that most mirth might bring (lead, move, induce).' The example at 1157 will be dealt with there.

992 *kyng* . . . *lyzt*. G. alters to *lord*, and Knott suggests *kynghte* since the two words are sometimes confused. I would keep the MS. reading, assuming that the lord of the castle has become by his action of beginning the games the king of Christmas; see Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* p. 270. For *lyzt* M. has no gloss, but Kt. has 'light,' and W-N. 'lights,' as if light for retiring as in 1685. I suggest that it may mean 'leave off, cease (the play),' a meaning belonging to the corresponding Scand. *letta*.

1006 *Bi uche grome*. *Bi* must be a conj., equivalent to *bi þat* 'by that' as in 1169, 2032, and Cl. 403. I suggest that *grome* 'lad, servant,' correctly used in 1127, is here an error for *gome* 'man.' Perhaps the confusion is due to the *bi* which was supposed to introduce the agent of the action.

1009 & to poynte hit etc. Kt. had erred entirely in translating 'yet peradventure I may take the trouble.' Thomas gives the sense, but very freely, in 'even though I should make an effort to describe it.' W-N. has 'though to note it I took pains belike,' with a footnote 'the clause literally translated is insignificant.' All is made right by assuming & as 'if,' a frequent use: 'if to point it (describe it) I yet took pains (punished my-

self) peradventure.' Napier proposed *ȝef* 'give' for *ȝet*, apparently forgetting that the poet always uses *gef* for the former.

1012. þurȝ her dere dalyaunce of her derne wordeȝ. G. alters the first *her* to *þe*, but with a slight misunderstanding it seems to me. *Of* may be read as 'with, by means of,' as in Cl. 1271, 1276 among other examples: 'Through their pleasant dallying with their secret (whispered, confidential) words.'

1032 & he hym wayned hade. M. suggested *þat* for *þ̄*, and G. so alters the text. The MS. reading may be retained with *þ̄* as 'if' and *wayned* as *wayved* 'turn aside.' This fits better with the following line: 'if he (Gawain) had turned aside (turned himself) so as to honor his house on that festival.'

1038 heȝe kyng. There should be no hesitancy in reading as a compound here and in 1963, as well as *hyȝe-tyde* 'festival (of the church)' in 932, 1033, both being retentions of common compounds of Old English. Note the alliterative stress on *heȝe* (*hyȝe*) in all these examples.

1060 steven. M. glossed 'conference' here and at 2194, 2213. In all these places and in 2238 the meaning is rather 'promise, agreement,' a meaning belonging to the Scand. word, though not recorded for OE. Kt. rightly 'covenant,' W-N. 'agreement.'

1068-70. The punctuation of M. and G. is misleading, and the translators have generalized or made various shifts. They have also misunderstood *for* 'because, for the reason that,' and the subjunctive *greve*. The passage means: 'Now it behooves thee to linger; because I shall show you the goal of your endeavor (terme) by the end of the time, let the green chapel grieve you no more.' For *terme* 'goal (of your endeavor)' see Chaucer's *Boeth.* iii, met. ix, 54.

1072 Quyle forth dayeȝ. OE. usage and most ME. examples, as cited by Mætzner and the *NED.*, indicate a meaning 'late in the day (night)' for *forth* with ME. *daye* (*nizte*), but here 'later days' seems necessary. Is it possible the expression means 'the fourth day,' or 'four days,' there being exactly four days before new year's? *Dayeȝ* may be an error for *daye*.

1074 in spenne. Br-Str. confuses *spenne* 'space, interval' with *spennē*, NF. *espinei* 'thicket, thicket hedge,' the latter in Gaw. 1709, 1896. The former is attributed to ON. *spinna* 'spasm' with a question, but is more likely Scand. *spönn* 'span,'

cognate with OE. *spann*, which would better account for the form. Cf. *on þe spene*, *Wars of Alex.* 4162.

1092 *Whyl I byde* etc. The punctuation of M. and G. obscures the passage I think, and makes the syntax more difficult. The host has asked Gawain whether he will keep to his promise (*halde þis hes*), and Gawain answers 'Yea, Sir, forsooth, while I bide in your castle; be prompt in (to) your command.' Then the host outlines his plan for the day. There should be a semicolon after *borþe*. *Hes* 1090 should probably be *hest* as in 1039, 1092, Pl. 633, Cl. 94, 341, 1636.

1096 *messe-quyle*. M. and Matzner assume 'mass-time,' but Thomas argues for 'dinner-time.' For *messe* he compares the word in 1004, where however it means 'course at meal.' While *masse* (*mas*) is the usual form of the word mass, *messe* occurs in Gaw. 1690 and in rime in Pl. 497. The mass preceded meat (note on 63), and the host would hardly have suggested disregard of the service which he observes so religiously, even before hunting (1135, 1414, 1690).

1100 *þe lende*. I suggest beginning the sentence in the middle of 1099 with *til*, and carrying it through to *wende*, with a dash after 1101. Kt. has incorrectly 'at the end' for *þe lende*, and W-N. omits entirely.

1114 *daylyeden*, & *dalten untyʒtel*. For the first verb M. gives 'dally,' the correct form of which appears as *daly* in 1253. I suggest Scand. *deila* in the intransitive sense of 'contend, quarrel,' here 'bandying pleasantries.' Compare Pl. 313 where the *ay* is required by the rime, although it has been similarly misunderstood by editors as I have pointed out in "Some Notes on the Pearl," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* xxxvi, 67. A medial or final *ye* means *e* sometimes as in *myerþe* (860), *topasye* Pl. 1012, *reynyeʒ* Cl. 592. *Untyʒtel* F. M. glossed 'merrily,' M. 'unrestrainedly' "if not an error for *untyl nyʒte*." The word occurs as a noun in Layamon with the meaning 'bad custom, ill usage,' or as Br-Str. 'want of discipline.' Here there can be no bad sense, and 'bold bantering' is perhaps the idea.

1116 *frenkysch fare*. The only other example, *frankish fare* of the *Chester Myst.*, *Flood* 100, seems used satirically as if 'pretence, pretended politeness,' while here we have the good sense 'French manners, politeness.' The people have been conducting themselves rather boisterously, but now return to more

conventional ways as the jollity subsides. This is made clearer in the next line, which seems to describe the more conventional manner of people bidding each other goodnight after such an evening: 'They stood up (as if to go), they stopped (delayed, lingered), they spoke quietly (said little things).'

1150 *quethe*. Björkman apparently agrees with Morsbach (*Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 163) in assuming OE. *cwide*, with influence of *cweðan*, while Knigge had proposed Scand. *kviðr*. I suggest Scand. *kvæðr*, in Icl. only 'song, poem' but doubtless with other meanings, as 'saying, announcement, promise.' See *queþe-word* 'promise' of *Prompt. Par.* Even 'song' would not be an impossible meaning for the word as applied to the huntsman's notes on the horn; cf. Turberville, *Booke of Hunting*, at the end for the musical measure of the "seeke" or *quest* of this line.

1153 *stablye*. M. glossed 'station of huntsmen,' but it is rather 'huntsmen' themselves. Cotgrave has *establies* 'companies, squadrons or battalions of soldiers . . . appointed together unto certain places or standings, which they were to hold or make good,' and here 'a company of hunstmen' for the same purpose. Turberville (*Booke of Hunting*, Tudor and Stuart Library reprint, p. 246) calls them *sidelayes*.

1157 *mene*. See note on 985. ME. *menen*, OF. *mener*, was recognized by Mätzner for two examples in *Destr. of Troy*, where it occurs also in one or two other instances, and compare Br-Str's entry with a question. I suggest it is also found in *Gol. and Gaw.* 96 and in *Piers. Pl.* B 15, 397 (C 18, 176). In all these cases it has been confused by the English editors with ME. *menen* 'signify, tell.' In most of these instances, as here, the meaning is that of Cotgrave's 'subdue, overreach, fetch in' or 'in fight to pursue hard or give hard chase unto.' The special relation to hunting is vouched for by Cotgrave's *mal menée*, one meaning of which is 'imbossed or almost spent, as of a Deere by hard pursuit,' and by his noun *menée* a meaning of which is 'the direct or outright course of a flying Deere.' The noun occurs in Twici's *Art de Venerie* for another meaning, the note on the horn signifying the course of the flying deer, and is admirably explained in the edition of Twici by Alice Dryden (1908).

For further explanation of the phrase *mene to þe male dere* it is to be noted that Twici says the *menee* should not be blown for the hare, because "at one time it is male and at another time female." This is made more explicit by the *Craft of Venery* (about 1450) which says the *mene* may be blown only "of iij males & one female, that is to sey of the hert, of the wolfe male and female, and of the bore."

It is clear, I think, that the MS. reading *mene* in both instances should be retained.

1158 hay & war. Should be printed "hay" and "war," indicating the shouts to the deer—"hay," "ware." For the latter see Turberville, pp. 41, 107.

1161 uche wende under wande. M. assumed a verb for *wende* and inserted *þat*, which G rightly omits. *Wende* is a noun 'turn,' as often. *Wande* was glossed by M. 'bough, branch' for this place, and the translators have followed. It is rather *wande* 'difficulty, hesitation, doubt,' Scand. *vandi*, as in *Curs. Mund.* 8465, (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words* p. 225). *Under wande* 'under difficulty, in hesitation' adds a distinctive feature to the description; as the deer turn their flanks in their hesitation the arrows fly.

1167 at-wapped. M. glossed 'escape' for this place and Cl. 1205. The more vivid 'rush through' would better fit the places and better connect the word with *wappe* (1161) and Cl. 882.

1168 þe resayt. To the definition and quotation from Turberville given by the *NED.* may well be added another from the same *Booke of Hunting*: "And the last sort of greyhounds [that is of his three divisions] towards ye latter end of ye course is called receit or backset: These last Greyhounds are commonly let slip full in the face of the Deare, to the end they may the more amase him"—p. 247 of reprint. Note *gre-houndez* of 1171, compared with *houndez* of 1139.

1169 Bi þay . . . taysed. *Bi* equivalent to *bi þat* 'by that, by the time that' as in 1137. *Taysed* 'harassed, driven,' from a Scand. *teisa* corresponding to OE. *tāsan* (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words* p. 50). The action is well explained by Turberville, p. 246:

"By this worde Teaser is ment the first Greyhounds, or brase or lease of Greyhoundes, which is let slip either at the whole hearde, to bring a Deare single to ye course, or els at a lowe deare to make him straine before he come at the sidelayes and backsets."



1170 þe lede; were so lerned etc. The men were so skilled at the stations in the low lands and the greyhounds so large, that they got them at once. The translators have taken *þat geten* as a phrase describing *gre-hounde;*, rather than the conclusion of the sentence.

1175 launce & lyȝt. The first has as its object *abloy* above and is used in the sense of 'speak, utter forcibly,' as in Cl. 668, Pat. 350, 489. *Lyȝt* can scarcely be a verb here, it seems to me, and I suggest an adverbial use of 'light, cheery.'

1177 derk nyȝt. Meter and syntax of the weak adjective require *derke*, as in my note *Imperfect Lines in Pearl etc.* (*Mod. Phil.* xix, 139).

1183 derfly upon. *Upon* must here be 'open' as several times in Pl. and Cl., and here the verb. I suggest a *hit* has dropped out before it, thus clearing the passage. Kt. omits, and W-N. admits his 'and then distinctly' is "not quite sure."

1199 space quat ho wolde. M. and G. insert *in* before *space*, but without very satisfactory meaning. I suggest the possibility of *space* as the infinitive with *wolde*. The verb is used intransitively in the sense of 'walk, ramble, roam,' and might here have the more general 'do, perform in space.'

1206 lete. M. gave 'look' for the meaning in this place, and W-N. follows, but 'appear, comport herself, seem' would somewhat better express the idea.

1210 true. M. suggests with a question "adj. used substantively, truth," but it is the OE. *trēow* 'fidelity, agreement, truce' as W-N. gives it. Kt. omits the difficult clause, W-N. connecting with the following line: 'unless we can make a truce I shall bind you' etc. Is the clause not rather disjunctive, 'but truce may shape us (bring us in accord)?'

1215 ȝeȝe. The word must represent an OAng. \**gēian*, WS. \**gāian*, corresponding to Scand. *geyjan* 'bark, scoff at, abuse' with its hard *g*. The meaning, too, is not 'ask' as M., but 'cry out' as also in 67 and Cl. 846.

1224 happe yow here. The line has given difficulty, but seems to mean "I will wrap up the other half of you also,' that is, make you even more my prisoner.

1238 won. M. glosses 'power or will, or rather possession' for this place, 'riches, wealth' for 1269. The translators generalize. It is better OE. *wun(n)* 'pleasure' corresponding to

OHG. *wunna* (Ger. *wonne*), beside the OE. *wyn(n)* corresponding to OHG. *wunni*. Layamon also has both *winne* and *wun* (*wunne, wonne*). The meaning 'pleasure' would better fit both places in Gawain, and Cl. 720, as well as perhaps Pl. 32.

1250 *littel daynte*. Kt. had kept 'litttle dainty' somewhat obscurely. Thomas translated 'it would be a sign of low breeding,' W-N. 'it would show but small discernment.' It is rather 'it would be of little importance.' Gawain has professed his unworthiness, and the lady says in effect, my judgment is of little importance, but there are enough who would rather possess you than 'much of the gold or treasure that they have.'

1256 *louue*. G. says 'MS. doubtful,' as M. had implied, but Knott thinks clear, though without explaining the form. It seems not to be the native word *love* 'praise,' OE. *lofan*, but the aphetic form of OF. *alouer*, Lat. *laudare*, with the same meaning. See *alow* of Pl. 634.

1265-6 Thomas says: "This difficult passage probably means 'Even though other people have received much from their friends in return for their deeds, yet the prize they win is nothing in comparison with mine.'" W-N. has 'People judge a person's deeds largely from the accounts of others; but the praise that they accord my deserts is but idle.' I suggest a somewhat different interpretation. Above, to Gawain's profession of unworthiness, the lady had said there are ladies enough that prize you highly. Upon this Gawain turns the compliment graciously, saying in substance what others think is of no importance, it is your opinion I prize most. I would translate, then, beginning with 1263: 'Madame,' quoth the merry man, 'Mary repay you, for I have found in good faith your liberality excellent. And others full commonly of other people take their actions (follow what other people do or think), but the nice things they say in regard to my deserts are of no value; it is the estimation of yourself who knows naught but good,' with the implication 'that I prize.'

1283-7. M. suggests *ho were* for *I were*, and Napier accepted, adding two other textual changes, *hi slode* for *his lode*, and *bourne* for *burde*. He translated: 'Even though she was the fairest lady the knight had in mind, the less love entered into him on account of the loss (danger) he was seeking, that is the return blow he had to receive.' G. made the words of the lady's

musings (þe burde in mynde hade) a quotation, and this W-N. has followed. I would slightly alter the latter's translation thus: 'Though I were the fairest woman,' the lady thought to herself, 'the less love [there would be] in his conduct on account of the perilous adventure he has sought without ceasing—the stroke that must overcome him—and it must needs be finished.' She sees she has failed in her purpose and proceeds to take her leave.

1293 Bot þat ȝe be Gawan. The translators add a negative, assuming *bot* is the ordinary disjunctive. Yet if *bot* is read 'except,' the negative is scarcely necessary.

1301 Bi sum towch of some tryfle. Is not *bi* wrongly introduced from the preceding phrase, and the rest of the phrase an appositive of *cosse*?

1304 fire. M. suggested *ferē* 'fear' and the translators have adopted, W-N. noting the obscurity of the expression. I suggest *fire* may be *firre* 'further'; 'as it becomes a knight, and further lest he displease you.' Forms with single or double consonants are not uncommon in the poems, as *biges* (9) -*bigged* (20).

1315 With. G. alters the text to *Watȝ*, but Knott feels doubt about the matter. It might be assumed that *with* of the preceding line had been wrongly brought down by the copyist, as *bi* in 1301, but *with* better suits the last line of the quatrain, and I think should be retained.

1328 asay. To the excellent note of Bruce (*Eng. Stud.* xxxii, 23) may be added the more explicit statement of Turbervile (p. 134):

The deare being layd upon his backe, the Prince, chiefe, or such as they shall appoint commes to it: And the chiefe hunstman (kneeling, if it be to a Prince) doth holde the Deare by the forefoote, whiles the Prince or chief cut a slit drawn alongst the brysket of the deare, somewhat lower than the brysket towards the belly. This is done to see the goodnesse of the flesh, and how thicke it is.

From the explicit account of Turbervile it would seem that *sisilte* of the *Parl. of Three Ages* 70 should be *slite* 'slit,' perhaps an error for *silite* with intrusive vowel between *s* and *l*.

1329 fowlest of alle. M. does not gloss, apparently assuming the usual meaning. The Dictionaries do not give an appropriate meaning. Kt. omits, but W-N. translates correctly 'leanest of all.' See use of the word in Baillie-Grohman's *Master*

of *Game* vii, p. 55; of the wolf: "The foulest and most wretched for he . . . is most poor, most lean, and most wretched."

1333 þe baleȝ out token. M. glosses *baleȝ* as 'bowels,' and apparently assumes *out token* as adverb and verb 'took out.' However the bowels are not removed until line 1336, and perhaps on this account W-N. translates *baleȝ* as 'paunch' in spite of the plural form of the word. I suggest that *out token* may be an error for *outtaken* 'except,' with confusion of *a-o*: "They break the belly except the bowels, cunningly cutting,' that is lest they open the bowels themselves. For the latter compare line 82 of *Parl. of Three Ages*:

Lesse the poynte scholde perche the pawnche of the guttys.

*Lystily* is 'cunningly' as in 1190, not 'quickly, promptly' as M., or 'eagerly' as W-N. here.

1336 *wesaunt*. Bruce says: "Surprising in l. 1336 from the modern point of view is the use of *wesaunt* (weasand) for esophagus instead of windpipe." This is surely wrong. The *gargulun* of 1335, 1340, is the throat cavity as a whole, in which the esophagus has been cut and knotted up, as in lines 1330-31, perhaps with the paunch, or first stomach, already removed if line 1334 is so interpreted. Then the huntsman returns to the throat cavity, severing the weasand from the windpipe (*wynt-hole*), and now removing that and the vital organs—note *þe lyver & þe lyȝtes* of 1360—with the bowels (*guttys*).

1345 *Evenden*. M. suggested *evenend* 'evenly, perpendicularly' and the translators have followed. But *evenden* is the correct past tense form of ME. *evenen*, 'make even, leveled,' perhaps 'cut evenly' as in Icl. *jafna*. The next clause explains it, 'that they hung all together.' Turberville (p.135) makes a special point of this process: "And about the winding up of the noombles there is also some arte to be shewed."

1356 *þurȝ bi þe rybbe*. M. and G. place a comma after *þurȝ*, thus wrongly separating it from the rest of the half line, of which it is the alliterative word: 'They pierced through by the rib each thick side.' The hanging of the sides to the *hoȝes of þe fourcheȝ* is especially noted as an English custom by Turberville (p. 134): "The hinder feete must be to fasten (or hardle as some hunters call it) the hanches to the sydes."

1358 *Uche freke for his fee*. According to Turberville (p. 129) and the French custom, the right shoulder "pertaineth to the

huntsman which harbored him [the deer];" "that other shoulder pertayneth to the rest of the huntsmen."

1360 þe leþer of þe pauncheȝ. Turberville (p. 135) notes as an English custom: "We use to rewarde our houndes with the paunche, being emptied first."

1381 wayth. M. glossed 'game, venison,' and Kt. uses the latter word, W-N. the more general 'store.' Br-Str. gives only 'hunting' for the cognate English *wāþe*, OE. *wād* f., and this word. The meaning is the specific Scand. 'spoil of hunting (or fishing),' here 'game.'

1386 & I haf worthily þis woneȝ wythinne. M. took & as *and* 'if,' and G. alters to *þat*, also inserting *wonnen* before *þis*. Knott thought the reading might be kept with *þis* referring forward to the kiss of the next lines. It seems to me a second alliterative word in the first half line is necessary, but I would suggest placing *wonnen* before *woneȝ* and assume the scribe had been misled by the similarity of the two, writing but one.

1399 lowe. Napier suggested as aphetized form of *alowe* 'praise,' and I may note in its favor the rime *alow-innoghe* of Pl. 634-36, and the similar aphetic form in Gaw. 1256.

1403 walle wyn. M. glossed 'choice,' as if *wale*, and the translators have followed. I suggest as more likely an OAng. *wall* 'hot,' WS. *weall*, appearing as a noun *weall* 'boiled or mulled wine' and in the compound *weall-hat* 'boiling hot.' The adjective is here weak after *þe* and dissyllabic in the meter, or possibly we have here another tautological compound *walle-wyn* 'mulled wine,' so appropriate for the season. Cf. *wallid wyn* in *Destr. of Troy* 386.

1407 G. put a semicolon at end of line, in place of M's comma, thus separating it from the following line with which I believe it belongs. The two lines explain the new agreement, all the verbs being past subjunctives indicating unreality—action not yet completed. They mean: 'Whatsoever new things they should acquire, at night when they should meet they should make to agree with the covenants before the whole court.' The agreement is not made 'in the presence of all the household' as Kt., or 'before all the court' as W-N., because Gawain and the Green Knight are alone in the chamber, as indicated by lines 1402 and 1410-11. For *of* 'with, in regard to' see numerous

examples in *Clannesse*. The translators have made various other changes.

1421 *Sone þay calle of a quest*. W-N. has paraphrased 'Soon they heard the cry of the dogs,' but it is rather 'Soon they (the hounds just uncoupled) indicate by their call (or cry) the quest, or pursuit of the game.' See *kryes* in the same sense in 1701. Turberville tells us *call on* was the regular term in his time (p. 242):

When hounds are first cast off and finde of some game or chase, we say *They call on*.

1422 *menged*. M. glossed 'remarked, announced,' but it is rather 'disturbed, stirred up,' ordinary meanings of the verb and here appropriate to the finding of the boar. W-N. generalizes in 'caught the scent,' and Kt. has wrongly connected the relative clause with *hunt*, which he incorrectly translates as a plural.

1423 *Wylde worde; hym warp*. The translators take *hym* as a plural referring to *hounde;e*, and we must read either *hounde;e . . . hem* or *hounde . . . hym*. The former would seem to be implied by reason of Turberville's careful description on p. 158, in which he emphasizes the necessity for many hounds in hunting the boar.

1426 *glaverande glam*. Mætzner gives this one example of the verb with the meaning 'belfern' of hounds, a meaning scarcely in accord with that in Pl. 688. I suggest *glaver ande glam* 'clamor and din,' *ande* having been misread as in Pl. 111, Pat. 269, 279, Gaw. 46. The verb *ros* is a plural in Cl. 671, Pat. 139.

1440 *for þe sounder*. M. suggested *fro*, and Knott apparently agrees. Mr. W. A. Peters, in reading the poem with me, pointed out that *for þe sounder* very properly modifies *for-olde*, so that no change is necessary: 'That creature long since too old for the herd (sounder)' as implied in the next line. In his first edition M. also proposed adding *woned* to alliterate with *wizt*, and in his second *severed* after *sythen*. Apparently without knowing this C. Brett (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* viii, 160) suggested adding *sing(u)ler*, *sengler* 'solitary, separate,' or *sengle* 'single' in sense of 'separate.' No addition seems necessary, in spite of the lack of an *s-word* in the second half line. Lines 1439-40, I

take it, explain *he* of 1438 and belong together, rather than as the translators have taken them.

1444 *boute spyt more*. Napier objected to *spyt* 'spite,' and assumed an aphetic form of *respyt* 'respite, delay,' as Thomas later. *Spyt*, however, has the sense of 'injury, outrage,' the meaning in Pl. 1138, and well adapted here. The phrase then means 'without further outrage' than hurling to the earth the three men referred to in the previous line.

1445 *þis oþer halowed hyghe ful hyȝe*, as Knott reads. The first half of the line seems too long, and *hyghe ful hyȝe* difficult of explanation unless *hyghe* is an exclamation as W-N. takes it. I suggest a copyist's blunder in *hyghe*, corrected to *ful hyȝe* as he saw his mistake; compare *þe masse þe mase* (Cl. 395), *mevand mevande* (Cl. 783). *Hyȝ* (*heȝ, hiȝ*) 'high' is regularly spelled with *ȝ*, not *gh*.

1452 *hurteȝ of*. The quite exceptional use of 'hurts' with 'off' suggests a copyist's error for *hurleȝ* or *hurtleȝ*, either of which would give better sense and syntax.

1463 *onlyte drogen*. *On lyte* as a compound (M., G.) is impossible, since *on* must receive the stress in the alliteration. *On* is here the adverb. *Lyte* is the indefinite pronoun meaning 'few,' as in 701, 1776, and Cl. 119: 'And many grew fearful thereat, and few advanced (drew on).' Misled by M. and G. the translators have 'and drew back somewhat' (Kt.), 'gave back a little' (W-N.).

1476 *til þe sunne schafted*. M. suggested with a question *sattled*, and gave the meaning here 'set, sank,' G. altered the last word to *schifted*, Kt. then translating 'shifted westward' and W-N. 'declined.' The idea 'set, sank, declined' can not be right, since the hunt goes on for some time (1561-1600), the boar is dressed in the field (1601-14), and the hunters come home in proud procession. I suggest a vb. *\*schafte* 'become like a shaft, shoot out in rays like shafts' as at noon, the hunters having set out in the early morning (1415). In the general sense it occurs in the modern verb as in Thornbury, *Turner* II, 88: "There was the storm rolling . . . and shafting out its lightning over the Yorkshire hills." For shaft of the sun see Pl. 982, *þat schyrrer þen sunne wyth schafteȝ schon*, that is the sun at its brightest, and Pat. 455-6 with the same idea. So *Wars of Alex.* 1544, *Als it wer shemerand shafteȝ of þe shire son*. The *NED*.

has set up the vb. *shaft* 'to set?' with this one example, sufficient reason for explaining otherwise if possible.

1480 layde hym þyse wordeþ. M. suggested *sayde*, spoiling the alliteration. The idiom is found in Icl. *leggja orð* 'lay a word, remonstrate,' which suits the place exactly, much better also than Kt's 'talked with him earnestly,' or W-N's 'addresses these words to him.'

1481-4. The punctuation of M. has perhaps misled, the first sentence closing with 1483: 'Sir, if you be Gawain it seems to me strange—a man that is always so disposed to good and knows not how to take upon himself (undertake) the manners of society (company).' Then she adds specifically 'And if one shows you how to know them (þe costeþ), you cast them from your mind,' thus leading up to the salutation of the kiss which she implies she expected as she entered, and of which she speaks at once. W-N. has mistaken *hom* for a personal reference: 'and should after making acquaintance with a person cast him utterly from your mind.'

1512. This is the crucial line of a passage which has given difficulty and been variously translated. I would suggest a semicolon after *chose*. The lady has finished her praise of Sir Gawain, but instead of completing her sentence, begun with *what were þe skylle*, she begins anew: 'the chief thing praised' etc. Such change of construction is a not uncommon feature in the poem; see 1481-4, for example. The second half of the line is then the subject of *is* in the next, making a change to *in*, as M. suggested, unnecessary.

1514 *þis . . . þis*. G. alters the first *þis* to *þe* and Knott agrees. The change seems to me unnecessary, since *þis tevelyng* refers explicitly to *layk of luf* in the preceding line, *þe chef þyng alosed* of 1512. The second *þis* = *þise* 'these.' The example is not quite parallel to that of 1112 where we should probably use 'the . . . this.'

*tevelyng*. Br-Str. rightly gives as a noun, the *NED*. listing only under the verb *tevel*. The form would suggest Scand. *tefla*, rather than OE. *tæflian*. The meaning 'sport' (Br-Str.) fits with game of love (layk of luf), but perhaps 'adventuring' would better carry the somewhat playful reference of the lady. See also Mrs. Wright's excellent note.



1515 tytelet token. M. placed a comma after the first word and glossed it as a noun 'commencement, chief,' G. and the translators following. I take it as the aphetic past participle of *entytelen* and modifier of *token*. The 'entitled sign' or 'titular token' is the meaning, in contrast with the following 'text' (*tyxt*), and the two equivalent to our *title and text*.

1523 of your hed helde. I propose *if* for *of*, as it must be in 1799, and as *if* must be read for *uf* in 2343. This makes the syntax of *helde* simple, although a puzzle to the translators, Kt. merely paraphrasing, W-N. having 'yet have I never heard from your head a single word.'

1561-66. The punctuation of M. and G. has obscured the sense I think, together with some incorrect glosses, as of M's 'mischievous' for *uncely*, 'rushes' for *swyngez*. Kt., too, takes *best* as 'beast' W-N. correctly as 'best.' *Uncely* is, I am inclined to think, a curious writing of *unsly* 'uncunning,' with *ce* for *s* as often in final position. *Swyngez* is 'swings round,' that is to stand at bay as in the next line, rather than 'rushes' as by M. and W-N. Turberville (p. 149, 158) makes this a characteristic of the boar, to be expected unless there is special provision against it. I would translate the whole passage:

But the lord launches out full often over the lands, follows his artless swine that swings round by the banks, and bit asunder the backs of the best of his braches where he stood at bay, till bowmen broke it,—so fiercely flew the arrows there when the folk gathered.

For *uncely* 'uncunning, artless' I assume the writer referred to the boar's foolishly turning at bay so often, as compared with the method of the hart, and later of the fox. For 'swings round by the banks' compare 'got the bank at his back' of 1571.

Felle (1566) was glossed 'many' by M., as if *fele*, and W-N. makes it both 'many' and 'fell,' using both in the translation. I suggest it is the adverb 'fiercely' from the adj. *felle*, the adv. appearing as *felly* in 2302 with the *y-e* interchange as in so many words.

1570 rasse. No satisfactory etymology has been suggested, but an OE. noun *\*rās* f. 'rising' would have become early ME. *rase*, and by shortening *rasse*. This would account for Cl. 446, *rasse of a rok* 'rising or peak of a rock,' here 'rising or perpendicular slope' of a cliff. The boar, running beside the stream,

comes to a narrow place with abrupt sides, and takes his stand at bay in a hollow of the cliff.

1573 wyth hym þen irked. The translators have missed the force of the passage, Kt. generalizing as often; W-N. misreading *nye* (1575) as 'approach,' thus disregarding its difference from *neze*, 'draw nigh, approach,' the regular form of that word, in the same line; Thomas incorrectly translating *nye* as 'injure,' perhaps following M., and neglecting entirely the important *wyth hym* at the beginning. The latter means 'over against, opposite him,' *nye* 'annoy, harrass,' that is break the bay as in 1564. M. had also wrongly glossed *on-ferum* as 'afar,' when it here means 'from afar.' *By stoden* is probably not the colorless 'stood by,' but the more active 'stood about, surrounded,' not unlikely 'engaged.'

1580 þat breme wat; brayn-wod bothe. As Knott pointed out there is no & after *breme*, and I suggest that a comma after *wat*, with *bothe* in the sense of 'also' makes all right. The sentence is carried on through the first two lines of the next stanza, *Til* of 1581 not meaning 'Then' as Kt. or 'When' as W-N. Compare for the same feature the close of stanza xiv of the first Fit of the poem. All were loath to attack him closely 'until the knight came himself' etc. The full pause belongs after 1582, as another, not indicated by M. or G., after 1585.

1590 upon hepe; . The phrase scarcely means as much as 'in a heap,' but rather 'together' as OE. *on hēape* in *Wonders of Creation* 69; see also the examples in Mætzner under meaning 4. The next lines show that the knight is clearly in full command of himself, and at once gives the fatal thrust in exactly the right spot. Compare Mætzner's *heap* 4: "mit den Präpositionen *on* und *to* entspricht das Substantiv öfter dem deutschen *zu Hauf*, *zusammen*."

1593 slot. M. glossed 'pit of the stomach' but notes that some give it 'hollow above the breast bone,' a meaning which best fits both this place and 1330. Here, as the boar presents his breast in the forward rush, the knight thrusts through to the heart, as in the former passage the huntsman opens the slot to reach the upper part of the esophagus. Kt. has followed M's incorrect gloss.

1603 Brachetes bayed þat best. Turberville makes a special point (pp. 127, 193) of bringing the hounds up to the dead hart or fox, in order "to byte and teare him about the necke," and doubtless something of the same sort is here intended.

1604 chargeaunt. M. gives 'dangerous' with a question, and Kt. uses that word. W-N. has 'swift,' as if 'charging.' The meaning is 'burdensome' as by Br-Str., 'laborious, fatiguing.'

1623 þe lorde ful lowde. The line is one of the cruxes of the poem. M. in a note suggested adding *lalede* 'cried,' but it makes the line too long. Thomas proposed omitting &, thus giving sense and syntax to the line, or making *lowde* a verb from OE. *hlȳdan*, with insuperable difficulties in the phonology it seems to me. Perhaps as simple a change as any is to assume the omission of *wat* 'was' after *lorde*, 'the lorde was full loud in his speech.' Cf 151 where *wat* must be supplied before *grayped*, and perhaps 1826.

1627 largesse. M. implied *largenesse* by his side-note 'length and breadth,' and the translators have followed in one way or another. This misses the point, it seems to me. The lord first 'tells them the story of the gift (largesse),' that is, for Gawain, and then more specifically 'of the length, the wickedness also, of the defence of the wild boar where he fled in the wood.' As usual in such cases the boar would run a short distance and then stand at bay—*Ful oft he bydez þe baye* (1450). His 'wickedness,' or viciousness—the use of the moral word is a neat touch—in defence is well illustrated by the lines which follow 1450 and 1561. Incidentally, M. glossed *were* (1628) as 'hostility,' assuming connection with *werre* 'war,' but Br-Str. gives it correctly. The translators have dodged this important word. See note on 271.

1634 & let lodly þerat. M. glossed 'loudly' with a question, but the only other *lodly* of the poems is the adv. 'loathsomely, hatefully, discourteously' as in 1772. This might be retained here if the clause could mean 'he appeared horrified thereat.' I suggest, however, the possibility of *ledly* 'princely, in princely manner,' with scribal error of *o* for *e*. Compare *ledisch* (*ludisch*) in Cl. 73, 1375, with the probable meaning of 'princely.'

1639 He þe hapel. M. supplied *hent* after *He* and G. retains. In spite of Knott some change seems necessary. The simplest

would perhaps be to read *He(nt)* or *He(lde)* for *He*, assuming more direct connection with the preceding line.

1648 *trestes alofte*. M. and G. supply *on* before *trestes*, doubtless with line 884 in mind. The MS. reading may be retained, however, with *alofte* 'above,' a preposition here.

1666 *he*. M. and G. suggest *ho*, but comparison with stanza xi shows that the lord of the castle is intended. In each case the lord and Gawain retire together and make their agreement for the next day, the lady who is so intimately involved not being present. Compare 1030, in which it is specifically stated that the lord of the castle

*Ledes hym to his awen chambre, þe chymne besyde.*

On the other hand, the first evening, as indicated by 977, they are all together, the agreement not then involving the lady.

1680 *Now þrid tyme þrowe best*. M. made *þrowe* a noun, but the noun is *pro*, as in Cl. 754, Pat. 6, from Scand. *prā*. Thomas proposed *þrowes*, comparing *Seven Sages* 2062, *Men sais þe þrid time throwes best*, but this seems to me to obscure the relation of the last clause of the line. The MS. reading may be kept by taking *þrowe* as an infinitive dependent on *þenk*. The lord of the castle would encourage Gawain, whose growing impatience (1660) he may have seen, and whose desire to leave (1670) he is trying to overcome. He has just said you have twice proved faithful, and adds 'Now the third time, on the morrow, think to throw (succeed) best.' To make the last clause a separate sentence as does W-N., or connect it with the following as does Kt. seems to me to destroy its effectiveness.

1699-1700. The two lines have given trouble, M. even proposing to alter *a trayteres* to *a traveres* 'a traverse, obliquely,' Kt. and W-N. following. Thomas has the right idea, but has not followed the sense or syntax as closely as might be in his 'a vixen slinks along with subtle wiles.' Turberville, pp. 192-3, explains why all the hounds are not uncoupled at once, and elucidates these lines. He says,

It is not good to cast off too many hounds at once, because woods and coverts are full of sundry chases, and so you should have your kennell undertake sundry beastes and lose your pastime.

Even though only a few hounds have been uncoupled there are difficulties in finding Reynard. These are briefly suggested in

these lines: 'Some fell in with the scent where the fox had rested (and perhaps the implication is remained there), trailed often a traitoress (that is a vixen or some other game) by trick of her wiles.' Then, however, a kennet, or small hound, comes upon the right scent and 'cries therof.' *Bade* (1699) seems to be the only example of the past tense in *a* rather than *o*, and may be a case of confusion between *a-o* as in *costez* for *castez* of 1696.

1704 & he fyske<sub>3</sub> hem before. M. glossed *fyske<sub>3</sub>* 'runs' and the translators have followed, notwithstanding its colorlessness and Br-Str.'s better gloss. The Norwegian dialectal *fjaska* 'hoax' from 'wander about' would admirably fit, if we take & as 'if': 'if he ran here and there before them to deceive them, they soon found him.'

1706 wre<sub>3</sub>zande hym ful weterly. M. gave the right derivation for the first, OE. *wrēgan*, but the inexact meaning here 'reviling' which Kt. has modified to 'scolded' and W-N. to the colorless baying.' Thomas proposed 'betraying,' but I think it is rather 'accuse, denounce,' that is for his treachery in deceiving them, as in 1704, and making clear the discovery. 'Denounced him clearly with an angry cry' would express the idea, and give force to the personalizing of the situation. M. had also wrongly glossed *weterly* as 'fiercely,' and W-N. has followed although it is certainly connected with OE. *witer* 'wise, knowing, evident.'

1710 strothe rande. M. glossed *strothe* 'rugged, wild,' and Kt. has 'rugged path' for the two words, W-N. 'rugged rand,' explaining the latter as 'unploughed strip by woodside.' E. Ekwall (*Angl. Beibl.* xxix, 200) has conclusively shown that *strothe* is Scand. *storð* f. 'wood,' and exists in numerous English place names of the northern counties. Doubtless the two words are here a compound meaning 'edge or margin of wood, woodside.' *Rand* occurs in many OE. compounds. Although Ekwall does not mention *stroþe men* of Pl. 115, we may assume a similar compound *stroþe-men* 'woodmen' as sufficiently clearing that sometime crux.

1711 Went haf wylt of þe wode. M. proposed *went* 'thought,' as if for *wende*, and *wylt* as if for *willed* 'wandered, escaped.' G. read *haf-wylt*, perhaps accounting for W-N's curious 'half escaped from the wood he turns with wiles from the hounds.' M. seems to me right, with *haf* as infinitive, a not uncommon

form in the poems: 'weened to have wandered (escaped) from the wood,' explained in the following 'with wiles (escaped) from the hounds. It is another diversion in the fox's many attempts to get away.

1713 þer þre þro . . . al graye. M. is clear enough in his side-note that the fox is here "attacked by the dogs," and Kt. follows, except that he wrongly attributes *al graye* to the fox. W-N. has the amusing 'three stout hunters in gray threatened him at once.' The *þre þro al graye* are greyhounds as in Turberville's directions for hunting the fox (pp. 192-3), although the latter also says (p. 189), "He is taken with Houndes, Greyhoundes, Terryers, Nettes and ginnes."

1722 clatered on hepes. The *NED.* places under *clatter* with the less common meaning of 'clatter down, fall in heaps,' and the translators agree. I suggest that it would be better to take *on hepes* as 'together,' since 'clatter together' would better express the idea of a great noise. This would agree with the poet's use of *on hepes* in 1590, and of *clatered* in Cl. 972. In Cl. 912 *clater upon hepes* does seem to have the meaning 'shatter, fall down.'

1727 out rayked. Probably an unrecorded compound *out-rayked* 'wandered out, swerved out,' of course intentionally as implied by *so reniarde wat; wyle*. In the same way *reled in azayn* is rather 'dodged in' I think, than 'slunk in (Thomas), 'reeled in' (W-N.). In both cases the action is intentional on the part of the fox.

1729 bi lag mon. In favor of Gollanz's emendation to *bilaggid men* it may be pointed out that the past participle without final *d* almost certainly occurs in the rime of Pl. 1177, while *e-o* are also occasionally confused in the MS.

1734 payre. M. glossed 'injure, impair' for this place, but the verb is intransitive as in 650, 1456, and Cl. 1124, the infinitive dependent upon *let* of the preceding line. The lady 'let not the purpose that was fixed in her heart be impaired, or fail.'

1736 mery mantyle. M. did not gloss or record *mery*, but Kt. translates 'merry,' W-N. 'gay.' Comparing the whole expression with that in 153, 878, I suggest that *mery* is *mere* 'bright, excellent' with final *y* for *e*, as frequently in the poems. The lady's mantle is again described as a *clere mantyle* in 1831, where *clere* is 'bright,' confirming the point above. The word

merry is regularly *myry* in the poems, except in Gaw. 1885, 1953, and perhaps in Cl. 1760, where *mery* may be for *mere* 'bright' distinguished,' as here.

1738 hwes goud on hir hede. M. did not gloss or record *goud* but the translators have assumed gold, Kt. having 'no hues of gold her head adorning,' W-N. 'no ornaments of gold.' I suggest 'no good colors on her head (that is no head covering) except the jewels skilfully (hager stones 'skilful jewels') set about her head-dress (perhaps net of gold).' For alliteration *hazer* adj. is used for the adverbial idea.

1750 dreȝ droupyng of drem draveled. M. glossed *dreȝ* as 'fierce, bold,' but it is rather 'continued,' so 'long' and perhaps here 'wearisome': 'In long slumber of a dream (or dreamy slumber).' *Draveled* was glossed by M. 'slumbered fitfully' with comparison of OE. *drēfan* 'disturb, trouble.' I suggest a ME. *\*drawlen* (*drawelen*) 'drag out, linger, be slow, corresponding to Icl. *dralla* from *dragla*, and based on OE. *dragan* 'draw.' The ME. *drawlin* is then the original of MnE. *drawl*. The latter word early meant 'drag out, be slow,' not alone of speech as now, and admirably fits this place. Cf. E. Fris. *drauelen* (*draulen*). The *NED.* examples are of the 16th ct.

1755 Bot quen þat comly. The clause lacks a verb, and I propose *Bot quen com þat comly*, assuming that *com . . . comly* has confused the scribe: 'But when came that comely [one] he recovered his wits.' Kt. makes *comly* apply to Gawain, and W-N. assumes it is an adverb 'fairly,' both omitting *he*.

1769 mare. Gollancz reads *Mare* 'Mary' as I think rightly, another case of final *e* for *y*, OE. *ie*. Knott's suggestion that *mare* may be *mare he* seems less effective. In support of Gollancz's suggestion note *hir knyȝt* and the prayer of Gawain in 1776 ff. For *stod*=*stode* (see my article in *Mod. Phil.* xix, 139) *Stode* and *mynne* are subjunctives: 'Great peril would have stood between them, if Mary should not be mindful of her knight.' Miss Day (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* xiv, 414) thought *mynne* should be *mynned*, to agree in tense with *stod(e)*, comparing *out-fleme* of Pl. 1177. It seems to me better, however, to assume *mynne* is present subjunctive, with such abrupt change of tense as is common in the poem.

1770 prynce. In his side-note M. had read 'prince' and Kt. follows. W-N. translates 'princess,' as I think rightly, a final

s having been carelessly omitted by the scribe as in some other examples.

1780 lyf. In his notes M. suggested *lef* 'loved (one)'; no change is necessary; *lyf* 'life' is equivalent to 'living one.'

1796 sweje doun. M. placed with *swe* 'follows' of 1562, and Br-Str. under *swogen* 'sound,' as if an old strong past tense, but that is certainly impossible. Miss Day (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* xiv, 403) rightly suggested a past tense of *swei*zen 'sway, bend,' with final *d* absorbed by the following *d* or at least omitted as in some other past tenses; compare *zedoun* = *zede doun* of 1595. 'She bent down,' better than 'stooped' of M. and the translators, since she seems to be sitting on the bed as in 1193, with which compare 1780 and 1797. In *Pat.* the past tense is both *sweyed* (151) and *swejed* (236), with which compare *sweyed* (Gaw. 1429) and this form. *Swey* of *Pat.* 429 M. had rightly placed under *swei*zen, though Br-Str. assumes as another strong past of *swōgen*. Schwahn recognized no such past in these poems.

1805 Bot to dele yow. M. and G. connect with preceding line, but Kt. and W-N. rightly with the following it seems to me, although not so correctly making it a separate sentence. They have also misunderstood the following clause, translating 'that would avail but little,' 'that would profit but little,' as if the verb were subjunctive. I would make it an indicative clause modifying *drurye*: 'but to deal to you (give you some token) for love that has availed nothing, it is not to your honor' etc. He is mildly reminding her that she has not succeeded in her endeavor.

1825 swere. G. alters to *swere[s]*, as if a final *s* had been absorbed by the following *s*, but it may be the past *swere* like *swer* in Cl. 667, very likely both with *e* by scribal confusion with *o*. For *swyftel* I suggest *swyfte by* from *b-l* confusion; see 2051.

1826 sore. Some slight alteration is necessary. *Sore* might possibly be from OE. *sārgian* 'grieve' modified by analogy. It seems more likely that it is the adjective *sore* as in 1987, the second & of the line to be omitted, or perhaps better a *wat*z to be supplied before *sore*.

1830 leke. M. glossed 'fastened, encircled,' but wrongly referred it to OSwed. *lycka*. It is OE. *lūcan-lēac* 'close, fasten,' as in Pl. 210. *Leke umbe* 'closed about' gives the idea of encircled.



1823 Noȝt bot arounde brayden, beten with fyngreȝ. The translators have missed the point I think, Kt. having 'all embroidered with finger work,' W-N. 'broidered all around, decked with fringes,' reading *fyngreȝ* as if *fryngeȝ*. *Fyngres* 'fingers' occurs at 841, and twice in Cl. (1533, 1553) beside *fyngeres* the same number of times, and need not be changed. Neither translator takes account of *noȝt bot* 'naught except.' The poet is emphasizing the simplicity of the gift, as the lady does in her *þaȝ hit unworþi were* of 1835 and *hit is symple in hitself* of 1847. I would render 'naught embroidered except around (the edges), ornamented with fingers (or finger work).' It is *golde hemmed* only at 2395. The peculiar use of *beten* 'embroidered, ornamented' I have explained at length in an article to appear later.

1847. The question seems to me to end with *hitself*, after which she adds *⁊ so hit well seemeȝ etc.*

1859 þuldged with hir prepe. The first from OE. *ðyldigian*, as Skeat (*Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1891-4, p. 371), not *ðolgian* as M., an interesting example of OE. *d+y* becoming ME. *dg(j)*. It means then 'become patient,' not 'endure.' *þrepe*, too, is 'rebuke' as in 2397, not the milder 'chiding': 'then he became patient with her rebuke and suffered her to speak.'

1863 for. M. proposed *fro* and G. puts it into the text, Knott agreeing and the translators. But *for* 'on account of, because of,' a common meaning, makes the text right.

1868 on þrynne syþe. M. glossed 'three,' disregarding the syntax with *on* 'an (a)' as in Pl. 9, 530, 869, Cl. 1358. *On þrynne syþe* is 'a third time,' the three kisses which Gawain returns to his host in 1936 are those of 1785, 1796, and this place. *þrynne* is 'three' with plural nouns, as in Cl. 606, 1727, but 'threefold, third' here.

1875 ful holdely. M. glossed 'faithfully, carefully,' and W-N. translates 'full cleverly.' It is more exactly 'full loyally,' referring to his promise of 864. M's side-note 'conceals the love-lace about his person' is not justified by the text, since it is only the next day that he dons it with no concealment, the Green Knight not then being present; see 2032.

1895 forfaren. M. glossed 'destroyed,' and Kt. 'killed.' W-N's 'overtaken' is better, but 'outstripped' still nearer the idea of the rare, *forefaren* (*forfaren*). The Green Knight has

not only overtaken but come up ahead of the fox. Both Kt. and W-N. have broken the sentence relation by a new and less fortunate punctuation.

1902 arered. M. glossed 'retreated' without explanation, and it can hardly be from OE. *arāran* 'raise, rear up,' or from OF. *arriere* 'backward.' It seems to me also that the idea should be 'escaped,' as indicated by the next line, and I therefore propose *ared* with dittograph of *re*, from OE. \**āhreddan* 'escape.' *Ared* would then be for *areded* with final *d* for *-ded* as in *blende* for *blended* in 1361, *rebounde* for *rebounded* in Cl. 422.

1915 mute. M. glossed 'meet, meeting of hunters,' as distinct from *mute* 'pack of hounds' in 1451, 1720, and is followed by Kt. W-N. uses *mute* itself, explaining in a footnote 'the note that recalls all the dogs,' while CtDict. says 'cry of hounds' for this place only. The word is the same in all places in the poem, here *myriest mute* being simply 'merriest pack,' the idea of the cry being made clear by *men herde* and the following line. Strutt, using an early *Book of Venerye*, tells us *mute* is the correct term for a pack of hounds, as *kennel* (*kenel*) 1140 is for ratches—*Sports and Pastimes*, p. 19.

1941 As is pertly payed. Thomas translated 'provided the bargain is promptly paid,' criticizing Kt's 'quickly is given the bargain I drove.' W-N. has 'so long as the debts that I owed are properly paid.' *Pertly* is I think 'openly,' as in 544. In the previous speech the host has implied that Gawain had obtained something more than he has returned 'in achievement of this purchase if ye had good bargains.' This implication Gawain turns aside by his 'Yea, of the bargain no matter (charg), since (as) the bargains that I owed-for have been openly paid.' He wishes to make clear that nothing has been concealed. Perhaps *chepez* (1941) should be *chepe* on account of the verb and of *chepe* in 1940.

1946 pro. The comma should be after this word as the second alliterative word of the line. *pro* is adverbial, as in 1021, and perhaps in both places with the verbs of strong motion has something of the meaning 'precipitately.'

1956 Bot if. Kt. has missed entirely in his 'that they were in danger of losing their heads or of becoming drunken,' while W-N. has also wrongly interpreted *douthe* in 'as if the court were mad or else drunk.' The line qualifies *so glad*: 'Gawain

and the goodman they were both so glad—unless the noble men [that is Gawain and his host] had become dotards or else were drunk.' The poet is capable of a little humor now and then.

1958 seȝen. M. glossed 'arrived' without explanation, but it is for *sizen* as Schwahn takes it, from OE. *sigan* 'sink, fall' with the derived meanings 'come, arrive' in Middle English. Schwahn wrongly, however, connects with *seye* 'pass' of 1879, *seyed* pp. of Cl. 353, a weak derivative verb, OE. *sāgan* 'cause to fall,' with intransitive meaning, perhaps by confusion with the strong verb.

1964 I ȝef yow me for on of youreȝ. Kt., without much regard to forms, and omitting 1965 entirely, while generalizing part of 1966, translates: 'I pray thee to grant me one of your men if thou wilt, to show me as thou didst promise the way to the Green Chapel.' W-N. takes ȝef as 'give' and renders: 'I can only give you myself to be one of your men, if that pleases you' etc. This makes little sense, it seems to me, and ȝef 'give' is impossible, since that verb always appears in these poems with *g*, never *ȝ*, and *ȝ* is here necessary for the alliteration. I believe Kt. has the right idea, and that we have here a simple request for a guide with no suggestion of repayment for so slight a favor as direction for a distance of less than two miles (1078). To make the text agree I propose ȝeȝ (ȝeȝe) 'ask, beg,' as in 67, 1215. The *f* may represent *of*, the whole ȝeȝe *of*, which the scribe has abbreviated by supposing ȝeȝe a dittograph: 'For I beg you for myself one of yours, if it please you' etc.

1968 dele. Kt's 'endure' and W-N's 'take' are not easily derived from OE. *dālan* 'deal,' but the parallel Scand. *deila* meant 'discern' and that would well fit this place, may possibly have belonged to the OE. word.

1970 rede. M. glossed 'maintain' with a question, but it is rather the archaic noun *reed* (*rede*) 'counsel' as Kt., or possibly OAng. *rēde*, WS. *rāde* 'ready,' with which compare *redly* (373) beside *redily* (392).

1972 drechch. Only the verb appears in OE. *dreccean* 'harass, delay,' and the dialectal *dretch* 'go heavily, daudle, delay,' pointed out by Mrs. Wright, but an OE. noun *\*drece* (*drece*) 'hindrance, delay' must be assumed.

1975 þe lorde Gawayn con þank. Thomas notes that Kt. had taken *þe lorde* as the subject, instead of *Gawayn*, and I may

add that W-N. has done the same, besides misunderstanding the following line. Gawain had already thanked his host for his hospitality in 1962-3, and he now thanks him specifically for the new promise to furnish him a guide—'such honor he [the lord] would contrive for him.' *Weve* in the OE. sense of 'contrive, plan' as well as 'weave' fits both this place and 2359, for both of which M. assumes 'give.' This led Kt. to translate the line 'such worship he would him give,' with such ambiguity in the pronouns as to leave doubt of its relation to the line preceding.

1999 *dryve3 to*. Napier proposed *to-dryve3* drives away,' forgetting perhaps that OE. *drifan* had the intransitive meaning 'drive on, rush with violence,' the first of which would admirably suit this place. Compare also Pl. 30, and 1094. We must assume, I take it, that the poet goes back to describe the close of the previous day and the coming of the storm, of which the gaiety in the castle had made all oblivious.

This fine description has been variously treated by the translators, Kt. rendering *norþe* by 'the north in the weather' and *wylde* by 'wilds' instead of 'wild creatures.' W-N. has needlessly broken up lines 2001-3, it seems to me, and places *of þe norþe* with *þe snawe* of the next line, making 'the snow from the north.' I think we may better keep the lines 2001-3 together as specific instances of the *wylde wedere3* of 2000. *Norþe*, too, I think must be 'north wind,' since the *colde* has been mentioned in 2001, and it would be the north wind which would make the cold more bitter. I would render: 'Clouds drove the keen cold (kenly þe colde) to the earth, with near enough of the north wind to vex the naked—the snow bit full sharply that nipped the wild creatures.'

2026 His cote etc. The punctuation of M. and G. is misleading. The *cote* is the *cote armure* of 586, a sleeveless surcoat of light cloth worn over the ring-mail armor, having upon it the cognisance (cf. *in schelde* & *cote* of 637) of *clere werke3* (pl. for emphasis) *ennurned upon velvet*, precious stones fastened about and adorning it (the cognisance). Besides, the coat has embroidered seams, and is fairly furred within with fair fur linings (*pelures*).

2032 *bal3e haunche3*. M. glossed 'round or smooth' and Kt. has adopted the latter. Br-Str. has 'flat-topped' on the

strength of *balwe* 'planus' in *Prompt. Parv.*, while W-N. renders 'broad.' The word clearly implies an adj. parallel to the OE. sb. *belg* 'bag, bellows, pod,' and meaning 'bulging.' The sword belt was placed below the waist and hung down over the broadest part of the hips. The literal 'bulging haunches' is sufficiently and more elegantly expressed today by 'broad thighs or hips.' Like this word OE. *belg* regularly appears in the poem with *a*, by lowering of pitch under the influence of *l* and perhaps the preceding *b*. *Bi* at the beginning of the line is 'by that, by the time that,' or here 'after.'

2035 þat gay wel bisemed. Kt. takes *bisemed* as 'folded,' and makes *gay* an attributive modifier of *gordel*. W-N. takes *þe gay* as referring to Gawain—who, I judge, was anything but *gay* as he prepares for this venture—rendering 'which became him well.' The punctuation of the modern editions has again misled. *Gay* is a predicate adj., 'that seemed very gay upon the royal red cloth that was rich to behold.'

2053 ioy mot þay have. Gollancz alters *þay* to *he* and Knott approves. I believe the MS. reading should be kept. Gawain is here interested especially in the retainers who are seeing him off, and 'joy may they have' to so goodly a company is a natural wish. That he should recognize their relationship to master and mistress, and praise them also in 2055-7, does not seriously interfere with the unity of the speech primarily in relation to the retainers. He first wishes them joy, he includes them in his pious desire that God may reward all in the castle (and also you all), and his final thought is of repayment to them specifically if he should be able. I suggest that some such words as *hem maynteines* are to be understood with *lady* (2054), as 'the dear lady alive looks after them,' to which Gawain adds the parenthetical 'may love betide her.' *On lyve* is a mere tag for alliterative purposes, as *upon londe* of 2058, *upon lyve* of 2095, and as it is a tag for rime in Chaucer's *Leg. of Good Wom.* 1792. The past subjunctives of 2058-9 express Gawain's serious doubt of the outcome of his journey, and should be rendered into modern English with present optatives 'and if I may' etc.

2071 bredeþ. M. glossed 'bounds, limits' and assumed OE. *brerd* as the original. He rightly glossed the same word in Pat. 184 as 'board,' referring it properly to OE. *bred*, still retained

in the same form and sense in Scotch. Here the OE. neuter shows lengthening in the oblique cases.

2082 byled. M. glossed 'boiled' and the translators have followed. The form, however, can not be from OF. *boillir* 'boil,' and I propose OE. *bylgean* 'bellow,' here 'roar,' Scotch having both *billy* and *bellow* from that verb. As Skeat points out, confusion between OE. *bellan* 'bellow, roar,' and *belgan* 'be angry' may account for the form of bellow. Besides, *boyled* 'boiled' occurs at 2174.

2084 Welawylle. M. glossed 'very lonesome, desert,' and Kt. has 'lonesome,' W-N. 'dreary.' We should read *Wela wylle* (see note on 518), the second word being Scand. *willr* 'wild,' as in the compound *wyl-dremes* of Pat. 473. *Wela* is 'lo, alas.'

2103. M. and G. separate the line from the two following as does W-N. Kt. unites correctly, but renders somewhat inaccurately 'and such chance he achieves that' etc. Better 'he achieves the destiny, or carries out the purpose (chevez þat chance) that there passes' etc.

2111 may þe knyȝt rede. M. inserted *I* before *may*, misunderstanding the clause, and perhaps on this account Kt., W-N. omit entirely. It adds a necessary element to the description, 'if the knight (of the Green Chapel) chooses.' He implies with some delicacy, you (Gawain) may escape, but it would be only because the knight does not choose to kill you. G. retained the MS. reading.

2123 & oþeȝ in-noghe. Has not & been added by scribal error, perhaps owing to the &'s preceding? *Oþeȝ in-noghe* should be the direct object of *I schal swere* of 2122.

2140 Now etc. *Now* is used in the sense of 'now that, since' as in Cl. 75 and occasionally in all periods: 'Now that thou speakest so much—that thou wilt take thine own trouble to thyself, and it pleases thee to lose thy life—I care not to hinder thee.' W-N. separates the *now*-clause from its conclusion, making & of 2142 'if,' but I think not wisely. M. makes *lette* a noun, but only the verb occurs in the poems.

2167 þe skweȝ. F. M. suggested 'groves, coverts,' M. 'clouds, shadows,' translating 'the shadows of the hills appeared wild (desolate) to him.' *Br-Str.* also gives 'shadow,' assuming OE. *scūa* (*scūwa*), and *skwe*, *skwes* (Cl. 483, 1759) must be

'cloud, clouds.' On the other hand, as Mrs. Wright has pointed out, there is an English dialectal *skew* 'precipitous bank' and I may add a Scotch *skew* 'oblique part of a gable,' probably the word in this place. *Scowtes* is Scand. *skūti* 'protecting rock' as by Björkman (*Scand. Loan-Words* p. 134), though he wrongly follows *Br-Str.* in giving the meaning as 'cave formed by projecting rocks.' *Skayved* would seem to be a verb, perhaps an unrecorded Scand. \**skeifa*, parallel to *skeifr* 'askew, oblique,' Scotch *skeif* 'shrivelled dwarf.' Mrs. Wright compares dialectal *skeaf* 'steep bank,' doubtless from an OE. \**scāf* parallel to the Scand. words cited. The line would then seem to mean something like 'the steep sides of the projecting rocks were precipitously overhanging, or were threatening, he thought.' It is difficult to believe Gawain was stopped by shadows.

2173 for<sub>3</sub>. M. placed with *forth* (*forthe*) and glossed 'passage, ford, stream,' the translators following. If not a scribal error, it may be OE. *furh* in sense of 'channel,' 'furrow' being restricted to a channel made by the plow. The cognate Icl. *for* means 'drain, sewer.' There seems in the situation no occasion for a 'ford.'

2177 riche. G. suggests "read riche bridle," and W-N. has followed, but surely M's side-note, making it refer to the horse, is better.

2181 glodes. M. glossed 'clod, clump, hillock, tuft' with question marks. I suggest here, in 2266 and Pl. 79, *glades* (*glade*) with *a-o* confusion by the scribe. The meaning 'bright, open space' would seem to fit better than 'path' from OE. *gelād*, as perhaps also in *Wars of Alex.* 1334.

2189 Wowayn. A good example of *o* for *a* by scribal confusion here and in 2479, all other forms having *a*.

2207 bi rote. M. glossed the phrase 'cheerfully, confidently,' connecting *rote* with OE. *rōt* 'cheerful.' The rime, however, requires an open *o*, and I propose OF. *rote* 'routine, repetition.' *Bi rote* modifies *ryched* 'is prepared by repetition, methodically.'

2251 grwe. M. glossed 'will,' assuming OF. *gre*, but without showing how the two could be connected. The word is the Scand. *gru* 'horror, dread, fear,' as in our *gruesome*. Kt. follows M., and W-N. has the weak 'not a whit' for *no grwe*.

2263 as dre<sub>3</sub>. M. glossed the adj. 'fierce, bold,' but it is rather 'enduring, lasting, continuing to the end,' and the adv.

here 'enduringly, continuously.' Thomas has 'as steadily,' W-N. 'as earnestly.' From Gawain's point of view it is 'threateningly,' thus misleading Morris. So Morris glossed *munt* (2260) 'feigned' when it is 'aimed, purposed,' and the translators have used the former idea either with *munt* or *alled*. From what comes much later we know that the Green Knight was feigning, but it is not so stated in the text and did not appear so to Gawain.

2274 myntest. Mrs. Wright notes that the word dialectally in England has the meaning 'make a feigned attempt at,' but surely Gawain did not feint when he struck and severed the Green Knight's head. The verb here means 'purpose, intend, aim' as in Cl. 1628.

2275 kest no cavelacion. M. glossed 'strife' here, and 'dispute' for 683. Kt. has 'did no cavil at all,' which is better in our modern idiom of 'made no caviling.' W-N's 'tried no tricks' is too strong. The Green Knight is twitting Gawain of trifling, as by using *fyked* (2274), OSwed. *fikja*, 'fidget, trifle,' a more opprobrious word than 'shrank' of Morris and Kt. Even W-N's 'wincd' is a little too strong for the Green Knight's biting taunt.

2294 rapeled. In Cl. 59, 890 occurs a *ropeled* and in *Parl. of Thre Ages* (261) *rotheled*. M. suggested OE. *hraðian* 'be quick' for the former, but the meaning does not well fit. Menner (Glossary to *Purity*) proposed ON. *hrōpa* 'strip, disable,' but neither meaning or form would fit all examples. There is possibility of a verb based on Scand. *raða* 'set in order' which would satisfy Cl. 59, *Parl. of Thre Ages* 261, where set in order words would mean 'speak.' As 'set, fix' it would explain Gaw. 2294, and as 'set himself' Cl. 890. M. glossed 'fixed, rooted' for this place without further explanation. The *a-o* variation may be dialectal or scribal.

2297 þe hyȝe hode. Kt. had rendered 'hold high thy hood,' and Thomas mistakenly 'be worthy of the high rank.' W-N. has 'fine hood,' which rightly implies the compound *hyȝe hode*, better rendered by 'high hood.' It is the *capados* of 572, and since given by Arthur a *kyngeȝ capados þat closes his swyre* (186), necessitating the command of the Green Knight.

2305 on lyte. M. does not gloss, and Kt. omits, while W-N. translates as 'a bit' as if *lyte* 'little.' This seems insignificant after *lenger* and I propose Scand. *lȳti* 'fault, flaw, vice,' ME. *lite*, here 'at fault, faultily, improperly.'



2312 snyrt. M. and Br-Str. do not gloss or recognize, but it is Scand. *snerta* 'touch,' a more delicate word than the 'cut' of the translators, and showing the less serious purpose of the Green Knight.

2316 sprit forth spenne fote. The first may be Scand. *spretta* 'spurt out (of water), start, spring,' or if OE. *spryttan*, from which Skeat derives *spurt* (*spirt*), then with a meaning not recorded in the older language. The *NED.* gives a *spen-foot* based on this single example, and with the suggested meaning 'with feet close together' from *spen* 'clasp, fasten.' The context seems to me to require something like 'quickly,' and I suggest a compound of Scand. *spenna* 'spend'—or possibly OE. *spendan*—like *spend-thrift* on the one side and *hot-foot* on the other.

2326 & foo. M. connected with OE. *fāh* 'hostile, foe,' but did not note its adverbial character here, 'hostilely, fiercely, modifying *zælde* of the preceding line. Kt. has 'my foe,' for the rime perhaps; W-N. omits.

2337 rykande rurde. M. and G. alter to *r[a]ykande*, M. glossing 'loud, strong, literally rushing' from *rayke*. Unfortunately *rayke*, Scand. *reika*, does not mean 'rush' but 'wander, stagger' or ideas closely connected. Mrs. Wright notes dialectal *rick* 'rattle, jingle, chatter,' sometimes 'grumble, scold,' but with no derivation, and it seems to me hardly the right idea. I propose Scand. *rikja* 'reign, rule,' here 'commanding,' ME. *rikien* (*riken*).

2344. M., G. add & after *waret*, but needlessly, since the second half of the line 'to thee have wrought grief' explains the first half line.

2346 sore with ryzt. *Sore* makes no sense here and I propose *fore* 'for' as in Pl. 734: 'I scratched thee with no scratch, for' etc. For confusion of *f*—*s* note *fo* 'so' Cl. 1233, 1452, Gaw. 282, 384, 718, 1304; *unfavere* 'unsavory' Cl. 822; *fyn*=*syn* 'since' Pat. 35; *sor*=*for* in Pl. 700; *luslych*=*luflych* in Gaw. 1583; *clesly*=*cheshly* in Gaw. 850. The translators felt the inadequacy of 'sore,' and Kt. has 'though with right I proffered it to thee,' and W-N. has disguised it under 'which was but justice, considering the covenant' etc.

2346 rove þe wyth no rof. For *rove*, Scand. *rifa*, the most effective word here is 'scratch,' one of its regular meanings. *Rof* suggests an OE. \**rāf* 'scratch, tear, rend.' The milder word

better conveys the meaning of the Green Knight than Kt's 'cut thee not at all,' W-N's 'gave thee no blow.'

2350 for þe morne. W-N. has 'this morning,' Kt. correctly 'for the morning when thou didst kiss' etc. The latter, however, has greatly erred in translating 2252 as 'and for the two kisses,' W-N. here correctly 'for these two occasions' etc.

2254 Trwe mon trwe restore. The translators have apparently misunderstood the subjunctive of condition in *restore*, both rendering as an indicative of fact. It means 'if a true man truly restore, then need a man fear no harm.'

2370 gryed. Doubtless from a Scand. verb based on *gru* 'horror,' used in 2251 and explained in a note on that line. M. rightly compared OHG. *grüen* 'feel horror,' and Mrs. Wright the English dialectal *gry* 'shiver, shudder in fear,' here of course 'in shame.'

2379-80. The translators have taken *for* as a preposition, and *cowardyse* as subject of *tazt*, but I think *for* is the conjunction. The subject of *tazt* is *care of þy knobbe*, and *cowardyse* is the object, the whole explained in the next line.

2387 Leteþ me overtake your wylle. Kt. is certainly in error in his 'let me but thwart thy will,' and W-N's generalizing 'let me but please you now' misses the idea. Gawain has confessed his fault and asks for another trial—and *efte I schal be ware*. He here says 'let your good will (that is rather than your evil nature) overtake or possess me, and next time I shall be wary.' *Overtake* represents OE. *oferniman* 'take possession of' or perhaps here the more modern 'come up with,' as in Icl. *yfer-taka*.

2396 For hit is grene as my goun. Kt. connects with the preceding line, rendering *for* 'and.' W-N. misses a little in 'since it is green, as is my gown,' instead of 'since it is green as my gown.' That is, worn on Gawain's royal red *cote-armure* (2036), it would constantly remind him of the Green Knight as well as his adventure. So Gawain accepts it as shown by line 2433.

2409 I haf sojorned sadly. Kt's 'sadly' was criticized by Thomas who puts it too strongly in "I have been entertained only too well.' *Sadly* is properly 'satisfactorily,' perhaps here 'pleasantly' as in Pat. 442.

2411 & comaundeþ me. Clearly a scribal error for *comendeþ me*; see *commende* Cl. 1.

2422-26. From our point of view the passage is confused in its syntax, or at least in order of words. Of individual words, *forn* is Scand. *forn* 'of old, in old times,' here used adverbially. *Muse* has come a long distance from its original, OF. *muse* 'mouth, muzzle,' *muser* 'hold mouth in air and sniff about' as of a dog in hunting, then 'muse, dream' and dialectally 'go in listless manner' as Mrs. Wright pointed out. C. Brett (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* xiv, 8) thought 'gaze fixedly or lovingly on,' from some other examples, but here probably no more than 'dream about, live carelessly, as distinct from the great heroes mentioned. *þyse oþer*, I take it, erroneously includes *þe freest*, as Milton in his well-known "and fairest of her daughters Eve." A different order of words makes all clear I think: 'for these who followed all good fortune excellently (that is that lived well) were of old the noblest of those (*þyse oþer*) who mused away under heaven, and they were all bewiled by women with whom they associated.' 'Were nobler than all those' would be the modern way of expressing the idea.

2431 saynt. M. glossed 'rich stuff, Fr. *samit*,' and Br-Str. places it under the latter word with a question. The translators have 'samite.' The use of *sylk* immediately after seems to indicate that *samit* 'rich silk stuff' could not be intended. It should be noted that *sayn* = *saynt* 'sword-belt' occurs in 589, and that Gawain might well say here—the poet requiring three *s-words* for the line—he does not care for the girdle or sash in its ornamental character. I would keep the MS. reading, using 'sash' or 'scarf' in rendering the word *sayn*.

2447 & *koyntyse* of clergy. M. suggested *in* for *&* and G. retains the suggestion, but I think with a misunderstanding of the syntax, as by the translators also. *Koyntyse* is governed by *þurȝ* of the preceding line as truly as *myȝt*. I would also make *þe maystres* of Merlyn explain *craftes* as an appositive, and begin the new sentence with *mony*. Bernlak, I take it, is explaining his own title *de Hautdesert* when he refers to the *myȝt* and *koyntyse*, in which he is *wel lerned*. To assume that *wel lerned* directly applies to Morgne la Faye requires a modification of the text, as that proposed by M., or the addition of *hatz* before *wel lerned* changes unnecessary with the interpretation I have given. Of course Bernlak's skill has also come from Morgne la Faye, and he goes on to explain that in the following lines.

Kt. has taken the passage in this sense, though not otherwise following the syntax as closely as might be done, and especially missing *maystres of Merlyn* in 'she was the mistress of Merlin.' W-N., in following the general idea of M., has paraphrased 2447-8 with extreme freedom in 'she has acquired deep learning, hard-won skill.'

2448 *mony ho taken*. Some change in the line is necessary and M's suggestion of adding *hatz* seems to meet the case, although I should place it before rather than after *ho*. *Mony* refers to the persons overcome by Morgne la Faye as Kt., not the *maystres* as W-N.

2452 *goddes*. Should be *goddesse*, as shown by rime and stress.

2460 *Gaynour*. Should be *Gwaynour*, as shown by 74 and 109, the *Gwenore* of those examples representing monophthonging of the *ai(ay)* diphthong.

2461 *gopnyng . . . gomen*. M's emendation of the first to *glopnyng* 'fright, amazement' seems necessary. *Gomen* W-N. translates 'man,' as if *gome*, but quite needlessly assuming textual error. *Gomen* 'game' is here something like 'magical device, trick.' G. reads *spekere* for *speked*, I judge rightly.

2494 *pat frayned*. The sentence ends at this point, as W-N. indicates, not at the end of the line as by M. and G. The last clause belongs with the following lines.

Some interesting notes on a passage in *Sir Gawaine* have recently appeared in K. Sisam's *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, but they came too late to be discussed in this paper.

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SIEBEN BRIEFE VARNHAGENS VON ENSE AN  
J. P. ECKERMANN

I

EW. WOHLGEBOREN

werden schon aus mittelbar vernommener Nachricht von meinem üblen Ergehen mich gütigst entschuldigt haben, dass meine dankende Erwiderung auf Ihre freundliche Zuschrift so lange verzögert bleibt! Ich war in der That diese ganze Zeit her nicht anzuklagen, sondern zu bedauern, and leider sind die Störungen in Gesundheit, Arbeiten und Umgangsverhältnissen mit der eigentlichen Krankheit noch bei weitem nicht abgethan; jedoch sehe ich sie abnehmen, und suche sie täglich mehr zu bemeistern, so dass ich getrost der bessern Jahreszeit entgegen blicken darf. Sie haben mich hoch erfreut durch die Mittheilung des anmuthigen, lieblichen Gedichts, welches jenem herrnhutischen durch Naivität sich glücklich anschliesst, durch fröhlichere Heiterkeit aber noch einen Vorzug hat; dass Sie bei dem Anlasse so gütig an mich gedenken und sich bemühen wollten, habe ich Ihnen mit innigster Dankbarkeit anzurechnen! Was Sie von den geselligen Umständen und Anregungen, die das Gedicht umgaben, zu bemerken finden, ist vollkommen richtig, man sieht den ganzen Kreis, und darf höchstens wünschen, durch den Namen der Dame den letzten Räthselzug des Ganzen, unbeschadet dem Reize desselben, noch gelöst zu sehen.

Den neuen Theil der italiänischen Reise habe ich mit unsäglichem Behagen noch darniederliegend ausgelesen, mich ganz darin eingewickelt, und Wärme und Leben daraus in mich einströmen lassen. Ich möchte den Hrn. Minister von Humboldt bewegen, eine wenn auch nur kurze Anzeige des Buches zu schreiben, weiss aber freilich nicht, ob es mir gelingen kann.

Ich selbst gedenke noch einen Artikel über den Briefwechsel von Schiller und Goethe zu liefern, wie wohl ich es schwer finde, etwas auch nur einigermassen Genügendes über einen so reichen Gegenstand zu sagen, bei welchem auch bei üppigster Erörterung stets noch die ärgsten Auslassungssünden unvermeidbar sind. Das Februarheft der hiesigen evangelischen Kirchenzeitung von

Hengstenberg enthält eine Kritik des Briefwechsels aus dem Standpunkte der Frömmlinge, die mehr Gräten als Salbung haben. Man urtheilt hier mit christlicher Liebe verdammend; mich dünkt, das Aktenlesen war schon Strafe für diese Richter. Von ihnen öffentlich Notiz zu nehmen, wäre zu viel Ehre; man muss diese Leute aus der Literatur möglichst aussperren, wo sie nur die Luft verderben.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit hätte ich eine Frage. Schiller spricht in einem der Briefe von einer Stelle in Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren als der einzigen, welche metaphysischen Bezugs in dem Buch sei: so ganz offen kann sie nicht vorliegen, denn Schiller selbst ist nicht versichert, ob Goethe gleich errathen werde, welche damit gemeint sei; mir ist wirklich das Suchen vergeblich gewesen, können Sie mir Auskunft geben?

Eine andere Bemerkung reiht sich hier an. "Wie es dein Priester Horaz in der Entzückung verhiess" führt mein Gedächtnis schon von früher Jugend her, da mir zur höchsten Freude eine Notiz der Schule in dem modernen Gedicht als vergnügendes Leben erschien. Die neueste kleine Ausgabe hat die Stelle noch ebenso, nur die um ein halbes Jahr spätere in Oktav giebt anstatt Horaz den Namen Properz. Unabsichtlich scheint ein solcher Wechsel kaum möglich; was kann ihn aber begründen? Der Bezug auf die Stelle in dem *Carmen saeculare* war deutlich und fest, mir ist nicht erinnerlich, welch andere im Properz ihn aufnehmen könnte.

Verzeihen Sie, dass ich Sie mit meinen philologischen Anliegen und Zweifeln belästige; die schöne, verdienstliche und beneidenswerte Aufgabe, der Sie sich bei den Werken unsres Autorfürsten unterzogen haben, muss freilich Ihnen vorzugsweise auch dergleichen zuzuwenden verleiten.

Wollen Sie gütigst dem Hochverehrten den wiederholten Ausdruck meiner ehrfurchtsvollen und dankbarsten Gesinnungen darbringen! Auch Frau von Goethe und deren Hrn. Gemahle bitte ich meine angelegentlichste Empfehlung zu machen. Ich bin tief beschämt, mein feierlich gegebenes Wort wegen eines Beitrags zum *Chaos* noch nicht gelöst zu haben, aber die Herrscherin möge den Kranken nicht verdammen und dem Genesenen neue Frist schenken! Unter älteren Schriften fand sich zu meinem wahren Verdrusse nichts, was nicht politischen Beischmack gehabt hätte, im *Chaos* aber kann, dünkt

mich, viel eher noch ein unerfülltes Wort als ein politisches aufbewahrt sein. Das glücklichste Zeichen gewährter Huld und Nachsicht würde für mich sein, wenn die mir fehlenden späteren Blätter, von Nrn. 3 an, erwünscht eingingen! Die desfallsige Bitte geschieht auch im Namen meiner Frau, die sich Frau von Goethen eifrigst empfehlen lässt!—

Möge der harte Verlust, welcher zuletzt den edlen weimarschen Kreis betroffen, dort durch den allgemeinen Anteil etwas gelindert werden, und die herbe Trauer nicht zu lange das heitre Andenken, welches die schönste Ehre der Abgeschiedenen ist, unterdrücken!

Mit vollkommener Hochachtung und aufrichtiger Ergebenheit habe ich die Ehre zu verharren

Berlin, den 12. März  
1830.

Ew. Wohlgeboren  
gehorsamster  
K. A. Varnhagen von Ense.

/ Mir fällt beiliegendes Blatt in die Hände; in den meinen vertrocknet es ungeriff, vielleicht wissen Sie jemand, der es grünen macht! Die Meinung ist gut, das Aufgeschriebene ist nur wie mündliche Äusserung zu nehmen!

Einlage zu I.

Vorschlag zu einem Weimarschen Lexikon.

Übersicht des gesammten Weimarschen Lebens in den (im Goetheischen Zeitalter—durchstrichen) letzten sechzig Jahren. Ein biographisch=kritischer Bestandtheil und ein topographischer.

Die Artikel können von verschiedenen Verfassern herühren, nur müssten diese über die allgemeinen Grundsätze für die Arbeit sich verständigt haben.

Alle Namen von irgend einer Bedeutung, die am Hof, im Staatswesen, in Literatur, Geselligkeit, Kunst und sonstiger Beziehung dem Weimarschen Kreise längere oder kürzere Zeit angehört. Also zunächst das regierende Haus in seinen einzelnen Gliedern. Die Staatsbeamten. Die Gelehrten. Die Mittelpunkte und die Talente der Geselligkeit. Die Künstler. Die Schauspieler. Die irgend namhaften Leute auch unterer Klassen. Die Fremden, welche länger oder wiederholt dort verweilt, für die Zeit ihres Aufenthalts und Wirkens. (Die Herzogin Amalia, Graf Görtz, Frau von Kalb, Wieland, Herder, Corona

Schröter, Meyer, Falk, Bertuch, Mieding, Jagemann, Vulpius, Frau von Staël, Camille = Jordan, Frau von Helvig, Fernow, Humboldt, Schlegel, Riemer, Wolff, Sophie Mereau, und wie sie alle heissen, in bunter, dem Alphabet gehorchender Mischung). Kurze, rasche Notizen über die äusseren Lebensumstände der Personen; geistreiche Bezeichnung ihres Wesens, ihres Auftretens, Einwirkens; bündiges Urtheil über ihr literarisches und sonstiges Verdienst, nach eines jeden Fach und Abgränzung. Goethe's biographisch = literarische Anmerkungen zu Diderots *Rameau* wären das beste Vorbild. Wo der Stoff es darbietet, könnte auch grössere Ausführlichkeit gestattet sein, besonders, wenn gerade der Gegenstand nicht an andern zugänglichen Orten schon in gehöriger Beleuchtung steht. Ein grösserer, interessanter Artikel wäre z. B. über den Freiherrn Siegmund von Seckendorf zu liefern, oder über Ludwig Wieland. Goethe bedürfte nur 3 Zeilen; Geburt, Titel, Ankunft in Weimar. Bei Wieland, Herder, Schiller, käme es auf gute Art an die bekannten Quellen anzudeuten, und mit einigen kühnen Umrissen zu vervollständigen. Heiter, eigen, taktvoll.

Es dürfte unumgänglich nötig sein, Jena hiebei nicht anders, denn als einen Theil von Weimar anzusehen (Weimar = Jena, wie schon gesagt worden). Also Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Reinhold, Paulus u.s.w. gehörten ebenfalls in die Reihe.

Der topographische Bestandtheil gäbe gleicherweise alphabetische Auskunft über die Anstalten, Anlagen, Wohnungen, Gärten, Umgegenden, von welchen man eine bestimmte Notiz wünschen kann.

Müsste ein solches Buch nicht höchst anziehend, gehaltvoll und genüßlich werden können? Würde nicht durch dasselbe ein wahrhaftes literarisches Bedürfniss befriedigt, welches sich, je weiter wir von dem Anfangspunkte des bestimmten Zeitraumes uns entfernen, und doch in der von daher stammenden Bildung fortschreiten und uns befestigen?

Berlin, in Oktober 1829.

## II

Ich erlaube mir, Ihnen, Hochgeehrter, hiebelliegenden Abdruck einer kritisch = polemischen Anzeige zu überreichen, die soeben erscheint, und mit starken Schlägen die dunkeln und feigen Bemühungen zu treffen wünscht, welche den dahingeschiedenen Meister verunglimpfen wollen, und dadurch uns



Allen, die wir in seinem Geiste und Namen verbunden sind, geradezu persönliche Feinde werden. Ich war es mir und meiner anhänglichen Verehrung des grossen Todten schuldig, wenigstens einmal in dieser Richtung mitaufzutreten; es ist geschehen, wie ich hoffe auf den gegebenen Punkte zum guten Erfolg, und damit möge es denn sein Bewenden haben! Es wäre wohl so thöricht als vergeblich, wollten wir überall Wache stehen und Hand anlegen, wo Ungebühr oder Stumpfheit sich an dem hohen Namen versündigt; aber zuweilen muss doch dem Geschmeiss, und gerade vorzugsweise solchem, das sich heuchlerisch herausschleicht, ein Wedelschlag verabreicht werden.—Wenn Sie finden, dass ich nicht ganz übel gethan, so soll es mich sehr freuen! Ich habe Hrn. Kanzler von Müller ebenfalls einen Abdruck zugesandt, und ihm dergleichen auch für Hrn. Dr. Karl Wilhelm Müller, Hrn. Professor Riemer und Hrn. Dr. A. Schütze beigelegt.—

Empfangen Sie den wiederholten Ausdruck meiner hochachtungsvollster Ergebenheit, worin ich gehorsamst verharre

K. A. VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

Berlin, den 17. September  
1832.

### III

Berlin, den 20. Mai 1836.

Als ich Ihre gütige Sendung, Hochverehrter, vor einigen Tagen empfing, war deren voller Werth mir schon vertraut, mein Gemüth von ihm erfüllt, mein Geist erfrischt und gekräftigt. Ich besass Ihr Buch schon, hatte es ganz durchgelesen, zum Theil auf's neue vorlesend genossen, darüber viel gedacht und mancherlei besprochen. Dasselbe von Ihnen zu empfangen, war mir nun abermals eine grosse Freude, für die ich Ihnen herzlich danke und wahrhaft verpflichtet bin! Sie irren gewiss nicht, wenn Sie voraussetzen, dass ich an Ihren Bestrebungen den wärmsten Antheil nehme, dass Ihre Erfolge mir in zwiefacher Hinsicht, für Sie persönlich, und für die Sache, welcher Sie Ihre Thätigkeit widmen, nur werth sein können. Ich rufe Ihnen die treuesten Glückwünsche zu, sowohl wegen dessen, was Sie uns gegeben haben, als wegen des guten Eindruckes, der davon auf Sie zurückkehrt! Der Erfolg in dem edlen Kreise von Weimar ist gewiss der belohnendste, er sichert Ihnen den aller verwandten Kreise, die sich in Deutschland hundertfältig

wiederholen. Dass die vortreffliche Frau Grossherzogin, zu der auch ich wie zu einem Goethe'schen Hochbilde gern vertrauend aufblicke, Gunst und Schutz Ihrem Buche gewährt, ist durchaus würdig und ersprieslich. Die ganze Erscheinung tritt unter guten Zeichen hervor!—

Ihre Einleitung muss Ihnen den Antheil und das Zutrauen jedes Lesers erwerben, ich habe die reinste Hochachtung für Sie empfunden. Ihrer gewissenhaften Redlichkeit, Ihrer sorgfältigen Treue und Wahrhaftigkeit vertraue ich unbedingt. Bei Ihrem Geschäft sind diese Tugenden allen andern vorauszubedingen, sie allein geben die Bürgschaft, dass Sie den ächten, wahren Goethe überliefern.—Aber auch dem Geiste Goethe's mussten Sie innig vertraut sein, um sein Wort so wiederzugeben.—Was Sie geleistet, ist dankenswerth, ist unschätzbar, für Sie und den alten Meister gleich ehrenvoll; die Saat wird aufgehen, und sich ausbreiten und fortpflanzen unberechenbar!

Fordern Sie nicht, dass ich über Goethe's Worte hier auch nur im Allgemeinen ein Urtheil ausspreche! Alles Einzelne führt hier auf den ganzen Mann zurück, auf die schönste und grösste Erscheinung eines Genius, der seine Bewunderer noch stets überrascht und verwirrt, wenn sie ihn längst zu kennen wähnen. Ihre Mittheilungen strömen mir unaufhaltsam in alles bisherige Goethesche ein, und ich muss sie mir auf jedem Punkte erst wieder ausgleichen und klar werden lassen. Unendlich sind die Denkstoffe, die sich dabei erheben, gestalten!—Die Güte, die Frömmigkeit, die Arbeitsstrenge, die Menschenliebe Goethe's treten bei Ihnen herrlich hervor, und rühren mich oft zu Thränen. Diese sittliche Seite wird nur immer grösser werden, wenn auch die Widersacher grade dagegen noch lange am heftigsten streiten!—

Über das Buch zu reden muss ich mir einstweilen versagen. Hr. Kanzler von Müller wird Ihnen gesagt haben, wie es mir ergangen ist, wie es mir noch ergeht. Ich bin krank, ich kann nicht arbeiten, ich darf nicht! Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob ich mich noch wieder kräftig zusammenraffe.—Für unsre Jahrbücher hat Hr. Professor Weisse die Anzeige bereits übernommen; sie ist also in sehr guten Händen.—Aufmerksam will ich Sie auch auf Einiges machen, was mir als für die Mitternachtzeitung bestimmt dieser Tage vor Augen gelegen, und was baldigst dort gedruckt sein wird.—

Die Gegener Goethe's scheinen mir in manchem Betreff erbitterter als je; es giebt gekränkte Eitelkeiten, die schlechterdings keine Ruhe haben, und an ihrem Gelten verzweifeln, wenn Goethe gilt. Sie wollen ihn mit Gewalt herunter haben, oder doch eng umschranken. Wilhelm Schlegel geht darin voran, Tieck ist nicht frei davon, Steffens um so strafbarer damit behaftet, als er sich nicht die Mühe nimmt, das Spätere von Goethe, das er verwirft, auch nur gehörig zu kennen; der Schweif, den Schleiermacher zurückgelassen, ist auch in diesem Sinne. Diese alle kann man nicht versöhnen, man muss sie treffen und beseitigen. Die jüngeren Talente finden da reichliche Aufgabe, und haben der Nemesis manches einzubringen!—

Etwas mehr Freimüthigkeit hätte ich manchen Ihrer Andeutungen gewünscht. Die Sternchen sind mir oft lästig, wo sie überdies unnöthig scheinen. Ich machte mir nichts daraus, wenn mich Goethe auch einmal namentlich gescholten hätte, wie z. B. bei der Frage nach der rheinischen Stadt in Hermann und Dorothea. Ein Vorbehalt, mich zu vertheidigen, bliebe mir ja doch. Überhaupt bin ich mit vielen Aussprüchen nichts weniger als einverstanden, hätte starke Einwendungen, entgegengesetzte Ansichten; allein was will das sagen? Hier ist von Goethe die Rede, und nicht von mir, oder diesem und jenem!—

Gern sendete ich Ihnen als Gegengabe für Ihr schönes Geschenk meine neuesten Bücher. Leider fehlen mir die Exemplare, und zwar buchstäblich von dem einen Buche, denn sie sind, einige vorausgesandte ausgenommen, noch nicht hier. Die Sachen kommen Ihnen wohl zeitig genug sonst zu Gesichte!—

Empfehlen Sie mich gütigst allen theuren Mitgliedern und Genossen Ihres schönen Lebenskreises, besonders Frau von Goethe und Fräulein von Pappenheim! Mit innigster Hochachtung treulichst verharr' ich

Ihr

ergebenster

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

IV

Berlin, den 18. Juni 1836.

Heute Vormittag ist ein Brief an die Gebrüder Reichenbach abgegangen, welche ich ersucht habe, Ihnen, Verehrtester, die

“Galerie von Bildnissen” fördersamst einzusenden. Sie haben Recht, dass Sie das Buch verlangen, und ich schäme mich, dass Sie mich erinnern mussten. Ich habe damit Ihr Geschenk ohnehin noch lange nicht wett.—Es ist ein ordentliches Ereigniss, so gross und allseitig und fast unbestritten ist der Erfolg Ihres Buches, das wahrhaft ein Lebensbuch heissen kann, weil es aus dem Leben kommt und in's Leben geht. Goethe's Macht und Ansehen thut sich darin auf das herrlichste dar. Die Widersacher müssen für den Augenblick weichen, sie können nicht anders, wenn sie auch ihren Grimm desshalb nicht aufgeben. Mit unsern Berliner Anzeigen werden Sie zufrieden sein. Für die Jahrbücher wird Weisse Gutes liefern; der Aufsatz in der Staatszeitung ist von Dr. Gruppe, der dort oft, und nicht immer so gut, sich vernehmen lässt; in der literarischen Zeitung hat Dr. Mundt gesprochen, im Gesellschafter ein Hr. Bernstein, der sich Rabenstein nennt, und ein wackerer junger Mann ist; in dem Conversationsblatte ist ein Auszug von Dr. Marggraff. Alles das wirkt günstig zusammen. Was ich liefern konnte, habe ich dem Dr. Laube für seine Mitternachtzeitung gegeben, wo es schon abgedruckt steht. So friedlich und gutmüthig, wie Sie, kann ich die Sache nicht behandeln, ich muss bisweilen den Feind angehen und treffen; hier begegnet er mir allzu oft und allzu dreist in den Freunden Schleiermachers, Tiecks, ja in Tieck und Steffens selber. Doch soll meine Mittheilung soviel als möglich anonym bleiben, damit mir das Spiel nicht verdorben werde. Etwas Ausführliches und Gründliches zu liefern, habe ich jetzt weder Kräfte noch Stimmung. Ich kann nur abgerissen und obenhin schreiben.—

Eine Stelle Ihres Briefes sieht so aus, als hätte ich erwartet, in Ihrem Buche vorzukommen. Liesse sich etwas in meinem Briefe so deuten, so ist es schlecht ausgedrückt. Ich wollte nur sagen, dass ich Tadel und Schelte mit meinem Namen zusammenstehend recht gut vertragen kann, und dergleichen auch Andern zumuthen mag. Am wenigstens will ich Feinde schonen, die muss man schlagen!—Die Sternchen S.226 habe ich also wirklich falsch auf Heine gedeutet! Und ich glaube, es ist Vielen so begegnet. Die Berichtigung dürfte jetzt unbedenklich sein, da Platen nicht mehr lebt.—Von Heine lesen Sie vor allem das Buch der Lieder, dann das Buch Legrand im zweiten Theile der Reisebilder, und die französischen Zustände.

Freilich muss man diesen Schriftsteller in seiner Gesamtheit auffassen, will man ihn recht würdigen; etwas Unausgesprochenes hat man ohnedies bei jeder seiner Schriften nachzutragen, es ist ein Rückhalt, der sich in seiner tiefsten Seele versteckt, und den er gewissermassen eben deshalb mit Worten sogar verläugnet.—

Mir will die Feder heute nicht fort, ich muss aufhören. Die Hitze lässt mich meinen Krankheitszustand nur übler empfinden. In drei Wochen will ich in's Seebad reisen, wahrscheinlich nach Holland. Ein letzter Versuch, ob ich genesen kann!—

Ich freue mich so oft ich Ihr Buch aufschlage, der Zueignung an die Frau Grossherzogin. Das ist wahrhaft Weimars würdig. In dieser herrlichen Fürstin haben wir die fortdauernde Wirksamkeit und Blüthe des Geistes und Sinnes zu verehren, durch welche Weimar gross geworden. Ich wünsche Allen Glück, denen es vergönnt ist, an solche Erscheinung sich anzuschliessen. Wohl weiss ich, dass überall Schranken und Hemmungen sind, und dass auch die Höchstehenden nicht alles können; allein ich sehe im weitesten Gesichtskreise und auf den höchsten und glanzvollsten Punkten wenig, was sich mit solchem Dastehen vergleichen kann.—

Grüssen Sie wiederholt Frau von Goethe und Fräulein von Pappenheim, Hrn. von Müller, Hrn. Professor Riemer, Hrn. Dr. Schütze und wer sonst meiner gedenken mag!—Kommt ein Russe, Hr. von Melpunoff aus Moskau, nach Weimar, so nehmen Sie ihn freundlich auf!—Was sagen Sie zu der Rückwendung der jungen Schriftsteller zu Goethe! Gutzkow! Ich wusst' es vorher, und es wird noch besser kommen. Ich bin froh, dass ich an diesen Talenten nicht nur kein Ärgerniss, sondern auch Hoffnung nahm!—Dr. Laube ist voller Lob über Ihr Buch.—

Leben Sie wohl! Ich bin erschöpft.—Mit inniger Hochachtung und herzlicher Zuneigung Ihr

ergebenster

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

V

Berlin, den 7. Mai 1838.

Ich sage Ihnen meinen herzlichen Dank, verehrter Herr und Freund, für das schöne und werthe Geschenk Ihrer gesammelten Gedichte, die sich mir in dieser Jahreszeit wie ein Frühgarten

darboten, während noch die wirklichen Gärten in Frost und Schnee verschlossen lagen. Jetzt blüht und grünt nun alles um die Wette, und die Poesie erscheint in ihrem wahren und vollen Glanze! Dass die Ihrige einem Lebenskreise angehört, der mir besonders werth und vertraut ist, brauch ich Ihnen nicht erst zu versichern; ich möchte mich aber auch rühmen, dass mein Gefühl von manchen zarten Fäden sich willig umstricken lässt, denen Andre achtlos oder unfügsam sich entziehen. Weimar und Goethe, diese Namen schon versetzen mich in geweihte Stimmung. Fahren Sie fort, diesen Tempeldienst zu pflegen, dessen man schon allzusehr vergisst, einst aber um so herrlicher wieder eingedenk sein wird!—

Durch ein günstiges Ungefähr bin ich im Stande, Ihr dichterisches Geschenk durch ebensolche Gegengabe zu erwiedern. Ich sende Ihnen Ludwig Robert's Gedichte, deren Herausgabe mir obgelegen. Nehmen Sie diese beiden Bändchen freundlich auf! Auch hier werden Sie viele Bezüge auf Goethe finden, und unter diesen gewiss willkommen.—

Sie rufen mir die traurige Erinnerung meiner misslungenen Seebadreise vor zwei Jahren zurück! Leider hat sich dieses Misslingen im vorigen Jahre wiederholt; ich war, anstatt nach Helgoland oder Norderney zu gelangen, nur in Hamburg krank, und kehrte von dort hierher zurück.

Seitdem quäl' ich mich in meinen zwar wechselvollen, aber immer traurigen Zuständen so weiter, und bin nur froh, wenn ich durch Arbeit mich beschäftigen und täuschen kann! Doppelt beklag' ich mein Unwohlsein jetzt, wo neben dem Frühjahr auch die Anwesenheit verehrter hoher Personen mich erregt, und wünschen und streben heisst, ohne dass mir ein Erfolg beschieden sein kann. Ich muss leider verzichten, mich zur Aufwartung bei Ihrer Kaiserlichen Hoheit der Frau Grossherzogin einzufinden! Ein Missgeschick, das ich schon zum zweitenmal erfahre!—

Innen wünsche ich von Herzen jede Förderniss in den Bahnen des Lebens und der Literatur! Warum lassen Sie aber Ihre kritischen Gaben in letzterer so gänzlich ruhen? Für Ihre eigentlichen Erzeugnisse, Darstellungen oder Bekenntnisse, wag' ich keine Andeutung, da muss innerer Antrieb und ächte Gelegenheit entscheiden; aber eine fortgesetzte Reihe gediegener scharfer, eindringender Kritiken dürften Ihre Freunde und Sie

selbst, dünkt mich, Ihrer Feder schon abfordern, und Sie und die Sache würden davon guten Vortheil haben!—Könnten Sie nicht mit Hrn. Dr. Kühne darüber Rücksprache nehmen?—Verzeihen Sie, wenn die Theilnahme vorlaut wird, und verkennen Sie solche nicht deshalb!—

Mit innigster Hochachtung und treuster Ergebenheit

Ihr gehorsamster

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

Dass ich nicht anders als liegend schreibe, sag' ich besser ausdrücklich, als dass es bloss der Brief verrathe durch sein gestörtes Wesen.—

Fräulein Allwine Frommann habe ich hier mit grösster Freude wiedergesehen; ich hoffe, es wird ihr hier gefallen. Gestern sah ich auch Frau von Gustädt, leider verweilt sie nicht! Eine herrliche Erscheinung!—

Dass Sie in Ihren Gedichten die sinnreiche Anmuth und Feinheit Voltaire's uns wiederbeleben, hat mich besonders angesprochen; eine Merkwürdigkeit, die gewiss seit vierzig Jahren in unserer Literatur nicht mehr vorgekommen war. In dieser Richtung ist viel zu leisten! Der Inhalt, besonders der französische, des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, hat sich uns fast bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verdunkelt, und doch liegen zahllose Wurzelfasern unsers stärksten Lebens dort!—

VI

An Hrn. Dr. Eckermann, in Weimar.

Sie empfangen, Verehrtester, durch Hrn. Dr. Carriere meine herzlichen Grüsse! Lassen Sie sich diesen meinen jungen Freund bestens empfohlen sein, und führen Sie ihn gefälligst auch zu Hrn. Professor Riemer, und—ist sie noch nicht abgereist—zu Frau von Goethe, mit freundlichsten Begrüssungen von mir. Unter besten Wünschen Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

Berlin, den 26. März 1839.

VII

Geehrtester Herr und Freund!

Das Anliegen eines gelehrten jungen Freundes lässt mich diese Zeilen an Sie schreiben, für die ich Ihre Güte bestens in Anspruch nehme. Hr. Dr. Guhrauer in Breslau vermuthet, oder vielmehr glaubt zu wissen, dass Goethe einen literarisch=historischen Aufsatz über Joachim Jungius hinterlassen hat,

und wünscht sehr, da er eine Arbeit über diesen Philosophen unternehmen will, die Goethe'schen Blätter einsehen zu können; indess möchte eine Mittheilung in der Handschrift vielleicht unthunlich dünken, und so erlaubt er sich die Frage und Bitte, ob nicht der Aufsatz in der neuen Ausgabe der Goethe'schen Werke Platz finden und zum allgemeinen Nutzen veröffentlicht werden könnte? Steht dies in Ihrer Hand, Verehrtester, so thun Sie es doch, und seien Sie des eifrigsten Dankes dafür im Voraus versichert!—Da ich einmal diesen Gegenstand berührt habe, so kann ich nicht umhin, eine sehnsüchtige Klage auch wegen der Goethe'schen Briefe auszusprechen, von denen uns eine Auswahl durch Hrn. Kanzler von Müller und eine grosse Hauptsammlung durch die Cotta'sche Buchhandlung längst versprochen worden; aber Jahr auf Jahr vergeht, und es erfolgt nichts, und ich fürchte die schätzbaren Mittheilungen nicht mehr zu erleben, obschon ich gewiss zu denen gehöre, die sie zu würdigen und zu geniessen am meisten berufen sind!

Die angedeutete Besorgnis darf ich mit einigem Nachdruck äussern, da mir vor kurzem ein Unfall zugestossen ist, der sich in solchem Betreff wohl als eine Mahnung nehmen lässt. Am 9ten Februar wurde mir die linke Seite des Gesichts gelähmt, nicht epileptisch, wie der Arzt versichert, sondern nur rheumatisch, doch immer ein ernstlicher Zufall. Zwar war die Lähmung schon nach 14 Tagen gehoben, und jetzt ist keine Spur mehr davon zu sehen; aber ich leide fortwährend—fast den ganzen Winter—an katarrhalsich = nervösen Übeln, und darf erst im wirklichen Sommer davon gänzlich zu genesen hoffen!

Sagen Sie gütigst, ich bitte, Hrn. Hofrath Riemer, dass auch nur die immer wiederkehrenden Krankheitsleiden mich verhindert haben, ihm über sein Buch zu schreiben, und ihm, wie ich es gewollt, für die herrliche, reiche Gabe von Herzen zu danken. Ich las es vorigen Sommer in Kissingen und Wiesbaden, dankten ihm jeden Tag die besten Stunden und die schönste Stimmung, und war betrübt als es zu Ende ging. Ich habe seitdem noch viele Personen getroffen, auf welche das Buch in gleicher Weise gewirkt hat, auch einige Fremde aus England, die ganz davon eingenommen waren. Unter den deutschen Landsleuten sind aber vorzugsweise die schlechten Stimmen laut geworden, in denen stupide und böse Sinnesart jede richtige Würdigung unmöglich machte. Es tut mir weh,



ihn dieses Loos erfahren zu sehen, das freilich bei unsern Zuständen gar leicht zu gewährtigen steht. Desto mehr freute mich eine Anzeige in unsrer Staatzeitung, deren Verfasser ich nicht habe nennen hören.—

Darf ich Sie bitten, wenn die Gelegenheit günstig ist, Ihrer kaiserlichen Hoheit der Frau Grossherzogin meine tiefste Verehrung zu Füßen zu legen? Das Bild der hohen Dame gehört zu dem edelsten Schmuck, der meinen Lebenstagen geworden ist!

Empfehlen Sie mich bestens dem Hrn. Kanzler von Müller und allen Freunden und Freundinnen, die sich in Weimar freundlich meiner erinnern mögen!—Vor allem bewahren Sie mir Ihre gütige Wohlmeinung, und bleiben Sie der innigen Hochachtung und Ergebenheit versichert, worin ich treulichst verharre

Ihr

ergebenster

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE

Berlin, den 26. März 1842.

#### ANMERKUNGEN ZU DEN BRIEFEN

Die sieben Briefe stammen aus der berühmten Autographen-Sammlung Alexander Meyer-Cohns; sie befinden sich nun in der Speckschen Goethe Sammlung in der Yale Universitäts Bibliothek. Zum Teil sind sie unveröffentlicht. Kurz vor seinem Tode hat Meyer-Cohn vier Briefe aus der Sammlung in einem privat gedruckten Pamphlet in den Druck gegeben: "Gruss aus Badersee! Herrn Dr. Erich Schmidt den 20. Juni 1893 (Geburtstag) gesendet." (Varnhagen von Ense an Eckermann.) 4 S. (Nicht im Handel.) Mir war diese kleine Schrift nicht zugänglich; die Jahresberichte (1893: IV; 1, c, 134) lieferten mir den einzigen Aufschluss, wo von 4 kurzen Briefen aus den Jahren 1830-1836 gesprochen wird. Ich finde es für angebracht diese nicht unwichtigen Briefe mit einiger Erläuterung an einem zugänglicheren Orte wieder drucken zu lassen, da sie uns doch einige intimere Blicke in das Wirken des Altmeisters gewähren.

*die Mitteilung des anmutigen, lieblichen Gedichts. . . .*

Glücklicherweise ist uns der Brief Eckermanns an Varnhagen von Ense erhalten worden (Biedermanns Gespräche, Bd. IV, S. 176), der uns vollen Aufschluss über diese ziemlich dunkle Stelle giebt.

Weimar, November, 1829. "Herr von Goethe erzählte mir, dass er Ihnen ein auch mir bekanntes Herrnhutsches Gedicht zugesandt habe, welches einer günstigen Aufnahme sich zu erfreuen gehabt; er fuhr fort mir zu erzählen, dass er dasselbe Gedicht vor vielen Jahren mit nach Karlsbad genommen, wo der naive Ton und heitre gradsinnige Vortrag viel Vergnügen gemacht, auch dasselbe bei immer neu zutretenden Personen, wie es im Bade geschieht, öfters sei vor-

gelesen worden.—Dadurch habe man es nun fast auswendig gelernt, einzelne Stellen daraus bei geselligen Vorfällen angewendet, z.B.:

Item Klapperschlangen und der Art Geschwänz.

wenn man unangenehmen Personen begegnete und sie begrüßen musste. Auch seien in diesem Rhythmus manche Artigkeiten und Erwiderungen zutage gekommen.

Nun aber bei eintretendem Geburtstag einer holden liebenswerten umworbenen Dame habe der Dichter nichts heitereres darzubringen gewusst, als ein in der bekannten Schnurre dahinlaufendes Gedicht, welches denn auch von ganz erfreulicher Wirkung und sonst gutem geselligem Erfolg gewesen.

Da nun Goethe mir das Gedicht selbst vortrug, musste mir notwendig bei der Heiterkeit und Anmut desselben, der Gedanke begehen, ob es nicht freundlich, ja notwendig sei, es Euer Hochwohlgeboren mitzuteilen; ich erhielt hierzu die willigste Erlaubnis und füge deshalb eine Abschrift hier bei."

Am 19. September waren Rahel und Varnhagen in Weimar bei Goethe zu Gäste. Da Varnhagen gerade zu dieser Zeit sich eingehend mit einer Biographie des Grafen Zinzendorf beschäftigte, wird wohl dieses Thema öfters besprochen worden sein. Schon am 23. September schreibt Goethe an Varnhagen nach Berlin um ihn wegen des Empfanges einer in Holz geschnitzten Vase zu danken. Um einen Teil seiner Schuld abzutragen, übersandte (Tagebücher XII. 128, den 22. und 23. September 1829) er ein früher erwähntes Herrnhutisches Gedicht "welches vielleicht für das Anmuthigste gehalten werden kann, was aus der Religionsansicht jenes merkwürdigen Mannes (Graf Zinzendorf), dessen Geschichte Sie so viel Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, hervorgegangen. Möge uns Ihre deshalb unternommene Arbeit bald zu Gunsten kommen." Goethe verfolgte eifrig und mit wahrem Interesse Varnhagens Pläne. Am 23. Januar 1830 äussert er den Wunsch, "ob wir die Biographie des frommen Oberhirten einer so weit ausgebreiteten Gemeine wohl auch bald zu hoffen haben." Am 12. Mai 1830 drückt er sich sehr günstig über die erhaltene Biographie aus. (Die Biographie des Grafen Zinzendorf, erschien zu Berlin 1830 als 5. Band von Varnhagens Biographischer Denkmalen.) "Nach Lesung Ihres höchst schätzbaren Werkes, mit welchem ich sehr angenehme Stunden zugebracht, indem es mir viele bedeutende Erinnerungen hervorrief, wie es mich denn auch jetzt noch zu unablässigem Denken auffordert, schreibe ich nur mit dem Wenigsten: dass Ihre Behandlung der Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte eines so einflussreichen Mannes meinen ganzen Beifall erworben hat."

Die Abschrift des Herrnhutischen Gedichts (in Johns Hand), für welches sich Varnhagen auch recht schön bedankt, aber bedauert, dass es nicht in den Rahmen seiner Biographie passe, da es erst zehn Jahre nach dem Tode des Grafen Zinzendorf verfasst wurde, ist eine Reimepistel, die der Herrnhuter Gregor aus Bethlehem in Nordamerika im Juni 1771 seiner Tochter zu ihrem elften Geburtstage nach Herrnhut geschickt hatte: "Meiner Tochter Christiane Gregorin zu ihrem eilftem Geburtstage den 13. October 1771, aus Bethlehem nach Herrnhut." Eine Abschrift dieser Epistel in Riemers Hand, befindet sich gleichfalls im Familienarchiv des Grafen von Werthern auf Beichlingen. Die Überschrift steht, von derselben Hand, auf einem blauen Couvert, dessen Rückseite von unbekannter Hand die Notiz trägt: "v. Tümmel aus Amerika erhalten. Das Original hat Goethe und dafür diese Abschrift selbst gefertigt."

(Letzteres ist ein Irrtum, die Abschrift ist von Riemer.) Die im Goethe'schen Nachlass befindliche Niederschrift ist gleichfalls eine Copie. Die Herausgeber der Sophien Ausgabe hielten es für wert das "anmutige" Reimstück wiederabzudrucken. (Sophien Ausg. 5. Bd. 2. Abth. S. 139 ff.)

Das "anmuthige, liebliche Gedicht, welches jenem herrnhutischen durch Naivität sich glücklich anschliesst" ist ein Gedicht Goethes: "Zum einundzwanzigsten Juni, Carlsbad 1808"; im Ton und Charakter eine Nachahmung obengedachter Reimepistel. Die Dame war natürlich für Varnhagen nicht zu erraten.

Die Tagebücher geben folgenden Aufschluss: 1808 (im Apparat steht 1818) 18. Juni: Früh das Gedicht auf Sylviens Geburtstag angefangen. 19. Juni: Am Gedicht fortgefahren. 20. Juni: Die Festepistel auf morgen vollendet und abgeschrieben. 21. Juni: Sylviens Geburtstag.

Sylvie von Ziegesar (1785-1853) war die jüngste Tochter von Goethes Freunde, dem Gotha-Altenburgischen Minister und Wirklichen Geheimen Rath, Freiherrn von Ziegesar.

Über Goethes Verhältnis zu Sylvie sieh: G-Jb. XVIII. 98 ff; Enthüllung des Goethe-Denkmal in Franzenbad. Gaedertz; Zwei Damen der Weimarer Hofgesellschaft, Westermanns Monatshefte Bd. 71, 568. H. H. Houben; Goethe und Sylvie von Ziegesar. Münch. N. N. N. 112.

Noch einmal erwähnt Goethe die zwei Gedichte. Tagebücher 1821. 8. April: "Herrnhuter-Epistel. Festgedicht in demselben Tone." Bei Goethe war an diesem Tage eine grössere Gesellschaft versammelt. Ich vermute, dass sich die Gesellschaft in ein Gespräch über herrnhutische Angelegenheiten einliess und Goethe die zwei Gedichte zur Verlesung brachte.

*Den neuen Theil der italienischen Reise. . . .*

Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand. Siebenundzwanzigster Band. Stuttgart und Tübingen, in der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1829.

*Der Minister von Humboldt* ist Wilhelm. Seine eingehende Besprechung von Goethes zweitem Aufenthalte in Rom erschien in den Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik, September 1830, Nr. 45-47. S. 353-374. Die Recension ist wiederabgedruckt in Wilhelm von Humboldts gesammelten Werken, Bd. 2, S. 215-241.

*über den Briefwechsel von Schiller und Goethe. . . .*

Den ersten Artikel über den Briefwechsel veröffentlichte Varnhagen in den Berliner Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik, Mai 1829, S. 679-691. Am 10. Mai sandte Varnhagen einen Abdruck an Goethe. Vom Goethe-Schillerschen Briefwechsel erschienen die zwei ersten Teile 1828, die vier letzten 1829. In einem Briefe vom 26. März, 1830 meldet Varnhagen an Goethe, dass seine Anzeige des Briefwechsels demnächst in Druck kommen werde.

*Schiller spricht in einem der Briefe. . . .*

In Schillers Briefe vom 9. Juli 1796 lautet es: "Zu meiner nicht geringen Zufriedenheit habe ich in dem 8ten Buche auch ein paar Zeilen gefunden, die gegen die *Metaphysic* Fronte machen, und auf das speculative Bedürfniss im Menschen Beziehung haben."

Obige Stelle deckt sich nicht ganz genau mit der Anführung Varnhagens, doch war keine andere in dem Briefwechsel aufzufinden. Jonas glaubt Schiller habe wohl an die Stelle im ersten Kapitel des achten Buches gedacht: "O der unnötigen Strenge der Moral! rief er (Wilhelm) aus, da die Natur uns auf ihre liebliche Weise zu allem bildet, was wir sein sollen! O der seltsamen Anforderungen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, die uns erst verwirrt und missleitet, und dann mehr als die Natur selbst von uns fordert! Wehe jeder Art von Bildung, welche die wirksamsten Mittel wahrer Bildung zerstört und uns auf das Ende hinweist, anstatt uns auf dem Weg selbst zu beglücken!"

"Wie es dein Priester Horaz. . . ."

Nach Göttings (Professor der Philosophie in Jena) Vorschlag an Goethe den 22. April 1827: "muss Horaz wohl dem Properz weichen; denn Euer Excellenz hatten wohl den Vers dieses Dichters im Sinne III, 21, 17 *omnia Romanae cedent miracula terrae.*" Goethe verwarf aber später die Beziehung auf Properz, da die Anspielung des Horaz *Carmen saeculare* V, 9 betraf: *Alme Sol—possis nihil urbe Roma Visere maius.*

Unser Varnhagenscher Brief trägt das Datum, den 12. März 1830; am 17. war Eckermann bei Goethe zu Tische, wo er Varnhagens Brief vorgelesen haben dürfte. Eckermann berichtet in seinen Gesprächen: "Ich sprach mit ihm über eine Stelle in seinen Gedichten, ob es heissen müsse: "Wie es dein Priester Horaz in der Entzückung verhiess," wie in allen älteren Ausgaben steht; oder, "Wie es dein Priester Properz u.s.w.," welches die neue Ausgabe hat."

"Zu dieser letzteren Lesart" sagte Goethe, "habe ich mich durch Götting verleiten lassen. Priester Properz klingt zudem schlecht, und ich bin daher für die frühere Lesart."

Die Stelle in der XVten Elegie heisst eigentlich:

Hohe Sonne, du weilst und du beschauest dein Rom!

Grösseres sahest du nichts und wirst nichts grösseres sehen,

Wie es dein Priester Properz in der Entzückung versprach.

Eine Lesart "verhiess" war in keiner Ausgabe aufzufinden. Scheinbar hat Eckermann abgeschrieben, was Varnhagen falsch zitiert hatte.

Unter der neuesten kleinen Ausgabe mit Horaz wird wohl die Taschenausgabe letzter Hand von Cotta, wovon Bd. 1-10 im Jahre 1827 erschienen, gemeint sein. In so fern mir die Quellen zur Verfügung gestanden, folgen zwei Ausgaben mit der Lesart Properz, nämlich die Octav Ausgabe letzter Hand, von der Bd. 1-2 im Jahre 1827 erschienen und eine klein Octav Ausgabe bei Cotta, deren erster Band die Jahreszahl 1828 trägt. Letztere ist weder bei Hirzel noch im Apparate der Sophien-Ausgabe angeführt. Im *Inhalts- und Namen-Verzeichnisse über sämtliche Goethe'sche Werke u.s.w. von Christian Theodor Musculus unter Mitwirkung des Hofraths und Bibliothekars Dr. Riemer. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1835*, findet die erste Abänderung von Properz zu Horaz statt. Dieses Verzeichnis erschien als Anhang der Ausgabe letzter Hand. Unter Horaz steht: "Horaz I, 255 (anstatt Properz)." Unter Properz ist kein Hinweis auf I, 255; also müsste man es so verstehen, dass man sich Horaz denke, wo eigentlich Properz geschrieben steht. Im folgenden Jahre 1836 erschien die hoch 4 Ausgabe in zwei Bänden von Riemer und Eckermann, wo

Horaz wieder zur Geltung kommt. Offenbar war es dann durch Varnhagens Anregung, dass diese Abänderung vor sich gegangen ist.

„Das Chaos,“ das von Otilie gegründete Blatt (1829), welches als Privatzeitung im Weimarer Kreise cursirte, erschien an den Sonntagen. Goethe gab selbst öfters Gedichte hinein.

*Möge der harte Verlust. . . .*

Am 14. Februar 1830 erfolgte der Tod der Grossherzogin Luise.

*Mir fällt beiliegendes Blatt . . . Vorschlag zu einem. . . .*

Der interessante Vorschlag Varnhagens verdient eines näheren Eingehens. Aus seinem innersten Wesen heraus entspringt dieser Plan. Wenn immer nur geistreiche Frauen, wohlgezogene Diplomaten und gewählt redende Hofmänner darzustellen gewesen wären, hätte Varnhagen „das Blatt gewiss zum grünen gebracht“; an den Geistesstrahlen der Heroen deutscher Literatur wie Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Fichte und dergleichen ist es vertrocknet.

Varnhagen allererst schien die Biographie als eine besondere Kunstform in die deutsche Literatur, als einen eigenen Zweig der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung eingeführt zu haben. Wer irgend in Deutschland eine Biographie zu schreiben hatte, der wandte sich an Varnhagen als den in solchen Dingen unumgänglichen Mann. Viele hatten bei Nennung des Namens Varnhagen kaum eine andere Vorstellung als die eines Schriftstellers, der Biographien verfasst und dabei den Stil Goethes, des alternden Goethe, affektierte. Figuren und Figürchen zusammensetzen und an einanderzureihen, da liegt sein Talent und sein Verdienst. Ein Weimarisches Lexikon von Varnhagens Hand wäre eine unversiegbare Quelle für den Forscher geworden.

Schon seit 1825 hatte sich Varnhagen mit dem Gedanken Goethe-Weimar getragen: „Weimar ist fast nur ein Abglanz von Goethes Geist, das ganze Land ist von ihm befruchtet; alle Anstalten, Einrichtungen, Pflanzungen, Bauten tragen seinen Anteil; die Wissenschaften, die Kunst, die Lebensbildung hängen mit seinem Dasein zusammen.“ (Blätter zur preussischen Geschichte III, 1868. S. 322.)

Im September 1829 war Varnhagen in Weimar, schon im Oktober entwirft er seinen Plan zum Lexikon; also seine frischesten Eindrücke hatte er hier zu Papier gebracht. Fortwährend ist er bestrebt ein Gesamtbild Goethes zu gewinnen; ein Gesamtbild des Goethe'schen Kreises sich zu veranschaulichen. Zehn Jahre später entspringt seinem Hirn ein dem Lexikon gleichender Plan. „In den Goethe-Zelterschen Briefen stecken was für Goldkörner! Es sind Sprüche und Urteile darin, die man zu ganzen Abhandlungen, zu Erzählungen und Predigten ausführen könnte. Mir ist eigentlich die Masse noch zu klein, die Lebensfülle nicht vollständig und mannigfach genug. Ich möchte die sämtlichen Briefe von Goethe, Schiller, Jakobi, Fichte, Rahel, Humboldt, Wolf, Voss u.s.w. in eine grosse Sammlung chronologisch vereinigt, und noch mit Erläuterungen ausgestattet sehen; das müsste eine merkwürdige, grossartige Anschauung deutschen Lebens geben!“ (Varnhagens Tagebücher I. S. 241).

Der Vorschlag zu einem Weimarischen Lexikon wartet noch seiner Erfüllung. Mehrere Anläufe sind dazu getan worden, die aber kaum das von Varnhagen gewünschte Gesamtbild bieten. Die Hauptversuche auf diesem Gebiete kamen während der achtziger Jahre. Friedrich Zarncke entwirft 1888 einen

interessanten Plan. (Sieh die Einleitung zu seinem, "Kurzgefassten Verzeichnis der Originalaufnahmen zu Goethes Bildniss.")

Franz Neubert in seinem, "Bilderbuch für das deutsche Volk" tritt in seinen Bestrebungen Varnhagen vielleicht am nächsten. Aus den Erwägungen heraus, dass Goethe dem Deutschen der Gipfelpunkt seiner geistigen Kultur ist, entstand der Plan zur Herausgabe eines für weitere Kreise bestimmten Bilderatlases zu Goethes Leben und Wirken, "der die Örtlichkeiten, an denen der Dichter gewilt hat, die Personen, die ihm durch Verwandtschaft und Freundschaft nahe gestanden haben oder die auf eine andere Weise zu ihm in Beziehung getreten sind, vorführen, zugleich durch Wiedergabe Goethe'scher Handzeichnungen, Zeugnisse seiner praktischen Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der bildenden Kunst aufweisen und auch Illustrationen zu Goethe'schen Werken wiedergeben sollte."

*Anmerkungen zu Diderots Rameau. . . .*

Schon seit 1811 hatte sich Varnhagen mit "Rameau" befasst. (Unter der Abtheilung "Goethe" in den Vermischten Schriften Bd. II. S.303 ff.) Im November 1821 schickt Varnhagen Goethe ein Buch, das ihm von Oelsner aus Paris übermittelt worden war, mit beifolgendem Excerpte aus dem Briefe Oelsners: "Das Buch ist nicht wie es scheinen könnte, das französische Original von Diderot, sondern eine Übersetzung der Übersetzung von Goethe . . . Jedermann glaubt das Original zu lesen. Solches wäre noch mehr, wenn sich der Übersetzer strenger an den deutschen Text gehalten hätte."

*Über den Freiherrn von Seckendorf*, hat uns Varnhagen selbst unterrichtet. In dem ersten Teil seiner vermischten Schriften wurde der Artikel aufgenommen, leider ohne Datum. Der ganze Ton am Anfang des Artikels lässt vermuten, dass er als eine Lieferung zum Lexikon gelten sollte. Von Seckendorfs Beziehungen zu dem Weimarischen Kreise bemerkt er: "Mit Herder und ganz besonders mit Wieland lebte er in herzlicher Freundschaft, mit Goethe'n, der gleich dem Herzog nicht so schnell jede Darbietung sich genügen liess, wenigstens in gutem Vernehmen und wechselseitiger Anerkennung."

*Die kritisch-polemische Anzeige* ist mir unbekannt geblieben.

*Als ich Ihre gütige Sendung. . . .*

Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens 1823-1832. Von J. P. Eckermann. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1836, 1. u. 2. Th.

*Für unsere Jahrbücher hat Hr. Professor Weisse. . . .*

Weisses Anzeige erschien in den Jahrbüchern. Sie wurde später abgedruckt in seinem Werke: "Kritik und Erläuterung des Goethe'schen Faust" als V. Zugabe in dem Anhang "Zur sittlichen Beurtheilung Goethe's."

"*Was mir für die Mitternachtszeitung* bestimmt dieser Tage vor Augen gelegen, und was baldigst dort gedruckt sein wird" deckt sich nicht schön mit Varnhagens Äusserung einen Monat später. "Was ich liefern konnte, habe ich dem Dr. Laube für seine Mitternachtszeitung gegeben, wo es schon abgedruckt steht." Varnhagen hat sich später gewiss eines besseren bedacht und es für gut gehalten Eckermann darüber zu benachrichtigen. "Doch soll meine Mitteilung soviel als möglich anonym bleiben, damit mir das Spiel nicht verdorben werde," fügt er naif hinzu. Varnhagen hat zuweilen wohl einen Scribenten, der sich an Goethe versündigt, mit kühler Vornehmheit abgestraft, sonst hielt er sich wohlweislich der öffentlichen Polemik fern.

*Steffens um so strafbarer. . . .*

Gegen Steffens wendet er die Spitze seines Angriffes ganz besonders. In einem Briefe an Neumann den 27. Dez. 1832 äussert er sich: "Von Steffens verdriest mich die engherzige Beschränkung am meisten. Er kann so grossinnig und geistesfrei sein. Aber da lässt er sich von Gunst und Furcht bethören! dass er schon vor Jahren verschiedentlich äusserte, er sei recht neugierig, wie Goethe einmal sterben würde, hat mir immer sehr missfallen. Wie klein und unkundig!"

*bei der Frage nach der rheinischen Stadt. . . .*

Am 7. November 1823 schrieb Varnhagen an Goethe: "Die Örtlichkeit insbesondere hat etwas unbeschreiblich Anziehendes; man meint diese Stadt und Gegend zu kennen, man will sie wiederfinden, und die Einbildungskraft schweift ängstlich über alle Eindrücke hin, welche die reichen Lande längs des Oberrheins in ihrer tieferen Erstreckung dem Reisenden ehemals überschwänglich dargeboten, ohne dass die Wahl sich entscheiden und feststellen will! Ein bestimmter Ort aber, eine bestimmte Gegend, das nehmen wir für gewiss an, hat, wenn auch nur durch einige glückliche Punkte, die Grundlinien der ganzen Schilderung geliefert. Lebhafter und beselter Frauenanteil legt uns diesen Gegenstand besonders ans Herz, über ihn zuförderst wünschen wir Aufschluss zu erhalten, und wagen denselben, da ja die Zeit solcher Mitteilungen gekommen, durch das schon glücklichst dafür bestehende Organ, die Hefte von Kunst und Alterthum, auch für andere zu Nutz und Frommen, freundlichst und ehrerbietigst zu erbitten!" Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob Goethe brieflich auf diese Frage einging; viel eher hat er sie ignoriert. Erst 1836 in Eckermanns Gesprächen wurde uns Goethes Stellung zu dieser Frage bekannt. Man möchte vermuten, das von Eckermann Dez. 1826 überlieferte Gespräch gehöre in den Dez. 1823 und sei eine direkte Antwort auf Varnhagens ungehörige Frage. "Da wollen sie wissen, welche Stadt am Rhein bei meinem Hermann und Dorothea gemeint sei. Als ob es nicht besser wäre, sich jede beliebige zu denken. Man will Wahrheit, man will Wirklichkeit und verdirbt dadurch die Poesie."

*Gern sendete ich Ihnen als Gegengabe. . . .*

Wohl die "Galerie von Bildnissen aus Rahel's Umgang und Briefwechsel." Herausgegeben von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense. Leipzig, Reichenbach. 1836. Th. 2. (Sieh den folgenden Brief.)

*besonders Fräulein von Pappenheim*

Für Fräulein von Pappenheim hat sich Varnhagen besonders interessiert. (Sieh: Aus Goethes Freundeskreis. Erinnerungen der Baronin Jenny von Gustedt, herausgegeben von Lily von Kretschman. Braunschweig, G. Westermann. VII und 510 SS.)

*Die Sternchen S. 226. . . .*

Aus Varnhagens Gesprächen mit Goethe entnehmen wir: "Einigemal sind in Eckermann's Buche Sternchen angebracht, wo wir gerne den Namen sähen. Zum Beispiel, wenn es heisst: "Noch in diesen Tagen habe ich Gedichte von . . . gelesen, und sein reiches Talent nicht verkennen können. Allein, wie gesagt, die Liebe fehlt ihm, und so wird er auch nie so wirken, als er hätte müssen. Man wird ihn fürchten, und er wird der Gott derer sein, die gern wie er negativ wären, aber nicht wie er das Talent haben." Heine, der doch mit obigen Sternchen ohne Zweifel gemeint ist, kann mit der Anerkennung seines Talents wohl zu frieden sein; denn, dass ihm Goethe die Liebe abspricht, damit

ist die Sache noch nicht ausgemacht, man kann auch von Goethe'n appellieren; u.s.w" In Klammern steht hinzugefügt: "(Nach zuverlässiger Auskunft ist jedoch nicht Heine, sondern Graf Platen gemeint.)" 1837.

*Kommt ein Russe. . . .*

Den 18. Juni 1836 schreibt Varnhagen in sein Tagebuch (also am selben Tage, da er den Brief an Eckermann schreibt): "Herr von Melgunoff (sic) aus Moskau kam zu mir. Ein geistvoller, tüchtiger Russe, sehr Russe, aber wie Deutschland sie wünschen kann."

*Gutzkow! Ich wuss't es vorher*

Gutzkow hatte eben veröffentlicht: Ueber Göthe im Wendepunkte zweier Jahrhunderte. Berlin, 1836. Die Einleitung trägt das Datum, Frankfurt, im April 1836.

*Ich sage Ihnen meinen herzlichen Dank. . . .*

Gedichte von J. P. Eckermann. Leipzig Brockhaus. 1838. R. M. Meyer sagt von dieser Sammlung: "Seine poetischen Pläne zerflossen, und ein Bändchen Gedichte, das 1838 erschien, zeigt, dass auch seine poetische Kraft zerflossen war."

*ich sende Ihnen Ludwig Robert's Gedichte. . . .*

Ludwig Robert war ein Bruder Rahels. Goethe liess ein Drama von Robert in Weimar aufführen. In einem Briefe an Frau von Eybenberg drückt er sich sehr ungünstig darüber aus. Die Gedichte enthalten viele Bezüge auf Goethe, dessen Stil er gewissenhaft nachahmte.

*Sie empfangen. . . .*

"Doktor Carriere ist von Reisen zurückgekehrt, und will Privatdozent bei der Universität werden. Verstärkung der Hegelianer." Varnhagens Tagebücher I, S. 245. (10. Dezember 1840.)

*Joachim Jungius* (1587-1667) was einer der bedeutendsten Geistesheroen, der uns aus dem Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges entgegenragt. Goethe kam auf diesen interessanten Philosophen während seiner Beschäftigung mit der Metamorphose der Pflanzen. Goethe hatte sich in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens angeschiedigt, ein kurzes Leben Jungius zu schreiben; es ist aber nur Fragment geblieben. Zum erstenmale wurde das Fragment in Dr. Guhrauers Buch: *Joachim Jungius und sein Zeitalter Nebst Goethe's Fragment über Jungius*, 1850 abgedruckt. Guhrauer berichtet in seiner Einleitung: "Die Liberalität und Uneigennützigkeit endlich, womit die Gebrüder von Goethe die kostbare Reliquie aus dem Archiv ihres unsterblichen Grossvaters darboten und überliessen, sichert ihnen den aufrichtigen Dank aller wahren Verehrer Goethe's." Das Fragment wurde zuerst der Hempelschen Ausgabe einverleibt.

*eine Auswahl von Herrn Kanzler von Müller. . . .*

Weder Kanzler von Müllers noch die Cotta'sche Hauptsammlung sind erschienen.

*Sagen Sie gütigst. . . .*

Riemers Buch heisst: *Mitteilungen über Goethe*. Aus mündlichen und schriftlichen, gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen. 2 Bände. Berlin, Verlag von Duncker und Humblot. 1841.

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## SHELLEY'S *CHARLES THE FIRST*

Shelley was one of those poets who apparently never thought either of destroying or carefully preserving their fragments. He was a modest man in the estimate he put upon his own work, and his own generation did little to encourage him to preserve even his completed works, not to mention those left unfinished. Nevertheless there are few English poets whose collected works show such a large proportion of fragments. Between one-fourth and one-third of the Woodberry edition is taken up with poems of this class. Shelley was characteristically fitful and impulsive about beginning a poem, just as he was in undertaking his various "practical" projects. The plotting of longer poems was undoubtedly difficult for him. The indifference or antagonism of the public was at times depressing. These facts, together with the inconstancy of his nature, easily suggest why so many poems were begun and never finished. The survival of the fragments is the result of Mary Shelley's religious regard for all the poet's relics, and their availability to the scholar is due chiefly to the painstaking devotion of such earnest Shelleyans as Dr. Garnett and Mr. Buxton Forman.

In themselves it is doubtful if most of these fragments add much to the total value of Shelley's work simply as poetry, but in their connections some of them are worthy of more attention than they have yet received. Most prominent in this class is *Charles the First*, which represents an earnest attempt to write successful acting drama after the composition of *The Cenci* and has a significant bearing on Shelley's dramatic ambitions. Had the play been successfully concluded it is not at all unlikely that Shelley would have turned his attention definitely, for a time at least, to the writing of drama.

*Charles the First* was written at various times between January and June, 1822, but the idea of the play had been in Shelley's mind since 1818. According to Mary Shelley, he advanced but slowly with it and finally threw it aside for *The Triumph of Life*, which he left unfinished at his death. There

are frequent allusions to this drama in Shelley's correspondence which make it clear that this was one of his favorite and most ambitious projects.<sup>1</sup> Before he had himself entertained the idea of writing a drama on the subject of Charles I he had urged Mrs. Shelley to undertake the task, and she had apparently done so.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Shelley abandoned the play "for lack of the necessary books of reference,"<sup>3</sup> and Shelley himself took up the idea later. An ulterior object of the play was to procure £100 to lend to Leigh Hunt.<sup>4</sup> Shelley intended making it a careful, finished play, adapted to the stage, and free from partisan feeling. He writes to Leigh Hunt that if he can finish *Charles the First* as planned it will surpass *The Cenci*,<sup>5</sup> and assures his publisher, Ollier, that if finished it will be a good play.<sup>6</sup> He tells Trelawny<sup>7</sup> "I am now writing a play for the stage. . . . In style and manner I shall approach as near our great dramatist as my feeble powers will permit. *King Lear* is my model."

But there were difficulties upon which it seems Shelley had not counted. He had never been able to interest himself in English history<sup>8</sup> and he found his plotting more difficult than he had anticipated.<sup>9</sup> He tells Peacock that it is "a devil of a nut to crack."<sup>10</sup> Finally he tells Hunt and Gisborne that he does nothing with *Charles the First* because there is nothing to inspire him to undertake any subject deeply and seriously.<sup>11</sup> Medwin comments<sup>12</sup> on Shelley's sporadic manner of writing *Charles the First*, his difficulties, and his final abandonment of the play. "Nothing," says Medwin,<sup>13</sup> "could so far conquer his repugnance as to complete it."

<sup>1</sup> R. Ingpen: *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 608, 626, 805, 857, 872, 916, 928, 927, 916, 928, 930, 934<sup>o</sup>, 945, 955, 957.

<sup>2</sup> Ingpen, 626. See also Mrs. Shelley's note to *The Cenci*.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. J. Marshall: *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, 217.

<sup>4</sup> Ingpen, 945.

<sup>5</sup> Ingpen, 934.

<sup>6</sup> Ingpen, 857, 916.

<sup>7</sup> E. J. Trelawny: *Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author*, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Ingpen, 608.

<sup>9</sup> Ingpen, 965.

<sup>10</sup> Ingpen, 928.

<sup>11</sup> Ingpen, 945, 977.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Medwin: *Life of Shelley*, 340-343.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, 221.

The fragment has received very little attention from critics. Dowden rather slights it in his *Life of Shelley*, merely quoting from Shelley's letters and commenting that the play contains admirable dramatic writing but contains no evidence of becoming a well-built tragedy.<sup>14</sup> Smith's *Critical Biography* devotes six pages to defending the dramatic character of *The Cenci* but contains never a word about *Charles the First*. Rabbé's *Shelley—His Life and His Works*, Helene Richter's *Shelley*, and H. Druskowitz's *Shelley* merely mention it in passing, without considering its merits. Rossetti's *Memoir of Shelley*, Symonds's *Shelley*, and Sharp's *Life of Shelley* ignore it completely. A. Clutton-Brock treats it rather perfunctorily<sup>15</sup> and concludes that the scenes "contain a good deal of eloquent talk, but there is no movement and little character in them." The fragment is more adequately treated by John Todhunter, Stopford Brooke, and H. S. Salt. "As far as it goes, *Charles the First* is a striking and powerful attempt," concludes H. S. Salt.<sup>16</sup> Stopford Brooke<sup>17</sup> finds it "full of steady power, power more at its ease than in *The Cenci*," and Todhunter sketches the characters in the play and discovers many indications of a high dramatic quality.<sup>18</sup> Dr. E. S. Bates, in *Shelley's The Cenci*, devotes considerable space to the discussion of Shelley's possibilities as a dramatist, but dismisses *Charles the First* with a half-paragraph of less than a dozen lines.

When we consider that *Charles the First* is after all only a fragment we need not wonder that so many writers on Shelley have passed it by without examination or without comment. But it is a fairly large fragment, of two complete and three incomplete scenes, totalling over 800 lines. It was the object of rather considerable and anxious thought on the part of the poet. It was written after *The Cenci* and was intended for the stage. It was Shelley's only attempt at practical drama after *The Cenci*, and his letters show that it was a serious, thoughtful attempt. When these facts are considered, *Charles the First* becomes an important piece of evidence on the moot question

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, ii, 476.

<sup>15</sup> *Shelley—The Man and the Poet*, 268.

<sup>16</sup> *A Shelley Primer*, 77.

<sup>17</sup> Preface to *Selections from Shelley*, xlix.

<sup>18</sup> *A Study of Shelley*, 271-281.

of Shelley's ability to develop into a great dramatist. And this fact, in turn, makes it worth while to attempt to discover just why the drama was not finished.

The reasons ordinarily assigned are that Shelley either lacked the constructive ability and power of continued application necessary to complete the play or that his distaste for the study of history was so great that he was unable to master his material. The first view is supported by the lack of structural unity found in many of Shelley's longer poems, by the long list of his other poems left incomplete, by the apparent dilatoriness with which Shelley treated the project, and by Shelley's own admissions that the play was providing such difficulties that he could not "seize upon the conception of the subject as a whole."<sup>19</sup>

It is also a matter of record that Shelley disliked history. Rosetti<sup>20</sup> quotes two utterances of Shelley on the subject of history:

"I am determined to apply myself to a study that is hateful and disgusting to my very soul, but which is above all other studies necessary for him who would be listened to as a mender of antiquated abuses—I mean that record of crimes and miseries, history." (1812)

"I am unfortunately little skilled in English history; and the interest that it excites in me is so feeble that I find it a duty to attain merely to that general knowledge of it which is indispensable." (1818)

Against this evidence we must bear in mind the fact that Shelley did accomplish in *The Cenci* a task of construction somewhat similar to that which *Charles the First* presented, though not so difficult in the nature of its materials. It might be added that *Prometheus Unbound* was successfully resumed after an interruption and that the twenty days between Shelley's admission that he had ceased working on *Charles the First* and the date of his death was not a sufficient lapse of time to show that the play had been abandoned. As for Shelley's professed aversion for history, it is a matter of record that he was by no means negligent of historical reading. Of the fifty-one books listed by Mrs. Shelley as read by Shelley in 1815<sup>21</sup> eighteen are historical or biographical, twenty-one are poetry, and the

<sup>19</sup> Ingpen, 955.

<sup>20</sup> *Memoir of Shelley*, 133.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 123.

remaining twelve are of a dramatic, philosophical, or sociological character.

Thus there is not sufficient evidence to show that Shelley abandoned *Charles the First* on account of inability to complete it, or even that he had definitely abandoned the play. A more reasonable hypothesis to go upon is that Shelley would probably have returned to the play later. It is well known that during his last days Shelley suffered under considerable depression of spirits. *Hellas*, he writes to John Gisborne, was written in "one of those few moments of enthusiasm which now seldom visit me and which make me pay dearly for their visits,"<sup>22</sup> and in the same letter he remarks, "I write nothing but by fits." When a man who feels himself unappreciated by his public and who is, in addition, too depressed to compose to advantage, throws aside a piece of work on which he has expended the preparation Shelley gave to *Charles the First*, it is more reasonable to suppose that he will return to it later than that he has finally abandoned it. Shelley required enthusiasm to sustain him in his work. *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Cenci* furnished subjects on which he could easily become enthusiastic, but *Charles the First* offered some complications in the usual formula of Shelley's sympathies. The Roundheads as lovers of liberty could appeal to his enthusiasm, but as religious bigots they must have repelled him. Cromwell the liberator was adaptable enough to the Shelleyan formula, but Cromwell the despot offered awkward complications. Whether or not he could have overcome this conflict of sympathies is a question that cannot be answered, but the fact that the complications existed must have had its influence in causing him to desist from the play.

When we examine the scenes singly for evidences of dramatic power or weakness, we find the first scene probably the best of the five. It shows an eye for theatrical values that is surprising in one with so little actual knowledge of the stage as Shelley had. As an opening scene for a historical play it could hardly be improved upon. The key to the dramatic struggle is revealed at once by the dramatic contrast of royal splendor with Puritan sourness. The masque, with its spectacular value of

<sup>22</sup> Ingpen, 953.

color and movement, gives evidence of an eye for theatrical effectiveness that one would hardly have suspected Shelley of possessing. It is as theatrically effective as the masques in the Elizabethan plays from which Shelley doubtless got the idea. The entry of Leighton, a victim of royal tyranny, gives additional point to the complaints of the citizens. The dialogue is at least as dramatically effective as that of *The Cenci*. The characters are carefully distinguished. The first citizen is moderate in his opinion and talks little. The second citizen, an old man, is a bitter and uncompromising hater of Court and Church, and voices his invectives without restraint. The third citizen chimes in with the second, and the youth is a visionary with an eye single to beauty. In general the scene is somewhat comparable to Shakspeare's opening scene in *Julius Caesar*, but Shakspeare's speeches are shorter and more realistic, and his scene concludes with a promise of further vigorous action, whereas the conclusion of Shelley's scene does not point directly to any subsequent related action.

The second scene contains 502 lines. It contains practically no action such as would advance the drama. Like the first scene, it is introductory and expository. The King, the Queen, Laud, Strafford, Cottington, St. John, and the Fool, Archy, are introduced and made to reveal something of their characters.

Charles is weak, but not utterly bad. There is a nobility, a gentleness and grace about him that makes a wistful and poetic, rather than a heroic appeal. The Queen is clear-sighted, ambitious and autocratic, but she loves Charles and their children—a Shelleyan Lady Macbeth. She manages Charles with the greatest ease. Strafford is thoroughgoing in his hatred of the people, but is apparently sincere in his loyalty to the King. Laud, however, is a bigot of the most vengeful and cruel type; there are strong indications that had the play been finished he would have been made into an inhuman type of Evil in the form of religious bigotry, just as the Jupiter of *Prometheus Unbound* may be said to typify abstract Evil and Count Cenci Evil in the concrete. The Fool is fashioned after the fool in Calderon's *Cisma de Inglaterra* and the fool in Shakspeare's *King Lear*. He resembles Lear's fool, however, only in his understanding of the real situation; there is no comparison between the two as to wit. In exaggerated Romantic

fashion Charles is made to attribute a kind of super-rational insight to the Fool, on the score of his being a little crack-brained. Shelley even imitates the anachronisms of the Elizabethans and makes the Fool crack a jest on pantisocracy—this for the benefit of the Lakers. The King consents to the bloody stamping out of the Scotch revolt. The attitude of the King's side is made clear in this scene. Thus at the end of 692 lines Shelley has made the audience familiar with the nature of the conflict, the attitude of each side, and the principal forces on one side. He has prepared for the first clash—the expedition against the Scots—but he has failed to motivate the action. The forces that are to work on the King's weakness and produce his ruin are made evident in this scene. They are the pride and ambition of the Queen, the vengeful fanaticism of Laud, and the fierce intolerance of Strafford.

The third scene is incomplete. It is a Star Chamber trial and shows the first actual conflict between the opposing forces. It also further develops the character of the chief villain, Laud.

The fourth scene, also unfinished, shows Hampden, Pym, Cromwell, Cromwell's daughter, and Sir Harry Vane on the point of flight to America. Their arrest, which would have provided action for the scene, is not reached. The fifth scene is a mournful song by Archy, and was probably intended to be the last scene, after Charles' execution.

Shelley's further plans for the drama are to be found in the third of his notebooks. As deciphered by Forman, the whole plan is as follows:<sup>23</sup>

#### ACT 1ST The Mask

Scene 1. St. — Bastwick & citizens—to him enter Leighton: & afterwards An old man & a Law Student.

Scene 2. The interior of Whitehall—The King Wentworth, Laud, L<sup>d</sup> Keeper Coventry Lord Essex Archy to them enter Dr. John, Noy, & the lawyers—circumstances indicative first of the state of the country & Government, & the demands of the King and Queen, Laud &c. secondly of the methods for securing money & power.

<sup>23</sup> *The Shelley Notebooks*, privately printed, edited by H. B. Forman, iii, 103.

Scene 3.<sup>d</sup> Pym, Hazelrig Cromwell, young Sir H. Vane, Hampden & — their character and intentions—a their embarkation—Cromwells speech on that occasion—high commission pursuivants.

Messengers of council.

The imprisonment of members of Parliament. Lauds excessive thirst for gold & blood. Williams committed to the Tower to whom Laud owed his first promotion

ACT 2<sup>d</sup> Scene 2

Chiefs of the Popular Party, Hampden's trial & its effects—Reasons of Hampden & his colleagues for resistance—young Sir H. Vane's reasons: The first rational & logical, the Second impetuous & enthusiastic.

Reasonings on Hampden's trial p. 222.

The King zealous for the Church inheriting this disposition from his father.

This act to open between the two Scotch Wars.

Easter day 1635

The reading of the Liturgy

Lord Tiquai

The Covenant

The determined resistance against Charles & the liturgy—Worse than the worse is indecision

Mary di Medici the Queen came to England in 1638. it was observed that the sword & pestilence followed her wherever she went & that her restless spirit embroiled everything she approached.

.....

The King annulled at York

Many unlawful grants &<sup>c</sup> in wh

This concludes Shelley's plan, but at the top of one of the pages is pencilled:

ACT 2

After the 1st Scottish War  
and at the bottom:

The End—Strafford's death.

It is hardly worth while to enter into a detailed discussion of this plan. It shows that Shelley had planned the drama beyond the point where he ceased writing. Scenes III and IV as written are amplified and modified from the plan for scene III,



and the later scenes of the poem as written are not accounted for in the plans at all. This is an indication that Shelley followed his plans very loosely and is supported by the plan itself, which is disorganized and includes what seems to be data from his reading about Mary di Medici, along with a line, "Worse than the worse is indecision," which looks like the text for a contemplated speech. That Shelley had nearly finished one act, according to his plans, without having planned in advance more than one scene of the next act is a strong indication that he was having serious difficulty with the plotting.

The drama contains some speeches fully comparable to those of *The Cenci*. The attack on the nobility by the Second Citizen,<sup>24</sup> the impassioned lines on liberty spoken by Hampden,<sup>25</sup> and Archy's song are the best speeches. The trial of Bastwick in scene iii is the best sustained passage of dramatic verse.

The speeches have the peculiar Shelleyan intensity of feeling that characterizes the blank verse of Shelley's other plays. There is also present the touch of Shakespearean diction encountered in all the other plays except *Prometheus Unbound*. "Vile participation" (I, 79), recalls Shakespeare's use of the expression in *I Henry IV*, III, ii, 87. "Withal" in the sense of "with" in "catch poor rogues withal," (I, 160), is like the Shakespearean use of the word in such expressions as "bait fish withal" etc. Archy's "your quiet kingdom of man" suggests *Julius Caesar*, II, i, 68, "The state of man like to a little kingdom," also *Macbeth* I, iii, 140. King Lear's comment, "a bitter fool" (I, iv, 150), is reflected in the Queen's "Archy is shrewd and bitter," II, 460. Hampden's passionate speech on liberty in scene four owes something to Gaunt's famous patriotic speech in *Richard II*. There are indifferent puns in the Shakespearean manner and a number of lines with only an indefinite Shakespearean suggestiveness, such as "the base patchwork of a leper's rags" (I, 234), and "Thou perfect, just, and honorable man" (II, 319).

We may say of the fragment of *Charles the First* that it is at least equal to *The Cenci* in its use of dramatic blank verse, and that in it Shelley shows an increased skill in individualizing

<sup>24</sup> I, 150-175.

<sup>25</sup> IV, 14-36.

minor characters. It shows an increased ability to motivate the action and a closer attention to stage effects. Yet it shows also a failure in the only humorous character attempted, and its action is certainly slow in getting started. Shelley's notes on the drama very significantly say a good deal more about speeches and reasons and less about actions than might be expected. Shelley's plans and letters show that the structure gave him difficulties, and the three consecutive scenes of the first act, while no more loosely connected than many an Elizabethan chronicle play, are certainly too loosely connected for good acting drama even upon a stage where Elizabethanism had become a fad.

There are available only three English plays with which Shelley's fragment may be compared. Reinhard Fertig, in *Die Dramatisierungen des Schicksals Karls I von England*<sup>26</sup> gives brief summaries and discussions of nine English dramas on the subject and mentions two no longer to be found. There is nothing in his thesis that would indicate any connection between Shelley's fragment and any of the other dramas. Only two of these plays, W. Harvard's *King Charles the First, An Historical Tragedy written in imitation of Shakespeare* (1737) and W. G. Wills' *Charles the First, An Historical Tragedy in four Acts* (1875), are available for closer comparison with Shelley. Neither of the plays shows the slightest connection with Shelley's fragment, except that all three are avowed imitations of Shakespeare. Both begin the action at a later point than that reached by Shelley. The first is dull, declamatory, and without sufficient action. Its one would-be tragic scene is merely sentimental. The second has considerably more dramatic merit. The blank verse is good, the play is well constructed, and the characters are well drawn. With Henry Irving in the title rôle, it held the stage for two hundred nights. Structurally it is greatly superior to Shelley's play. Browning's *Strafford*, written for Macready in 1837, though it makes *Strafford* and not *Charles* the central figure, should be considered as belonging to the same group of plays. *Strafford* is more compact, more realistic, and more objective than *Charles the First*, yet the individual scenes are harder to understand.

<sup>26</sup> Erlangen, 1910.

*Charles the First* is the more diffuse, ideal, and poetic, and, so far as can be judged from its unfinished condition, would very likely have been structurally inferior to Browning's play. In everything except structure *Charles the First* compares favorably with the other dramas dealing with Charles the First, but structurally Shelley's drama appears inferior.

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## GOTHIC NOTES

### I

*On the Gothic Dative Construction ANAHAIMJAIM WISAN, II. Cor. V, 8*

In the following passage, II. Cor. V, 8, *abban gatraujan jah waljam mais usleiban us þamma leika jah ANAHAIMJAIM WISAN at frauþin*, 'we are of good cheer and are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be at home with the Lord,' we have in Gothic an interesting example of an adjective (*anahaimjaim*) referring to the subject of the principal verb (*waljam*), yet standing in the dative case. Since the principal verb is used with a dependent infinitive (*wisan*), the explanation for the use of the dative instead of the nominative case of the adjective must lie in the nature of the construction of the adjective + the infinitive. Most commentators (cf. Gabelentz, Loebe, Uppström) explain the dative *anahaimjaim* as being due to *unsis* understood with *waljam*. This seems to me, however, to be no explanation at all, first because there is no reason why *unsis* should be used, and secondly because no reason is stated as to why *unsis* should be in the dative case. There can be no question of Greek influence, since the Gothic *anahaimjaim wisan* renders a simple Greek infinitive ἐνδημησαι. The whole passage reads in the original Greek: ὄαρροῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημησαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημησαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

It should be noted in the first place that the infinitive dependent upon *waljam* is the substantive verb *wisan*. That this infinitive is, however, used as an impersonal verb, is evident from the fact that the predicate adjective is not in the nominative but in the dative case (i. e., ANAHAIMJAIM *wisan*). The idea in the passage is, then, literally expressed: "We deem it better (for us=*unsis*) to be at home with the Lord (than to be away from the Lord)." In impersonal constructions with the substantive verb 'to be' the person affected is

regularly expressed in the dative case,<sup>1</sup> but since in the passage in question the pronoun (i. e., *unsis*) is already implied in the principal verb *waljam*, it is omitted in connection with the substantive infinitive *wisan*, but the adjective (i. e., *anahaimjaim*) referring to this pronoun must, nevertheless, still remain in the dative case. The repetition of the pronoun is not necessary, wherever the pronoun is easily understood from the preceding clause; cf. e. g., *gop þus ist hamfamma in libain galeipan, þau twos handus habandin galeipan in gaiainnan*, Mark IX, 43 (so likewise Mark IX, 45 and 47).

The chief difficulty in understanding the dative construction in this passage lies, I think, in the fact that the impersonal infinitive phrase, *anahaimjaim wisan*, is separated from the principal verb by another infinitive phrase, *usleipan us þamma leika*, which no doubt is personal in character (i. e., *waljam mais usleipan us þamma leika*, 'we choose rather to go out of the body'), since the impersonal construction with an adjectival idea is chiefly confined to the substantive verb *wisan* and its inchoative equivalent *wairþan*. Were an adjective used with *usleipan*, we should expect the nominative case<sup>2</sup> (i. e., a predicate nominative \**anahaimjai*).

That the dative case of the person with the impersonal verb 'to be' + a neuter adjective is a native Germanic construction there can be no doubt. The vitality of the construction is proved by its frequent occurrence in all the Old Germanic languages and especially in Old Norse.<sup>3</sup> In the *Elder Edda* and the language of poetry, where the earlier native syntactical status of the language is more fully preserved, this idiom is extremely common. In the *Sölarljóð* (30), for instance, we read: *gótt er uuammalausum vera*, 'it is well [for a man] to be without fault,' for which we have as a parallel in Gothic, for instance, *gop ist unsis her wisan* over against the Greek accu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, §253, 2; Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 1, §64, 1; III, 2, §303, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the personal construction of the infinitive (*galeikan*) after *usdaudjam*; *usdaudjam, japhþe ANAHAIMJAI japhþe AFHAIMJAI, waila galeikan imma*, II. Cor. V,9 'we make it our aim, whether at home or absent, to be well-pleasing unto him.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, §100. Nygaard's examples are, however, taken almost entirely from the sagas and later Old Norse literature.

sative of the pronoun, *καλὸν ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὦδε εἶναι*, 'it is good for us to be here,' Mark IX,5 (so also Luke IX, 33).

But a closer parallel to our Gothic sentence under discussion (*waljam mais usleihan—jah anahaimjaim wisan*) may be seen in the following passage from the *Hávamál*<sup>4</sup> (70):

*Betra er lifðum en sê ðlifðum*

'it is better [for a man] [to be] alive than dead.' Parallel to *betra* is the Gothic *waljam mais* ('we think it better,' 'we choose rather'); parallel to the impersonal verb *er* is the Gothic infinitive *wisan*; and parallel to the adjective *lifðum* is the Gothic *anahaimjaim*, both adjectives in the dative case referring to the person affected. The pronoun in both the Gothic and the Old Norse is omitted, because it can easily be construed from the context. Now, when we examine the second clause of the Old Norse sentence (viz., *en sê ðlifðum*), the parallel with the Gothic becomes even closer, for the adjectival idea expressed by *betra* in the first clause is carried over into the second clause, just as the adjectival idea implied in *mais+wajlam* ('we deem it better') is carried over from the first clause into the second clause, *jah anahaimjaim wisan*. In the Old Norse the impersonal construction obtains in both clauses, in the Gothic only in the second clause, because only in the second clause is the substantive verb 'to be' (*wisan*) used.

The impersonal construction of the substantive verb 'to be' + a neuter adjective with the dative of the person affected is so common in all the Old Germanic dialects as to need no comment<sup>5</sup> (cf. the Gothic *gadof*, *azetizo*, *rapizo*, *aglu*, *gop ist*, etc.). But in our sentence under discussion the neutral adjectival idea in connection with the impersonal verb 'to be' is not so clearly in evidence, inasmuch as this idea is not expressed thru an adjectival form in direct connection with the infinitive (i. e., \**gop anahaimjaim wisan*) but is implied in the verb

<sup>4</sup> The quotations from the *Elder Edda* are here taken from Hildebrand's edition, Paderborn, 1876. I have chosen this edition (old as it is) because of the excellent normalization of the text.

<sup>5</sup> A most illuminating discussion of this construction in Anglo-Saxon may be found in Morgan Callaway's monograph "The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon," 1913, chap. IX, "The Predicative Infinitive with Dative Subject," pp. 127-131. Cf. also chap. XVI, "The Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages" (*ibid.*) pp. 231 ff.

*waljam* ('we choose' = 'we deem it good'); cf. *waljam mais*—[*unsis*] *anahaimjaim wisan* with *gob ist imma mais*, Mark IX, 42. Since *anahaimjaim* is in the dative case, we must necessarily conclude that the infinitive *wisan* is impersonal in character and equivalent in its finite form to the impersonal *ist*, regularly used with neuter adjectives or with substantives.<sup>6</sup>

This discussion of the dative construction with the impersonal verb 'to be' in Gothic leads me to my final objective, viz., the use of a dative adjective in a much disputed passage of the Old Norse *Lokasenna* (53):

*heldr þú hana eina*  
*látir með ása sonum*  
vammalausum VERA.

Most all commentators are agreed that *hana eina* (3rd. pers. fem. sing.) is used here in place of the first person sing. referring to the speaker, viz., Sif. The sense of the passage is, then: "Let her (= me) alone of all the children of the Aser be without fault." But the adjective *vammalausum* (*vāmlausō*, Codex Regius) 'without fault' is in the dative case. Since both the gender and the case of *vammalausum* (if we consider it as a dative singular) is not in agreement with the construction required after *látir* (cf. *hana eina*, acc. fem. sing.), most commentators have with Pálsson adopted the reading *vammALAUSA* (acc. fem. sing.).

Detter and Heinzel<sup>7</sup> (II, p. 263) explain the dative *vammalausum* as due to confusion with the preceding dative *sonom*;

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for instance, *bruks, wan, ist*. Parallel to the Gothic *naúh ainis þus* (dat.) *wan ist*, Luke XVIII, 22, Mark X, 21, we find in Old Norse, for instance:

*Lokasenna* 30.  
*era þÉR vamma vant*  
*Voluspá* 11.  
*var þEIM vettergis*  
*vant or gulli*  
*Skirnismál* 22.  
*era MÉR gulls vant*

In the Old Norse, *vant* is a neuter adjective.

<sup>7</sup> "Man verbessert leicht *vammalausa* und erklärt den falschen Dativ aus dem vorhergehenden *gobom*." Why Detter and Heinzel say "aus dem hervorgehenden *gobom*" instead of "aus dem hervorgehenden *sonom*" is not clear to me, since all the readings of the passage have *sonōm* (not *gobom*) in the line directly preceding *vammalausum*.

which is undoubtedly the correct explanation so far as it goes. But the same commentators seem to think<sup>8</sup> that the dative *vammalausum* (+*vera*) is here after the verb *látir* analogous in construction with the dative *vammalausum*+the verb 'to be' (*vera*) in its finite form; as, for instance, in the phrase *gótt er vammalausum vera*, *Sólarljóð* 30.

Since the verb *láta* requires an accusative object<sup>9</sup> (with or without the infinite *vera*), the infinitive *vera* (with *láta*) must be personal in character and therefore there can be no parallel between the personal construction *hana eina látir þu*—*VAMMALAUSUM vera* and the impersonal construction *gótt er VAMMALAUSUM vera*. The infinitive phrase in the former sentence would in its finite form be: *hon ein* (nom.) *er VAMMALAUS* (nom.) with predicate nominative adjective.

This fact is clearly recognized by Bugge in his edition of the *Elder Edda* (p. 121, footnote), where he says: "Dativen *vammalausom* kan jeg ikke ret forklare mig; ti *Sólarlj.* V, 30, L. 6: *gótt er vammalausum vera* og lignende Steder—ere ikke analoge. Kan Dativen være opstaaet ved Attraction til *sonom*? Man skulde vente *vammalausa*, hvilket Gunn. Pálsson har villet indsætte."

There can be no doubt but that the first point of confusion in the scribe's mind was the dative form *sonum* which immediately preceded the adjective in question. But possibly the scribe also confused the *personal* with the *impersonal* construction used with the substantive verb *vera*, especially since a dative (*sonum*) intervenes between the finite verb (*látir*) and the adjective in question. In other words we may have here a case of *contaminated* syntax, such as often occurs when one construction suggests another.

Altho the scribe may have been led into using the dative case of the adjective because of the dative form *sonum* immediately preceding, his confusion may have been further increased by the fact that the personal construction with the substantive verb *vera*+a neuter adjective is sometimes inter-

<sup>8</sup> Detter and Heinzel (*ibid.*): "Aber es bleibt seltsam, dass *Solarlj.* 30 dasselbe Wort auch in grammatisch auffälliger Weise gebraucht wird, *gótt er vammalausum vera.*"

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, §89, d. Among other examples Nygaard quotes here: *Viðurr lét hana eina* (sc. *vera* *Hkr.* 14, 11).



changeable with the impersonal construction; thus, for instance, we may say either *illt er illum at vera*<sup>10</sup> or *illt er illr at vera*,<sup>10</sup> 'it is bad [for one] to be bad.' But the personal construction (equivalent in sense to the impersonal) with the substantive verb *vera* seems to be extremely rare in the earlier language of the *Elder Edda*. Here I have found only two such cases of the personal construction (over against a very large number of the impersonal),<sup>11</sup> viz.,

*Hávamál* 71.

*blindr*<sup>12</sup> *er betri*  
*en brendr sé*

and

*Sigurðarkv. in skamma* 61.

*Semri*<sup>13</sup> *væri Guðrun,*  
*systir ykkur,*  
*frumver sinum*  
[*at fylgja dauðum*]

Evidently both constructions (personal and impersonal) were possible even in the language of the *Elder Edda*, and this fact

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Lund's *Oldnordisk Ordskjningslære*, (Copenhagen, 1862), p. 378. Cf. also Holthausen's *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §484: "léttr er lauss at fara, leicht ist es, frei zu fahren." This construction, however, seems to be confined in prose literature to cases where the infinitive does not have reference to a particular grammatical subject. Where the person referred to is mentioned, the pronoun stands regularly in the dative case with the predicate adjective in agreement; thus, *betra er þÉR at vera GÓÐUM*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Hvm.* 123, *Lokas.* 30, *Völusp.* 11, *Hamðism.* 15, *Skirmism.* 22, *Fáfnism.* 31, *H. Hjörv.* 34, *H.H.I.* 46, *H.H.II.* 25.

<sup>12</sup> Cf.

*Hávamál* 70.  
*betra er lífdum*  
*en sé ólífðum.*

It will be noted that in the personal construction both adjectives *betri* and *blindr* are nom. masc. I find in the *Elder Edda* no such construction as *betra* (neut.) *er blindr* which would be exactly parallel to the prose construction *illt er illr* (*at vera*).

<sup>13</sup> Cf.

*H.H.I.* 46.  
*Væri ykkur, Sinfjalli,*  
*sæmra miklu*  
*gunni at heyrja.*

In the personal construction (*semri væri Guðrun*) the adjective *semri* is nom. fem., but we have no predicate adjective used after *semri* (instead we have an infinitive phrase *at fylgja dauðum*). If a predicate adjective had been used, it would have been in the nom. case (fem. sg.) in agreement with *Guðrun*, just as *blindr* (nom. masc. sg.) is in agreement with the subject of *er* (*blindr er betri*).

may have contributed to a confusion between the personal and the impersonal construction, even where with the personal construction an accusative (instead of a nominative) is required, as after the verb *láta*.

Furthermore, there are a few verbs of Commanding which may require either the dative or the accusative of the person + the infinitive; thus, we may say either *hann bauð þeim at fara fyrstum*<sup>14</sup> or *hann bauð þá at fara fyrsta*.<sup>14</sup> It is, therefore, not inconceivable that the choice of the dative or the accusative of the person + the infinitive after such verbs of Commanding may have further confused<sup>15</sup> the scribe so that he used the dative of the adjective (*vammalausum*) + the infinitive (*vera*), where the accusative (i. e., *vammalausá*) is required after the verb of Causing or Permitting (*láta*). The plural form of the dative *vammalausum* must, however, have been due to a confusion with the plural dative *sonum* of the previous line.

Returning to our passage in Gothic, II. Cor. V, 8, *waljam mais*—*anahaimjaim wisan*, the question arises as to whether the personal construction here after *waljam mais* would have been permissible, i. e., *waljam mais*—\**ANAHAIMJAI wisan*. Certain it is that so long as the impersonal construction is used, the adjective in question cannot stand in the nominative case, for there occurs in Gothic no construction parallel to the Old Norse *illt er illr at vera*. Considering further the fact that in the older language of the *Poetic Edda* this personal construction (equivalent in sense to the impersonal) with the substantive verb + an adjective is extremely rare, it seems hardly likely that the personal construction could occur in Gothic (which is of still earlier origin than Old Norse), even after a finite verb like *waljam*. On the other hand, the fact that we have here after *waljam mais* the impersonal construction with the substantive verb lends evidence to the assumption that the personal construction (equivalent in sense to the impersonal) with the substantive verb + an adjective in Old Norse<sup>16</sup> was

<sup>14</sup> Quoted from Lunds *Oldnordisk Ordskjningslære*, p. 378.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the same confusion between the dative and accusative + the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon after the verb *latan*, Morgan Callaway, Jr., "The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon," 1913, chap. IX, "The Predicative Infinitive with Dative Subject," p. 129-130.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *blindr er betri* = *blindum er betra*, 'it is better (for a man to be) blind.'

not a Common Germanic (*gemeingermanisch*) construction but rather a later specific North Germanic construction. This assumption is further borne out by the fact, as stated above, that this type of personal construction is found chiefly in the sagas and later literature and not in the more archaic language of the *Elder Edda*. The dative adjective *anahaimjaim* in our passage clearly represents the normal construction of the predicate adjective in Germanic after the impersonal substantive verb (*wisan*) + a neuter adjective (expressed or implied).

## II

*On the Plural Inflection of Consonantal Stems*a) *Consonantal Stems Ending in -r*

In the plural inflection of Gothic consonantal stems ending in *-r*, denoting family relations, all the forms are phonetically correct<sup>1</sup> except the nominative plural:

Nom.	<i>brôþr-jus</i>
Gen.	<i>brôþr-ê</i>
Dat.	<i>brôþr-um</i>
Acc.	<i>brôþr-uns</i>

Since the endings of the dative and of the accusative (= P.G. *-m, -us*) are identical with those of the *u*-inflection (*brôþr-um: brôþr-uns* like *son-um:son-uns*), the nominative plural ending (P.G. *-iz, \*brôþr-iz > \*brôþr-is > \*brôþrs*, cf. O. N. *brôþr, feþr*, etc.) was by force of analogy made to conform with that of the *u*-inflection (*brôþr-jus* like *sun-jus*).

The question now arises as to why the form *brôþr-ê* gen. plur. was not driven out by the form *\*brôþr-îw-ê* in conformity with the endings of the *u*-inflection, just as earlier *\*brôþr-s* nom. plur. was replaced by *brôþr-jus*.

A possible answer to this question may lie in the fact that in Gothic the genitive plural ending *-ê* was added directly (i. e., without an intervening vowel) to the root of all the vocalic declensions (except the *u*-declension), just as in the case of the consonantal declension. Neither the stem vowel *-a-* in *\*dag-a-: \*har-ja-* etc., nor the stem vowel *-i-* in *\*balg-i-* appeared

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Streitberg's *Urgerm. Grammatik*, §179, 2, 3, 4, pp. 251-252. There is no necessity for believing that the accusative plural form *brôþr-uns* is an analogical form, like the nominative *brôþr-jus*, after the model of the *u*-stems, as H. Osthoff maintains, "Zur Frage des Ursprungs der germanischen N-Deklination," *P. B. Beitr.*, III, p. 62.

in the genitive plural *dag-ê:har-jê:balg-ê*. The genitive plural formation of the consonantal stems, therefore, conformed with that of the *a*- and the *i*-stems (*brôþr-ê=dag-ê:balg-ê*). In the nominative plural, on the other hand, there was no such conformity, since here the stem vowel appeared in the vocalic declensions (cf. *\*brôþr-s* with *dag-ô-s:balg-ei-s:sun-ju-s*). It is possible that the genitive plural form *brôþr-ê*, unlike the nominative plural *\*brôþr-s*, escaped the analogy of the *u*-declension because of the fact that all noun declensions in Gothic, except the *u*-declension, added *ê* directly to the stem (without an intervening vowel) in the genitive plural. We have, therefore, the example of the *a*- and the *i*-stems as a factor in favor of retaining the regular phonetic form *brôþr-ê*, whereas the nom. plur. formation *\*brôþr-s* was peculiar to the consonantal stems alone.

b) *The Consonantal Stem* \*AÚHS-AN-

We are now fairly certain that all the extant forms of the Gothic word *\*aúhsa* (= O. N. *uxi:oxi*, O.H.G. *ohso*, Angs. *oxa*) belong to the *u*-inflection with the exception of the genitive plural *aúhsnê*. This assertion is based upon Streitberg's investigations of the Gothic text, as contained in his edition "Die Gotische Bibel" (Heidelberg, 1908), which must certainly be viewed as the final authority regarding the reading of the Gothic text and its relation to the original Greek.<sup>2</sup> Streitberg's final conclusions as to the correct reading of the Gothic text give us, so far as we possess the evidence, the following inflection of the Gothic word *\*aúhsa*:

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	_____	_____
Gen.	_____	<i>aúhsnê</i>
Dat.	<i>aúhsau</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>aúhsum</i> <sup>5</sup>
Acc.	<i>aúhsau</i> <sup>4</sup>	_____

We see then that only the genitive plural remained exempt from the *u*-analogy.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Braune's review in *Literaturblatt*, Oct. 1908, p. 325-329.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly accepted reading, *aúhsan* (Cast.), *aúhsin* (Uppstr.), I. Tim. V,18; Streiberg, p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly accepted reading, *aúhsan* (Uppstr.), I. Cor. IX,9; Streitberg, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup> Formerly accepted reading, *aúhsunns* (Uppstr.), I. Cor. IX,9; Streitberg, *aúhsum us-*, p. 261.

In his review of Streitberg's text (in *Literaturbl.*, Oct. 1908, p. 327) Braune says in regard to the retention of the phonetically correct form *aúhsnê*: "Bemerkenswert, dass auch bei den Verwandtschaftsnamen gerade der g. pl. sich der *u*-Analogie entzog."

Since the Gothic consonantal (*-an-*) stem *\*aúhs-an-* retained its regular phonetic form in the genitive plural (*aúhsn-ê*) in spite of the *u*-analogy, we may conclude that this fact was due to the same reason as in the case of the consonantal stems ending in *-r* (*brôþr-ê*), i. e., possibly because the genitive plural ending of the consonantal stems conformed with that of the *a-* and the *i-*stems (*aúhsn-ê:brôþr-ê=dag-ê:balg-ê*).

One certain point of contact with the *u*-stems was the dative plural *\*aúhs-n-um* (= *Angs. ox-n-um*,<sup>6</sup> O. N. *yx-n-um:þx-n-um* with *i*-umlaut from the nom. plur. *yxn:þxn*) which like the genitive plural *aúhs-n-ê* probably appeared with the *Schwundstufe* of the suffix vowel i. e., *-n*, (cf. *ab-n-ê:ab-n-am, nam-n-ê:nam-n-am*, etc.). Probably too like the genitive and dative plural stem the stem of the accusative plural likewise appeared with the *Schwundstufe*<sup>7</sup> of the suffix vowel, i. e., *\*aúhs-n-*, which with the regular ending *-ys* would give us *\*aúhsn-uns*<sup>8</sup> (like *brôþr-uns*). Indeed, we may conclude that the *Schwundstufe* of the suffix vowel obtained thruout the plural in Gothic, just as in the consonantal stem *\*man-n-*. This contention is borne out by the fact that in North and West Germanic the plural forms likewise appear with the *Schwundstufe* of the suffix vowel, cf. O. N. *yxn*, nom. and acc., *yxna* (*uxna*) gen., *yxnum* dat. and *Angs. æxen:exen* (along side of *oxan*, later form) nom. and acc., *oxna* gen., *oxnum* dat., for it is not likely, as Kauffmann points out (*P. B. Beitr.*, XII, p. 543, Anm.) that from the genitive plural alone (i. e., Goth. *aúhsnê*,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. Fris. *âch-n-um, âch-n-on* (*Rüstr.* 29, 27) dat. plur. (*Angs. êag-um*), and the *Angs. dat. plur. wordig-n-um, beo-n-um, flâ-n-um, etc.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Streitberg's *Urgerm. Grammatik* §180, 2, p. 256; R. Kögel, *P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, p. 115 f. and F. Kauffmann, *ibid.*, XII, p. 543 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *ukṣṇ-âs*, Greek *âpr-as*. For the relation of the *Schwundstufe* to the *Vollstufe* of the suffix vowel in the Germanic weak declension see H. Osthoff, "Zur Frage des Ursprungs der germanischen *N*-Declination." *P. B. Beitr.*, III, p. 1-89 and "Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjectivums," *Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildungslehre* II, 1876.

O. N. *uxna* (for *\*oxna*), Angs. *oxna*<sup>9</sup>) the syncopated form of the root (P. G. *\*ohs-n-*) could only later in the various dialects have spread to all the other cases of the plural.

The loss of the *-n-* suffix in the *u*-forms of the Gothic word may have been due to the example of the nominative singular *\*aúhsa*, in which the *-n-* did not appear.<sup>10</sup> The dative and accusative plural forms *\*aúhs-n-um*:*\*aúhs-n-uns* then became *aúhs-um* (I. Cor. IX, 9): *\*aúhs-uns*, and the word went over without the *-n-* suffix into the *u*-inflection (cf. the consonantal root-stem *\*fôl-*), except in the genitive plural<sup>11</sup> (*aúhsn-ê*).

### III

#### *On the Weak Inflection of the Predicate Adjective*

The predicate adjective in Gothic is regularly inflected in the strong form, but there are several cases in which the weak inflection is used. The following cases are noted by Streitberg (*Got. Elementarbuch*, §273, Anm. 2): *sa* GAWILJA *ist*, *αὐτὸς συνευδοκεῖ* Cor. VII, 13; *swa* UNFRÔÞANS *sijub*, *οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἐστε* Gal. III, 3; *haita*—*βῶ unliubôþn* LIUBÔN, *καλέσω*—*τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην* Rom. IX, 25; *insandidêdun* LAUSHANDJAN, *ἀπέστειλαν κενόν* Mk. XII, 3.

In all these cases the predicate adjective refers to a person (or persons) and since no arbitrary line can be drawn between the adjective in its purely adjectival function and its use as a substantive, it is most probable that we here have to do with

<sup>9</sup> That Angs. *oxna* (gen. plur.) is an older form than *oxena* is proved by the fact that *oxena* is not found except in the manuscripts of a later date, cf. F. Kauffmann, *P. B. Beitr.*, XII, p. 528, Anm. The North and West Germanic *\*ox-na* (O.N. *ux-na*, Angs. *ox-na*) may therefore be directly derived from Gothic *aúhs-nê*. Similarly, North and West Germanic *\*ux-n-um* dat. plur. (O.N. *yx-n-um*, Angs. *ox-n-um*) may go back to Gothic *\*aúhs-n-um*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the plural forms of weak masculine stems in Old Norse, where the *-n-* suffix is dropped by analogy with the singular forms (e.g., *ux-or*: *ox-or* in conformity with *ux-i*: *ox-i*, etc.). The later *a*-forms in Old Norse are without the *-n-* suffix, just as the later *u*-forms in Gothic.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that also in North Germanic the *-n-* of the stem in nouns of the consonantal declension is more often preserved in the genitive plural than in any other case, cf. fem. *ðn*-stems gen. plur. O.N. *kwin-NA*: *kuen-NA*, *gat-NA* etc., and neuter *an*-stems *hjarl-NA*, etc.

Jellinek's 'semantische Substantivierung.'<sup>1</sup> This is all the more probable in view of Osthoff's<sup>2</sup> theory (in which Brugmann<sup>3</sup> essentially concurs) that the weak adjective in Germanic represents the continuation of the Indo-Germanic *n*-substantive which served to designate *living beings*.

Many more cases could be added to the list (given by Streitberg) of predicate adjectives used in the weak inflection, but since many of these adjectives are restricted to the use of the weak inflection<sup>4</sup> they have been formally classified as substantives and thereby excluded from the syntactical category of adjectives. Nevertheless, wherever such a substantivized adjective is used in a predicative function it is a question whether there is any essential difference between the usage of such an adjective and the usage of any other predicate adjective in the weak form, such as noted by Streitberg (*ibid.*, §273, Anm. 2). Take, for instance, *unkarja*, which because it is found only in the weak inflection, is classified as a substantive. In the phrase *ni sijais UNKARJA þizōs in þus anstais*, I. Tim. 4, 14, *unkarja* does not differ, for instance, from the predicate adjective *unfrōþans* in the phrase *swa UNFRŌÞANS sijub*, Gal. III, 3, with respect to the syntactical usage of the weak inflection. Evidently, *unkarja* was restricted to its substantival usage, while *unfrōþs* was not. Why the adjective *unfrōþs* in this particular passage was substantivized, seems to me a purely arbitrary question.

Similarly, Ulfila uses *unwita* (formally classified as a substantive) as well as the adjective *unfrōþs* to translate exactly the same idea as represented by the Greek ἀφρων<sup>5</sup> 'ignorant,' 'unintelligent.' If *unfrōþs* is in its predicative function substan-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. H. Jellinek, *Anz. fda.*, XXXII, 7-8; "Zum schwachen Adjectiv," *P. B. Beitr.*, XXXIV, 581-584.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Osthoff, "Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjektivums," *Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildungslehre* II, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K. Brugmann, *Vgl. Grammatik*, II, 1<sup>2</sup>, 292 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The following list of such substantivized weak adjectives is given by Streitberg (*Got. Elementarbuch*, §187, 6): *fullawita*, *unwita*, *ushaista*, *andaneipa*, *alaparba*, *uswēna*, *un-usfātrina*, *usfilma*, *qīþuhastō*, *inkilþō*, *allawairstwa*, *usgrudja*, *unkarja*, *laushandja*, *ingardja-jō*, *swultawairþja*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. οὐκ ἔσονται ἀφρων, *ni sijau UNWITA*, II. Cor. XII, 6 and μή τις με δόξῃ ἀφρονα εἶναι, *ibai hwas mik muni UNFRODANA*, II. Cor. XI, 16.

tivized by the use of the weak inflection, I can see no essential difference between this adjective and *unwita*; cf. *swa UNFRÔÞANS sijub*, Gal. III, 3 and *ni wiljau izwis UNWITANS*, I. Cor. X, 1. The difference here lies rather in the formal restriction of *unwita* to its substantival usage, whereas *unfrôþs* had not suffered any such restriction. We may assume that the difference in sense between the substantival and adjectival usage in Gothic was essentially the same as is the difference in New High German between, for instance, *unverständlich* and *ein Unverständiger*, both of which may be used as predicate modifiers of the verb.

When an adjective has become restricted to the substantival usage (cf. Gothic *unkarja*, *unwita*, etc.) new semantic elements are added with a resultant weakening of the original adjectival notion.<sup>6</sup> Thus, *N.H.G. ein Junge* has come to mean 'a youth,' 'a lad,' a conception in which other semantic notions are prevalent besides that of the original adjective (cf. *ein Junger*). This type of substantivized adjective is designated by Jellinek as "semantische Substantivierung," whereas the type wherein the adjective still retains its regular adjectival inflection (cf. *ein Junger*) is designated as "syntaktische Substantivierung" (*ibid.*, p. 582).

Wherever an adjective has become restricted to a substantival usage (as Gothic *unkarja*, *unwita*, etc.) we are permitted to classify such an adjective formally as a substantive, but I see no reason why any adjective in Gothic should not become substantivized in the same way as *unkarja* and *unwita*, even tho, like *frôþs*, it might also be used with the regular adjectival endings. The attempt to make in such cases a formal distinction between the weak substantive and the weak adjective has resulted in the classification, for instance, of the predicate adjective *unfrôþans* (Gal. III, 3) as *irregular* but the substantive *unwitans* (I. Cor. X, 1) as *regular*, altho both are used in the same construction, i. e., as predicate modifiers of the verb. I can see no difference, for instance, between the nature of the weak predicate adjective *unfrôþans* (Gal. III, 3) and that of the weak adjective *blindans* (*twai blindans*, Mat. IX,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. H. Jellinek, "Zum schwachen Adjectiv," *P. B. Beitr.*, XXXIV, 582 f.



27) or of the weak adjective *daupans* (*daupans ni urreisand*, I. Cor. XV, 16); yet here Delbrück<sup>7</sup> attempts to distinguish between 'a substantivized adjective' and 'a genuine substantive existing along side of an adjective with like form.' In all these cases the weak form of the adjective simply indicates its substantival usage.

The substantivization of the predicate adjective may, to be sure, have been favored by the peculiar conditions under which the adjective in question was used. Thus, for instance, the use of the weak inflection of the predicate adjective *liubōn* in the phrase *haita þō unliubōn* *ΛΙΥΒΩΝ* (Rom. IX, 25) may have been favored by the fact that this adjective stood in apposition with the regular weak adjective *unliubōn*.<sup>8</sup> The parallel *τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην* may thus have been better preserved by substantivizing the predicate adjective, i. e., by keeping *both* adjectives weak in the Gothic.

It is impossible to determine whether or not the use of the weak predicate adjective *wundan* in the phrase *þana stainam wairþandans*—*haubiþ WUNDAN brahtēdun, κἀκεῖνον λιθοβολήσαντες* (Mk. XII, 4) was in any measure due to the parallel usage of the substantivized predicate adjective *laushandjan* in the previous verse (*insandidēdun* *LAUSHANDJAN, ἀπέστειλαν κενόν*, Mk. XII, 3) or, as Lichtenheld suggests,<sup>9</sup> to the influence of the foregoing demonstrative *þana*, with which *wundan* stands in apposition. But I see no reason why we may not assume that the weak inflection of the predicate adjective both in the case of *laushandjan* and of *wundan* was due to the same cause, viz., to the substantivization of the adjective.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. B. Delbrück, "Das schwache Adjektiv and der Artikel im Germanischen," *I. F.* XXVI, p. 195: "So wird also *blindans* (*twaī blindans*, Matth. 9, 27) wohl nicht ein substantiviertes Adjektivum sein, sondern ein echtes neben dem gleichförmigen Adjektivum bestehendes Substantivum. Gewöhnlich heissen die Toten *daupai*, einigemal *daupans*, was ein sonderbarer Überfluss wäre, wenn eine tatsächliche zweite Substantivierung des Adjektivums vorläge, was aber begreiflich ist, wenn man ein Subst. *daupa* annimmt."

<sup>8</sup> A. Lichtenheld, however, holds ("Das schwache Adjektiv im Gotischen," *Z. f. d. A.* XVIII, 31) that the weak form of the adjective *liubōn* was most probably due to the influence of *unliubōn* which directly precedes it: "Der prädicatsaccusativ *liubōn* hat hier merkwürdigerweise schwache form, da doch sonst alles was prädicat heisst stark geht. doch wird das vorhergehende *unliubōn* die ursache sein."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. A. Lichtenheld, *ibid.*, p. 31.

The use of the weak adjective in its predicative function seems to me, therefore, satisfactorily explained by Professor Jellinek's theory<sup>10</sup> of 'semantische Substantivierung' which I here quote in full: "Substantivierung des adjectivs ist ein rein syntaktischer begriff; es heisst nichts anderes, als dass ein wort, das formell adjectiv ist, in syntaktischen verbindungen erscheint, die dem substantiv vorbehalten sind. Aus einem adjectiv wird ein substantiv gebildet mit modificierter bedeutung. Die vom adjectiv hervorgehobene eigenschaft dient in dem abgeleiteten wort zur andeutung eines complexes von eigenschaften. *parba* ist nicht jemand, der etwas braucht, sondern der ständig in not ist, *πρωχός*."

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<sup>10</sup> M. H. Jellinek, *Anz. fda.*, XXXII, 7.

## DIE HEIMAT DER ADRESSATEN DES HELIAND

(Fortsetzung)

### B. LANDSCHAFTLICHE EIGENHEITEN

#### 1. Sand:

Schon zu Beginn dieses zweiten Kapitels haben wir auf die Ersetzung des biblischen *Felsengrabes* durch ein "Grab im Sande" als charakteristisch für eine Eigenheit der Landschaft, in welcher wir die Adressaten des Heliand zu lokalisieren haben, hingewiesen. Wir fügen hier noch andere Stellen an, wo der Dichter *im Gegensatz* zur Bibel oder doch abweichend von ihr den "Sand" einführt (wir zitieren auch hier nach Otto Behaghel "Heliand und Genesis" 2. A, Halle a/S, Max Niemeyer, 1910):

- v. 1372-3: ac it firihō barn fōtun spurnat  
gumon an greote (vom Seesalz);
- v. 1723: suluuīad an sande (die Seeperlen durch die Schweine);
- v. 5532: Thuo sia thar an griete galgon rihtun (vgl. o. Einl. zu cap. II);
- v. 5727: foldu bifelhan (den Leichnam des Gekreuzigten);
- v. 5824: thit graf an theson griote,—was um so auffallender ist, als der Dichter, als ob er sich des inneren Widerspruches garnicht bewusst würde, sich gleichzeitig eng anlehnt an die biblische Darstellung von dem *Felsengrab*, z.B. gleich danach v. 5826: "an theson stēne innan"; und vorher öfters, z.B. v. 5791-2: thena grōtan stēn, v. 5794: an themo felise, v. 5804: thie grōto stēn fan them grabe, etc.—
- v. 1818-19: ..... the im be uuatares stāde  
an sande uuili selihūs uuirkean

Da wir auf dies Gleichnisbild Christi von dem unpraktischen Hausbau später unter Nr. 6 noch näher einzugehen haben wegen des für unsere Beweisführung hochbedeutsamen "ueestrani wind" (v. 1820), so möge hier die eine Bemerkung genügen: während Jesus nur davon spricht, dass der unweise Mann sein Haus "auf Sand" baut, fügt unser Dichter die nähere Bezeichnung "be uuatares stāde" hinzu; sei es unwillkürlich, weile er eben überall dieses Meeresgestade vor sich sieht, sobald er von "Sand" redet; sei es absichtlich, weil seine Leser als Küstenbewohner die von Christus hier illustrierte Torheit noch viel klarer erkennen mussten, wenn von jenem Toren berichtet wird, dass er sein Haus dicht an das Meeresufer hinbaut, ohne an

die doch jedem Küstenbewohner nur zu wohl bekannten Gefahren zu denken. Jedenfalls setzt dieser Zusatz des Dichters bei seinem Publikum eine völlige Vertrautheit mit den Schrecken des "Hochwassers" für den Strandbewohner voraus, die in der biblischen Quelle garnicht ins Auge gefasst sind.

Zum Schluss unserer Betrachtung über den Sand-Charakter der Heimat der Adressaten mag es von Wert sein, darauf hinzuweisen, wie überraschend zahlreich die mit "Sand" gebildeten Ortsbezeichnungen in dem Gebiete sind, auf das uns der Heliand selbst als Heimat seiner Leser hinweist, nämlich das westliche Küstengebiet von Holstein und Schleswig. Wir haben dort nämlich noch heute folgende 18 Sand-Namen von Örtlichkeiten:

- 3 Inseln in der Elbe bei Hamburg: zweimal: Schweinesand (vgl. oben v. 1723: die Perlen und die Schweine im Sande), einmal Pagensand.
- 7 Inseln in der Elbmündung: Franzosen-, Knechts-, Meden-, Steil-, Haken-, Helm-, Vogel-Sand.
- 5 entlang der Küste: die nordfriesischen Inseln: Busch-, Rahel-, Südwig-, Korn-, Kiel-Sand;
- 2 an der Westküste: die Halbinsel Dieksand und Blauortsand:
- 1 weiter im Lande: "Frösleer Sandberg."

Klingt diese Fülle von achtzehn Sandnamen nicht wie eine Einladung, unsern Heliand dorthin zu versetzen als in das Gebiet, für das er bestimmt gewesen ist? In *Ostfriesland*, wohin manche Forscher den Heliand verlegen wollen, finden sich Sand-Namen höchst selten. Dort hatte sich seit Alters "Watt" für Sand eingebürgert. Im *südlichen Sachsen* wiederum finden wir ähnlich wie in Palästina: Berge, Felsen, Steine, Täler und fetten Boden. Und auch im *östlichen* Holstein fehlen die Sandnamen völlig, d. h. in dem Gebiet, das Karl der Grosse i. J. 804 an die slavischen Abotriten geschenkt hatte als eine Belohnung für ihre Hilfe bei der "Bekehrung" derselben Sachsen, zu deren Bekehrung oder Belehrung ja auch unser Heliand bestimmt war. Dieses *Ostholstein*, Wagrien genannt, war schon damals im Gegensatz zu *Westholstein* mit Wald, bekannt als "Dänischer Wohld" bis auf diesen Tag, bedeckt. Auch der Name Hamburgs selber ist ja von hamma, d.h. Wald, abzuleiten, wohin ein Karl i. J. 811 ein Kastell legte, dem sich eine Kirche anschloss.

Damit sind wir schon bei der zweiten von unserm Dichter seinen Quellen hinzugefügten landschaftlichen Eigenheit angekommen, dem deutschen, aber nicht palästinensischen *Wald*.

## 2. Wald:

Auch der dem alten Germanen ja heilige Wald wird durch unsern Dichter eingeführt, obwohl er in den Evangelien, entsprechend der damaligen Waldarmut Palästinas, fehlt. Wir finden ihn an folgenden Stellen:

- v. 602: . . . uui gengun after them bôcna herod  
 uuegas endi uualdas huulon,—  
 so erzählen die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande von ihrer Reise nach Jerusalem; "uuald" ist ein freier Zusatz des Dichters.
- v. 1121: Uuas im an them sinuuedi, d.h. Jesus befand sich in dem grossen Walde, von dem die Bibel wiederum nichts weiss:
- vgl. v. 1124: Thô forlêt he uualdes hléo, . . . . . nach der Versuchung, die gemäss der *Bibel* in der "Wüste,"—im Heliand, v. 1125, ênôdi genannt,—stattfand.
- v. 2410-11: . . . . . habda it (den Samen) thes uualdes hlea forana obarfangan. . . . . Des "Waldes Decke" überhängt den Samen, während Jesus bekanntlich nur von den "Dornen," die den Samen ersticken, spricht.

Wir sehen, dem Heliand-Dichter ist der Wald ein notwendiges Glied in der Staffage der Landschaft; doch kann man nicht sagen, dass er eine grosse Rolle im Heliand spielt. Wir gehen hier nicht auf Vilmars Behauptung<sup>9a</sup> ein, dass den alten Germanen, und so auch unserem Dichter, ein besonders inniges Naturgefühl zuzuschreiben sei, das sich im Walde als ein Erschauern vor seinen Schrecknissen offenbarte. Wir können in keiner der obigen Stellen irgendein tieferes Empfinden gegenüber dem Walde entdecken, und nähern uns der Lauffer'schen<sup>9b</sup> Anschauung, indem wir höchstens etwas wie ein Gefühl der Einsamkeit und Verlassenheit angedeutet finden. Im allgemeinen sind wir, je länger je mehr, misstrauisch geworden gegen die Verhimmelung unserer germanischen Altvordern, ihrer Treue, Religiosität, Gefühlstiefe, Naturbegeisterung u. a., durch Vilmar und seine Nachfolger, die auch den Heliand gar zu überschwänglich in dieser Beziehung gepriesen haben.

Für unsere Heimatfrage finden wir in diesen Wald-Einschiebseln nicht viel Material. Höchstens, dass sie jedenfalls

<sup>9a</sup> Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand, S. 99-105.

<sup>9b</sup> a. a. O.

für die Bewohner des *waldlosen* Holland wenig angebracht erscheinen würden, um so besser aber für die Bewohner Holsteins, deren Name "Holtsazen," d.h. "Waldsassen" schon beweist, dass ihre Heimat ein waldiges Gebiet war. Auch passt der freie und sonst unmotivierte Zusatz des Dichters von dem Wald, durch welchen die von Osten kommenden "Magier" (v. 603) ziehen mussten, auffallend zu der Tatsache, dass Reisende, die, von Osten kommend, in das von uns als Heimat der Adressaten angenommene Westholstein gelangen wollten, ebenfalls durch einen altberühmten Wald, nämlich den oben erwähnten "Dänischen Wohld" hätten ziehen müssen. Diese Ähnlichkeit der geographischen Situation würde erklären, wie gerade *westholsteinischen* Lesern durch den Wald-Zusatz des Dichters die Geschichte der Weisen aus dem Morgenlande sinnlich näher gerückt und so verständlicher gemacht wurde.

### 3. *Wurd*:

In der sehr ausführlichen Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom "Viererlei Acker" (Matth. 13, 18; Tat. c. 75) finden sich einige Verse, in denen das Wachsen des Kornes vom Samen bis zur vollen Frucht geschildert wird. Wir lesen da:

v. 2475:           sô an themu lande duod  
                  that korn mid kîdun, thar it *gikund* habad  
                  endi imu thiû *wurd* bihagod endi uederes gang. . . . .

Wir haben hier zwei eigenartige, bisher noch nicht völlig erklärte Ausdrücke:

1. *gikund* (nach Sievers und Kern) oder *gikrund* (M), *gegrund* (C), *gikrud* (Grein), *kingrund* (Cosijn), oder *kruma* (Behaghel),—wahrscheinlich mit dem ahd. *Krume*, *Ackerkrume* verwandt.
2. *wurd*, von dem H. Rückert<sup>10</sup> sagt: "ein spezifischer, noch jetzt lebendiger niederdeutscher Ausdruck: aufgeschüttetes, angeschwemmtes Erdreich, also fruchtbares Land—Marschland."

Von Marschland aber hat bekanntlich "*Ditmarschen*" seinen Namen, d.h. der fruchtbare Strich entlang der Nordseeküste Südholsteins, wo wir z.T. die Adressaten des Heliand suchen. Jedenfalls weist auch dieser Ausdruck nicht ins binnenländische oder gebirgige Südsachsen, sondern an die Meeresküste.

<sup>10</sup> In seiner Heliand-Ausgabe, S. 120 Anm.

## 4. Berg:

Man hat "unklare Anschauungen von Bergen"<sup>11</sup> im Heliand finden wollen und daraus geschlossen, dass die Heimat des Heliand in einem *berglosen* Flachlande zu suchen sei. Hier scheint mir doch "der Wunsch der Vater des Gedankens" gewesen zu sein. Denn erstens sind die Beweise für solch' "unklare Anschauungen von Bergen" im Heliand gar zu schwach. Man konnte höchstens hinweisen auf die Auslassung des Gebetes Jesu auf dem Berg (Lukas 6, 12 f; Tatian c. 70), die allerdings etwas auffallend ist, da unser Dichter aus demselben Kapitel 70 des Tatian die Predigt Jesu vom *Schiffe* aus nicht übergeht. Nun ist es sicherlich charakteristisch für den Heliand-Dichter, dass dieser "Mann von der Wasserkante" mit seinen Gedanken leichter "über den Berg" als "über das Schiff" hinweggleiten kann, d.h. dass ihn alles, was nur irgendwie mit "Schiffen" zusammenhängt, gar zu lebhaft interessiert, um es übersehen zu können, dass er dagegen für "Berge" weniger Vorliebe hat. Aber das ist auch das Äusserste, was wir behaupten können. Von dieser mangelnden Vorliebe bis zu "unklaren Anschauungen" ist doch nun aber ein weiter Schritt. Denn—und das ist unser zweites Bedenken gegen die Jostes'sche Darlegung—selbst ein Holsteiner oder Hamburger hatte genügend Gelegenheit, etwaige "unklare Anschauungen von Bergen" ganz in der Nähe zu "klären," indem an Bergen dort durchaus kein Mangel war, wenn sie auch nicht gerade Alpenhöhe erreichten. Es gibt sogar eine "Holsteinische Schweiz." Sollte übrigens unser Dichter bei der Beschreibung der Flucht der Eltern Jesu von Bethlehem nach Egypten

obar brédan berg (v. 714)

nicht an die Alpen gedacht haben, die sich als breiter Scheidewall zwischen Deutschland und Italien dem nach Süden Reisenden ähnlich in den Weg stellten, wie das Gebirge Juda den nach Süden pilgernden Eltern Jesu, und die einem so "*erfahrenen*" Mann, wie unser Dichter augenscheinlich gewesen, vielleicht garnicht so unbekannt waren? Jedenfalls brauchte er nicht gar zu weit im Sachsenlande selber herumgekommen zu sein, um seine "unklaren Begriffe von Bergen" loszuwerden. Der Harz, der Teutoburger Wald, die Wesergebirge und andere

<sup>11</sup> vgl. Jostes.

Mittelgebirgsgruppen konnten ihm dazu behilflich sein. Nur wenn wir uns den Dichter gänzlich auf das holländische Flachland oder die ostfriesische Küste beschränkt denken, wozu auch nicht der geringste Anlass vorliegt,—nur dann können wir an solchen “unklaren Anschauungen von Bergen” bei ihm festhalten.

Es wird hier am Platze sein, die Berechtigung unserer Schlussfolgerung aus den landschaftlichen Andeutungen im Heliand und ihrer Benutzung zur Lokalisierung der Leser *grundsätzlich* nachzuweisen, d.h. gegenüber dem möglichen Einwand, dass der Heliand-Dichter, wenn er von Sand und Gries, Wald und Berg, Strom und Meer redet, einfach seinen Quellen folgend, die landschaftlichen Eigenheiten *Palästinas* zu schildern sich bestrebe, und dass wir deshalb kein Recht hätten, aus diesen palästinisch-gedachten Schilderungen irgendwelche Schlüsse auf sein eigenes Heimatsbild oder das seiner Leser zu ziehen. Dem gegenüber dürfen wir doch darauf bestehen, dass der Dichter aus eigener Anschauung natürlich nicht das Geringste von Palästina und seiner Topographie wusste, dass überhaupt die geographischen Kenntnisse betreffs des Orients im damaligen Frankenreiche minimal waren;—erst mit den Kreuzzügen ändert sich das. Nun gibt aber die Bibel bekanntlich gar keine *Beschreibung* von Örtlichkeiten oder Szenerieen, sondern nur Namen. Der Dichter aber *brauchte* für sein Epos solche Beschreibungen, um den Handlungen seiner Personen einen plastischen Hintergrund zu geben. Die Farben zu diesen Bildern, die Anschauungen zu diesen Landschaftsgemälden musste er aus dem Vorrat der von ihm selbst geschauten Landschaftsbilder entnehmen. Wenn er z.B. vom Walde spricht, in den Jesus sich zurückzieht, oder von dem Ölberg sagt:

v. 4234:           Than uuas thar ên mâri berg  
                       bi theru burg ütên, the uuas brêd endi hôh,  
                       gróni endi scóni.

so dürfen wir solche Angaben selbstverständlich nicht ansehen wie verlässliche Daten in einem Handbuch der Geographie, ja, überhaupt nicht als Beschreibungen des *biblischen* Waldes oder Berges, sondern als poetische Kunstmittel, den Lesern die toten Namen lebendig, die abstrakten Begriffe: Ölberg oder Jordan



oder Galiläisches Meer, anschaulich zu machen, besonders soweit es zum Verständnis und Miterleben der Vorgänge nützlich und nötig war. Ähnlich haben wir es aufzufassen, wenn der Dichter die Gefahren der Schifffahrt auf dem galiläischen Meere schildert. Er kennt natürlich weder dies Meer, noch die Konstruktion der Schiffe, noch die Art ihrer Segel, Ruder oder Steuer, noch die Richtung und Stärke der dort gefürchteten Winde. Wenn er dennoch, wie wir nun gleich nachweisen werden, mit solcher Vorliebe und überzeugenden Sachkenntnis vom Seeleben spricht und jede Gelegenheit, die ihm seine Quellen bieten, eifrigst benutzt, aus wenig Worten des Bibeltextes ausführliche Beschreibungen über das Leben und Treiben von Fischern und Schiffen zu schaffen, so verrät er, obwohl unfreiwillig, erstens, dass sein eigenes Leben ihm reichlich Gelegenheit gegeben hat, dies Leben und Treiben an der "Wasserkante," nicht des Sees Genezareth, sondern der Nordsee, gründlich kennen zu lernen, zweitens, dass er auch bei seinen Lesern ähnliches Verständnis, auf Grund ihrer eigenen Lebens-Umstände, voraussetzen darf.

#### 5. Strom und Meer:

Wir betrachten auch hier nur Stellen, wo der Dichter entweder ganz selbstständig Zusätze zur biblischen Quelle macht oder kurze Andeutungen frei weiter entwickelt.

In der Beschreibung des jüngsten Gerichtes vergleicht Jesus dessen Schrecken mit denen der Sündflut zur Zeit Noahs. Nun gibt die Bibel als Grund der Überflutung den nicht endenden *Regen* aus den offenen Schleusen des Himmels an. Im Heliand erscheinen statt dessen aber "Meeresströme," das Menschevolk vernichtend, uns erinnernd an die so häufige Überflutung der friesischen Hallig-Inseln:

v. 4362: sô samo sô thiū flôd deda an furndagun  
the thar mid laguströmun liudi farteride bi Noeas tidium.

Auch v. 4315: grimmid the grôto sêo, uuirkid thie gebenes strôm  
egison mid is údiun erðbúandiun—

ruft verwandte Vorstellungen wach.

Ähnlich finden wir bei dem Wandeln Petri und Jesu auf dem See Genezareth:

v. 2953 ff: that thi uuatares craft an themu sêe innen thînes sídes ni  
mahte, lagustrôm giletien,

und v. 2929 ff: ik bium that barn godes,  
the iu uuið thesumu sêe scal,

. . . . .  
mundon uuið thesan meristrôm.

Beide Bezeichnungen: lagustrôm und meristrôm passen natürlich wenig auf einen Binnensee, wie es der See Tiberias war. Wir haben aber bei allen Beschreibungen von Geschehnissen an diesem See das deutliche Gefühl, als ob der Dichter aus dem Landsee aufs offene Meer hinausgetragen werde, wo er oder seine Leser sich heimischer fühlten. Man vergleiche die wenigen Worte des biblischen Berichtes mit der so breiten Ausmalung der gefahrvollen und mühseligen Fahrt der Jünger auf dem See Genzareth, um sich zu überzeugen, dass hier nicht freie Phantasie, sondern Sachkenntnis und vielleicht Erinnerung an Selbsterlebtes die Feder führt: Während Matth. 14, 24 kurz und einfach berichtet: *Navicula* (d. h. das *kleine* Schiff) in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus; erat enim contrarius ventus,—(Tat. c. 81, 1: Thaz skef in mittemo seue uuas givvuor-phozit mit then undon; uuas in uuidaruuart uuint)—verwendet der Heliand-Dichter auf die Ausmalung dieses einen Satzes 15 ganze Verse (v. 2906-20), in denen das "Schifflein" zu einem "hôh hurnidskip" sich verwandelt, das die "hluttron ûdeon," den "suiðean strôm" durchschneidet, bis die Nacht mit Nebel hereinbricht. Wir hören den Wind sich erheben, die Wellen und den "strôm an stamme" (v. 2915) rauschen; wir beobachten den harten Kampf der Schiffer gegen Sturm und Wogen, die wachsende Besorgnis und Angst der lagulîðanda (2918) u.s.w.

Bemerkt werden mag in diesem Zusammenhange auch, dass bei der Schilderung der Flucht nach Egypten der Dichter ohne ersichtlichen Grund etwas der Bibel ganz fremdartiges, obwohl geographisch richtiges, einführt mit den Worten:

v. 756: an Aegypteo land . . . an thana grôneon uang,  
an erðono beztun, thar ên aha flitid,  
Nilstrom mikil nórd te séuua  
flôdo fagorosta.

Selbstverständlich ist das nicht eigenes Wissen, sondern Buchkenntnis. Aber sollte der Dichter wirklich nur die Absicht gehabt haben, mit dieser seiner Weisheit zu prunken? Für den Verlauf der Flucht war es doch ganz gleichgiltig, ob dort der Nil floss und in welcher Richtung, ob das Land fruchtbar war

oder nicht. Sollte der Dichter nicht doch irgendeinen, für uns vorläufig noch nicht erkennbaren Grund gehabt haben zu dieser in seiner biblischen Quelle weder angegebenen noch auch nur angedeuteten geographischen Belehrung. Ob ihm dabei der Gedanke an die in ähnlicher Weise *nordwärts* sich ins Meer ergießende Elbe und das fruchtbare Dithmarschen in ihrem Mündungsgebiet irgendwie vorschwebte?

#### 6. Westwind:

Wir kommen nun zu einem für die Heimatsbestimmung hochbedeutenden, vielleicht entscheidenden Abschnitt, dessen Wichtigkeit noch immer nicht genügend erkannt zu sein scheint, dessen eigentümlicher Wert noch der vollen Ausschöpfung wartet, den wir deshalb hier eingehender betrachten und mit der biblischen Grundlage vergleichen wollen.

Wir finden ihn am Schluss der Bergpredigt, wo Jesus das bekannte Doppelgleichnis von dem klugen Manne, der seine Worte hört und befolgt, und dem törichten Manne, der seine Worte zwar hört, aber nicht befolgt, aufstellt. Unser Dichter nun schildert diesen Toren parabolisch als einen Menschen,

v. 1818:    the im be *uuatares stæde*  
               an sande uuili selihûs uuirkean,  
               thar it *uuestrani uuind* endi uuâgo strôm,  
               sêes ûdeon teslâad; ne mag im sand endi greot  
               geuuredien uuîd themu uuinde, ac uuirðit teuuorpan than,  
               tefallen an themu flôde, huand it an fastoro nis erðu getimbrod.

Diese sichtlich aus wirklicher Sachkenntnis fließende, anschauliche Schilderung ist nun nicht etwa bloss eine Ausmalung der in der biblischen Quelle enthaltenen Andeutungen, sondern zeigt ein so eigenartiges *Abweichen* von dem biblischen Bilde, dass es nur aus wohlbedachten Gründen geschehen sein kann.

Nach *Jesu* Worten (Matth. 7, 27) nämlich drohen solchem auf Sand gezimmerten Hause folgende Gefahren: zunächst vom Regen, dann von den "flumina" (ahd: *gus(u)i*; s. Tatian c. 43, 2), dann von den Winden. Ganz anders im Heliand: Da baut der törichte Mann sein Haus nicht bloss auf Sand, sondern auch, und das ist ganz freier Zusatz des Dichters, *an das Gestade des Wassers*, wo ihm Gefahren drohen, nicht vom Regen,— der wird garnicht erwähnt,— sondern zunächst vom Wind, und zwar von einer ganz besonderen Windart, dem *Westwind* (!), wovon weder in der Quelle noch in irgend einem Kommentar

das Geringste steht, sodann vom Wogenstrom, von den Wellen der See, die es zerschlagen und zerwerfén, so dass es zerfällt an der Flut.

Ist es nicht ungemein charakteristisch, wie der niederdeutsche Dichter das für Palästina mit seinen tropischen Regengüssen so treffende Bild Jesu verändert in einer solchen Weise, dass vor den Augen des aufmerksamen Lesers sich ein dicht am Meeresgestade aufgerichtetes Haus erhebt, dem Gefahr nicht von Regengüssen droht, sondern von den Meereswellen, aber nur, wenn der "Westwind," der Schrecken der nach Westen ungeschützten *westholsteinischen Küste* und der davor liegenden ostfriesischen Inseln, sich erhebt? Man denkt unwillkürlich an die verheerenden Springfluten, die entstehen, wenn dieser Westwind oder "Nordwester" mit der Hochflut bei Voll- oder Neumond zusammentrifft. Eine solche Springflut mit furchtbaren Verheerungen ist uns nun,—und das ist wiederum hochbedeutsam—aus dem Jahre 819, also nicht lange vor der Entstehung des Heliand, bezeugt. Wie zerstörend diese Springfluten wirken, weiss jeder Holsteiner. Um nur eine Statistik zu erwähnen: Es ist festgestellt, dass an dieser Westküste allein in 13ten Jahrhundert insgesamt 2750 qkm. Land durch Springfluten verloren gegangen sind, natürlich mit hunderten von Häusern und tausenden von Menschenleben.

Was aber für die Heliand-Leser an der Küste der Nordsee nur zu traurige Wirklichkeit war, das würden Leser im sicheren Binnenlande, fern von der See und ihren Gefahren, garnicht verstehen. Für sie passte das Original-Bild der Bergpredigt weit besser. Denn dort, besonders in den sächsischen Mittelgebirgen, konnte es wohl vorkommen, dass ein leichtsinnig auf Sand gebautes Haus durch die dort reichlichen, langdauernden Regenfälle so unterspült wurde, dass es auf dem aufgeweichten Boden keinen Halt mehr hatte. Vollends aber der Westwind, dessen verderbenbringende Gewalt die Bewohner der Wasserkante aus eigener Erfahrung nur zu genau kannten, hatte für die Binnenländer keine besondere Bedeutung, noch weniger den Begriff des Gefahrbringenden an sich.

So scheint mir diese markante Abweichung des Dichters von seinen Quellen hier die Annahme völlig auszuschliessen, dass seine Adressaten fern von der See im sicheren Binnenlande wohnten. Denn der Dichter hätte dann ein für diese klares

Bild in ganz unmotivierter und unbegreiflicher, ja unverzeihlicher Weise verdunkelt. Das einzige, was unsern Dichter von diesem argen Verstoss gegen die sonst von ihm meisterhaft geübte Kunst der Veranschaulichung frei sprechen kann, ist die Überzeugung, dass er nicht für "Landratten," sondern für Meeresanwohner geschrieben hat.

### C. MENSCHLICHE BERUFSARBEIT

#### 1. Seefahrer:

Schon aus dem Vorhergehenden ist ersichtlich, welche Bedeutung alles, was mit dem Seeleben zusammenhängt, für unsern Dichter hat. Nun könnte ja der Einwand erhoben werden, dass er darin nur seiner biblischen Quelle folge, in welcher der See Genezareth (auch See Tiberias oder Galiläisches Meer genannt) ebenfalls eine bedeutsame Rolle spiele, insofern als Jesus am häufigsten an seinen Gestaden weilte—, Capernaum am See Tiberias wird sogar als "seine Stadt" bezeichnet—, in dessen Uferstädten, wie er selbst sagt (Matth. 11, 20), "factae sunt plurimae virtutes eius," (Tatian 65, 1), aus dessen Anwohnern er fast alle seine Jünger erwählte. Aber dies alles zugestanden, können wir uns doch dem Eindruck nicht verschliessen, dass das Seeleben in unserem Heliand einen ganz anderen Raum einnimmt als in den Evangelien, und sodann, dass dies Seeleben, wie wir bereits beobachtet haben, eine deutliche Verschiebung vom Binnensee, als was unser Dichter selbst den See Genezareth beschreibt,—

vgl. v. 1151: thar thar habda Jordan aneban Galileo land  
 ènna sé geuarhtan—

zur Salzsee erfährt. Beide Beobachtungen zu verstärken, werden die folgenden Zusammenstellungen dienen:

Immer wieder finden wir die Jünger bezeichnet als: "sêolidandean" (v. 2909) oder "lagulidandea" (v. 2918 u. 2964), auch "uuederuüsa ueros" (v. 2239), und ihre Fahrten werden geschildert nach dem Typus von Fahrten auf der Nordsee oder im Mündungsgebiet einer der grossen deutschen Ströme. Obgleich der Dichter ganz wohl weiss, dass seine Quelle nur von "Nachen" redet und obwohl er es selbst anfangs *ebenso* bezeichnet (v. 2237: an ènna nacon innan, vgl. auch v. 2265), wird dies Schifflin doch in seiner Phantasie stets zu einem hôh hurnid-

skip (v. 2266, dicht hinter "naco," v. 2265; u. v. 2907) oder "neglitskipu" (v. 1186). Die Gefahren werden in gleichem Masse vergrössert wie die Schiffe, und der Dichter gefällt sich augenscheinlich in der breitesten Ausmalung des Kampfes der Schiffer mit Wind und Wellen;

vgl. v. 2241 ff: Thuo bigan thes uuedares craft,  
 ùst up stigan, ùdiun uuahsan;  
 suang gisuerc an gimang: thie sêu uuard an hruoru,  
 uuan uuind endi uuater; ueros sorogodun,  
 thiu meri uuard só muodag. . . .

Welch' prächtige, anschauliche Schilderung eines Seesturmes! Und zugrunde liegen bloss die schlichten Worte eines Verses des Evangelisten Matthäus (c. 8 v. 24):

"ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut *navicula* (!) operiretur fluctibus."

Sollte die obige Ausmalung wirklich freie Phantasie einer biederen Landratte sein? Und sollte der Dichter geglaubt haben, dadurch unsere Geschichte für seine Leser verständlicher zu machen, wenn diese als Bewohner des sächsischen Binnenlandes auf ihrer Klitsche sassen, ohne Ahnung vom Meere, das sie niemals selbst gesehen, und von seinen Gefahren, die für sie nicht existierten?

## 2. Fischer:

Von diesen finden wir zwar nur zwei Schilderungen, aber beide sind wiederum von einer Anschaulichkeit, die nur von solchen Leuten gewürdigt werden konnte, die etwas mehr gesehen hatten als Angeln in den Gebirgsbächen Südsachsens oder Fischen in den schmalen Flösschen Mittelsachsens. Alles deutet auch hier auf Fischerei im *grossen* Massstabe hin, mit breiten Schleppnetzen in fischreichen, weiten Gewässern.

a. Die Berufung der ersten vier Jünger gibt unserm Dichter die erste Veranlassung, eine Schilderung des Lebens und Treibens jener Fischer zu entwerfen, die sich wie eine kleine Idylle liest. Wir können es uns nicht versagen, den uns hier angehenden Teil dieser Idylle anzuführen:

v. 1150 ff:                   Geng im thô bi ênes uuatares staðe,  
 thar thar habda Iordan aneban Galileo land  
 ênna sê geuarhtan. Thar he sittean fand  
 Andreas endi Petrus bi them ahastrôme,



und Haufen von gefangenen Fischen der verschiedensten Art. Aber worauf wir hohen Wert legen, ist der Umstand, dass unser Dichter diese Parabel als *einzig*e aus drei von Jesu erzählten herausgegriffen hat, und zwar in sehr auffallender Weise. Dies Kapitel bei Matthäus (c. 13) enthält nämlich unsere Parabel nicht als einzige, auch nicht einmal als erste, sondern als letzte von dreien. Ihr geht voran das Gleichnis vom "Verborgenen Schatz im Acker" (v. 44); diesem schliesst sich (v. 45 u. 46) das von der "Kostbaren Perle" an; und diesem erst folgt das vom "Netz." Ebenso bringt das entsprechende Kapitel des Tatian (c. 77) unsere Parabel als letzte von den dreien.

Der Dichter muss also bei der poetischen Bearbeitung dieses Kapitels mit vollem Bewusstsein und entschlossener Absichtlichkeit die beiden ersten Gleichnisse als weniger geeignet,—nicht für sich selbst, wohl aber für seine Adressaten —,beiseite gelassen und gerade diese Parabel vom "Fischfang" als besonders passend für das Verständnis seiner Leser empfunden und deshalb ausgewählt haben.

Wenn wir dieses Vorgehen des Dichters beobachten und prüfen, so wird uns klar werden, dass derselbe nicht einfach in die Fülle der biblischen Geschichten, Reden und Gleichnisse hineingegriffen und ohne Überlegung das Zunächstliegende genommen hat, sondern dass er, nach sorgfältigster Erwägung der Bedürfnisse und unter genauer Berücksichtigung des Gesichtskreises seiner Leser, eine Auswahl getroffen hat, für die er sich guter Gründe bewusst war.

Wir dürfen uns daher den Verfasser des Heliand durchaus nicht, wie es so vielfach geschieht, als einen "naiven" Kompilator oder Excerpter vorstellen, sondern als einen Kenner seines Publikums mit einer guten Dosis pädagogischen Verständnisses und einem fein entwickelten Sinn für das erzieherisch wertvolle. Je mehr wir uns in diese seine pädagogische Begabung und Absicht vertiefen, desto mehr werden wir zu der Überzeugung kommen, dass es durchaus keine<sup>12</sup> "unnötige Verschwendung von Zeit und Mühe" wäre, den Gründen für seine Abänderungen und Auslassungen nachzuforschen.

<sup>12</sup> vgl. Windisch, a.a.O. S. 31 unten.



In diesem Zusammenhange mag auch die Notiz in Rimberts "Leben des Erzbischofs Anskar" (S. 75) erwähnt werden, dass dieser Hamburger Kirchenfürst selbst *Netze verfertigte*, während er Psalmen sang; zumal wir in diesem selben Erzbistum Hamburg die Heimat der Adressaten des Heliand suchen.

### 3. *Pferdeknechte:*

Nur vorübergehend erinnern wollen wir an die bekannte Tatsache, dass der Heliand die Hirten auf dem Felde zu Bethlehem als "ehuscalcos" (v. 388) und "uuiggeo gômean" (v. 389) bezeichnet, da wir darin keinen eigentlichen Hinweis auf die *engere* Heimat der Heliand-Leser finden können, obwohl wir wissen, dass der Holsteiner Pferdeschlag von jeher besondere Berühmtheit besass. Im Zusammenhange damit mag noch konstatiert werden, dass der Dichter überhaupt alle Hinweise Jesu auf "Schafe" und "Hirten," so zahlreich und hochbedeutend sie auch sind als Grundlage für die schönsten und anschaulichsten seiner Gleichnisse, konsequent mit Stillschweigen übergeht. Den Grund dafür, wie auch für die Ausmerzung der "Eselin" beim Einzuge Jesu in Jerusalem, sehen wir nicht nur in der Rücksicht auf das Verständnis seiner Leser, sondern in dem Gefühl des germanischen Epikers, dass ein Vergleich Jesu mit einem *Schafhirten*, der sozial tief unter den kriegerischen *Pferdehirten* stand, eine Herabsetzung dieses Himmelskönigs und Helden in sich schloss, deren sich unser Dichter nicht schuldig machen wollte, trotzdem er wusste, dass Jesus diesen Vergleich selbst aufgestellt hatte. Die "Eselin" als Reittier des triumphierend einziehenden "Besten der Helden" fühlte er sich aus demselben Grunde auszuschliessen verpflichtet.

### 4. *Weinbergs-Arbeiter:*

Dagegen glauben wir uns berechtigt, aus der Art, wie im Heliand die zuletzt in den Weinberg berufenen Arbeiter erwähnt werden, Schlüsse auf die Leser des Gedichtes zu ziehen. Es ist schon von anderen bemerkt worden,<sup>12a</sup> welche Gemütswärme und Weitherzigkeit sich in den Versen offenbart, mit

<sup>12a</sup> vgl. Rückert S. 164 Anm. zu v. 3505.

denen der Dichter die Erklärung Jesu betreffs dieser letzten Arbeiter, die um die elfte Stunde gedinget waren, ausdrückt. Wir geben von dieser sehr ausführlichen Paraphrase nur die markanteste Stelle hier wieder:

- v. 3501 ff.                   ni látid imu síðor is móð gituffien;  
 só égrohtful is, the thar alles geueldid: he ni uuili énigumu  
                                   irminnanne  
 faruuernien uuillean sínes: fargibid imu uualdand selbo  
 hélag himilríki; than is imu giholpen síður.  
 Alle sculun sie thar éra antfáhen, thoh sie tharod te énaru tði  
 ni kumen, that kunni manno, thoh uuili imu the craftigo drohtin,  
 gilónnon allaro liudio só huilicumu, só hér is gilóbon antfáhit  
 én himilríki gibid he allun theodun,  
 mannun te méðu.

Es ist unverkennbar, dass der Dichter mit diesem Hinweis auf Gottes allumfassende Gnade, welche auch die Spätbekehrten (scil: Sachsen u.a.) barmherzig aufnimmt und ihnen den gleichen Lohn, die gleiche Seligkeit mit den schon früher Bekehrten (scil: Franken) verleiht, seine fürs Christentum erst kürzlich gewonnenen oder noch zu gewinnenden Leser direkt ermuntern und trösten will mit dem Gedanken, dass es noch nicht zu spät und dass noch nichts verloren sei.

Dass diese unsere Annahme mehr als freie Phantasie ist, dürfte die folgende Stelle aus Ermoldi "Lobgedicht auf Kaiser Ludwig" bestätigen, welche in höchst auffallender Weise zeigt, wie dieses Gleichnis von den Arbeitern im Weinberg damals im Frankenreiche auf die späte und deshalb um so dringendere Bekehrung gerade der *Dänen*, an die wir unsern Heliand auch adressiert ansehen, gedeutet wurde. Wir lesen dort (IV, 77 ff.) nämlich eine Ermahnung an Ebo, den Pionier der von Hamburg aus betriebenen holsteinischen und dänischen Mission, die Bibel zum Dänenkönig Harold (Heriold) zu bringen und ihn zur Taufe einzuladen. Und höchst charakteristisch wird diese Ermahnung zur Mission unter den Nordmännern folgendermassen begründet:

"Ach, schon sinket der Tag und *die letzte Stunde* beruft sie.  
 Noch ist ein Anteil bewahrt ihnen im *Weinberg* des Herrn.  
 Ab nun zu schütteln gebührt sich die träge Musse, so lang noch  
 Leuchtet der Tag. . . ."

## D. ORTSBEZEICHNUNGEN:

## 1. Städtenamen mit "burg":

Schon frühe war es Heliand-Forschern aufgefallen, dass die Namen der wichtigeren biblischen Städte im Heliand, wenn auch nicht regelmässig, mit dem Zusatze "burg" versehen waren. Einige Forscher (besonders Jostes) hielten sich darauffin für berechtigt, die Heimat des Heliand in Gebieten zu suchen, wo solche "burg"-Namen geschichtlich nachweisbar sind; von der richtigen Ansicht ausgehend, dass der Verfasser des Heliand durch diese ihm und seinen Lesern bekannten "burg"-Namen dazu veranlasst worden sei, den jüdischen fremdartigen Namen dadurch einen heimischeren Klang zu verleihen, dass ihnen diese deutsche Bezeichnung beigefügt wurde. Andere Forscher bestritten die Richtigkeit dieser Schlussfolgerung sowie die Berechtigung, darauf eine Lokalisierung der Heliand-Heimat aufzubauen, zumal ja der Heliand auch zu Flussnamen die Silbe "strôm," zu Ländernamen die Silbe "land" hinzufüge, ohne uns dadurch das Recht zu geben, diese Zusammensetzungen zur Bestimmung der Heliand-Heimat zu benutzen. Noch andere bestritten die Resultate derjenigen Forscher, welche auf Grund der "burg"-Namen den Heliand in die Nähe der nordsächsischen "burg"-Städte, Magdeburg, Hamburg, etc., verlegen wollten, und fanden andere Gebiete mit "burg"-Namen als mindestens eben so bemerkenswert.

Um unsere eigene Anschauung zu begründen, geben wir:

- a. eine Liste der wichtigsten "burg"-Namen im Heliand;
- b. einen Überblick über die "burg"-Namen des Mittelalters und zwar bis z. J. 1000 bzw. 1500, auf dem ganzen für den Heliand in Frage kommenden Gebiete Europas;
- c. einen Überblick über die "burg"-Namen im jetzigen Deutschland, Holland und Dänemark.

a. Im Heliand finden sich die folgenden wichtigsten Stadtnamen mit "burg:"

Bethlemaburg v. 404, neben: Bethlehem v. 359;

Hierichoburg v. 3547 neben: Hiericho v. 3625 u. 3635;

Nazarethburg v. 257, 782, 3717, 4848 u. 5819, ferner:

Nazarethburk v. 5552;

Rûmuburg v. 57, 63 neben: "Rûmu" v. 3809;

Sidono burg v. 2983;

Sodomoburg v. 1952.

Wir bemerken also, dass von den Stadtnamen nur Nazarethburg *niemals* ohne den Zusatz "burg" erscheint, ausserdem "Sidono burg" in zwei Worte zerlegt ist und "Sodomoburg" nur einmal mit "burg," keinmal ohne "burg" erscheint. Schon dies beweist, dass die Silbe "burg" nicht als ein unzertrenlicher Bestandteil des Namens angesehen werden darf. Dies wird bestätigt durch eine Anzahl von Fällen, wo der Ort nur prädiaktiv als eine "Burg" oder wo die "Burg" als ein Teil des Ortes bezeichnet wird:

- v. 358 f: (Ioseph) . . . sóhta im thi uuanamon hém,  
thea burg an Bethlehem;  
v. 401: an thera Davides burg;  
v. 2089 f: te Capharnaum, . . te theru máreon burg.  
v. 2176 f: te burg theru hóhon, . . te Naim (obgleich Naim im Tal am Fusse des Tabor liegt).

Auch war nach dem Heliand Palästina damals mit "Burgen" übersät, was folgende Stellen zeigen:

- v. 349 f: Uuerod samnoda te allaro burgeo gihuuem,—gemäß dem Schätzungsgebot des römischen Kaisers.  
v. 1202 f: Thó uuarđ it allun them liudiun cōđ  
fon allaro burgo gihuuem.  
v. 1930 f: al só iu ueegos lēdiad,  
brēd strāta te burg,—nämlich die Jünger auf ihren Missionsreisen;  
v. 3034 f: Sōhte imu burg ódre,  
thiu só thicco uuas mid theru thiodu Iudeono,  
mid súdarliudiun giseten,—Diese Stelle ist übrigens höchst merkwürdig wegen der rätselhaften Bezeichnung der Juden als "Südleute."  
v. 4367 f: that thea hóhon burgi  
umbi Sodomo land.

Ausserdem unterscheidet der Heliand klar zwischen eigentlichen Burgen im *engeren* Sinne, hochragenden Schlössern gleichend, und, wie es scheint, nur für eine Sippe bestimmt, und Burgen im *weiteren* Sinne, die der Dichter als volkreiche Städte mit Befestigungen darstellt, wie z.B. Jerusalem (vgl. auch v. 3034-6, s. o.):

- v. 824: Maria klagt, dass sie ihren Sohn suchen sollte:  
undar thesun burgliudiun.

In der Erzählung vom Einzuge Jesu in Jerusalem (v. 3671-3733) finden wir folgende Ausdrücke:

- v. 3672: te Hierusalem,  
v. 3679: te theru márean burg,

- v. 3685: thene burges uual,  
 v. 3686: hōha hornseli endi ðk that hūs godes,  
 v. 3699: these *uutki* (!) auuðstiad, uuallos hōha,  
 v. 3707: an thea berhton burg,  
 v. 3712 f: thiū burg uuard an hrōru,  
           that folc uuard an forhtun,  
 v. 3727: thesun burgliudiun.

Alles in allem gewinnen wir den Eindruck, dass der Dichter mit "burg" einen befestigten Ort bezeichnen will. Dabei handelt es sich natürlich, wie wir schon früher bei all' seinen geographischen Angaben gesehen haben, nicht um irgend welche eigene Kenntniss der Verhältnisse in *Palästina*. Er weiss nicht, ob Nazareth, das er stets "burg" nennt, befestigt war, noch hat er in der Bibel irgend einen Anhalt für die Annahme vieler "Burgen" in Sôdomôland. Er setzt vielmehr, gemäss seinen Beobachtungen im eigenen Vaterlande, voraus, dass alle wichtigeren Orte mit Befestigungen versehen sind, und gibt ihnen deshalb den "burg"-Titel, natürlich, um bei seinen Lesern dieselbe Vorstellung eines befestigten Platzes zu erwecken.

Dies aber hätte er nicht tun können, wenn seinen Lesern diese Bedeutung einer "Burg" nicht aus ihrem eigenen Heimats-, oder doch einem Nachbar-Bezirk bekannt und vertraut gewesen wäre. So dürfen wir allerdings mit Bestimmtheit behaupten, dass seine Leser nicht zu suchen sind in einer Gegend, wo es weder Burgen noch Städte mit "burg"-Namen gab. Denn sonst hätte sein Anfügen von "burg" zu biblischen Ortsnamen den Zweck der Verdeutlichung und Veranschaulichung völlig verfehlt. Und wir haben in der Tat die Berechtigung, Karten des Mittelalters daraufhin zu prüfen, wo sich in der damaligen Zeit mit "burg" zusammengesetzte Ortsnamen finden, zu dem Zwecke, herauszufinden, welche Gebiete für die Heimatsbestimmung überhaupt in Frage kommen können. Dies führt uns zu Teil b:

b. Aus den Karten *Europas im Mittelalter* ergibt sich das folgende:

I. In den für die Heliand-Heimat in betracht kommenden Gebieten des *Frankenreiches* finden wir auf den ältesten Karten:

1. im *eigentlichen Sachsen*:

in Westfalia: nur 2, nämlich Sigiburg und Dersaburg,  
 —doch beides nicht Burgen im Sinn von befestigten,

volkreichen Städten,—aber zahlreiche Namen mit folgenden Anfügungen: feld, ford, old, brügge, husin.

in Engern: nur 3, nämlich: Eresburg, Skidrabung und Osterpurg; sonst Namen mit brun, stelli, berg, steti, ford, dihi, oder mit a, z.B. Ferdia, Brema, Schatzla;

Ostfalen hat dagegen 6, nämlich: Magathburg, (oder Magadaburg), Arnaburch (diese Schreibung spricht für die erweichte Aussprache des g, die mit der Alliteration des g und h (ch) im Heliand in bemerkenswerter Weise übereinstimmt), Unnesburg, Quidilingburg; weiter im Süden, wo namhafte Forscher die Heimat des Heliand annehmen: Merseburg im Hasigawe und Altenburg.

Transalbingia aber zeigt: Hammaburg, später Linniburg und Rendesborg; im 14. Jahrhundert: Flensburg, Schauenburg, Lauenburg, Ratzeburg, und noch diesseits der Unterelbe: Harburg, Lünaburg, Rotenburg und Osterburg.

2. in *eigentlichen Franken*:

Rheinland nur 1: Gau Diuspurg bzw. Stadt Diusburg.

Ostfranken bietet eine grosse Zahl [6] schon in ältester Zeit:

Isenburg (nahe Confluentia), Hamelenburg, Würzburg, Wizuniburg, Strazburg, Buriaburg und 3 spätere: Amanaburg, Rotenburg, Lintburc (diese Schreibweise deutet an, dass hier g nicht erweicht war wie an der Elbe!!);

3. in *Thüringen*: kein einziger Name mit Burg!

4. in *Bayern*: nördlich der Donau ebenfalls kein einziger in frühester Zeit, nur einer (Nabeburg) später: dagegen südlich der Donau 6: Eberesburg, Nurenburg, Weltenburg, Salzburg. Ameispurch, Reganisburc (oder purg), die aber für uns nicht von Bedeutung sind, da sie in einem Gebiete liegen, in dem jetzt kein Forscher mehr die Heimat des Heliand sucht.

5. im *nordwestlichsten Deutschland*,—jetzt zu Holland gehörig—findet sich,—und das fällt schwer ins

Gewicht gegen die Annahme dieses Gebietes als Heimat des Heliand—nur ein "burg"-Name, der aber schon bald nach 800 wieder verschwunden scheint, nämlich Wittaburg;

6. im Gebiet des heutigen *Oldenburg* finden wir 6 "burg"-Namen.

II. Von Gebieten ausserhalb des damaligen Frankenreiches finden wir "burg"-Namen—und das ist von hoher Bedeutung,—fast nur in Gegenden, die

1. von Nordmännern, besonders Dänen, bewohnt oder erobert bzw. besiedelt waren, z.B. in Dänemark selbst, mit dem Wechsel des burg zu borg: Aalborg; in Schweden: Helsingborg; in Norwegen: Tönsburg (seit 1400 verschwunden); auf Island: Ortschaft Borg (vor 1197); besonders aber auf angelsächsischem Gebiete, nämlich in East Engle: Suthburh und Cantwaraburh, (i. J. 800 ca.), auf den ältesten Karten (v. J. 700 etwa) geschrieben: Cantwaraburig, wohl ein Hinweis auf seinen ost- oder nordelbischen Ursprung (vgl. Arnaburch sowie auch Sigeberch, letzteres im "Limes Saxonicus" zwischen Lübeck und Lauenburg).

2. Auch auf den unserm angenommenen Heimatgebiete anliegenden *slavischen Gebieten* bürgern sich sehr bald "burg"-Namen ein. So finden wir unter 6 Orten in der "Bilungischen Mark," dem jetzigen Mecklenburg, 3 mit "burg" zusammengesetzte, nämlich Aldinburg (jetzt Oldenburg) in Wagria, Racesburg und Mikilinburg, schon ausserhalb noch: Brendanburch (wieder das erweichte End-"g" im östlichen Deutschland!) und Smeldingconnoburg nahe Ludwigslust. Weiter östlich finden wir dann keine "burg"-Orte mehr, sondern nur die slavischen Endungen: itz, in, av, oder auch beck,—ein Zeichen, dass die "burg"-Namen nicht einheimisches Gewächs dort waren, sondern durch die deutschen Kolonisten, naturgemäss vor allem durch die angrenzenden Sachsen, eingeführt waren; vgl. später auch Marienburg.

III. Zusammenfassend können wir das folgende feststellen:

1. Nur in Ost- und Nordalbingen sowie in Südost-England finden wir die Neigung zum erweichten *g* (*ig, ch, h*) in den "burg"-Namen, entsprechend der wahrscheinlichen Aussprache des *g* im Heliand, während die Silbe im Bayrischen: *burc* oder *purc*, im Dänischen: *borg*, Altschwedischen: *börgh*—geschrieben ist. Dagegen findet sich Altfriesisch: *burch* und *burich*, Angelsächsisch: *burh, burig, bury*.
2. Lauffer's Behauptung,<sup>13</sup> dass der Name "Stadt" erst im Mittelhochdeutschen auftrete, muss doch auf Grund dieser ältesten Karten zum mindesten eingeschränkt werden, da wir schon vor dem Jahre 1000: *Stade, Bukstadin, Saliganstadt* und besonders *Halberstadt* in Ostfalen haben. Und wenn Lauffer mit Recht sagt, dass "nicht jede Burg eine Stadt" war, so fügt sich das in unsere Untersuchung bekräftigend ein, insofern als wir auch im Heliand die zwei verschiedenen Bedeutungen von "burg" (s. oben: "burg-Namen im Heliand") erkannt haben. Wir mögen aber hinzufügen, dass damals an der gefährdeten Ostgrenze des deutschen Reiches fast jede Stadt eine "Burg," d.h. ein befestigter, mit Mauern umgebener Platz war.
3. Die Behauptung von Collitz, dass die "burg"-Namen *viel jünger* seien als der Heliand, ist kaum haltbar angesichts der historischen Tatsache, die durch die alten Karten noch bestätigt wird, dass schon unter und von Karl dem Grossen *Magadaburg* (schon i. J. 805, als Handelsstadt nachweisbar!) und *Hammaburg* gegründet wurden, ganz zu schweigen von *Strazburg, Weissenburg, Regensburg* u. a. älteren "burg"-Städten. So ist auch dieser Einwand gegen die Benutzung der "burg"-Namen zur Lokalisierung des Heliand oder seiner Leser hinfällig.
4. Von den für die Heliand-Heimat vorgeschlagenen Gebieten kommen, auf Grund der Karten, die folgenden Bezirke als "burg"-los für uns *nicht* in Betracht: die Bistümer: *Paderborn, Verden, Minden, Bremen, Münster i/ W, Osnabrück*, d.h. also, ausser Bremen,

<sup>13</sup> a. a. O.



lauter Bezirke, die zugleich *fern von der See* liegen (s.o. unter "See" und "Fischerei") und dem Erzbistum *Cöln* unterstanden, während alle Manuskripte unseres Heliand auf das Erzbistum MAINZ hinweisen (s. näheres im Kapitel III), ein sicherlich bemerkenswertes Zusammentreffen.

5. Wir leugnen nicht, dass dieses ganze Kartenmaterial für sich allein keinen zwingenden wissenschaftlichen Beweis für unsere Lokalisierung liefern kann, dass spätere Namen dabei früher angesetzt sein mögen, als sie wirklich gebraucht wurden, dass manche wirklich vorhandenen Namen auf den Karten nicht verzeichnet sein mögen.

Andererseits aber ist doch ein zweifaches unverkennbar: Erstens, dass die Neigung, Stadtnamen mit der Endsilbe "burg" zu bilden, entschieden an der ganzen *Ostgrenze* des damaligen deutschen Reiches überwog. Und das war ja nur zu natürlich. Bedurften doch diese Städte, welche zugleich Handelszentren mit den benachbarten slavischen bzw. dänischen Gebieten (bei Magdeburg wurden bereits unter Karl dem Grossen zwei mächtige, befestigte Brücken über die dort schon sehr breite und noch reissende Elbe geschlagen!) und Schutzposten gegen etwaige feindliche Invasionen waren, besonders starker Befestigungen, weit mehr als die gesicherten Städte im Innern des Reiches. Zweitens lehrt ein Studium der damaligen Karten, dass "burg"-Namen vor allem in Gebieten der Nordmänner, besonders in Dänemark und Südost-England, schon in ältesten Zeiten sehr häufig waren und sich dort bis in die neueste Zeit erhalten haben. So können wir als ausreichend begründet die Behauptung aufrecht erhalten, dass die "burg"-Namen des Heliand nicht ins Innere des Frankenreiches, sondern an seine *östliche Grenze*, ja überwiegend nach dem äussersten Nordosten (Holstein) und sogar nach Dänemark hinweisen als Gebieten, für deren Christianisierung der Heliand bestimmt war.

- c. Betreffs der *Städte mit "burg"-Namen auf NEUZEITLICHEN Karten* können wir uns kurz fassen. Wir ersehen aus diesen,

dass auch heute noch kein einziger "burg"-Name zu finden ist in den Gebieten von Osnabrück, Paderborn (doch viele mit berg und born), Verden (doch viele mit hagen, hausen, holz, bergen, dorf, bostel, sen und en), Hildesheim (vorherrschend: rode), Fulda und Hersfeld. Im Münsterbezirk finden wir nur das einzige: Tecklenburg; entlang der Weser nur zwei, nämlich: Nienburg und Drakenburg (dagegen viele auf bergen, berg und heim); am Harz schon drei: Harzburg, Ilzburg und Stapelburg (sonst dort vorherrschend rode, feld, stedt, thal, berg, ried und stein). Nebenbei bemerkt, sind diese Kompositionssilben ausserordentlich bezeichnend für den waldigen und bergigen Charakter der Landschaft; auch werden wir hierdurch daran erinnert, dass die landschaftliche Staffage des Heliand durchaus nicht auf ein bergiges Gebiet hinweist, im Gegensatz zu Mitteldeutschland, wo die *berg*-Namen ungewöhnlich häufig sind.

Vergleichen wir nun mit den obengenannten "burg"-losen und "burg"-armen Landesteilen einmal *das untere Elbgebiet* von Wittenberg abwärts mit seinen 11 "burg"-Namen, *das Hamburger Gebiet* mit 13 (!) "burg"-Namen (dicht gesät), dagegen fast keinem "berg"-Namen, *das kleine Holstein* mit 5 "burg"-Namen, wovon drei allein in Dithmarschen, sodann die Gebiete der Nordmänner, bes. *Dänemark*, mit den schier unzähligen "borg"-Namen, so erkennen wir, dass die Neigung zur Bildung von Städtenamen mit "burg" auf dem von uns in Anspruch genommenen Heliand-Gebiete in geradezu auffallender Weise überwiegt und sich dort durch mehr als 1000 Jahre zäh erhalten hat. Wir haben dabei nicht verschwiegen, dass ausser in diesem nordöstlichsten Teile des Frankenreiches "burg"-Namen sich auch noch ziemlich zahlreich finden in Oldenburg (insgesamt 6) und besonders in Südostfalen (Hessegau, Friesenfeld), von denen das erste Gebiet auch dem Meere nahe liegt und deshalb für den Heliand in Frage kommen könnte, das zweite sehr warme Befürworter gefunden hat, für uns jedoch ausscheiden muss wegen seines bergigen Charakters, seiner unbedeutenden Gewässer, besonders aber seiner binnenländischen Lage, fern von jeder Beziehung zum Meere.

## 2. Die Bedeutung von "holm"

Fast dasselbe Resultat gewinnen wir, gänzlich unabhängig von der bisherigen Untersuchung,—und das ist ein höchst beachtenswertes Zusammentreffen,—durch ein Studium der

Karten inbezug auf einen charakteristischen Ausdruck im Heliand, der ebenfalls ein frei erfundener Zusatz des Dichters ist: nämlich "holm."

Wir finden diesen Ausdruck an folgenden Stellen:

- v. 1395 ff: than mēr the thiū *burg* ni mag, thiū an berge stād,  
hō HOLMKLIBU (oder: hoh an HOLMKLIBE) biholen uuerden uurislc  
giuuerc,—  
Dies ist eine Wiedergabe der Worte Jesu: Non potest civitas  
(im Heliand mit: "burg" wiedergegeben,—s.o.,—das also auch  
hier eine richtige Stadt, nicht bloss ein einzelnes Kastell bezeich-  
net) abscondi supra *montem*, oder ahd: (Tatian c. 25, 1): "Ni  
mag burg uerdan giborgan ubar *berg* gisezzitu."—
- v. 2682 ff: (über den Versuch der Nazarener, Jesum von einem Felsen hinab-  
zustürzen):  
stēg uppen thene STĒNHOLM, . . . . .  
thar sie ine fan themu uualle nīder uerpen hugdun.
- v. 4843 ff: (die Krieger, die Jesum im Garten Gethsemane, am *Fusse* (!) des  
Ölbergs gefangen nehmen wollen, antworten auf seine Frage: "Wen  
suchet Ihr?"):  
quādun that im hēleand thar an themi *holme* uppan geuuisid uuāri.  
Die Bibel (Joh. 18, 5) und Tatian (c. 184, 1) haben nur die  
Worte:—"Ihesum Nazarenum" bzw. "then heilant Nazarenis-  
gon."

Wir haben nun zu untersuchen, was "holm" bedeutet.

*Rückert* und *Behagel* geben in ihren Glossaren beide die  
Übersetzung: Hügel (holmkliif—ragender Fels), ags. und  
eng: holm, altn: holmo, lat: columnen, culmen, mit den  
zwei Bedeutungen: 1.—Aus dem Wasser ragende Lander-  
höhung, Insel (vgl. Voss), auch Halbinsel, Werder; 2.—In  
den nordischen Seestädten: Schiffsbauplatz, Schiffswerft  
(nach der Lage). Ebenso *Sanders* und *Heyne*.

*Grimm* verzeichnet die Bedeutung: "Hügel" und nennt  
es ein aus dem nnd. in die Schriftsprache gekommenes  
Wort.

*Kluge* dagegen gibt "holm" als: "kleine Insel im Fluss oder  
See" wieder und behauptet, es sei erst neuhochdeutsch,  
führt es zurück auf ags: Meer, See, altn: holmo—"kleine  
Insel in einer Bucht oder im Fluss," vergleicht es mit  
englisch: hill, lateinisch: collis und culmen, russisch:  
cholmû (Hügel), gemeinslavisch: chûlmû.

*Webster* bezeichnet "holm" als ags., low G., Dan., Sw;  
lateinisch: holmus und hulmus, slavisch: cholm (Hügel)

und gibt zwei Bedeutungen: 1—an islet or river isle; 2—a low, flat tract of rich land on the banks of a river.

*Thieme* (Englisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch) gibt "holm" wieder durch: Werder, kleine Insel, Flussinsel, niederer Landstrich an der Seeküste, Anhöhe, Hügel.

*Murray* erklärt es als: islet in bay, creek, lake, river, near the mainland, meadow on the shore; corresponding to O. S., Dan., G: holm, hill.

*Century Dictionary* sagt: O. S.: a hill; O. G; L. G; island in a river; G: hill, island in a river, wharf; Icel: islet in a bay or river, meadow; Sw: small island; Dan: islet, dockyard; Lat: columen, culmen; Slav: khlum, hum, etc.

*H. Gehring* (Edda Wörterbuch) erwähnt: holmo (norw. und altdän.); holm (alts. und ags.); holmus (Farör Inseln); holmber (altschw.); und gibt die zwei Bedeutungen: 1—Insel; 2—Kampfplatz, meist auf Insel.—Altfriesisch soll es: "Insel" oder "Hügel" bedeuten.

*Waldeck'sches Wörterbuch* (Bauer-Collitz 1902) führt an im: Teil I: Heutiger nnd. Wortschatz: hole 1.—Federbusch der Vögel; 2.—der höchste Gipfel eines Berges.

Teil II: Wörter aus Urkunden: hövel und hübel—Hügel.

Wenn wir diese verschiedenartigen Erklärungen<sup>14</sup> vergleichend betrachten, so drängt sich uns die Wahrnehmung auf, dass

<sup>14</sup>Für eine erschöpfende Beantwortung der holm-Frage dürften noch die folgenden Erklärungen von holm in zuverlässigen Spezialwörterbüchern von Wert sein:

1. *Lexicon Poëticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis* von Egilsson (1860).

Holmr m: insula; locus certaminis, duelli;

hauks holmr: terra accipitris, MONS (!)

2. *Angelsächsisches Wörterbuch*.

v. j. 1898: holm oldsaxon: mound, hill, rising ground.

v. j. 1916: holm: wave, sea, ocean, water;—

in place-names and poetry: island in river or creek.

holmcliff: seacliff, rocky shore.

3. *English Dictionary*:

holm: ags. deposit of soil at the confluence of rivers.

Dutch: mound, sandbank, river island.

Norse: small island.

4. *Fr. L. K. Weigand, Deutsches Wörterbuch*, V. A. 1909 I, 834:

engl: Insel, Werder, Klippe, HÜGEL (!)

schwed: holme } kleine Insel

dän: holm }

Gleichen Sinnes wie ndl. hille, hil; ags. hyll; engl. hill "Hügel."

in dem Wort "holm" zwei verschiedene Strömungen zusammen-treffen, eine vom Süden her, aus dem romanischen (collis, culmen) bzw. vom Südosten, aus dem slavischen (chlumu, etc.) mit der Bedeutung "Hügel," und eine vom Norden her, besonders Skandinavien, mit der Bedeutung "Insel," "Werder," "Seestrand."

Obwohl diese beiden Bedeutungen sich auf den ersten Blick gegenseitig auszuschliessen scheinen, so ist doch wohl ein Zusammenstimmen denkbar. Vom Meere aus gesehen ist ja eine Insel oder ein Strand ganz gewiss ebenso eine "Erhöhung," wie es ein "Hügel" im Flachlande ist. Beide sind für das Auge des Herannahenden etwas "Aufragendes."

Bei flüchtiger Betrachtung hat es ferner zwar den Anschein, als ob der Heliand den Ausdruck "holm" in den drei oben (S. 481) zitierten Stellen durchaus *nicht* im *nordischen* Sinne von Insel (Werder, Seestrand) gebraucht, *sondern* im *südlichen* (romanischen) Sinne von Hügel. Und man könnte daraus folgern, dass der Heliand nicht für nördliche, dänische Leser bestimmt gewesen zu sein braucht. Eine genauere Untersuchung lässt jedoch an der Berechtigung dieser Schlussfolgerung zweifeln.

Auf älteren Karten (v. J. 950-1648) finden wir "holm"-Namen nämlich nur in folgenden Ländern:

Dänemark: nur Bornholm (i. J. 1000: Hulmus, auch Burgund-(i)aholm).(auch in Wheaton)

5. *Dan. Sanders, Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 8. A. 1912.

holm. . . . . 2) Erderhöhung, Hügel, namentlich eine kleine, übers Wasser ragende Insel oder Halbinsel (vgl. Werder).

6. *Veith, Wörterbuch für die Deutschen aller Länder*, Hamburg, 1913.

holm (nnd) kleiner Hügel, bes. im Wasser, also auch kleine Insel.

*Postort in HOLSTEIN (!), Ortschaft in der LÜNEBURGER Heide.* (Man beachte, dass beide Orte in unserem Heliandgebiet liegen!).

Es ist wohl kaum zu bezweifeln, dass holm ursprünglich nichts mit Wasser, Meer, Fluss zu tun hat, sondern *irgend eine* "Erhöhung" bezeichnet, dass dieser Grundbegriff sich dann spaltet und naturgemäss bei den seefahrenden Völkern an der Wasserkante, bes. den Nordländern (ags, an, dän, ndl.) als Erhöhung im oder am Wasser (d. h. Insel, Halbinsel, Werder, Werft, bzw. auch ags. "die hohe See," Meereswege), bei den Landbewohnern aber (Russisch: cholmu Hügel, aus gemeinslav. chulmu, lat. collis, culmen, griech. kolonos, lit. kalnas auch engl. hill) als Erhöhung im Flachlande erscheint.

Island hat bald nach d. J. 861 schon den Namen Gardar-s'holm nach dem Entdecker.

Schweden i. J. 1400 ca. hat:

Stockholm:

Borgholm auf Insel Öland, an  
W'Küste;

Lagaholm in Gau Halandia, also nur in Verbindung  
Südwest-Schweden (Helian- mit dem Meer (ausser  
dis auch, verschwindet nach etwa Lindholm) u. nahe  
1650); Dänemark (ausser Stock-

Lindholm an Südspitze;

i. J. 1648:

Kexholm in Finnland, an  
der Spitze einer Insel;

Culm erscheint zuerst i. J. 1400 i. Westpreussen (auch Culmerland)

Culmbach erscheint zuerst i. J. 1675.

Wir geben nun eine zahlenmässige Zusammenstellung sämtlicher "holm"-Namen der *Gegenwart* an. Wir finden "holm"-Namen in folgenden Ländern:

a. *englischer Zunge* (14x) und zwar stets, ausser 1x in Australien, in Verbindung mit Wasser; nämlich:

3x in Australien, worunter Holmes Cliffe (vgl. Heliand v. 1396) im Korallen-Meer;

2x in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.

6x in England selbst (wozu viele "Holmes");

0x in Irland;

0x in Schottland, dagegen

3x auf Schottland's Orkney Inseln, worunter das Inselchen "Green Holm."

b. *in Skandinavien* (5x), und zwar stets, ausser 1x in Dänemark, in Verbindung mit Wasser, nämlich:

1x in Norwegen;

1x in Schweden;

3x in Dänemark, wo Holmstrup, ganz wie im Heliand, ohne Wasser.

c. *in Holstein*, und zwar ganz genau im Sinne des Heliand, und ohne jeden Zusatz:

"Holm," auffallender Weise nördlich von Hamburg, unfern der Elbe, auf einem Höhenzuge.

d. 1x in *Bayern*: "Rauhe Holm."

e. 1x in *Niederösterreich*: "Holm-Berg," beide Male *im Sinne des Heliand*, d.h. ohne Beziehung zu Wasser, jedoch zur Bezeichnung eines *hohen* Berges, während der Heliand darunter nur eine unbedeutende Erhöhung versteht.

Eine genaue Untersuchung aller uns erreichbaren geographischen Namen mit "holm" ergibt mithin das folgende Resultat:

1. Namen mit holm (holme u.ä.) finden sich, im Mittelalter und heute, nur in England, Norwegen, Schweden, Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein, nirgends aber im übrigen Deutschland (ausser in Bayern!), weder im Gebiet des alten Westfalens, Engerns, noch Ostfalens, noch auch auf holländischem oder westfriesischem Gebiete, sicher in *keinem einzigen aller von Heliandforschern sonst vorgeschlagenen Heimatsgebiete, ausser in Nordalbingien!*

Wie sollte aber der Dichter dazu kommen, in Abänderung seiner Quellen einen Begriff einzuführen bzw. einen geographischen Ausdruck zu gebrauchen, welcher seinen Lesern nirgends sonst in der Nomenklatur ihrer Heimat oder in der Topographie ihres Bezirkes entgegentrat? Das hiesse, klare Bilder und Anschauungen absichtlich *verdunkeln* und widerspräche der allgemein anerkannten Bemühung und Fähigkeit unsers Dichters, Dunkelheiten seiner Quelle für sein Publikum *aufzuhellen*.

2. Wir lassen die Frage unentschieden, ob "holm" als ein "cognate" von Culm (Kolm) im Bayrischen (bzw. Westpreussischen) oder sogar von Chulm (Chlum) im Slavischen anzusehen ist, da sie für unsere Untersuchung nicht von Bedeutung ist. Doch ist es sehr auffallend und wichtig und eröffnet den Weg zu tiefer eindringenden Untersuchungen, dass der Heliand-"holm" *nicht*, wie man erwarten sollte, im Sinne des *nordischen* oder angelsächsischen "holm,"—doch vgl. Dänemark und Australien je 1x,—d.h. als Bezeichnung einer "Insel" oder auch nur in irgendeiner Beziehung zu "Wasser" (See oder Fluss) gebraucht wird, sondern mehr *im Sinne des süddeutschen Kulm* (vgl. besonders v. 2682: stêg uppen thene stênholm), dem wir besonders zwischen Donau und dem fränkisch-bayrisch-böhmischen Mittelgebirge sowie in Thüringen begegnen, d.h. einem Gebiete, das dem alten

Haseggau und Friesenfeld recht nahe kommt, *ohne es jedoch zu erreichen.*

Nehmen wir dazu noch, dass die einzigen mit "holm" zusammengesetzten *Bergnamen* sich zur Jetztzeit, soweit wir sehen können, nirgends in ganz Europa finden ausser auf altbayrischem Gebiet—und zwar "Holm-Berg" nordöstlich von Linz in Oberösterreich, nahe der südöstlichen böhmischen Grenze und "Rauhe Holm," 1019 m. hoch, im Bayrischen Wald, oberhalb eines Nebenflusses des Regen—, so ist nicht zu leugnen, dass für unsere "Heimatfrage" das südlichste Ostfalen, wo wir ja auch zahlreiche Ortsnamen mit "burg" fanden, ein starker Rivale des an "holm," jedoch in anderm Sinne, so reichen Holsteins ist. (vgl. auch Rückert, S. 72, Anm. zu v. 1396).<sup>15</sup> Gründe, weshalb wir dennoch Südostfalen als Heimatsbezirk ausscheiden müssen, haben wir bereits am Schlusse des "burg"-Abschnittes zusammengestellt; andere Gründe gegen Südostfalen werden sich im folgenden Kapitel bei der *Untersuchung der Handschriften* ergeben.

### III

#### WOHIN DEUTEN DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN DES HELIAND?

##### *Vorbemerkungen*

In diesem Kapitel sollen nur die für das Heimatsproblem bedeutsamen Folgerungen aus den Resultaten der bisherigen Forschungen über die Handschriften gezogen werden, um zu zeigen, dass diese Resultate mit unserer unabhängig davon gewonnenen Lokalisierung der Adressaten grösstenteils vereinbar sind und dieselben sogar vielfach bekräftigen. Zu einer vollständigen Lösung des Heliandproblems bedarf es, ausser dem immer tiefer eindringenden Studium des Gedichtes selber, der sorgfältigsten Durchforschung aller vier Handschriften und ihrer Geschichte.

Wie weit die Germanistik, trotz der zahlreichen und eingehenden Untersuchungen von Sachkennern, noch immer von der Lösung auch nur des Heimatsproblems entfernt ist, und wie unerlässlich daher immer erneute Forschungen in dieser

<sup>15</sup> Übersehen darf hier auch nicht werden, dass, wie in Anm. 14 gezeigt ist, "holm" im Altsächsischen und Altholländischen genau das bedeuten kann, als was es im Heliand erscheint, nämlich: mound, *hill!*



Richtung sind, besonders auf dem literarhistorischen Gebiete, zeigt die folgende *Übersicht* über die Resultate der bisherigen Versuche, die Handschriften zu lokalisieren. Wir müssen dabei von England bis nach Jütland wandern. Es haben sich nämlich gefunden Befürworter von den folgenden Gebieten bzw. Plätzen:

*England:*

- Ad. Holtzmann (*Germania* I 470); gegen ihn E. Sievers.  
 M. Trautmann ("Der H' eine Übersetzung aus dem Altenglischen," *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistic*, 1905, XVII 123; "Zum Versbau des H,' 1907).  
 Gegen ihn G. Grau (*Studien z. Engl. Philol.* XXXI 200-219) der die Heimat ins Niederrheinfränkische verlegt.  
 Auch Fr. Kläeber (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXII, 250).

*Holland* (zum Erzbistum Cöln gehörig):

- Jellinghaus (*Jahrb. d. V. für nnd. Sprachforschung*, 1889, XV, 61ff.). M und C holländisch; C übertragen ins ndfr.—Unwestfäl. Wortschatz. Begriff von "Berg" unklar. Grenzdialekt. (Utrecht.)

*Werden a/Ruhr* (zu Cöln gehörig):

- A. Conradi ("Der jetzige Stand der H' Forschung," 1909; und Diss., Münster 1904): doch mit dem Zusatz, dass die *Adressaten* in *Nordalbingien* zu suchen sind und nicht in Westfalen; gegen H. Collitz (vgl. Schluss dieser Übersicht). Teilweise Bestätigung unserer Lokalisierung.  
 W. Braune (*Btge. z. Gesch. d. d. Spr. u. Lit.* I 11)..  
 Paul Herrmann (Vorwort zu seiner Übersetzung, S. 4; Leipzig, Reclam 1895) bt. C.  
 R. Kögel (*Gesch. d. d. Lit.* I 283 u. Erg. heft S. 22, Strassburg 1895).

*Münster* (zu Cöln gehörig):

- J. H. Köne (Nachwort z. s. H' Übersetzung, S. 562, Münster 1855).  
 C. W. M. Grein (Anhang z. s. H' Übersetzung, S. 171, Cassel, 2 A. 1869, und *Germania* XI 209).  
 V. Mohler (*Französische Übersetzung*, Paris 1898): "sous les auspices de l'évêque de Münster, en 814."  
 E. Sievers (Einl. z. s. H' Ausgabe, Halle 1878; und *Z. f. d. A.* XIX 39 ff): M rein niederdeutsch."

M. Heyne (Anhang z. s. H' Ausgabe, 3. A., Paderborn 1883, vgl. auch Z. f. d. Ph. I 288).

Das Münsterland hat also besonders zahlreiche und starke Befürworter, nämlich 3 Übersetzer und 2 Herausgeber des ganzen Gedichtes.

Auch Karl Goedecke (Grundriss z. Gesch. d. d. Dichtung, Dresden 1884) sagt (Bd. I 21): "Münster oder sonstwo in Sachsen."

Hier endet das zum Erzbistum *Cöln* gehörige Gebiet; die nun folgenden Plätze und Landschaften standen unter *Mainz*:

*Paderborn*:

H. Middendorf ("Über die Zeit der Abfassung des H,'" Zs. f. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Westfalens, Bd. XXII). Er behauptet, dass Ludwig der Fromme "ohne Zweifel" auf dem Reichstag zu Paderborn im J. 815 den Auftrag zum H' gegeben habe.

F. Holthausen ("Der Wortschatz des H', Z. f. d. Ph. XLI, 303 ff): C entstanden im östlichsten Westfalen; gegen Jostes (s. Nordostsachsen).

Edwin Schroeder ("Zu Gen. u. H'" Z. f. d. A. XLIV). vgl. auch F. Wrede unter: Merseburg.

*Corvey*:

F. Kauffmann (Germania XXXVII 368; Z. f. d. Ph. XXXII 519): nicht Werden a/Ruhr, wegen "mik." früher für *Paderborn*, vgl. Beitr. XII 358.

Auch F. Holthausen nennt Corvey (Z. f. d. Ph. XXII 519).

*Mansfeld*:

H. Grössler, i. J. 1900.

*Merseburg* (Hessegau Friesenfeld):

F. Wrede ("Die Heimat der as. Bibeldichtung," Z. f. d. A. 1899; "Zur Heimat des Heliand," Z. f. d. A. 1900, Bd. XLIII 333 ff. u. XLIV 320): wegen der "frisionismen" u. der "Pferdezucht."—Scharf gegen die Annahme einer Kunstsprache. M geschrieben nicht in Hildesheim, vielleicht in Paderborn.

Gertr. Geffken ("Der Wortschatz des H' u. s. Bedeutung für die Heimatsfrage," Diss., Marburg 1912): Nord-Thüringen. Eher Bremen u. Ostfriesland als Westfalen.

*Halberstadt-Magdeburg*

R. Heinrichs ("Der H' und Haimo von Halberstadt," Cleve 1916).

NORDOSTSACHSEN (wo auch wir die Adressaten des H' suchen):

F. Jostes ("Die Heimat des H'" Z. f. d. A. XL 129-32 u. 160-84; "Der Dichter des H'" Z. f. d. A. XL 341) Jostes bringt eine grosse Zahl schwerwiegender Gründe für Nordalbingien vor, denen auch wir uns vielfach anschliessen.

Ähnlich auch Th. Siebs (Z. f. d. Ph. XXIX 413); gegen ihn F. Wrede. Vgl. ferner Gertr. Geffken (s. o. unter Merseburg) u. A. Conradi (s. unter Werden).

E. Damköhler ("Die Präposition 'von' in der Münchener Heliand-Handschrift," 1904). Er weist "fon" einem Abschreiber aus der Gegend von Magdeburg oder Halberstadt zu.

Neuerdings verlegt F. Jostes (Forschungen u. Funde, Bd. III Heft 4, Münster i/W) die *Heimat des Dichters nach Frankreich (!), ins Küstengebiet bei Bayeux (Havre)*. Ein gemischter *Kunstdialekt* (friesisch-niederfränkisch-altsächsisch) wird als Lösung des Sprachproblems der Handschriften vorgeschlagen, auf Grund eingehender philologischer Untersuchungen, von H. Collitz ("Publ. of the Mod. L. Assn. of A." XVI 123; vgl. auch Einleitung, S. 68-77, 91-105, zu: Bauers Waldeckisches Wörterbuch nebst Dialektproben, Norden u. Leipzig 1902). *Gegen* ihn: J. Franck ("Consta im H'," Z.f.d.A. XLVI 329) und F. Wrede (s. unter Merseburg).

#### PRÜFUNG DER 4 HANDSCHRIFTEN

##### *Vorbemerkungen*

Zunächst ist bemerkenswert, dass die Vergleichung der vier vorhandenen Handschriften durch die Germanisten das Resultat ergeben hat, dass *alle vier nicht* Kopieen vom *Original*, sondern von Mittelgliedern sind. Das Original ist bis heute nicht gefunden worden. Die beiden ziemlich vollständigen Handschriften: Cottonianus (C) und Monacensis (M), deuten auf eine gemeinsame Quelle hin. Ausser ihnen haben wir die beiden sehr kurzen Fragmente: das Vaticanische (V) und das Prager (P.) Wir wenden uns nun zu ihrer Betrachtung im Einzelnen, und zwar entsprechend ihrer Vollständigkeit, in der Reihenfolge C, M, V, P. (H' bedeutet Heliand, Hs. Handschrift.)

1. Handschrift C (*Cottonianus*) in London

Wir beginnen mit dieser Hs. als der vollständigsten von allen. Sie enthält 5968 Verse. Es fehlt bloss der Schluss, wahrscheinlich nur wenige Zeilen. Nach dem Urteil der Philologen ist C jünger als M, vielleicht erst dem 10. Jahrhundert angehörend, und geht auf die gleiche Quelle, wie M zurück, aber auch *nicht* auf das *Original*. In London gefunden und stets in England geblieben, zeigt sie, was ja nur natürlich ist, angelsächsische Indizien. Sie ist nicht nur die vollständigste, sondern auch die am meisten künstlerische Hs., würdig für den Gebrauch eines Königs, wozu sie ja auch der Titel durch die Worte "in usum Canuti Regis" bestimmt sein lässt. Dieser Titel nun, den man vielfach als bedeutungs- und wertlos angesehen hat, entspricht völlig der Bestimmung, die wir dem H' zugewiesen haben, nämlich eine Missionsschrift für den Nordosten, einschliesslich Dänemarks, zu sein.

Denn er lautet: "Excerpta et Evangelica Historia *Dano-Saxonice*, scripta in usum Canuti Regis, adhuc imbuendi primis Religionis Christianae elementis stylo Caedmoniano. . . ." Gar nicht treffender konnte die Bestimmung des H' bezeichnet werden als mit diesen Worten. Wie viel mehr dem Tatbestand entsprechend ist die Bezeichnung "Evangelica Historia" als die so unbestimmte, dehnbare und missleitende in der Praefatio! Denn von einem "recitare divinas leges" (vgl. Versus v. 25) ist doch wahrhaftig im H' nicht die Rede und *konnte* es nicht sein in einem *Epos*. Wie kürzt gerade der H' die Darstellung der "leges," der Mahn- und Streitreden Jesu, besonders der mystischen Johanneischen, völlig im Einklang mit dem Charakter eines epischen Werkes, ganz im Gegensatz zu Otfrid, bei dem das ewige "moraliter" nur zu oft den Fortschritt der Handlung aufhält. Nicht "leges," sondern *Taten* und Ereignisse will der H' schildern. Auch Teil II der eigentlichen Praefatio, wie wir im cap. I gezeigt haben, redet ganz ähnlich und ebenso falsch von den "Sacrae legis praecepta," die der Dichter bearbeiten sollte, während der immerhin glaubwürdigere Teil I den Zweck des H' mehr im Einklang mit dem Titel des C charakterisiert.

Wie genau aber stimmt die Bezeichnung des Empfängers als eines "adhuc imbuendi primis Religionis Christianae elementis" zu unserer ganz unabhängig davon gefundenen An-

schauung, dass der H' für eine in den Elementen der christlichen Religion noch nicht gefestigte Bevölkerung bestimmt war und *nicht*, wie bisher irrtümlich angenommen, für ein schon 50-100 Jahre unter wohl organisierter, christlich-kirchlicher Beeinflussung lebendes Volk, wie es die Sachsen in Westfalen, Engern oder Südostfalen damals bereits waren. Und die Schlussworte des Titels der Hs. C: "stylo Caedmoniaco," geben wiederum eine durchaus zutreffende, der Wirklichkeit entsprechende Charakterisierung der *poetischen Form* des H'. Haben wir somit allen Grund, die bisher betrachteten Angaben des Titels als durchaus wahrheitsgemäss anzuerkennen, so sollte auch der Zusatz "in usum Canuti Regis" nicht ganz als unglaubwürdig beiseite geschoben werden, zumal angesichts der künstlerischen, eines Königs würdigen Ausführung unserer Hs. C, die sich dadurch von allen anderen Hss. unterscheidet. Endlich aber erscheint auch die Bezeichnung des Katalogus, in welchem diese Hs. des H' zum ersten Male (i. J. 1698, also 31 Jahre vor M) erwähnt wird: "Catalogus veterum librorum septentrionalium" wie ein beachtenswerter Hinweis auf die Heimat der Adressaten als "in nördlicher Richtung, von London aus, liegend." Dies trifft wiederum nicht auf Holland, Ostfalen, besonders Südostfalen, zu, sondern auf Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark.

Und die vielfach als irrtümlich angesehene Bezeichnung "Dano-Saxonice" (vgl. auch die Worte "in lingua Danica" (!) auf S. 2 der Hs. C) muss nun als neuer Beweis für unsere Behauptung dienen, dass der ursprüngliche H' für ein sächsisch-dänisches Publikum bestimmt gewesen ist. Hierin können uns auch gegenteilige Behauptungen von germanistischen Philologen nicht irre machen, solange diese sich in ihren sprachlichen Befunden so völlig selbst widersprechen.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Handschrift M (*Monacensis*) in München

Der *Monacensis*, der einem um 1700 verbreiteten Gerücht zufolge in Würzburg sein sollte, wurde i. J. 1794 in Bamberg, das ebenso wie Würzburg zum Erzbistum Mainz gehörte, gefunden und i. J. 1804 nach München in die Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek überführt. Er stammt aus dem 9. Jahrhundert, ist älter und wohl auch korrekter als der vollständigere Cottoni-

<sup>1</sup> s.o. "Vorbemerkungen."

anus, obwohl 1/6 der Blätter (z.B. Blatt 1, v 1-84, Blatt 6, und hinter Blatt 75) ausgeschnitten sind und die Kapitelbezeichnung des Originals, die sich in C findet, fehlt. Er stammt aus derselben Quelle wie C, die schon eine Reihe von Fehlern aufweist und daher auch nicht das Original gewesen sein kann. Verschiedene Hände haben an M gearbeitet. Die Punktierung ist wertlos, Versabteilung fehlt. Die Schreibweise zeigt altfränkische Formen, besonders in der Konjugation, sich mehrend gegen das Ende hin. Auch angelsächsische Formen treten auf.

Für die Heimatfrage bietet die Hs. M weniger Material als irgend eine der anderen. Doch weist sie deutlich auf nicht-Cölnisches Gebiet hin. Später werden wir noch darauf zu sprechen kommen, dass die fränkische Färbung sich leicht erklärt aus der fränkischen Schulung des Abschreibers und vielleicht aus seiner Absicht, die sächsische Schreibweise dem Verständnis seiner fränkischen Auftraggeber (Bischof oder Abt oder auch des fränkischen Kaiserhofes) näher zu bringen.

Während Sievers in seiner Einleitung<sup>2</sup> den Dialekt der Hs. M als "rein niederdeutsch" bezeichnet, erklärt z. B. M. Heyne,<sup>3</sup> dass er "entschieden nach Münster weist" und Behagel<sup>4</sup> findet darin "Spuren hochdeutscher Lautgebung;" ein neuer Beweis, dass die Ansichten der Philologen über diese Frage bisher einander zu widersprechend sind, als dass sie eine sichere Grundlage für die Lösung der Heimatfrage geben könnten.

### 3. *Fragment V (Vaticanus) in Rom*

Diese Hs. wurde zuletzt von allen, erst i. J. 1894, in der Bibliotheca Palatina von K. Zangemeister gefunden und von ihm in dem "Neuen Heidelberger Jahrbuch" publiziert. Sie enthält nur 80 Verse (v. 1279 bis 1358), den Anfang der Bergpredigt. Eine zweite Ausgabe wurde von ihm in Gemeinschaft mit W. Braune veranstaltet, zusammen mit dem hochbedeutsamen Fragment der angelsächsischen Genesis, auf welches manche Forscher die von uns in cap. I besprochene Praefatio beziehen. Behagel<sup>5</sup> erklärt, dass "keine näheren Beziehungen

<sup>2</sup> S. XII; vgl. auch Zfd.A, Bd. 19, S. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> vgl. Z.f.d. Ph., Bd. I, S. 286 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Einl. zu seiner H'-Ausgabe, v. J. 1910 S. XVI.

<sup>5</sup> In der Einl. z. s. H'-Ausgabe, 1910, S. XV.

von V zu C, M oder P" nachzuweisen seien, gegen Schlüter, der<sup>6</sup> behauptet, dass V und C auf eine gemeinsame Grundlage zurückgehen, welche Behauptung eine Bestätigung unserer Schlussfolgerung sein würde, dass P und V auf einander nahe liegende Herkunftsorte, nämlich P auf Hamburg und V auf Magdeburg, hindeuten. Nach allgemeiner Annahme ist V sicher auf Mainzer Gebiet, das vom Sachsenlande Engern und Ostfalen mit einschloss, entstanden. Bei der Eifersucht zwischen Mainz und Cöln (näheres siehe später) ist es aber höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass ein zum Erzbistum Cöln gehöriges Kloster eine so wertvolle Hs. wie es V in seiner Vollständigkeit gewesen sein muss, freigegeben hätte, ohne wenigstens sich selber eine Abschrift zu sichern. Nun hat sich aber keine der vier vorhandenen Hss. auf dem Gebiet der Erzdiocese Cöln gefunden, auch das Original nicht. Der Cölner Sprengel umfasste damals: Holland, Belgien und Westfalen (Osnabrück, Münster, Minden, Werden a/R).

Da die auf Mainzer Gebiet schon im 9. Jahrhundert entstandene Hs. V nicht das Original ist, so muss der Schreiber von V das Original oder genauer, da die Philologen auch V nicht als eine Abschrift vom Original ansehen,<sup>7</sup> eine sehr frühe Abschrift des Originals gehabt und benutzt haben. Diese primäre Abschrift muss daher auch im Besitze eines damals zum Mainzer, und nicht zum Cölner Bezirk gehörigen kirchlichen Instituts gewesen sein.

Somit ist die Annahme, dass der H' für den Cölner Sprengel bestimmt gewesen sei, höchst unwahrscheinlich. Deshalb fallen also die holländischen Plätze: Utrecht, Zuetphen und Deventer, wie auch die westfälischen: Osnabrück, Münster, Minden, Werden a/Ruhr, die sämtlich zum Erzbistum Cöln gehörten, als Heimat der Adressaten, ausser Betracht. Dies steht im Einklange mit unseren früheren Ausführungen, welche darin gipfelten, dass aus rein topographischen Gründen diese selben Gegenden nicht in Frage kommen.

Aber auch gegen die "Friesischen Lande," im jetzigen Nordwest-Hannover und Oldenburg, obwohl sie eine auf die See angewiesene Bevölkerung haben,—und für eine solche war,

<sup>6</sup> Im Jahrbuch des V. f. Niederdeutsche Spr. F., Bd. 20, S. 117.

<sup>7</sup> s. u. a. Behaghel, a.a.O. S. XIVff.

wie wir gesehen haben, der H' sicher bestimmt,—spricht die Tatsache, dass auch sie zum Erzbistum Cöln gehörten.

Erwähnt mag hier noch werden, dass der zweite Erzbischof von Hamburg durch Kaiser Ludwig zum Erzbischof v. *Mainz*, Liudbert, zwecks Einsegnung geschickt wurde,<sup>8</sup> wodurch der *dauernde* Anschluss des Hamburger Missionsgebietes an Mainz und damit zugleich die absolute Trennung von Cöln bewiesen ist.

Einen positiven Beweis für unsere Anschauung, dass V nicht mit Cöln, wohl aber mit Mainz zu tun hatte, dürfen wir dem mit dem Vatikanischen Fragmente verbundenen *Kalender* (aus dem 9. Jahrhundert) entnehmen, auf den Jostes<sup>9</sup> aufmerksam macht. Wir finden dort nämlich die Festtage St. Albani zu *Mainz* weitaus am grössten geschrieben. Dies erklärt sich nur durch die Annahme, dass die Hs. in Mainz entstanden ist, wohin die für Nordostsachsen bestimmten Priester zur Ausbildung geschickt wurden. Ferner aber sind vierzig Feste in diesem Kalender mit "M" bezeichnet, das an zwei Stellen zu: "Magat" bzw. "Magadaburg" erweitert ist. Daraus ergibt sich erstens, dass damals schon in Magdaburg ein Kloster oder Stift mit eigener Festordnung bestand. Zweitens aber lässt sich daraus schliessen, dass ein Magdeburger Mönch irgendwie seine Hand im Spiele gehabt haben muss bei der Abfassung dieser Hs., deren Urschrift wir also im Magdeburger Gebiet suchen dürfen.

#### 4. *Fragment P (Prag)*

Als vierte Hs. haben wir das kurze Prager Fragment, wohl dem neunten Jahrhundert angehörend. Es enthält nur die Verse 958b bis 1005—die "Taufe Christi" und den Anfang von "Zeugnis des Johannes," also nicht ein ganz abgeschlossenes Stück wie V. Seine Vorlage kann weder M noch C gewesen sein, noch kann es selbst diesen als Vorlage gedient haben. Wie und woher ist es nach Prag gekommen, wo es erst i. J. 1880 von H. Lambel gefunden wurde?<sup>10</sup> Schon ein Blick auf die Karte lehrt, dass als Herkunfts-Gebiete eines in

<sup>8</sup> s. Rimberts Leben Anskars, S. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Z.f.d.A Bd. 40, 129-32.

<sup>10</sup> Publiziert von Lambel in Wiener Sitzungsberichten, Bd. 97, 2tes Heft, S. 613-24, und von Piper in den Niederd. Jahrbüchern, Bd. 22.



Prag ans Tageslicht gekommenen Manuskriptes Westfalen und Engern, oder gar Holland und Friesland, wenig wahrscheinlich sind, weil von diesen Landesteilen schon damals der Handelsverkehr in der Richtung nach Mainz bzw. nach Cöln ging und nicht nach Prag. Man beachte nur auf der Karte die Linie: Utrecht-Cöln; oder die beiden andern naturgemässen Etappenreihen in der Richtung auf Mainz hin: von Mittelsachsen: über Hildesheim, Corvey, Paderborn, Fritzlar, Hersfeld und Fulda; oder von Ostfalen: über Halberstadt Quedlinburg bzw. Merseburg, Erfurt und Würzburg;—um zu erkennen, dass keiner dieser für die H'-Heimat angesetzten Orte nach Prag gravitierte.

Diesem negativen Befunde gegen Holland bzw. Westfalen, stehen aber zwei wichtige, positive Wahrscheinlichkeitsgründe für Nordostsachsen zur Seite. Wir finden sie in Verbindung mit der Lebensbeschreibung des ersten Erzbischofs von Hamburg, Anskar (geb. 801, gest. 865), verfasst von dem zweiten Erzbischof von Hamburg, Rimbert, aus welcher wir deshalb die für unsere Untersuchung wichtigen Punkte herausheben:

Wir lesen dort, dass Anskar, nachdem er der erste Vorsteher der Petri-Schule zu Neu-Corvey a. d. Weser (gegründet 822,— unter Mithilfe der Kaiserin Judith), gewesen war, durch Kaiser Ludwig in Gemeinschaft mit dem Papst für die Mission in Nordalbingien und Dänemark abgeordnet wurde. Und zwar bezeichnet ihn die Überschrift der Lebensbeschreibung als: "Erster Erzbischof von Nordalbingien und Legat des heiligen apostolischen Stuhles im Lande der Schweden und Dänen, wie auch unter den Slaven und den übrigen noch im Heidentum lebenden Völkern in den nordischen Landen."<sup>11</sup>

Nachdem von der Aussendung Anskars in Begleitung des Dänenherzogs Heriold (Harald) nach Dänemark i. J. 826 und seiner anderthalbjährigen Wirksamkeit in Schweden (829-31) berichtet ist, kommt der Verfasser Rimbert auf die kirchliche Verteilung Nordalbingiens zwischen den Bistümern Bremen und Verden a/Aller durch Ludwig zu sprechen, welche Verteilung aber infolge der Erweiterung des Missionszieles auf das Land der Dänen und Schweden als unpraktisch bald wieder beseitigt wird. Statt dessen gründet Ludwig für den entlegensten Teil

<sup>11</sup> vgl. Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit, Nr. 25-30, Leben Anskars S. 3.

von Sachsen jenseits der Elbe in der "Stadt Hammaburg"—also bestand dort schon eine "Stadt"—ein neues Erzbistum, dem "die ganze Kirche der Nordalbingen untertan sein sollte" (S. 26). Die Weihe Anskars zum Erzbischof fand "durch den Erzbischof von Mainz unter Mitwirkung derer von Rheims (Ebo, welchem vom Papst früher dasselbe Sendamt übertragen worden war), und Trier (Cöln wird ganz übergangen!), und im Beisein der Bischöfe von Verden und Bremen statt, Weihnachten 831. Dies Jahr 831 ist höchst bemerkenswert, weil sich ihm die Forscher mehr und mehr einhellig nähern als der wahrscheinlichsten Geburtszeit des H'. Später, i. J. 850—und das ist von Bedeutung für uns—opponiert der neue Erzbischof von Cöln scharf gegen die Vereinigung von Bremen, das zu seinem Sprengel gehörte, mit Hamburg; sein Einspruch ward jedoch durch ein Konzil zu Worms i. J. 857 und durch den Papst i. J. 858 endgiltig abgelehnt.<sup>12</sup>

Nun finden wir in dem "Leben Anskars"<sup>13</sup> als einziges Werk Anskars erwähnt die "Pigmenta" (Würze oder Räuchwerk), ein Erbauungsbuch, das er nach langem Bitten einem Vertrauten diktierte, mit der Bedingung, dass "die Handschrift, solange er lebte, keinem bekannt werden sollte; nach seinem Tode aber sollte sie jeder nach seinem Belieben lesen dürfen." Diese "Pigmenta" wurden also in Hamburg verwahrt und nicht vor seinem Tode, i. J. 865, bekannt gegeben.

Die von uns mitgeteilten Punkte aus dem "Leben Anskars" sind von Wichtigkeit nicht bloss für das Verständnis der Entstehung des Erzbistums Hamburg, für dessen Missionsgebiet wir den H' verfasst denken, sondern auch für die Eifersucht Cölns auf die neue Stiftung, welch' letztere der Erzbischof von Cöln als einen Eingriff in seinen Machtbereich betrachtete, eine Eifersucht, die sicher nicht zugelassen hätte, dass ein für den Cölner Bezirk bestimmtes Werk, wie es der H' nach der Ansicht mancher Forscher ist, noch dazu ein Werk von solch hervorragender Bedeutung, völlig aus dem Bezirk verschwand und in den eines Rivalen übergang.

Ferner ist die ganze Biographie Anskars ein unschätzbares Dokument für die Richtung, in welcher sich das Missionsinteresse Ludwigs des Frommen und seiner Nachfolger, ja der gan-

<sup>12</sup> a. a. O. S. 47 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Auf S. 75, c. 35.

zen damaligen deutschen Christenheit mit dem Papst an der Spitze, vornehmlich, oder sogar ausschliesslich, bewegte, nämlich nach *Nordosten*.

Aber auch auf die besondere Frage nach dem Woher? der Prager Hs. wirft die Notiz über die "Pigmenta" ein überraschendes Licht, wenn wir bedenken, dass die einzig bekannt gewordene Hs. dieses, wie wir gehört haben, in Hamburg nach dem Jahre 831 und vor 865—d.h. nahezu gleichzeitig mit unserem Prager Fragment des H'—geschriebenen Werkes in demselben Prag aufgefunden worden ist, wo unser H' Manuskript "P" i.J. 1881 entdeckt wurde, und zwar etwa 1850.<sup>14</sup>

Dieses Zusammentreffen ist sicherlich auffallend und zeigt jedenfalls, dass eine bemerkenswerte Verbindung Prags gerade mit Hamburg bestanden haben muss, was ja auch erklärlich wird durch einen Blick auf die Karte und durch die Erwägung, eine wie grosse Bedeutung, besonders in primitiven Zeiten, ein Flusssystem—hier das der Elbe und Moldau—für den Verkehr und Handel hat.

Unsere Annahme, dass P nicht nach *Nordwest*-Deutschland, sondern nach dem äussersten *Nordosten* deutet, wird verstärkt durch die Tatsache, dass, wie der Einband dieser Handschrift sehr nahelegt, dieselbe früher in Rostock, also an der Ostsee, schon auf slavischem Gebiete, aber ganz nahe dem Nordalbinger Gebiet, gewesen ist.<sup>15</sup>

Nach Wrede<sup>16</sup> steht P aber auch dem Original am nächsten, noch näher als C. Dies würde die Bedeutung von P noch erhöhen und die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass das Original im äussersten *Nordosten* entstanden oder doch dafür bestimmt war und dahin gebracht wurde, noch verstärken.

Erinnern mögen wir auch an die Tatsache, dass Prag durch den *Sachsenkaiser Otto II* i.J. 976 zum Bistum erhoben wurde, dass sein erster Bischof ein *Sachse* war und dass es, was unsere Annahme wiederum unterstützt, dem Erzbistum *Mainz*, zu dessen Missionsgebiet ja auch Hamburg und der ganze *Nordosten* gehörte, unterstellt wurde.

<sup>14</sup> s. Lappenberg, Einl. zum Leben Anskars, S. X.

<sup>15</sup> vgl. Wrede in Z.f.d.A. 43, v.J. 1899, S. 355, der trotzdem den Verfasser des H' ins Friesenfeld bzw. in den südlichen Hasegau versetzt und ihn im Dienste der Hersfelder Mission schreiben lässt.

<sup>16</sup> a. a. O. S. 332 ff.

Denkt man angesichts des sehr defekten und kurzen Prager Fragments nun noch an die furchtbare *Brandschatzung Hamburgs* durch die normannischen Seeräuber i. J. 840, von welcher uns dieselbe Lebensbeschreibung Anskars<sup>17</sup> berichtet, bei der auch "eine gar schön geschriebene Bibel, welche der erlauchteste Kaiser (Ludwig der Fromme) unserm Vater (Anskar) verehrt hatte, *nebst mehreren anderen Büchern* (d. h. doch Manuskripten) vom Feuer verzehrt wurde,"—so möchte man fast versucht sein, unser Prager Fragment als ehrwürdiges Überbleibsel dieser Hamburger Kloster-Bibliothek v. J. 840, gerettet "wie ein Brand aus dem Feuer," zu betrachten, um so mehr, als P weder mit M noch mit C eine gemeinsame Vorlage hatte, d.h. ohne die Vermittelung von M oder C oder deren gemeinsamer Urquelle entstanden ist, mithin auf *direktem* Wege, wenn auch nicht ohne ein Mittelglied, von dem Original.

Fassen wir nunmehr das Ergebnis der Betrachtung der vier Handschriften des H' in Kürze zusammen, so ergibt sich das folgende Resultat: C weist unzweideutig nach dem sächsisch-dänischen Missionsgebiet, das der damaligen deutschen Christenheit vor allem am Herzen lag. P weist, wenn irgendwohin, nach dem äussersten Nordosten, nach dem Erzbistum Hamburg insbesondere, von dem aus dieses Missionsgebiet kirchlich versorgt wurde. V weist nach Mainz, von wo aus wiederum dieses Erzbistum Hamburg gegründet und unterstützt ward, und nach Magdeburg, dem bedeutendsten Vorort deutscher Kultur in der Nähe Hamburgs an der Elbe. Endlich M nach Würzburg und Bamberg, die beide wichtige Bistümer unter Mainz waren. Kurz: an der Hand der vier Hss. werden wir deutlich auf die Linie: Mainz – Würzburg – Bamberg – Magdeburg – Hamburg – Holstein – Dänemark gewiesen, aber keineswegs nach: Cöln – Westfalen – Friesland – Holland.

Ein positiver, zwingender Beweis kann freilich nicht geführt werden, solange einerseits das *Original* des Heliands und seine Sprachform nicht bekannt ist, und solange kein gleichzeitiges Literatur-Denkmal in der Holsteinischen Mundart oder in der *dänischen* Sprache des 9ten Jahrhunderts zum Vergleiche vorliegt.

<sup>17</sup> S. 30-31.

## IV

*Zusammenfassung und Abschluss*

Entsprechend unserer in der Einleitung begründeten Absicht haben wir bei dieser ganzen Untersuchung philologische Argumente für die Lokalisierung des H' nur aushilfsweise herangezogen. Wir sind jetzt dem Ziele unserer Untersuchung nahe genug gekommen, um ihre bisherigen Resultate, zurückblickend, zusammenfassen zu können:

*In Kapitel I* haben wir nachzuweisen versucht, dass die Praefatio für die Bestimmung der Heimat des H' bzw. seiner Adressaten gänzlich ausser Betracht fällt.

*In Kapitel II* haben wir mittels eingehender Prüfung des H' selbst, insbesondere: A) der dort erwähnten Naturprodukte B) des in ihm vorausgesetzten landschaftlichen Hintergrundes für die biblischen Geschehnisse, C) der von ihm geschilderten Berufsarbeiten, D) der darin vorwiegenden Ortsbezeichnungen sowie anderer einschlägiger Eigenheiten unseres Werkes darzulegen unternommen, dass die Lokalisierung der Adressaten in dem *äussersten Nordosten* des damaligen Frankenreiches, genauer in Ostholstein, einschliesslich sowohl Nordalbingiens als auch vielleicht Dänemarks, die von uns gefundenen sowie die von Anderen bemerkten eigenartigen Zusätze bzw. Änderungen im H' am ehesten befriedigend erklärt.

*In Kapitel III* hat die Geschichte der vom H' vorhandenen Hss. unsere Blicke in dieselbe Gegend gelenkt, nämlich von Mainz über Magdeburg nach Hamburg und auf das nordische Missionsgebiet.

Nun ist aber noch ein Gesichtspunkt vorhanden, von dem aus eine gewichtige Bekräftigung für unsere Lokalisierung der Heimat der H'-Adressaten gewonnen werden kann, ein Gesichtspunkt, der bisher, soviel wir sehen können, noch von keinem H'-Forscher genügend ins Auge gefasst worden ist. Wir bringen ihn als Abschluss unserer Untersuchung in der Hoffnung, dass seine überzeugende Kraft der Lösung des verblüffenden Heimat—Problems zugute kommen wird.

Es handelt sich um die Frage, ob der H' als ein pastorales Werk zur Stärkung schon längst bekehrter und kirchlich versorgter Christen oder aber als ein missionarisches Werk zur

Gewinnung von Heiden bzw. Festigung noch schwankender Neubekehrten inmitten heidnischer Umgebung anzusehen ist. Bekanntlich ist diese selbe Frage auch für die Datierung und Erklärung einer Reihe neutestamentlicher Episteln von durchschlagender Bedeutung.

Es ist allgemein anerkannt, dass der Dichter des H' in vielen Punkten sehr frei mit seinen Quellen umgeht. Die H'-Forscher, von Windisch an, haben viel Zeit und Mühe darauf verwendet, die grosse Zahl der kühnen Änderungen, der freien Zusätze sowohl als der erheblichen Auslassungen, zusammenzustellen und ihre Gründe aufzudecken.

Nun ist es doch wohl unbestreitbar, dass diese Freiheit des Verfassers, besonders angesichts der traditionellen Gebundenheit der damaligen Zeit an das inspirierte "Wort Gottes," unbegreiflich, ja unentschuldig wäre für eine Schrift zur Stärkung längst bekehrter Christen, die durch Predigt, Liturgie und Seelsorge bereits zu wohl vertraut waren mit dem Wortlaute der biblischen Geschichten, um nicht durch solche Änderungen und Auslassungen irre gemacht zu werden. Anders läge die Sache bei einer *Missionsschrift*, d.h. einer für erst kürzlich Bekehrte oder für noch zu bekehrende Heiden bestimmten Schrift. Hier durfte sich der Dichter viel grössere Freiheit erlauben als z.B. Otfrid sie üben durfte. Es hätte wenig Sinn gehabt, den Sachsen in den schon seit fünfzig bis hundert Jahren missionierten Gebieten, welche das Lebensbild Christi in dem homiletischen und liturgischen, d.h. jüdisch-römischen Gewande bereits willig und völlig angenommen hatten, nun dasselbe Lebensbild in einem ganz andersartigen, nämlich germanisch-epischen Kleide darzubieten, in der Absicht, es ihnen in dieser Verkleidung sympathischer und annehmbarer zu machen.

Daraus ergibt sich, dass der H' *nicht* für Bezirke mit einer bereits völlig christianisierten Bevölkerung bestimmt gewesen sein konnte, sondern als ein Hilfsmittel für die Missionierung unter einem noch wenig oder garnicht christianisierten Volk dienen sollte. Dann hat auch die episch-germanische Einkleidung, die sonst, wie uns glaubwürdig bezeugt ist, dem frommen Ludwig durchaus unsympathisch war,—im Gegensatz zu seinem Vater,—nichts befremdendes mehr, ebensowenig die ihm gestattete Freiheit in der Benutzung der sonst als heilig und unantastbar angesehenen biblischen Quelle.

Wo aber können wir solch' eine noch in der Hauptsache heidnische Bevölkerung, welche die Sprache des H' verstand, suchen? Sicher weder in Westfalen, Thüringen oder Hessen, wo schon vor mehr als hundert Jahren Bonifatius nebst vielen Nachfolgern so energisch und erfolgreich missioniert hatte, noch auch in den mit zahllosen Kirchen und Klöstern überzogenen Gebieten von Engern oder Südostfalen, noch endlich in Holland mit seiner schon seit langem bestehenden Missionszentrale in Utrecht, oder auch im eigentlichen Friesland, das eins der frühesten Objekte eifriger Missionare aus England und Irland gewesen war. Es bleibt nur der *äusserste Nordosten* des Frankenreiches übrig, das Land jenseits der Elbe bis hinauf zur Eider und über dieselbe hinaus bis *nach Dänemark hinein*, wohin nicht nur unsere bisherige Untersuchung uns immer aufs Neue gewiesen hat und wohin die Geschichte sämtlicher Handschriften des H' deutet, sondern wohin auch die Augen aller Missionsfreunde der damaligen Zeit, an ihrer Spitze Kaiser und Kaiserin und die ihnen ergebene Kirchenfürsten, gerichtet waren.

*Wann* aber bot sich eine günstigere Gelegenheit für die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark, als i. J. 826, wo König (oder Herzog) Heriold (Harald) von Dänemark, von der (heidnischen) Gegenpartei aus dem Vaterlande vertrieben, sich mit seiner Gemahlin in den Schutz Ludwigs flüchtete und sich bereit finden liess, die Christentaufe in Ingolheim bei Mainz (!) zu empfangen? Welch' hohe Bedeutung diesem Ereignis seitens der fränkischen Kirche und des Kaiserpaars beigelegt wurde, dafür haben wir genügend Beweise: Kaiser Ludwig und Kaiserin Judith, letztere durch ihre Mutter Eigwil vom sächsischen (!) Hochadel abstammend, übernahmen selbst die Patenschaft für die hohen Täuflinge; Kaiser Ludwig liess eine besondere Denkmünze schlagen als Zeugnis seiner Wertschätzung dieses in seinen und aller Augen epochemachenden Missionserfolges; der Dichter Ermoldus Nigellus widmete dieser Tauffestlichkeit mehr als dreihundert lateinische Hexameter in seinem "Lobgedicht auf Kaiser Ludwig"; alle Biographen des Kaisers berichteten gebührend von dieser Feier. Nun schien dem ebenso kirchlich-frommen als überschwänglich optimistischen Kaiser die Tür weit aufgetan für die Christianisierung der "Nordmänner." Die Zwietracht im Dänenreiche selber musste ihm ja die Mission, an die sein

praktischer und weitblickender Vater trotz seiner Waffenerfolge sich noch nicht gewagt, möglich und leicht erscheinen lassen. Und mit ungewohnter Tatkraft machte sich der Kaiser ans Werk. Freilich nicht in der Art seines Vaters, an der Spitze eines sieggewohnten Heeres. Er verabscheute mit Recht gewaltsame Mittel, besonders bei der Christianisierung stammverwandter Völker.

Eine fränkische Friedensflotte begleitete das in sein Vaterland zurückkehrende Herzogspaar den Rhein abwärts, über Holland nach Jütland. Missionare, Priester und Lehrer zogen mit ihm. Ihre Waffen waren heilige Bücher. (War etwa der "Heliand" eins derselben?)

Der Ausgangspunkt dieser schleswig-holsteinisch-dänischen Mission aber konnte nur *Hamburg* sein. Erzbischof Rimbart erzählt in seinem früher von uns herangezogenen "Leben Anskars," des ersten Erzbischofs von Hamburg,<sup>18</sup> dass schon Karl der Grosse die Kirche zu Hammaburg erbaut und geweiht hatte, damit von dort aus "den benachbarten Völkern, die noch im heidnischen Irrglauben befangen sind, nämlich den Schweden und Dänen und Slaven, das Wort Gottes gepredigt werden möchte"; "denn sie lag an der Grenze der Dänen und Slaven, im fernsten Teile des sächsischen Gebietes, im Lande Nordelbingien." Kaiser Karls Absicht wurde erst durch Ludwig den Frommen ausgeführt: "Er liess Anskar zum Erzbischof erheben und ihn als Leiter der neuen Kirche und des *im Christentume noch rohen Volkes* (!) sowie als Sender des göttlichen Wortes an die *noch ungläubigen Heiden* einsegnen." Wir wissen ferner, dass i. J. 840, als normannische Seeräuber Hamburg brandschatzten, dort eine Kirche, "ein wundervolles Werk," ein Kloster und eine Bibliothek waren, in welcher sich, ausser einer vom *Kaiser selbst gestifteten* Bibel, noch andere wertvolle Bücher befanden. Im Jahre 847 bestanden, trotz der Feindseligkeiten, bereits vier *Taufkirchen* in Holstein, nämlich ausser in Hamburg noch in Meldorp, Heiligenstätte und Schönefeld, dazu ein zweites kleines Kloster Wellau, ferner "tragbare Altäre und Bethäuser." Vielsagend und bedeutungsvoll muss uns, die wir an die Bestimmung des H' für den Missionsbezirk Hamburg glauben, in Erinnerung an die auffallende Verehrung

<sup>18</sup> S. 95-6.



der "unbefleckten Gottesmutter Maria" im H', die Tatsache sein, dass gemäss der Lebensbeschreibung des Hamburger Erzbischofs Rimbert<sup>19</sup> Hamburg gerade "dem heiligen Erlöser" (d.h. doch dem "Heliand"! ) und "Seiner unbefleckten Mutter Maria" geweiht war. Und unsere Behauptung, dass der H' *nicht* für den Bezirk des Erzbistums *Cöln* bestimmt sein konnte, sondern für das Mainzer Missionsgebiet, erhält eine neue Bekräftigung in der Notiz auf S. 50: "Kein Erzbischof von Cöln soll über diese Diöcese irgendwelche Gewalt in Anspruch nehmen."

So scheint sich bei unserer Anschauung, dass der H' für den holsteinisch-dänischen Missionsbezirk bestimmt gewesen sei, alles ganz klar und folgerichtig zu gestalten. Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass sich auf unserem, von den bisherigen Forschungswegen unabhängigen Gange genau derselbe *Zeitraum* für die Abfassung des H' ergibt, der von der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Germanisten einheitlich angenommen wird, nur noch etwas genauer, nämlich die Zeit zwischen 826 (Taufe des Dänenherzogs und erste Missionsreise nach Dänemark) und Weihnachten 831 (Weihe Anskars zum Erzbischof von Hamburg). Im Jahre 833 aber begannen die Dänen ihre zerstörenden Angriffe, die bis 837 bzw. 840 (Brandschatzung Hamburgs) dauerten, die Jahre klug ausnutzend, in denen die unseligen Kämpfe des Kaisers mit seinen Söhnen seine Zeit und Kraft völlig in Anspruch nahmen. Naturgemäss erlahmte damals auch Ludwigs Interesse an der nordischen Mission mehr und mehr, und für eine kaiserliche Anregung zum Heliand fehlte nun jede Veranlassung, abgesehen davon, dass sich die Beziehungen der offiziellen Kirche des Frankenreiches zum Kaiser schon seit Anfang der dreissiger Jahre immer feindseliger gestaltet hatten.

Zum Schlusse ist noch eine Klarstellung bzw. eine Auseinandersetzung mit denjenigen Philologen nötig, welche die Heimat der Hss. neuerdings, auf Grund sprachlicher Untersuchungen, in einen holländisch-friesisch-fränkischen Grenzbezirk verlegen. Obgleich diese Lokalisierung *zunächst* unserem Resultat durchaus zu widersprechen scheint, so lässt sie sich doch sehr gut mit demselben vereinen. Unsere Untersuchung

<sup>19</sup> S. 49.

galt ja nicht der Heimat der *Handschriften*, sondern der Heimat der *Adressaten* des Heliand. Der Verfasser kann doch an sich sein für den äussersten Nordosten bestimmtes Werk in *irgendeinem* Kloster des Frankenreiches gedichtet haben. Ja, angesichts der primitiven kulturellen und kirchlichen Zustände in dem Hamburger Missionsgebiete ist es nahezu *ausgeschlossen*, dass solch' ein Werk ebendort geschrieben werden konnte. Sind nämlich bei der Abfassung Kommentare und andere Bücher benutzt worden,—was wohl zweifellos ist,—so konnte dies nur in einem mit reicher Bibliothek versehenen Kloster geschehen. Und wenn, was gleichfalls unleugbar ist, fränkische oder andere Einmischungen in den altsächsischen Text eingebracht sind;—wie sollte es anders sein, da geschulte Abschreiber sicher nicht unter den neubekehrten Sachsen des Nordostens, sondern nur in den älteren Klöstern gefunden werden konnten, die dann naturgemäss die ihnen vertraute Schreibweise mehr oder weniger einführten in die von ihnen hergestellten Manuskripte. Ja, noch mehr: Solche *Abschriften* wurden schwerlich alle für den *Nordosten* ausschliesslich gemacht, sondern wohl auch mit der Absicht, den Heliand für andere Teile der germanischen Christenheit, eventuell bis hinüber nach England, verständlich zu machen. Vor allem aber war es doch einfache Pflicht, dem Kaiserpaar, falls seiner Anregung das ganze Werk zu danken war, ein Exemplar zu dedicieren. Man denke nur an Otrfrids Widmungsverse "Ludovico Orientalium Regnorum Regi." Es wäre doch höchst befremdlich gewesen, wenn das Kaiserpaar nicht so viel Interesse an diesem seiner Initiative entsprungenen bedeutenden literarischen Werk gezeigt hätte, um den Wunsch auszudrücken, es zu sehen und zu lesen. Und ebenso befremdlich wäre es gewesen, wenn *keine* der doch schon bald gefertigten Abschriften in einer für das Kaiserpaar verständlichen Mund- oder Schreibart abgefasst worden wäre. Eine *vollständige Übersetzung* in den am Kaiserhofe gebrauchten fränkischen Dialekt war natürlich kaum möglich und auch für diesen Zweck gar nicht nötig, sondern nur eine Überarbeitung zwecks Annäherung, zumal die Kaiserin Judith sicher von ihrer Mutter her sächsisch wenigstens *verstand*. —Aber unsere Beweisführung deutet sogar *ganz direkt* und genau auf denselben Bezirk als Heimat des Gedichtes, der im Laufe der letzten Zeit immer mehr und stärkere Befürworter gefunden

hat, nämlich den obengenannten niederländisch-friesisch-fränkischen Grenzbezirk, oder genauer: "dicht an oder wenig südlich einer Linie, welche Leyden mit Uden und Mühlheim a./Ruhr verbindet."<sup>20</sup>

Wir finden nämlich in Rimberts Leben Anskars, das uns schon vorher wertvolles Material gegeben hat, auf S. 52, 3 den Bericht über die Weihe einer Kirche, der "heiligen Mutter Gottes: Maria" zu Ehren, in der Stadt Sliaswig (Schleswig) im damaligen Dänemark, durch Anskar, unter Zustimmung des Dänenkönigs Horich, und sodann die folgende für uns hochbedeutsame Bemerkung:

"Denn vorher schon gab es *dort—nämlich in Sliaswig—viele Christen*, die in Dorstadt (!) (jetzt Dordrecht in Holland) oder Hammaburg (!) waren und unter denen man die angesehensten Männer der Stadt zählte."

Nun wissen wir ferner, dass Dorstadt damals einer der Haupthäfen Hollands am Rhein war, der gern von den Normannen zum Ziel ihrer Raubfahrten gemacht wurde, unter anderen Gründen vielleicht deshalb, weil dort eine der bedeutendsten Missionsschulen für dänische Konvertiten, die ihren heidnischen Landsleuten besonders verhasst waren, sich befand. Wir finden dasselbe Dorstadt endlich erwähnt in Joh. Hoops "Real-Lexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde"<sup>21</sup> als Missions-Mittelpunkt und Pflanzschule für Friesen und Dänen. Sollte nicht da der Schlüssel liegen für die Lösung unsers schwierigen Problems? Wenn wir aus philologischen Gründen mit H. Collitz, der übrigens Dorstadt nicht erwähnt, anerkennen, dass der Dialekt des Original-Heliand starke friesische oder ingwäonische Einschläge neben den fränkischen zeigt,<sup>22</sup> so würde sich dies ganz natürlich erklären, wenn wir den Original-Heliand in Dorstadt oder dem nahen Utrecht entstanden denken, d.h. an der von Bauer und Collitz als Heimatsstrich festgestellten Linie Leyden-Mühlheim.

Um aber den vollsten Einklang herzustellen, so treffen all die Merkmale, die wir als charakteristisch für die Heimat der

<sup>20</sup> vgl. H. Collitz betreffs des von ihm vorgeschlagenen gemischten Kunstdialektes (s. am Schlusse unserer "Vorbemerkungen").

<sup>21</sup> Strassburg 1911-13, Bd. I, (A-E -) S. 642 unter "Bekehrungsgeschichte."

<sup>22</sup> Auf die Gründe für oder gegen die Annahme einer "gemischten Dichtersprache" kann hier nicht eingegangen werden.

*Adressaten* des Heliand aus dem Epos selber entnommen hatten: Seeleben, breiter Fluss, grosse Schiffe, Gefahr durch Westwinde, Seesalz u. a., auf diesen nach West-Nordwest offenen Küstenbezirk Hollands (mit dem Rheindelta!) ebenso zu wie auf den westlichen Teil Jütlands, jedoch mit der bemerkenswerten Ausnahme der "burg"-Namen, der "Holme" und des Waldes, die wir garnicht in Holland, aber wohl in Jütland finden.

#### RESULTAT

So scheinen denn die folgenden Sätze als Zusammenfassung und Abschluss der ganzen vorhergehenden Beweisführung genügend begründet zu sein:

1. Der Heliand ist das Werk eines sächsischen Dichters und Kirchenmannes, geschrieben zur Förderung der dem Kaiser Ludwig dem Frommen am Herzen liegenden Missionstätigkeit der fränkischen Reichskirche.

2. Seinen Adressaten war, wie dem Dichter selbst, das Meer, insbesondere die Nordsee, und das Seeleben wohl vertraut.

3. DIE HEIMAT DER ADRESSATEN ist zu suchen längs des Nordseeegestades, vornehmlich in dem SÄCHSISCH-DÄNISCHEN MISSIONSGEBIETE DER MAINZER ERZDIÖCESE; nicht aber, wie bisher vielfach angenommen wird, im schon christianisierten Binnenlande.<sup>23</sup>

4. Als *Heimat der Manuskripte*, und wohl auch des Dichters selbst, kommt in Betracht das niederdeutsche Flachland von Holland bis Nordalbingien,<sup>24</sup> besonders sofern es in das Missionsgebiet des Erzbistums Mainz eingeschlossen war, vorzüglich die mit Mainz verbundenen Klöster.

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<sup>23</sup> Letztere von uns bekämpfte Lokalisierung ist besonders scharf ausgesprochen von Jellinghaus (Jahresbericht f. germ. Phil. 1890): "Der Heliand kann nur unter einem und für einen deutschen Stamm gedichtet sein, der lange mit dem Christentum und der romanischen Kultur vertraut war."

<sup>24</sup> "von Utrecht bis Hamburg," sagt Golther (i.J. 1912), hinzufügend: "ohne dass irgend eine Ansicht zur Gewissheit erhoben wäre."

## THE OLD ENGLISH RHYMED POEM

The following edition and translation of the Old English *Rhymed Poem*, the first resolute metrical experiment in English literature, is prompted by the belief that a sufficiently conservative text has not yet been established, and by the fact that no English translation has appeared since Guest's unsatisfactory rendering in his *History of English Rhythm* in 1838.

The poem is contained in the Exeter Book, pp. 94a to 95b. Except for three brief lacunae (lines 55, 66, 77) it seems to be preserved complete. It is an elegy placed in the mouth of a man who from former happy prosperity has fallen into helpless misery. The change is due to old age, disease, and the fear of death. In lines 1 to 42 he describes the pride of his youth, in lines 43 to 54 the sorrows of his age. In lines 55 to 69 the thought is generalised. As with the speaker, so with the world; joys pass away, sin and grief abound. In lines 70 to 79 he returns to his own personal fate, and dolefully meditates upon inevitable death and the horrors of the grave. Lines 80 to 87 are a homiletic conclusion and point the moral to the tale.

The sequence of ideas in the poem is not unlike that in *The Wanderer*, and its general purport is clear enough. But for all that the student will find it a most refractory problem. It is exceedingly difficult, but its difficulty lies not in its interpretation as a whole but in the meaning of particular words and phrases. Its obscurities of phraseology have been aggravated by frequent corruption of the text—an indication that even the Old English scribes were often at a loss to understand it.

The reason for this obscurity of style lies in the very artificial metrical technique. The author obviously planned a metrical *tour de force*. To begin with, every line was to have its full complement of three alliterating words. Moreover, when the first alliterating word began with a double consonant, this double consonant was to alliterate only with itself, e. g. *fl* only with *fl* (lines 47, 62, 72). In the whole poem there are only six exceptions (lines 6, 34, 40, 43, 46, 79). Secondly, the two halves of each line were to have an additional metrical binding by means of full rhyme, i.e., rhyme of the accented root syllables

as well as of the unaccented endings. The poem has come down to us in the form of a late West Saxon translation of an Anglian original, and in the process of translation some of the rhymes have become imperfect. For example, *fratwum*, *geatwum*, line 28, Anglian *fratwum*, *geatwum*. But originally the author seems to have very rarely failed to obtain full rhyme. In three or at most four places (lines 26, 30, 45, 67) he has rhymed a short vowel with its corresponding long vowel, and in lines 2, 36, 60, 64, and 73 he has relaxed his strictness still further. But these exceptions are not only few but, except in line 2, insignificant; so he has very nearly succeeded in carrying out his original purpose. Thirdly, he seems to have begun with the intention of composing his poem in either two-line or four-line stanzas, each with the same rhyme continued through it. This stanza scheme, however, soon breaks down, and rhymes extending over no more than one line (e. g., line 27) become more and more frequent. But there are two paragraphs of some length (lines 28 to 37 and 59 to 69) in which the single lines are bound together by unchanged rhyme of the unaccented endings. Fourthly, he is so enamoured of rhyme that sometimes he is not content with the final rhymes but introduces internal rhymes as well. In lines 13 and 57 these are the same as the final rhymes, in lines 62 to 65 they are different.

It is clear that *The Rhymed Poem* is quite an appropriate title for the elegy. The rhymes are the author's chief interest, and he riots in them in a super-Swinburnian manner. The obscurity of the style is a direct consequence of this. He chooses a complex metrical scheme, and then fails to fit the expression of his ideas easily and naturally into it. He is intent upon a jingle, and is careless of sense. Almost anything will do into which an approximately suitable meaning may be read or forced. He has recourse to unusual and obscure words, such as *wilbec* (line 26) or *tinneð* (line 54). Some of these he may himself have coined. He uses words in abnormal meanings, e. g., *bēacnade* (line 31), *hwearfade* (line 36), *onconn* (line 74). He runs after remote allusions and obscure opinions. In lines 45b to 47a he seems to be referring to a disease which is bringing the speaker to the grave. The following is a close translation: "There wanders now deep and far a burning hoard in full bloom, grown up within the breasts, (which has) flowed in

different directions in flights." Presumably a cancer is what is meant by these far-fetched and mixed metaphors.

We are dealing, in short, with a metrical exercise, in which meaning is subordinated to rhyme. Bearing this in mind, we should resist the temptation to try to improve the meaning by frequent alterations of the original text. When the MS. reading gives some semblance of an idea, however awkward, or forced, or even inappropriate, we should rest content with it. We should even tolerate nonce-words that outrage our sense of linguistic propriety. The surest sign of corruption of the text is not lack of meaning but lack of rhyme.

The following text is based upon an examination and transcription of the original in the Exeter Book. I have tried to make it as conservative as possible. Contractions are filled out by means of letters in italics, and emendations which seem to me unavoidable are indicated by square brackets, or italics, or points below letters to be omitted, in the usual way. A circumflex indicates a quantity that is marked in the manuscript. I give references in the notes to Sievers-Cook, *Grammar of Old English* (S. C.), and to the following earlier editions of or articles upon the poem:

Thorpe. *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), 352 ff.

Ettmüller. *Scopas and Boceras* (1850), 220 ff.

Grein.<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothek der a.s. Poesie*, II (1858), 137 ff.

Grein.<sup>2</sup> *Das Reimlied des Exeterbuches*, in Pfeiffer's *Germania* X (1865), 306 f.

Sievers. *Zum a.s. Reimlied*, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* XI (1886), 345 ff.

Wülker. *Bibliothek der a.s. Poesie* III (1897), 156 ff.

Holthausen.<sup>1</sup> *Zur a.e. Literatur*, in *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XX (1909), 313 f, and XXI (1910), 12 f and 155.

Holthausen.<sup>2</sup> *Das a.e. Reimlied*, in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* (1913), 191 ff.

Sieper. *Die a.e. Elegie* (1915), 138 ff, 234 ff.

Sedgfield. *Suggested Emendations in O.E. Poetical Texts*, in *Modern Language Review*, XVI (1921), 59 ff.

- Mē lifes onlāh sē þis leoht onwrāh  
 ond þæt torhte geteoh tillice onwrāh.  
 Glæd wæs ic glīwum, glenged hīwum,  
 blissa blēoum, blōstma hīwum.
- 5 Secgas mec sēgon —symbol ne ālēgon—  
 feorhgiefē gefēgon. Frætwed wægum  
 wic[ɡ] ofer wongum wennan gongum  
 lisse mid longum leoma getongum.  
 Ðā wæs wæstmum āweaht world onspreht,
- 10 under roderum āreaht, rædmægne oferþeaht.  
 Giestas gengdon, gerscype mengdon,  
 lisse lengdon, lustum glengdon.  
 Scrifen scrād glād þurh gescād in brād,  
 wæs on lagustrēame lād, þær mē leoðu ne biglād.
- 15 Hæfde ic hēanne hād; ne wæs mē in healle gād,  
 þæt þær rōf weord rād. Oft þær rinc gebād  
 þæt hē in sele sæge sincgewæge  
 þegnum geþyhte. Þunden wæs ic myhte;

2. *geteoh*. Anglian \**geteh* (S.C. 164, 1). A compound *sulhgeteogo*, "plough-implements," is found in a Leechdom, so the simple word may mean "implement," "engine," and refer to the sun. But the failure of good rhyme is very suspicious. Probably \**getāh* should be read (Grein<sup>1</sup>), though it is a noun unknown elsewhere. It might, however, be the past tense of *gelēon*, "to grant," used as a noun (cf. *flēah*, line 44), in the sense of "gift," "reward." But Grein<sup>2</sup> translates "disciplinam."

4. *blēoum*. *Blēo* is from original \**blīja-* (S.C. 247 n. 3), and a form \**blīwum* would be impossible except from analogy. So *glīwum* and *hīwum* must represent original Anglian *glēowum* and *hēowum* (S.C. 159, 5).

6. *wægum*. MS. *wægum*; *wægum*, Grein.<sup>1</sup> Anglian *wægum*, so originally in full rhyme with *sēgon*, etc. The object "me" must be supplied from the preceding sentence.

7. MS. *wic*; *wicg*, Grein.<sup>1</sup>

*wennan*. Dative Plural of *wenn*, the Kentish form of *wynn*, joy. Cf. *wenne*, 76.

8. *getongum*. Elsewhere unknown. Grein<sup>2</sup> connects with *tengan*, to approach, and translates "*festinationibus*."

9. *āweaht*. The original rhymes were probably Anglian *āweaht*, *onspreaht*, *āraht*, *ofcraht* (S.C. 162, 1).

*world onspreht*. *World* is a late spelling; cf. line 59, and *Beowulf* 2711. *Onspreht* is a nonce-word; it is probably connected with *spræc*, which glosses



- He granted me life, who revealed this sun  
and graciously revealed that radiant engine.  
I was glad with glee, adorned with hues,  
with the colours of joy, with the hues of blossoms.
- 5 Men gazed upon me—banquets were not lacking—,  
rejoiced in the gift of life. Caparisoned horses  
carried me joyfully in journeys over the plains,  
delightfully with long strides of the limbs.
- Then was the world quickened and kindled with growth,  
10 expanded under the skies, covered with a troop of advisers.
- Guests came and went, mingled chatter,  
lingered over delight, joyfully embellished it.  
The appointed ship glided through the distance into the  
broad sea;  
there was a path upon the ocean stream, where I was not  
without guidance.
- 15 I had high rank; I lacked nothing in the hall,  
so a brave company rode there. There it often befel the  
warrior  
that he saw in the hall weighty treasure,

"sarmentum." The half-line is metrically faulty, but this is no sufficient reason for emendation.

10. *rædmægne oferþeath*. Perhaps "covered over (with growth) by the mighty plan (of God)."

13. *Scrifan scrād glād*. Metrically faulty, but since the poet has attained an additional internal rhyme it would be ungracious not to be satisfied. *Scrād* is another nonce-word; it may be connected with *scrīðan*, to wander. *Scrifan* would seem to be the past participle of *scrifan*. Holthausen<sup>1</sup> proposes *Scrīðend-scrād glād*, "the wandering ship glided."

*gescād*. Elsewhere *gescād* means "difference," or "reason," "judgment." It is connected with *scadan*, to separate. But the corresponding OHG *gaskeit* is also found with the meaning "distance."

*brād*. Neuter of the adjective used with the force of an abstract noun. Cf. *flāh*, line 47, *bād*, *ald*, line 63.

14. *leoþu*. Nonce-word. Probably connected with *leoþian* (line 40) and O.S. *liðōn*, "to lead."

16. *weord*. Probably a late spelling of *weorud*. Cf. *world*.

18. MS. *þenden was ic mægen; þunden was ic myhte*, Grein.<sup>1</sup> *Gepyhte*, *myhte* is a rhyme possible only in late West Saxon (Anglian, *gepyhte*, *mæhte*) but as the poem is probably comparatively late its Anglian author may not have restricted himself to one dialect in his search after rhyme. Sedgefield proposes *þenden was ic on hyhte*.

- horsce mec heredon, hilde generedon,
- 20 fægre feredon, fēondon biweredon.  
Swā mec hyhtgiefu hēold, hýgedriht befēold,  
staþolæhtum stēald, stepegongum wēold  
swylce eorþe ðl, āhte ic ealdorstōl,  
galdorwordum gōl, gomel sibbe ne ofōll;
- 25 ac wæs gef[f]est gēar, gellende snēr,  
wuniendo wār wīlbec bescær.  
Scealcas wāron sclarpe, scyl wæs hearpe,  
hlūde hlynede, hleoþor dynede,  
sweglrad swinsade, swīþe ne minsade.
- 30 burgsele beofode, beorht hlifade.  
Ellen ēacnade, ēad bēacnade;  
frēaum frōdade, fromum gōdade;  
mōd mægnade, mine fægnade,  
trēow telgade, tīr welgade,
- 35 blād blissade;  
gold gearwade, gim hwearfade,  
sinc searwade, sib nearwade.  
From ic wæs in frætsum, frēolic in geatsum,  
wæs mīn drēam dryhtlic, drohtað hyhtlic.
- 40 Foldan ic freoþode, folcum ic leoþode;  
lif wæs mīn longe lēodum in gemonge

21. *hýgedriht*. MS. *hyge driht*. I take the word to be a compound of *htw* and *gedriht*, "family troop." Sievers reads *hyge-driht*, but his translation, "dear troop," is forced.

22. *stēald*. Anglian confusion of *ēa* and *ēo* (S.C. 150 n 1 and 394 n 3). Cf. *fīean*, 72, and *gefēan*, 87.

24. MS. *ne of ðll*; ne ofðl, Grein.<sup>1</sup> We should expect *ofðl* to be transitive, like *ðl* in the preceding line. Holthausen<sup>1</sup> proposes *ne ofcðl*, "did not cool."

25. MS. *gefest*; *gef-fest*, Sievers. An Anglian form (S.C. 157, 2 and 151, 1) of *gif-fæst*, which occurs in *The Endowments of Men*, 36.

*gēar*, *snēr*. The original Anglian rhymes must have been *gēr*, *snēr*, *wēr* (S.C. 150, 1) and *bescær* or *bescer* (S.C. 151, 1).

26. *wīlbec*. A very doubtful word. Grein<sup>2</sup> translates "rivum lamenta, tionis"; he connects *wīl* with O. N. *vīl*, "misery," and takes *bec* to be *bec*, *bac*, "a brook." Holthausen<sup>2</sup> emends to *wīglbēd*, "military glory."

- serviceable to thanes. I was puffed up with power;  
 wise men praised me, saved me in battle,  
 20 conducted me well, protected me from foes.  
 So joy dwelt within me, a family troop encompassed me,  
 I possessed estates, where I stepped I had command over  
 whatever the earth brought forth, I had a princely throne,  
 I sang with charmed words, old friendship did not grow  
 less.
- 25 Moreover, there was a year rich in gifts, a resounding  
 harp-string,  
 lasting peace cut short the river of sorrow.  
 The servants were active, the harp was resonant,  
 loudly rang; sound pealed,  
 music made melody, did not greatly abate;  
 30 the castle hall trembled, it towered bright.  
 Courage increased, wealth attracted;  
 I gave wise counsel to the lords, enriched the valiant.  
 Mind became mighty, heart rejoiced,  
 good faith flourished, glory abounded,  
 35 abundance smiled.  
 I furnished gold, the gem passed round,  
 treasure did treachery, the bond of friendship narrowed.  
 Bold I was in my array, noble in my equipment,  
 my joy was lordly, my way of life happy.
- 40 I protected the land, I was leader to the folk;  
 for a long time my life among the people was

30. *beofode*. The rhyme indicates that \**bifode*, without *o*-umlaut, was the original form.

31. *bēacnade*. *Bēacnian*, "to beckon," is here given an intransitive meaning; cf. *ofól*, line 24.

32. *frōdade*. Probably a verb coined by the poet from *frōd*, "wise." Grein<sup>1</sup> alters to *flōdade*, and translates, with *ēad* as subject, "wealth flowed plentifully to the lords." The change improves the sense but weakens the alliteration.

*fromum gōdade*. *Gōdian*, "to endow," regularly governs the accusative of the person, so Grein's emendation to *fremum gōdade*, "endowed with benefits," is very plausible.

35. Etmüller filled up the missing half-line by *bleo glissade*, "venustas splenduit" (Grein<sup>2</sup>).

38. *geatwum*. Anglian *gatwum* (S.C. 157, 3).

40. *leoþode*. See note on *leoþu*, line 14. A compound *āleoþian*, "to take away," occurs in *Genesis*, 177.

tīrum getonge, teala gehonge.

Nū mīn hreþer is hrēoh, hēowsīþum scēoh,  
nȳdbysgum nēah. Gewīteð nihtes in flēah

- 45 sē ær in dæge wæs dēor. Scriþeð nū dēop [ond] feor  
brondhord geblōwen, brēostum in forgrōwen,  
flyhtum tōflōwen. Flāh is geblōwen  
miclum in gemynde. Mōdes gecynde  
grēteð ungrunde grorn oferpynde,
- 50 bealofūs byrneð, bittre tōyrneð.  
Wērig winneð, wīdsīð onginneð,  
sār ne sinniþ, sorgum cinnið,  
blæd his blinnið, blisse linnið,  
listum linneð, lustum ne tinneð.
- 55 Drēamas swā hēr gedrēosað, dryhtscype gehrēosað,  
lif hēr men forlēosað, leahtras oft gecēosað;  
trēowþræg is tō træg, sēo untrume ge[h]næg;  
stēapum [st]leaðole misþāh ond eal stund ge[h]næg.  
Swā nū world wendeþ, wyrde sendeþ.

42. *getonge, gehonge*. Probably adjectives coined by the poet in order to continue the rhyme. Cf. *gaderlang*, "associate with" (*Metra* XXII, 39) and *hōn*, *hongian*.

43. *hrēoh, scēoh* and 44, *nēah, flēah*. Anglian *hrēh, scēh*, (S.C. 165, 1), *nēh, flēh* (S.C. 163).

*hēowsīþum*. The first part must be *hēow, hīw*, "hue"; "disasters of various hues." But Ettmüller's emendation to *hēofsīþum* (*hēof*, "lamentation") is very probable.

44. *gewīteð*. Probably future in meaning, if this obscure sentence is a reference to death.

*flēah*. Apparently the past tense of *flēon* pressed into service as a noun. See note on *geteoh*, line 2.

45. MS. *dyre; dēor*, Sievers.

MS. *scriþeð nu deop feor*, unmetrical and unidiomatic. The sign for *ond* has probably fallen out between the two adjectives. Holthausen<sup>2</sup> proposes *scriþeð nū dēope þeor*. *þeor* means "inflammation," "ulcer," and suits the context well.

47. *flāh*. See note on *brād*, line 13.

48. *mōdes gecynde*. A periphrasis for the sake of the rhyme.

familiar with glory, well devoted to it.

- Now my heart is troubled, fearful owing to various  
disasters,  
nigh to unavoidable distresses. There departs into flight  
by night  
45 he who in the day had been bold. There wanders now  
deep and far  
a burning secret disease in full growth, developed within  
the breast,  
spread in different directions. Evil has blossomed  
greatly in the mind. The mind's nature  
bottomless grief, too much penned in, attacks,  
50 burns eager for calamity, runs fiercely to and fro.  
The weary man suffers, begins a far journey,  
his pain is pitiless, he adds to his sorrows,  
his glory ceases, he loses his happiness,  
he loses his skill, he does not burn with desires.

In the same way here joys perish, lordships fall;  
here men lose life, often choose sins;  
too evil is the time of good faith that feebly declined;  
it went badly with the high seat and every hour went to  
the worse.

So now the world changes, brings death,

49. MS. *efen pynde; ofer pynde*, Sievers. There is a verb *pyndan* "to dam in," "to force back." The idea seems to be that the mind is oppressed with pent in sorrow, which breaks forth and "runs in all directions" (line 50b).

50. *byrneð, tðyrneð*. Originally probably *brinneð, tðrinneð*, rhyming with the following lines. S.C. 286 note 2.

51. *widsið*, "the far journey" of death.

52. *sinnip*. O.E. *sinnan* can mean either "to heed" (*Guthlac* 290) or "to have respite from" (*Andreas* 1279). So the half-line may mean either "his pain does not heed" or "his pain never ceases."

*cinnið*. An obscure nonce-word. Sievers suggests a connection with *cennan*, "to bring forth."

53. MS. *linnað; linnið*, Ettmüller.

54. *linneð*. Also obscure. Holthausen<sup>1</sup> cites MHG *Ginnen*, "to burn," connected with Gothic *tandjan*, O.E. *ontendan*, "to kindle."

57. A very obscure line. Probably "the time of good faith" merely means "life." MS. *genag* is probably, as in the next line, a miswriting (or phonetic writing) of *gehnāg*, from *gehnāgan*, "to sink." But perhaps *sēo untrume gewāg*, "which feebly gave battle," should be read.

58. MS. *eatole; steapole*, Ettmüller.

MS. *genāg; gehnāh*, Ettmüller. Final *g* after a long back vowel became voiceless in later Old English (S.C. 214, 2).

- 60    *ond hetes henteð,      hæleþe scendeð.*  
*Wercyn gewiteð,      wælgâr sliteð,*  
*flâh mâh fliteð,      flân mân hwiteð,*  
*borgsorg biteð,      bald ald þwiteþ,*  
*wræcfæc wriþeð,      wrâþ âð smiteþ,*
- 65    *singrynd sidað,      searafearo glideð;*  
*grom torn græfeþ,      græft . . . hafað,*  
*searohwīt solað,      sumurhāt cōlað,*  
*foldmela fealleð,      fēondscipe wealleð,*  
*eorðmægen ealdað,      ellen ceal [d]lað.*
- 70        *Mē þæt wyrd gewæf      ond geþwyr[h]t forgeaf*  
*þæt ic grōfe græf      ond þæt grimme scræf*  
*flēan flāsce ne mæg      þonne flānhred dæg*  
*nydgrāpum nimeþ,      þonne sēo neah[t] becymeð,*  
*sēo mē ēðles onfonn      ond mec her heardes onconn.*

- 75    *þonne lichoma ligeð,      lima wyrm þigeð,*  
*ac him wenne gewigeð      ond þā wist geþygeð,*

60. MS. *hæleþe scyndeð; scendeð*, Ettmüller. *Hæleþe* may be an I-declension accusative plural (S.C. 281 note 4). Grein<sup>1</sup> reads *hæleþ gescendeð*.

61. MS. *wencynge witeð; wercyn gewiteð*, Ettmüller.

62. MS. *mon; mæn*, Ettmüller.

*hwiteð*, "whitens," i.e. "polishes," "sharpens."

63. MS. *burg sovg; borgsorg*, Grein.<sup>1</sup>

*bald ald*. See note on *brād*, line 13.

64. MS. *wræc fæc wriþað*. The only alteration necessary is *wriþeð* for *wriþað*, but all previous editors have made further changes. E.g. Grein.<sup>1</sup> *wræc sæc wriðeð*, Sieper, *wræc sæc wriþeð*.

65. MS. *singrynd; syngryn*, Ettmüller.

MS. *sæcra fearo; searofearo*, Grein.<sup>1</sup> *Faru, fearu* is probably an A-declension noun meaning "going," "journey" (cf. *faran*). "The indirect path glides," however, is a decidedly obscure metaphor.

66. *grom torn*. Ettmüller and later editors alter to *grom torn* or *gromtorn*. But the internal rhymes may have ended with line 65.

*græfeþ*, "digs," or "engraves." Sieper suggests by his translation that "digs wrinkles," "brings care," is meant.

MS. *græft hafað*. A word has clearly dropped out. Perhaps *græft hlēor hafað*, "the face is engraved with lines."

- 60 and pursues hate, brings men to shame.  
 The race of men perishes, the slaughtering spear rends,  
 the deceitful evildoer brawls, wickedness polishes the  
 arrow,  
 debt-anxiety bites, old age cuts short courage,  
 the time of misery binds, anger desecrates the oath,  
 65 constant grief spreads widely, the indirect path is  
 treacherous.  
 Fierce anger digs wrinkles, . . . . . engraves,  
 artificial beauty grows foul, summer heat becomes cool,  
 the wealth of the earth perishes, enmity rages,  
 the might of the world ages, courage grows cold.  
 70 Fate wove it me and my deserts brought it upon me  
 that I should dig a grave, and that grim cavern  
 I cannot avoid with my flesh, when death, arrow-swift,  
 seizes my life in his inevitable grasp, when the night  
 comes,  
 that dispossesses me of my home and deprives me of my  
 abode here.  
 75 Then the body lies low, the worm devours the limbs,  
 nay, has delight and takes sustenance,

*hafað*. Originally probably *hæfeð* (S.C. 416 n 1 e). But cf. the rhyme *sidað*, *glídeð* in the preceding line.

67. *searohwit solap*. In a British Museum MS. *hwit ðsolað* translates "nitor squalescit." See Zupitza, *Anglia* I, 287.

*solap*. From a verb *solian*, formed from *sol*, "mire." Cf. *The Owl and the Nighthale*, 1276.

69. MS. *colað*; *cealdað*, Ettmüller.

70. MS. *gehwyrt*; *gewyrht*, Grein.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps accusative; "and gave it me as my deserts."

*forgeaf*. Anglian, *forgæf* (S.C. 157, 3).

71. MS. *grimme græf*; *scraf*, Sievers. There is no other example in the poem of a word rhyming with itself in the same line.

72. *flēan*. See note on *stēald*, line 22.

*flānhred*, "the arrow-swift," i.e. "death."

73. MS. *neah*; *neht*, Ettmüller.

74. MS. *ðnsfōnn*; *ofohn*, Ettmüller.

MS. *heardes*; *eardes*, Ettmüller.

MS. *ðncōnn*. Apparently here with the meaning "deprives"; its regular meaning is "accuses."

75. MS. *friteð*; *þigeð*, Grein.<sup>1</sup>

76. *wenne*. See note on *wennan*, line 7.

- oþþæt beoþ þā bān . . . . . ān,  
 ond æt nȳhstan nān, nefne sē nēda tān  
 balawun hēr gehlotene. Ne biþ sē hlīsa ābrotēn;  
 80 ær þæt ēadig geþenceð, hē hine þe oftor swenceð,  
 byrgeð him þā bitran synne, hogaþ tō þære betran wyne,  
 gemon m[e]lorþa lisse. Hēr sindon miltsa blisse  
 hyhtlice in heofona rīce. Uton nū halgum gelice,  
 scyldum biscyrede, scyndan generede,  
 85 wommum biwerede, wuldre generede,  
 þær moncyn mōt, for Meotude rōt,  
 sōðne God gesēon ond āa in sibbe gefēan.

77. MS. *bān ān*; the scribe has omitted most of the second line. Grein<sup>1</sup> proposes *oþþæt beoþ þā bān begrosnād on ān*, "until the bones are mouldered into a single heap of dust." *Bān gebrosnād* occurs in *Phoenix* 270.

79. MS. *herge hlōtene*; *hēr gehloten*, Ettmüller.

*sē hlīsa*, i.e., the fame and praise gained, in this world and the next, by good deeds and the avoiding of "bitter sins."

MS. *adroren*. This can hardly have been the original rhyme with *gehloten*. Ettmüller emended to *ābrotēn*, from *ābrēotan*, "to weary," and Grein<sup>2</sup> translated "Fama non est segnis." It appears to me that *ābrotēn*, from *ābrēotan*, "to destroy," gives much better sense.

82. MS. *morþa*; *meorþa*, Grein.<sup>1</sup>

84. *biscyrede*. Anglian, *bisceredē* (S.C. 157, 2).

85. *generede*. Grein<sup>1</sup> emended to *geherede*, "honoured." But the repetition of a rhyming word used in the preceding line finds parallels in lines 2, 4, 54, 58.

87. *gefēan*. See note on *stēald*, line 22.



until the bones are . . . . . one,  
and finally there is nothing, except that the lot of neces-  
sity

is here appointed for evil deeds. Good fame will not be  
destroyed;

80 all the sooner the good man thinks of that, he chastens  
himself the more often,

avoids the bitter sins, has hope of the better joy,  
remembers the delight of the heavenly rewards. Here  
are the blisses of the mercies of God

joyous in the kingdom of heaven. Let us now, like the  
saints,

freed from sins, hasten saved,

85 defended from vices, gloriously saved,  
where mankind, happy before the Judge, may  
see the true God and for ever rejoice in peace.

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## JUDAS'S RED HAIR

Though it is an old and familiar tradition that Judas Iscariot had red hair, the actual evidence is rather scattered and not very abundant. In the colored glass of the Middle Ages Judas is frequently to be recognized by his yellow robe or red hair or beard. There are, for example, wall paintings at Ramersdorf, on the lower Rhine, portraying him with red hair,<sup>1</sup> a window in the cathedral of Chartres, and a miniature in an *Emblemata Biblica*,<sup>2</sup> all of the thirteenth century. In Leonardo's Last Supper his hair and beard are a dull red. The sixteenth-century Flemish painter Jean Stradan pictured him with red hair and beard, a green girdle, and a red purse.<sup>3</sup> But there is no indication that the Renaissance painters created anything like a type face or figure for Judas, though he usually has a beard and his hair is usually red or yellowish-red. In Giotto's three pictures of Judas there is no marked similarity; and Holbein's Judas at Basel has gray-blond hair and beard.

In popular belief the tradition appears, for example, in the German poem—

Worüm hadd Judas en roden Bård  
Üm't Gesicht rüm.<sup>4</sup>

In France it is sometimes said that red hair debars a man from the priesthood, because Judas had red hair.<sup>5</sup> Wright's English Dialect Dictionary gives "Judas-born" as meaning born with red hair. Moscherosch's *Philander von Sittewald*, meeting in hell one who spoke of having sold Our Lord, came closer "umb zu sehen, ob er, wie man sagt, einen rothen Bart hätte."<sup>6</sup>

Abraham a Sancta Clara, who knew and made such lively use of all the canonical and traditional information about

<sup>1</sup> Kinkel, *Jahrb. des Vereins von Altherthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, XII, 109 f. (Wackernagel.)

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. 37: Auber, I, 307.

<sup>3</sup> W. Porte, *Judas Iscariot in der bildenden Kunst*, Jena diss., Berlin, 1883, pp. 15, 67; Solovev, *K Legendam ob Iudie Predattelie*, Kharkov, 1895, p. 53; for a few other examples see Solovev, pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> Gilhoff, *Zeitsch. für den deutschen Unterricht* XXII (1908), 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue des Traditions Populaires* XXV (1910), 288.

<sup>6</sup> *Wunderliche und Wahrhafte Gesichte*, Strassburg, 1650, I, 390

Judas which had accumulated by the end of the seventeenth century, duly records the 'fact' but vigorously repudiates the implication.

"Gesetzt aber, es hätte Judas eine solche erwähnte Rubrikam um das Maul gehabt, was folgt dann daraus? Vielleicht beliebt dir zu reden: Judas habe einen rothen Bart gehabt; *ergo*, alle die rothe Bärte haben, seynd Erz-Schelmen. Wann dem also, so wäre kein einiger Bart von grossem Schimpf befreit. Der Teufel ist in Gestalt eines Manns mit einem braunen Bart in die Wüsten gangen und Jesum versucht; *ergo*, so seynd alle Männer mit braunem Bart Teufel. . . . Die zwei alten, mehr beberlonischen als babylonischen Richter bei Susannam haben weisse Bärt' gehabt; *ergo*, alle die weisse Bärt' haben, seynd solche bockbergerische Ehebrecher . . . O wie ungereimt lauft dein Argument! Des Balaams Eselinn hat gered't; *ergo*, wird dein Esel zu Haus auch mit Sprach' heraus und dich *salve Frater*: willkomm' Bruder! anreden."<sup>7</sup>

The phrase *Judas color* and the adjective *Judas-colored* seem to have been current chiefly among the Elizabethan dramatists and their imitators. The earliest example I have met is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*: "And let their beardes be of Iudas his owne collour."<sup>8</sup> In *As You Like It*, Act III, sc. iv, Rosalind says: "His hair is of the very dissembling colour." And Celia replies: "Something browner than Judas's."<sup>9</sup> Other instances are: "Sure that was Judas with the red beard," in Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III, ii; "That's he in the Iudas beard," in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turke*, I, iv;<sup>10</sup> "I ever thought by his beard he would prove a Judas," in Marston's *The Insatiate Countess*, II, ii. Dryden writes in *Amboyna*: "There's treason in that Judas-colour'd beard"; and his lines on Tonson are well known:

<sup>7</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, Passau, 1835, I, 162 f.

<sup>8</sup> Act III, sc. xii (ed. Boas, Oxford, 1901, p. 68). The passage in which this line occurs was not in the first version of the play, but appears first in the edition of 1618. Cf. Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, II, 557. The date assigned for the phrase in N.E.D. ("c. 1594") is therefore probably wrong. An entry in Henslow's Diary makes it likely that the addition was made by Ben Jonson; the point, however, is not certain; cf. Boas, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>9</sup> Shakspeare has also "Cain-colour'd," *Merry Wives* I, iv.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Swaen, *Anglia* XX (1898), 215.

With leering looks, bull-fac'd and freckled fair,  
 With frowsy pores poisoning the ambient air,  
 With two left legs, and Judas-colour'd hair.

Sir Roger L'Estrange inserted an allusion to Judas's hair in his translation of Quevedo's *Sueños*:

I next went down a pair of Stairs into a huge Cellar, where I saw Men burning in unquenchable Fire, and one of them Roaring, Cry'd out, I never over sold; I never sold, but at Conscionable Rates; Why am I punished thus? I durst have sworn it had been Judas; but going nearer to him, to see if he had a Red Head, I found him to be a Merchant of my Acquaintance.<sup>11</sup>

In the poets of the last century there are occasional examples of this notion; as in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, written in the Elizabethan manner:

*First Citizen.* I thought this Philip had been one of those black devils of Spain, but he hath a yellow beard.

*Second Citizen.* Not red like Iscariot's.

*First Citizen.* Like a carrot's, as thou say'st. (III, i).

And R. S. Hawker, the Cornish poet, has: "The sickly hue of vile Iscariot's hair."<sup>12</sup>

A variation of the usual tradition appears in the North of England, that Judas had black hair and a red beard.<sup>13</sup> This matches the German proverb: "Schwarzer Kopf, rother Bart, böse Art," and the French

Barbe rouge et noirs cheveux  
 Guettes t'en, si tu peux.<sup>14</sup>

There can be little doubt that this tradition is simply the application of the old belief—much older than Judas Iscariot—that red-haired men are treacherous and dangerous, to the Arch-traitor, sometime during the early Middle Ages, when the popular imagination was busy making up biographies and biographical details for the saints and martyrs of the Church. The combination is natural and appropriate enough, and would be supported or reinforced by the general belief in red as a

<sup>11</sup> *Visions*, London, 1702, p. 159. There is no allusion to Judas in the Spanish original.

<sup>12</sup> *Poetical Works*, London, 1897, p. 189 ("The Quest of the Sangraal").

<sup>13</sup> *Denham Tracts* (Publ. of the Folklore Soc. XXXV, 1895), II, 24.

<sup>14</sup> F. Pluquet, *Contes Populaires*, Rouen, 1834, p. 112.

color of evil significance, and perhaps also by the conventional color symbolism of the Church.

Red has not always an unfavorable connotation, however.

Rothi Farb, schöni Farb;  
Schwarzi Farb, Tüfelsfarb,

runs a German song. "Gegen die rote Farbe kämpfe der böse Zauber vergebens an," say the East Prussians. Red appears as the color of sacrificial blood in various Hebrew and Egyptian traditions. Tombs have been frequently painted red, both within and without, not only by early European peoples, but to-day also among primitive tribes elsewhere. Red is the color of dawn, of the sun, of wedding garments and of Thor, the God of marriage, and of love, especially passionate love, of burning zeal, energy, courage. On holidays the Romans often decked the statues of the gods with red. The daughters of Israel were clothed in scarlet by Saul, "with other delights" (2 Sam. 1, 24). Roman senators wore togas of reddish purple; whence probably the scarlet robes of the cardinals. Indian priests often wore red. The Pope wears red when he hears mass, and is buried in red. Red is used on the feast-days of the martyrs, as the color of blood that was shed for Christ; and at Whitsuntide as the color of the tongues of fire which descended upon the apostles. "Rubeus color igneus est et sanguineus: caritati Spiritus et effusioni sanguinis consimilis," says the pontifical of Bishop Clifford. Red was worn on Good Friday and during the Passion week generally. Indeed, on all occasions of show and pomp it is a favorite color.

But on the other hand red is the color of adultery (and compare Rahab and her "scarlet line"), of murder and hangmen, of anarchy and violence, of anger, of shame, of destructive fire, of Thor-Donar (the lightning is his red beard), of gnomes and dwarfs, both kindly and malignant; and so on. It affords a pointed contrast to black death, as in "aussen rot, innen tot," "heute rot, morgen tot"; and poetically put, in Walther von der Vogelweide—

diu werlt ist tzen schœne  
wiz grünen unde rôt,  
und innân swarzer varwe,  
vinster sam der tôt.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ed. Wilmanns, Halle, 1883, p. 412 (124, 37 f.).

The angry Lord in Isaiah 63, 2 is apparelled in red. The armies of God coming against Nineveh are clad in scarlet, their shields and chariots colored red (Nah. 2, 3). The soldiers at the crucifixion put upon Jesus a scarlet robe (Mat. 27, 28; but Luke 23, 11 has *λαμπρός*). According to Olaus Magnus a northern tribe worshipped a red cloth fastened to a lance—like (in the opinion of some) our own Bolsheviks. "Red-coat," partly descriptive, of course, was an opprobrious term in America during the Revolution; and in Ireland (*Dearganach*) as well; and similarly in Germany it stands for traitor. In Canton the Chinese call a European "fanquai" (red devil).

This very 'law of opposites,' by which a color has contrary significations, is a regular feature of the color symbolism of the Church. Yellow is the color of gold and therefore of splendor, nobility, wisdom; but also of jealousy, treachery, felony. Judas is often distinguishable in mediæval stained glass by his yellow robe. Green is the color of spring, youth, vigor, and of the Trinity; but also of envy and jealousy. Blue is the color of truth and faith; but sometimes the Devil in the mediæval pictures has a blue body or Judas a blue robe.—To some these convenient antitheses may appear to be a begging the question; a symbolism which is constantly going in two directions will arrive nowhere. But this would be simply to ignore the ways of mediæval thinking. Hugo of St. Victor, in his *Bestiary*, anticipated this cavil: "If any one asks why Christ is sometimes symbolized by unclean animals, such as the serpent, the lion, the dragon, the eagle, and others, let him know that the lion when it stands for fortitude represents Christ, and when it stands for rapacity represents the Devil." And thus the colors.

Obviously then the evil associations of the color red do not give us the whole story. We must look further for an explanation of *Judas color*, and specially in the ill-omen of red hair. This itself took its beginning no doubt, like so much else of popular tradition, in the shrewd observation of natural phenomena. The common German proverb, "Roter Bart, untreue Art," represents a condensed popular judgment. Even to-day a red-haired man is assumed to be hot-headed and quick-tempered, and so not quite to be counted on. After the connection had been perceived a few times, it would naturally

crystallize into a proverb.<sup>16</sup> It is probable, moreover, that such a proverb originated among a southern people, where red hair is most striking. The Egyptians, we know, looked with disfavor on red-haired persons, for they were supposed to be followers of Seth-Typhon, whose color was red; and they may have been regarded as of impure, that is, partly foreign, blood. The Hebrews had a similar belief, derived perhaps from Egypt;<sup>17</sup> and the Greeks and Arabs also. Both the Hebrews and the Egyptians sacrificed red animals to their gods (e.g. the red heifer of Num. 19), and the Greeks to the chthonic deities. Red haired children were sometimes put to death among the Egyptians and Hebrews.<sup>18</sup> From Latin two literary instances have been cited in this connection, the "Rufus quidam ventriosus, crassis suris" etc. of Plautus (*Pseud.* IV, 7, 110) and Martial's

Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine læsus,  
Rem magnam præstas, Zoile, si bonus es. (XII, 54)

—of which Dryden's epigram on Tonson is slightly reminiscent. Both of these, to be sure, have an air rather of individual cases than of a proverbial generalization; but testimony even of this sort is valuable. And it is significant that the earliest documentary evidence of the proverb as proverb appears in a fragment of the *Ruotlieb*, a Latin poem of the early eleventh century by an anonymous Tegernsee monk, who may well—there is evidence of other kinds pointing to southern influence there—have had this notion from Italy: "Non tibi sit rufus unquam specialis amicus" is one of the twelve saws with which the young man is rewarded.

<sup>16</sup> It has been considered somewhat odd that this proverb should flourish especially in Germany where so many persons have reddish blond hair. One should note the compromise-version: "rot haer ist entweder gar fromm oder gar boess"; and the more precise "Hüet dich vor aim roten Walhen, weissen Franzosen, schwarzen Teutschen." But without doubt the *red* hair of these proverbs is distinct red, not blond with a reddish tint.

<sup>17</sup> Compare the story of the Egyptian enchanters turning the water in Goshen into blood, so that when the unfaithful Israelites drank, their beards became red (Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, II, 106) and that of the idolatrous Israelites who drank water mixed with the gold of the Golden Calf which Moses had ground to powder (*Revue des Traditions Populaires* VII (1892), 432.

<sup>18</sup> But David probably had red hair; cf. 1 Sam. 16, 12; 17, 42.

From the eleventh century onwards examples of the proverb are numerous, and of the belief in other forms as well. Since it is hardly necessary to reprint them here I have included in the bibliographical note below (p. 527 ff.) references to various collections and illustrations. It will be pertinent here only to give some of the theories of the origin of the tradition. Jacob Grimm<sup>19</sup> and Wackernagel derived it wholly from the mediæval animal tale, particularly the Reynard the Fox group, in which the fox is often called "red" with reference as much to his trickiness as to his color. J. W. Wolf connected it with Donar.<sup>20</sup> DuMéril attributed it mainly to the association with Judas.<sup>21</sup> Koegel, reasoning that the idea was non-germanic because of the frequency of red (reddish blond) hair among the Germans, supposed it to have come from Italy; without the Reynard animal tales it would have gained no acceptance in Germany.<sup>22</sup> Fr. Lemke offers this suggestion: man creates his gods in his own image; therefore the blond, reddish haired Germanic tribes gave Thor red hair and a red beard, and when Thor-Donar was metamorphosed into the devil of hell-fire, red hair became a token of treachery. Finally (to include opinions of another sort) Nares, in his *Glossary*, says that Judas's hair was supposed to be red "probably for no better reason than that the color was thought ugly, and the dislike of it was of course much increased by this opinion. . . . It has been conjectured, that the odium attached to red hair originated in England, from the aversion there felt to the red-haired Danes; which may or may not be true. *Crine ruber* was always a reproach to a man, though the golden locks of ladies have been much admired." And he quotes from Thiers, *Histoire des Perruques*, p. 22: "Les rousseaux portèrent des perruques, pour cacher le couleur de leurs cheveux, qui sont en horreur à tout le monde, parce que Judas, à ce qu'on prétend, étoit rousseau." Abraham a

<sup>19</sup> *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. xxx.

<sup>20</sup> *Beiträge zur deut. Mythologie*, I, 64.

<sup>21</sup> *Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen-âge*, Paris, 1847, p. 324, n. 1; and *La Légende de Robert-le-Diable*, in *Revue Contemporaine*, 1854, reprinted in *Etudes sur quelques Points d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1862, p. 304, and n. 5 (with numerous references).

<sup>22</sup> *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Strassburg 1897, I, ii, pp. 366.



Sancta Clara submits that the general tradition sprang from a popular etymology of the name Iscariot—"Ist gar roth."<sup>23</sup>

One can only add—one theory being little better than another—that the belief is very widespread and very ancient and that its currency would be continually strengthened by daily observation. Those who derived it from German sources are pretty certainly wrong; while on the other hand not much can be said for the contention that it is ungermanic, since, even granting the uncertainty of color terms, distinctly red hair is but slightly more common in Germany than elsewhere. Red is not a "natural" hair color, though it is found sporadically among all races; erythrimism is a sport, an arrested development, and perhaps a sign, in some sort, of degeneration. It is entirely in the nature of things that popular tradition should fasten on it a special significance and one not generally complimentary. And obviously red is the only fitting color for Judas Iscariot's hair.

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#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

To the books and articles already mentioned (Grimm, Wolff, \*DuMéril, \*Koegel, Porte) the following discussions may be added. Those marked with an asterisk contain further references of importance.

Besides the books and articles already referred to (Grimm, Wolff, \*DuMéril, \*Koegel, Porte) I have made use also of the following discussions. Those marked with an asterisk contain additional references of importance.

*For the color red.*—

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\*Aug. Stöber, *Neue Alsatia*, Mühlhausen, 1885, p. 147 ff.

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Goethe, *Zur Farbenlehre* (Jubliäums Ausgabe 40, 60 ff.).

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<sup>23</sup> "Man muss daher der Mahler Freiheit oder Frechheit nit für ein unlängbares Beweisthum anzeihen, dass Judas ein feyertäglichen Bart habe gehabt; sondern es ist gar wohl zu vermuthen, es seye der einige Nam' Iscarioth die Haupt-Ursach solches gemeinen Wahns und Aussag': Dann die plumpen Leut' Anfangs das Wort Iscarioth für *Ist gar roth* verstanden; ist also solchergestalten dem Judä solche Farb' in Bart gerieben worden."—*Werke*, p. 161 f.

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## AN IMPORTANT COLERIDGE LETTER

To students of Coleridge's politics, a letter addressed to Benjamin Flower, editor of the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, and bearing the date 1796, cannot but be of deep interest. The letter has been printed only once—in the *Monthly Repository* of 1834—although it is noted by Haney in his *Bibliography of Coleridge*.<sup>1</sup> For some inexplicable reason it has never been included in editions of Coleridge correspondence. The reprinting of the letter now seems justified by the relative inaccessibility of the *Monthly Repository*, and opportunity may be taken to point out reasons why it may be considered of more than ordinary importance.

My Much-Esteemed Friend,

I truly sympathize with you in your severe loss, and pray to God that He may give you a sanctified use of your affliction. The death of a young person of high hopes and opening faculties, impresses me less gloomily than the departure of the old. To my mere natural reason, the former *appears* like a transition; there seems an *incompleteness* in the life of such a person, contrary to the general order of nature; and it makes the heart say, 'this is not all.' But when an old man sinks into the grave, we have seen the bud, blossom, and the fruit, and the unassisted mind droops in melancholy, as if *the whole* had come and gone. But God hath been merciful to us, and strengthened our eyes through faith, and Hope may cast her anchor in a certain bottom, and the young and old may rejoice before God and the Lamb, weeping as though they wept not, and crying in the spirit of faith, 'Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord God, my Holy One? We shall not die!' I have known affliction. Yea, my friend, I have been sorely afflicted; I have rolled my dreary eye from earth to heaven; I found no comfort, till it pleased the unimaginable high and lofty One, to make my heart more tender in regard of religious feelings. My philosophical refinements, and metaphysical theories, lay by me in the hour of anguish as toys by the bedside of a child deadly sick. May God continue his visitations to my soul, bowing it down, till the pride and Laodicean self-confidence of human reason be utterly done away, and I cry with deeper and yet deeper feelings, O my soul thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor and blind and naked!

—whose soul is almost wrapped up in—hath his heart purified by the horrors of desolation, and prostrates his spirit at the throne of God in believing silence. The terrors of the Almighty are the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire that precede the still, small voice of his love. The pestilence of our lusts must be scattered; the strong-laid foundations of our pride blown up, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Phil. 1903, p. 51. *Monthly Repository*, 1834, p. 653.

stubble and chaff of our little vanities burnt, ere we can give ear to the in-speaking voice of mercy. 'Why will ye die?'

My answer to Godwin will be a six-shilling octavo; and is designed to show, not only the absurdities and wickedness of *his* system, but to depict what appear to me the defects of all the systems of morality before and since Christ; and to show, that wherein they have been right, they have exactly coincided with the gospel, and that each has erred exactly in proportion as he has deviated from that perfect canon. My last chapter will attack the credulity, superstition, calumnies, and hypocrisy of the present race of infidels. Many things have fallen out to retard the work; but I hope that it will appear shortly after Christmas, at the farthest. I have endeavored to make it a cheap book; and it will contain such matter as is usually sold for eight shillings. I perceive that in the *New Monthly Magazine* the infidels have it all hollow. How our ancestors would have lifted up their hands at that modest proposal for making experiments in favour of idolatry!

Before the 24th of this month I will send you my *poetic endeavors*. It shall be as good as I can make it. The following lines are at your service, if you approve of them—(The lines are those addressed "To a Young Man of Fortune," *Works*, Globe Edition, London, 1909, p. 68.) . . .

I seldom see any paper. Indeed I am out of heart with the French. In one of the numbers of my 'Watchman,' I wrote a remonstrance to the French legislators; it contained *my* politics; and the splendid victories of the French since that time have produced no alteration in them. I am tired of reading butcheries; and, although I should be unworthy of the name of man, if I did not feel my head and heart awfully interested in the final event, yet, I confess, my curiosity is worn out with regard to the particulars of the process. The paper which contained an account of the departure of your friend, had in it a sonnet, written during a thunderstorm. In thought and diction it was sublime and fearfully impressive. I do not remember to have ever read so fine a *sonnet*. Surely, I thought, this burst from no common feelings, agitated by no common sorrow! Was it yours?

A young man of fortune (his name——) wrote and published a book of horrible blasphemies, asserting that our blessed Lord deserved his fate more than any malefactor ever did Tyburn (I pray heaven I may not incur guilt by transcribing it.) And after a fulsome panegyric, adds, that the name of —— will soon supersede that of Christ. —— wrote a letter to this man, thanking him for his admirable work, and soliciting the honour of his personal friendship!!!

With affectionate esteem, yours sincerely,

S. T. COLERIDGE.

It is clearly seen that the letter falls naturally into two parts, one of a very personal nature which demonstrates Coleridge's intimacy with Benjamin Flower, the other showing us new and valuable side lights on the writer's politics at this time.

Benjamin Flower (1755-1829) came into some prominence in 1792 by the publication of a work on the French Constitution.<sup>2</sup> This probably attracted Coleridge to him. At any rate, it had something to do with Flower's being selected about this time to edit the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, a liberal newspaper which his brother Richard helped to establish. The *Intelligencer* was the only "provincial" newspaper in the kingdom that denounced the war with France as "absurd and wicked." Coleridge, who expressed much the same opinion of the War, in the *Watchman* (see especially No. 1), when that unique periodical became defunct with the issue of May 13, 1796, urged his readers to peruse the *Intelligencer*. It stood for the "rational liberty" Coleridge had advocated. Later in 1797, Flower was imprisoned by order of the House of Lords for an attack on the Bishop of Llandaff, but was liberated at the end of the session.<sup>3</sup> And he has always been regarded as one of the authors who wrote weekly articles for the *Dispatch* over the pseudonym "Publicola." The intimacy of Coleridge with such a man, at this stage of his career, is revealing. It is well known that the "Ode on the Departing Year" was first printed in The *Intelligencer* (December 31, 1796) in an abbreviated form, and that the poem was written to Flower's order.<sup>4</sup>

The second part of Coleridge's letter is the more important, however. His references to the never-published answer to Godwin;<sup>5</sup> his characterization of the *New Monthly Magazine* as a stronghold of infidelity; his unqualifiedly orthodox religious attitude; his superlative praise of his friend's third-rate sonnet<sup>6</sup>—

<sup>2</sup> *The French Constitution, with remarks on some of its principal articles, etc.*, London, 1792.

<sup>3</sup> See Andrews, *British Journalism*, London, 1859, II, 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Works*, Globe Edition, p. 586, note 103. Also Intro. xxxii. Haney lists six other pieces published in the *Intelligencer* (*Bibliography of S. T. C.*, p. 44). Authority for the last statement is found in the *Estlin Letters* (*Philobiblon Society Pub.*) Lon. 1884, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Compare letter to Thelwall, Dec. 32 (*Letters*, ed. of E. H. Coleridge, London, 1895, I, 210). See also Cottle's *Reminiscences*, 347, note.

<sup>6</sup> To the Wind: Written in a Stormy Night.

Roar, boistrous element! and howling send  
Thy imps of havoc through the low'ring skies,  
Upon thy breath as desolation flies,  
Led to her mischief by the lightning's glare;  
The general wreck accords with my despair:

these are valuable side lights on the writer's life and feelings at this time. But most interesting of all is his reference to his "Remonstrance to the French Legislators" in the *Watchman*, as a statement of his politics. Since the address has never been reprinted, and since the *Watchman* itself is practically inaccessible to the average student of Coleridge, the "Remonstrance" is here quoted in full.

Guardians of the LIBERTY of EUROPE! the Individual, who has devoted his Joys and Sorrows to the Interests of the whole, partakes of the importance of the object which he has accustomed himself to contemplate. He addresses you therefore with that dignity with which his subject invests him: for he speaks in the name of HUMAN KIND. When America emancipated herself from the oppressive capriciousness of her old and doting Foster-Mother, we beheld an instructive speculation on the probable *Loss and Gain* of unprotected and un tributary Independence; and considered the Congress as a respectable body of Tradesmen deeply versed in the ledgers of Commerce, who well understood their own worldly concerns, and adventurously improved them. France presented a more interesting spectacle. Her great men with a profound philosophy investigated the interests common to all intellectual beings, and legislated for the WORLD. The lovers of Mankind were every where fired and exalted by their example: each heart proudly expatriated itself, and we heard with transport of the victories of Frenchmen, as the victories of Human Nature. But the effects of despotism could not be instantly removed with the cause: and the Vices and Ignorance, and the Terrors of the multitude conspired to subject them to the tyranny of a bloody and fanatic faction. The fortune of France prevailed; and a Government has been established, which without counteracting the progressiveness, gratifies the more importunate frailties of our present nature. To give stability to such a Constitution, it is needful only that its effects should be experienced. Peace therefore is necessary.

At this season, when all the creative powers of nature are in action, and all things animated and inanimate inspire the human heart with joy and kindliness, at this season, your executive Department have transmitted a paper, which, they knew would be the signal for recommencing the horrors of War. Legislators of France! if you had been nursed amid the insolent splendour of heredi-

In whirling eddy, as the leaves descend,  
 And from its twig the ring-dove's nest is torn;  
 The bending oak, of all its foliage shorn,  
 Resembles *me*'-tis thus th' Almighty's blast  
 Strips me of every comfort, and my soul,  
 By cloud of melancholy overcast,  
 Loves the dark pauses when the thunders roll;  
 For then, each peal seems awfully to toll  
 The knell of all my happy moments past!

This sonnet is reprinted with the letter in the *Monthly Repository*, 1834.

tary prosperity, ignorant of the misery and unsympathizing with the miserable, I should not dare repeat to you the common-place pleadings of humanity.—But *you* are from among your countrymen.

But *you* were nursed upon the self-same hills,  
Fed the same flocks by fountains, shades, or rills:

*You* ought to tremble and weep beneath the stern necessity, that should command you to issue the mandate for the death of even one man—alas! what if for the death of perhaps half-a-MILLION? Permit me then to examine whether or no this necessity existed.—The Directory assign as their motives for rejecting his Britannic Majesty's overtures, first, their doubts respecting the sincerity of the English Court, and secondly, "the constitutional act, which does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that which according to the existing laws, constitutes the Territory of the Republic."—The Directory doubt the sincerity of the English Court because Mr. Wickham who transmitted the overture, was not himself authorized to negotiate.—If a disposition favorable to Peace had been discovered in the French Government a man of greater name and dignity than the Minister to the Swiss Cantons, would have been appointed to treat with the August Legislature of France; but it ought not to have been expected that the English Court would send a special messenger of high rank on an uncertain errand. To enquire concerning the intentions of the French Government, Mr. Wickham was well qualified by his being on the spot with the French Ambassador.

They doubt it likewise because a congress was proposed, "*of which the necessary result would be to render all negotiations endless.*" The English Court on the other hand wished "*for the establishment of a congress, which has been so often and so happily the means of restoring Peace to Europe.*" A mere assertion opposed to a mere assertion, and therefore both without force. But the Directory *did* communicate the general grounds of a pacification: they inform the contending Powers, that France is determined to retain her most important conquests: That an act of the Constitution forbids their restoration.—How are other Nations dependent on your internal regulations? What if in a paroxysm of victory ye had passed an act for the junction of England to France? But the inhabitants of the Netherlands themselves wish this union: and it would be unworthy a generous Republic to yield them up to their former Despotism. We should not use these arguments, of which our adversaries may equally avail themselves. To the same motives expressed in the same words the horrors of La Vendee are to be attributed. No nation has the right of interfering with the affairs of another Country, is a general law: and general laws must not be dispensed with in compliment to the supposed justice of a particular case.

The detention of the Netherlands cannot therefore be defended on the ground of Justice: its Policy alone remains to be considered! O France! have thy Legislators already degenerated into such abject court-craft, as to know any distinction between Justice and Policy?—But wherein does this Policy consist? Your Commissioners have informed you that these Provinces, reserving an ample supply for themselves, produce Corn enough to supply a third France. Surely the toil and treasures, which must be wasted in another campaign might enable France not to need this supply. Or even if this were impracticable



(which it would be insolent unthankfulness to nature to affirm), yet how easily might the free Commerce between France and the Netherlands be made one the articles of Peace! And is there such a magic in the *name* of internal commerce, as to make it the fit object of another series of crimes and miseries? Again, some among you have asserted, that in order to your security against the future ambitious attempts of your enemies, it is necessary that you should retain the Netherlands. Your enemies assert with at least equal plausibility, that in order to their security against your ambition, it is necessary that you should not enlarge your territories. But, Legislators of France! if your system be true, a few years only of Peace would so increase your population and multiply your resources, as to place you beyond all danger of attack. The Tyrants of Europe will be ineffectually employed in preventing the irresistible influence of your example on their own subjects.—Let only your magnificent promises be performed, and we shall have no reason to doubt the Almightyness of Truth. That which in Theory has been ridiculed, must necessarily excite imitation, if realized: for why has it been ridiculed except that the despairing children of this world think it too excellent to be practicable? “Let us (says Condorcet) be cautious not to despair of the human race. Let us dare to foresee in the ages that will succeed us, a knowledge and a happiness of which *we* can only form a vague and undetermined idea. Let us count on the *perfectibility* with which nature has endowed us; and on the strength of the human genius, from which long experiences gives us a right to expect prodigies. “These are the revolutionary measures which Wildem prescribes—not the intrigues of your Emissaries, not the terror of your arms.”

If however you persevere in your intentions, will your soldiers fight with the same enthusiasm for the Ambition as they have done for the Liberty of their Country? Will they not by degrees amid the stern discipline of arms and horrors of War, forget the proud duties of *Citizens*, and become callous to the softer claims of domestic life? May not some future Dumorier find a more pliant Army? May not the distress of the poor drive them to Anarchy? May not the rising generation, who have not only heard of the evils of Despotism but *felt* the horrors of a revolutionary Republic, imbibe sentiments favorable to Royalty? Will not the multitude of discontented men make *such* regulations necessary for the preservation of your Freedom, as in themselves destroy Freedom? Have not some of your supposed Patriots already deemed it expedient to limit the liberty of the Press? Legislators of France! in the name of Prosperity we adjure you to consider, that misused success is soon followed by adversity, and that the adversity of France may lead, in its train of consequences, the slavery of all Europe!<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *The Watchman*, April 27, 1796.

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

ELST, J. VAN DER, "L'ALTERNANCE BINAIRE DANS  
LE VERS NÉERLANDAIS DU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE."  
Groningue, 1920. Pp. 128.

Van der Elst finds that at an early date under the influence of the French renaissance a new form of verse came into vogue in Flanders and in Holland, cultivated, above all others, by Jan van der Noot, Lucas de Heere, Jan van Hout, and Carel van Mander, four poets who wrote during the second half of the sixteenth century. The structure of the Dutch and Flemish verse had been dependent up to that time on the number of stressed syllables, a form which developed out of the old alliterative verse; but by the middle of the sixteenth century, it had already become very defective, and so these poets, being young and full of enthusiasm, endeavored to introduce a new principle of versification, which they borrowed from the French. Henceforth, the total number of syllables in a given verse was to be considered the essential criterion of metrical perfection; simultaneously, the iambic became established, which was erroneously regarded by the adherents of the new movement as the basis of French versification.

The author maintains that the Middle-Netherlandish verse, as a matter of fact, already possessed a pronounced binary rhythm, though the theorists had up to that time not taken account of it, which under certain influences now became so manifest that it was regarded as an innovation. To prove his contention, van Elst presents a large amount of material, in all some forty pages, seeking to establish the natural rhythm of every single line. He admits that his interpretation is subjective, and that competent and unprejudiced scholars may reject his findings in individual instances, but in their totality, he considers them correct.

In his analysis of the different verse forms, van Elst relies wholly on the ear, which organ is the most delicate and, barring the danger of too subjective an interpretation, the most trustworthy instrument for the purpose. Graphic presentations furnish, in his opinion, only a means of control, a check on the results obtained by the auditory method. He has adapted to his investigation the principles advocated by Paul Verrier in his exhaustive *Essai sur les principes de la métrique anglaise*, and in a number of articles published subsequently to the appearance of his larger work. Scansion, van Elst rejects as the most cruel torture to which any form of verse can be possibly subjected; by it, the harmony and the esthetic value of the verse is com-

pletely destroyed, a claim which is only too true. His vehement protest finds, moreover, a natural explanation in the rigidity of the system in vogue in his special field. The scholars and theorists who have dealt with Dutch versification seem to have gone to very great lengths in this respect, and, in their endeavors to classify all possible combinations, they have devised strange feet, to judge by the illustrations, as, for instance the following: "*vrĭendĕllĭjkĕrĕ,*" and "*dĕ gĕbĕnĕdĭjdĕ.*" If a verse is read naturally, with due regard for its esthetic character, van Elst holds, we can detect a rhythmic accent, produced by regular segments of time. "Just as music, the verse is based on isochronism of rhythmic intervals." But this regularity is not one of mathematical precision; it exists only for the ear. Even if the disparity of several such rhythmic groups is considerable, our innate tendency towards rhythm fosters the illusion that the intervals are of equal length; and we unconsciously pronounce the longer units more rapidly than the rest to approximate actual equality, be it ever so impossible to really attain it.

Van Elst cites as an illustration the Lord's Prayer, and one must admit that in English, too, one can easily detect a pronounced rhythm, when the Lord's Prayer is solemnly recited. But in music, the intervals are very regular, while in the various verse forms, they are treated with a great deal of freedom. In support of his argument, the author cites some nursery rimes, which, indeed, well illustrate the tendency towards isochronism. Similar instances could probably be adduced in large number from the various Germanic languages. In the region of the Giant Mountains, one surely can find this very day the following lines in use:

"Kŭchĕ bĕckĕ,  
Strŭ nĕi hĕckĕ,  
Fĭnstĕr sĕn  
Ūn kĕm Mĕnšĕ 'n Bĭssĕ gĕn."

Here, the fourth verse has nearly three times as many syllables as the third, but as commonly recited—the third slowly, the fourth as rapidly as possible—the actual difference in time of utterance is greatly reduced, and the illusion of the equality of the intervals is more or less successfully produced. The fact that one never hears these lines pronounced in a different manner results, undoubtedly, from the desire of the children, and the grown-ups as well, for rhythmic movement.

Having defined the principles on which he bases his analytic examination, van Elst proceeds then to formulate his definition of verse foot. "The time interval comprised between two successive rhythmic stresses is called *foot*. The foot is then not a subdivision of the linguistic material, but a duration of time, the beginning and the end of which are characterized by an increase of intensity. This falls generally upon the most

sonorous part of the syllable, that is, the vowel." Following the example of Verrier, van Elst advocates that the vowels bearing the rhythmic stress should be set in heavy type when it is desired to indicate rhythmic accent in print.

It is then the vowels which are the bearers of rhythmic stress. What we commonly designate as sentence stress does not necessarily coincide with the rhythmic accent. The illustrations given by van Elst can, of course, only be checked up by a competent scholar thoroughly familiar with spoken Dutch and Flemish, and even then the subjective element would enter into the appraisal as a weighty factor.

Van Elst distinguishes four principal types of rhythmic feet, according to the relative positions of the stressed and unstressed vowels; the number of the latter may vary widely without altering the rhythmic structure of a given verse. The simpler illustrations given are convincing enough to one fairly familiar with the language; that applies especially to the large number of lyrics analyzed by the author.

In carrying out his investigation, he has read the verses in question aloud, with due regard for their esthetic character, and at the same time, mentally recorded the locations of the rhythmic stress. His method seems open to objection for several reasons. To assure natural delivery, larger sections of a given poem must be read without interruption, it would seem. In strophic poems, the stanza is the logical unit. That means that the reader, who is also the observer, must remember the stressed vowels in the several verses, or else must indicate them immediately on the printed page. Accordingly, one single individual must concentrate simultaneously on the following points: first, upon the natural rendition of the verses; secondly, upon the observation of the acoustic effect produced; and in the third place, upon the retention or the recording of the results obtained. One should think that more reliable results could be obtained by a division of labor, that is to say, if the reading, and the observing and recording, mentally or otherwise, were not carried out by one and the same person. Thereby the danger would also be avoided that the subjective factors in the two processes may produce a cumulative effect. Van Elst admits the difficulty of the task, and it may well be that the several functions can be performed by one and the same individual simultaneously and with reasonable objectiveness and accuracy after considerable practice.

Having defined his aims, terms, and the method employed in his investigation in an introduction covering twenty-six pages, van Elst then devotes fifteen pages, i. e., chapter I, to the presentation of theoretical discussions of metrical questions by the poets and rhetoricians of the first half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Chapter II contains 48 pages, of which more than 80% are devoted to the

presentation of illustrative material. One readily agrees with the results which are summed up in but three lines.

"One is forced to arrive at the conclusion: the dissyllabic foot is virtually the rule in the lyric poetry of the Middle-Netherlandish period; it is less common in epic and didactic poetry."

The third chapter is entirely devoted to the refutation of the claim that in French verse there exists, or has existed during the sixteenth century, a regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, in other words: a dissyllabic foot. Having disposed of this mistaken view, van Elst seeks to explain in the final chapter how the erroneous belief arose that the iambic measure was borrowed from the French, together with a form of verse in which the total number of syllables was fixed. The most important feature which led to the establishment of the iambic foot in the poetry of the Netherlands was, no doubt, the necessity for agreement between verse stress and musical stress in all poetry intended to be sung to a uniform melody. Formerly, it had been possible in the case of a verse with an irregular number of unstressed syllables to distribute them between the rhythmic, as well as between the musical stresses, the former being sufficiently regular to conform to the tune. The length of the verse now being fixed, it was essential that the natural melody of the spoken verse, i. e., rhythmic accent, should harmonize with the musical measure, a fact which strongly tended towards the establishment of a dissyllabic meter. It was but natural that the phenomenon was more manifest in lyric than in epic and didactic poetry. The conclusions at which van Elst has arrived are, on the whole, convincing; of chief interest to philologists in general is, however, the method of analysis employed by him in his investigation.

In the preface, he expresses his gratitude towards the University of Paris, which graciously accords to the graduates of the several Dutch universities the privilege: "*de couronner leurs études françaises par une thèse, droit que le gouvernement néerlandais ne leur a pas accordé jusqu'à ce jour.*"

We have here a splendid example of a very ingenious diplomatic statement. The facts are, of course, that any Dutch scholar may crown his studies in French with as elaborate a thesis as he can produce; the Dutch government, surely, will not put any obstacles in his way. But, alas, it does not crown the diligent author of such a thesis with the doctoral cap. There lies the rub. *Den Sack schlägt man und den Esel meint man.* Thanks to the liberality of the University of Paris and other French universities, the unreasonable and backward attitude of the Dutch government is not wholly unbearable.

JOSEF WIEHR

*THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF CARLYLE AND RUSKIN.* By Frederick William Roe. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1921. 8vo, pp. viii, 335. Price, \$3.

Professor Roe has produced a good book, on an interesting and vitally important subject. For the nineteenth century, far from settling the question of what ailed society, passed it on to us; and it cannot be said that we have made much progress. Still, here and there a writer of the present day throws light on some particular phase of the problem. For example, the late Andrew D. White in his later years impressed on a good many audiences the immense superiority of evolution over revolution, in the regulation of human affairs. Moreover, it is coming to be recognized that in the sphere of government as well as in the natural world changes generally do come about not so much by cataclysmic movements as by the slow and gradual growth of public opinion; and that the outbursts of human fury which we know as wars and revolutions (like the French Revolution and the World War) do not always bring about the changes that are most to be desired, since action is sure to be followed by reaction.

Both Carlyle and Ruskin virtually antedate the period when acceptance of the Darwinian theories made evolution the guiding principle of thinking about the cosmos. In 1859 Carlyle was sixty-four years old and for thirty years had held unchanged views of the insignificance, the incompetence, and the general depravity of common men. His fellow-countrymen numbered twenty-seven millions, "mostly fools." History was for him the essence of innumerable biographies—of leaders, kings, men of vision, scarcely of the common folk, ignorant and depraved as they were. Ruskin, too, was forty at that time and probably knew and cared as little about biological science as did Carlyle. The adaptation of evolutionary ideas to the solution of social problems is a thing which neither Carlyle nor Ruskin dreamed of. To some considerable extent, then, has our world moved on from them.

Still, we have much to learn from these apostles of divine discontent. Carlyle's formula for the regeneration of society was "Work"; Ruskin's was "Joy in work." Both were fundamentally right. Properly interpreted, both formulae are as effective curatives to-day as ever. The trouble with these formulae, like the trouble with Christianity, is to get them tried. They will surely work with nations as they have worked with individuals.

A good feature of Dr. Roe's book is his introductory survey of industrial and social conditions in the early nineteenth century. The industrialization of northern England permitted and invited a vast increase in population. The population of Lancashire between 1700 and 1831 increased eight hundred per

cent. The application of steam to the power loom brought in the factory system, the source of England's "most troublesome problems and her darkest conditions." It brought in the wage-earner and the exploiter of labor. It was not long before twenty thousand persons in Manchester alone and forty-five thousand in Liverpool were living in damp and filthy cellars. For a long time the odds against the wage-earners were immense. These odds were increased by the prevailing doctrine of *laissez faire* which came in with Adam Smith and James Bentham, as a reaction again the rigid economic control by government which had prevailed in the previous century; perhaps they were increased also by the comfortable middle class or bourgeois doctrine expressed by Pope in the words, "Whatever is, is right." In a large sense, this dogma is probably true; but when babies are starving, it is hard to find comfort in this armchair doctrine.

Professor Roe dwells to good purpose on Carlyle's deep and constant interest in social conditions and his numerous visits to factories and mines and homes of toilers. Carlyle wrote on the basis of an intimate, first-hand knowledge of how the workers lived. This interest in the welfare of the masses was the direct outcome of his emergence from the dark region of doubt (the Everlasting Nay) and indifference into that luminous realm of the Everlasting Yea, of belief in God's presence in the world and of man's kinship with the divine. It was his belief that this sense of the spiritual was the chief need of men in the solution of pressing social problems. And this belief has never been discredited.

With this sense of the spiritual in human life, why was Carlyle nevertheless the most miserable of men, as Dr. Barry speaks of him? Why, with God at the very heart of the universe, was it in effect the worst of all possible worlds? The answer seems to lie in the fact that Carlyle, like his disciple twenty-five years later, was

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
The other powerless to be born.

He had intellectually thrown off Calvinism, but he still lived as if this were a lost world. God was to him theoretically Divine Love, but practically the stern Ruler of a universe where no one had any vested right to happiness. Thus, like Browning's Paracelsus, Carlyle, with his stern gospel of work as the universal panacea, loving Man but despising foolish men, aspired and failed. To him was never granted the beatific vision which the Swiss physician so magnificently described in his swan-song:

In my own heart love had not been made wise  
To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,  
To know even hate is but a mask of love's,  
To see a good in evil, and a hope

In ill-success; to sympathize, be proud  
 Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim  
 Struggles for truth, their poorest fallacies,  
 Their prejudice and fears and cares and doubts;  
 All with a touch of nobleness, despite  
 Their error, upward tending all though weak.

Dr. Roe thinks Ruskin must have first become acquainted with Carlyle as early as 1850. A quarter of a century separated their births; yet they found themselves kindred spirits. Of Carlyle's books Ruskin most admired Past and Present, Latter Day Pamphlets, and Sartor Resartus. In these he thought that Carlyle had said "all that needs to be said, and far better than I shall ever say it again."

Carlyle, as we have seen, never got beyond the rather vague admonition to work, under leaders who should rise above the level of the mass and somehow get themselves accepted as masters or rulers. For him, economics was only the dismal science, which he apparently took no pains to master, but treated with contempt. The impersonal, scientific attitude of its writers repelled him. The world was not to be saved by the prescriptions of Malthus or Mill; rather, he thought, by repudiating these false teachers and all their doctrines. If the rich would work less at game-preserving and more at leadership, all would be well. This was doubtless true, but it did not get the world very far, after all.

When Ruskin, a quarter of a century later, opened his eyes to social conditions, he found no great change since 1832, except that continued division of labor had robbed it more completely than ever of its meaning and reduced the laborer to a galley slave, blindly repeating the same motions over and over. It became Ruskin's dream, then, to restore to labor the creative impulse, to give it a *raison d'être* beyond the mere necessity of keeping up life, to induce the laborer to work honestly, intelligently, joyously. To this end he would do away with cutthroat competition, with its tendency toward the sweatshop; he would reduce the use of machinery to a minimum, and would have everybody do some work with his hands; he would restore the individuality of the worker.

Neither Carlyle nor Ruskin had confidence in the people's government of themselves. Democracy was a failure; only an aristocracy or constitutional monarchy could succeed and endure. There would always be a class of mean, servile folk who had no business to govern themselves. Neither Carlyle nor Ruskin could see that the nature of the proletariat was constantly changing; that our modern American formula of "three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" was applicable in a measure to people everywhere. The backward eddies are more apparent than real. Each generation is a little better able to govern itself than was its predecessor.



Yet in spite of their limitations, the influence of these two men has been great, Ruskin's probably greater than Carlyle's. St. George's Guild was a failure; Ruskin's fortune was wasted in a futile attempt to solve practically the problem of better living; yet steadily Ruskin's insistence that the life was more than meat and the body more than raiment has told. Mr. McKail thinks that "his influence has been, and continues to be, immense. It is perhaps greater, so far at least as England is concerned, than that of any other single thinker or teacher. His social doctrine was germinal; it colors the whole fabric of modern thought, and shapes the whole fabric of modern practice."

Professor Roe's book is a welcome addition to the growing mass of literature on these two great writers. He has arranged his material well, and has exhibited a proper sense of proportion and restraint. We know of no more illuminating study of these two Heralds of the New Day.

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SVERRIS SAGA ETTER CODEX AM 327, 4°. Utgjevi av Den Norske Historiske Kildeskrikkommission ved Gustav Indrebø. Christiania, 1920, Pp. LXXVIII+214.

The Arnamagnæan codex 327 of the Saga of King Sverre is a parchment Ms. of 92 leaves written about the year 1300. It is preserved almost complete, only a few pages being lacking, and is in excellent condition. A facsimile page of it was published in Kålund's *Palæografisk Atlas, Norsk-Islandske Afdeling*, 1905, as nr. 42, showing it to be a beautifully written manuscript with not a few interesting palæographic features. The original must have been composed ca. 1185, but that is not in existence; there are four copies, however, of which the present is the oldest. The saga is also contained in the *Eirspennil* (AM 47), which was edited for the Kildeskrikkommission in 1916 by Professor Finnur Jónsson, and where the Sverris Saga is found pp. 255-438. The editor of the *Eirspennil* dates it the first quarter of the XIVth century (p. VII). The Sverris Saga is further found in the *Flat Island Book*, date ca. 1380, and finally in the *Skalholt Book* (AM 81 a, fol), as its first 64 leaves; the date of the latter is given by Kålund as the XVth century. Both of these have also been published, the last in a critical edition for the Kildeskrikkommission in 1910.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the present edition I take occasion to note the fact that this Commission for the publication of documents that are in the

<sup>1</sup> The Flat Island Book was edited by G. Vigfusson and C. R. Unger in 1858-1868.

nature of original sources for Norwegian history now has to its credit a stately series of forty-six volumes. It is a series that no Scandinavian or historical collection can afford to be without.

The present edition is a careful and scholarly piece of editing, and a very important and welcome contribution, both as to the manner of editing and as to the critical Introduction with which it is supplied. In the matter of the printing the text there is only one point that I could have wished otherwise, namely in the printing of proper names. In the codex these are written variously with a minuscule, a small capital, or a large capital. The editor has used the large capital everywhere for the initial of names of persons, dialect regions, cities, and countries. This makes a more attractive and more readable page, and for most purposes fills every requirement; but for certain kinds of palæographic studies it is not as serviceable, as if it had showed also in this respect the exact condition of the Ms. However, I do not wish to cavil about this. The simplifications in type adopted seem justifiable; they are the two types of *r:z* and *r*. The latter is used everywhere in the edition; there seems no objection to this since we are informed that the type *z* is used after *o*, *b*, *d* and *ð*, otherwise *r* is used (we infer "everywhere otherwise"). Anglo-Saxon *ƿ* and Latin *v* are both written *v* in the edition; the editor notes that they are employed without any rule in the Ms., but *v* most in the beginning; toward the end of the Ms. *v* disappears and *ƿ* is used almost exclusively. Apparently, therefore, there is no system, or survival of a system, about the use of the *v* in the beginning of the Ms. The universal Anglo-Saxon *ƿ* and the round *ð* of the Ms. are printed *f* and *d* in the edition. The scope of abbreviations is seen by the use of italics for abbreviated parts of words. The editor has thought best to set the prepositions *i* and *a* apart from the following word, though they are in the Ms. very often written combined with them. In the Ms. also the parts of compounds are commonly written apart, with full or half intervening space. In such cases the edition prints with a hyphen, I am glad to see. There are naturally many cases where it is difficult to decide whether the writer has intended separation of the elements of a compound or not; it is in fact sometimes impossible to say. The editor's method here has been one that seems the safest to follow (set out fully on pages XII-XIII). In passing I will here mention the fact that the tall *l* is also sometimes used for double *s* in the Ms; ligatures are very rare: *a+n* a couple times, *l+l*, twice, and *a+r* apparently only once.

In the Introduction the editor discusses the early history of the Ms., its orthography (pp. XV-XXXI), and with some detail the results of much investigation on the relation between

*AM 327, 4°* and the other Mss. of the Sverre Saga (pp. XXXI-LXXVIII). Very little is known of the history of the Ms., but it seems likely that it has never been in Iceland. There is some evidence that it was in Norway in the XIVth century, and it is known that it was in Bergen in the end of the XVIIth century. The excellent state of preservation of the codex seems to show that it had always been in Norway, until in 1708 Arne Magnussen brought it with him to Copenhagen. The language of *327, 4°* is Icelandic throughout, but with a considerable admixture of Norwegian elements; in general these are most in evidence in the early part of the Ms., but in the matter of distinction between *æ* and *æ* there are about as many toward the end as in the beginning. The question of the nationality of the writer therefore presents itself. Both Kålund and F. Jónsson hold that it was written in Norway by an Icelander. Indrebø leaves the question in abeyance, suggesting that it may either be the work of a Norwegian who wrote from an Icelandic original, and who especially in the early part of the work uses native forms sometimes, or that it is the work of an Icelander writing in Norway, or writing from a Norwegian original (XXIX), noting, also that Trondhjem features are especially frequent in the early part of the Ms. (XVII). It does not seem to me that the distribution of the Norwegian elements (as most numerous in the beginning) argues especially for a theory of a Norwegian scribe copying from an Icelandic original, as against a theory of an Icelandic scribe copying a Norwegian original. In the latter case, too, the Norwegian forms would be most likely to creep in in the early part of the Ms. But it seems to me that if the original had been Norwegian the Norwegian elements would have been more numerous than they are. And specifically if the original had been in the Trondhjem dialect of Norwegian the cases of absence of *u*-umlaut with retained *o*, would have asserted themselves more than they have (the editor lists only seven instances, of which six are pret. plurals of the type *leitaðu*). It would seem that orthography and phonology do not offer anything conclusive in this case. It is possible that a study of the palæography might.

The editor considers the question of the similarity of script as between *AM 327* and *AM 75 e*, noted by Kålund.<sup>2</sup> But Indrebø shows that there are considerable orthographic differences, as well as some differences in scribal practice.

The question of the relations of the different Mss. practically becomes the question of whether the Eirspennil redaction is a later abbreviated version. This is the view of most who have expressed themselves on the subject. However, the two Norwegian scholars Yngvar Nielsen and Halvdan Koht hold the

<sup>2</sup> *Katalog over den arnamagnüanske Haandskriftsamling*, I, p. 55.

opinion that *AM 327* is an expanded version and that Eirspennil stands nearer to the original. The evidence for the latter view of the Mss. is interestingly and very clearly set forth in an article entitled "Norsk Historieskrivning under Koht Sverre, Serskilt Sverresoga" in *Edda*, II, pp. 67-102. The problem is an exceedingly complicated one. The Eirspennil is characterized by that concise prose style that belongs to the classical age of saga writing; but in spite of that it may be one or several steps removed from the original; and somewhere in the process of copying a redactor has in this case decided to eliminate and abbreviate with a view to confining himself to the bare facts of a well rounded out story. But also *AM 327* is in good classical style, in the main; the departures from that style are not sufficiently numerous to strike the reader. Nevertheless the latter does exhibit a not inconsiderable number, when actually counted, of those stylistic devices which are so characteristic of the post-classical period. But these may be the additions of the copyist of *AM 327*; so that this more complete Ms. form may stand close to the original, in spite of devices mentioned (such is e. g., *rekinn af þinu ríki eða af landi*). The editor illustrates these features with some detail; and while granting a closer relationship between Mss. *327*, *AM 81*, and that of the Flat Island Book, as opposed to that of Eirspennil he shows also that in this very matter of stylistic parallels and other ornate elements *AM 327* stands apart from the other three. Hence the evidence of the form of personal names or place-names, the geographical information sometimes given, the omission of facts in one or the other Ms., or errors of facts, lead the editor to a grouping of the Mss. according to which the three above Mss. belong together in one group as far as contents is concerned and that the purified text that can be derived from these shows a form of the saga that is more original than the Eirspennil text; the latter exhibits abbreviation of the original at the expense of style, but also often at the expense of contents. Ms. *AM 327* is a copy of a copy (*A*<sup>1</sup>) of the original, and that of the Flat Island Book is a copy of another copy (*B*) of the original, but embodies also elements from *A*<sup>1</sup>. Mss. *AM 81* and of Eirspennil belong together as copies two steps removed from *B*.

As to the scope of Karl Jonsson's authorship in the saga, whether he wrote all or only the first part, and if the latter, then just where his work stops, I suppose only a linguistic investigation of the whole saga is likely to give tangible results. The editor considers the problem, partly from the standpoint of alliterations, rimes, etc., but more fully with reference to contents, such as the tendency or party interest shown in the different portions of the saga. Viewing all the evidence considered the editor seems inclined to hold to duality of author-

ship, and chapter 43 as the closing chapter of the work of the first writer.

GEORGE T. FLOM

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*PTOLEMY'S MAPS OF NORTHERN EUROPE.* A Reconstruction of the Prototypes. By Gudmund Schütte. Published by the Royal Danish Geographical Society. Copenhagen. H. Hagerup. (1917).

Recognizing how far the study of Ptolemy's *Geography* has lagged behind that of the other great early source of our knowledge of Northern Europe, Tacitus' *Germania*, the author makes some of his researches accessible to scholars in the form of this provisional study. It was finished just after the outbreak of the war, when it was no longer possible to visit important libraries outside of Denmark.

Disregarding for the present the very difficult textual matters, the author limits this study to the cartographic problem of Ptolemy's lost prototypes, and simplifies his work still further by basing it on the recently discovered Vatican MS. (Urbinus 82) of the Ptolemaic atlas. This MS. dates from about 1200 A.D. and belongs to the group which have an atlas of twenty-seven maps. An edition of this codex has been promised by Prof. Jos. Fischer S. J., who placed much of his material at the disposal of Dr. Schütte. The author follows Fischer in supporting the theory that the better MS. atlases are true continuations of Ptolemy's work and represent the maps as they were designed by Marinus of Tyre, the second century geographer to whom Ptolemy owed much. The atlases may contain the more correct spelling or give entire names which are left out in the text. It is a serious fault in method to ignore the atlases, as the scholars who worked on the MSS. had done. The atlases are fully as old as the manuscript texts they accompany and certainly afford better evidence than fifteenth or sixteenth century printed editions of the latter which editors had sometimes preferred. Corruptions which could have been amended by consideration of the atlas readings had often been ascribed to Ptolemy (p. 8).

In introductory sections Dr. Schütte gives a brief survey of the manuscript problem; discussions of Ptolemy's predecessors, especially Marinus; of Ptolemy himself and his critical principles, and of Ptolemy's successors, continuing with such topics as misreadings of Latin forms, barbarian names, fictitious repetitions (partly due to the inability of Marinus to recognize the identity of barbarian names when he found them in somewhat varying orthography), etc. Then the author takes up the study of fourteen Ptolemaic prototypes assumed by him,

discussing them uniformly under the heads of contents, Ptolemaic localization, definition of limits, general topographic scheme, statistical features, duplicates, linguistic marks, literary milieu, examination of details, with concluding remarks. To illustrate this part of his work Dr. Schütte has supplied in an appendix numerous maps and illustrations. Five of the figures are half-tone reproductions of maps from the ancient manuscript atlases, but so much reduced that it is usually impossible to decipher the names. A good bibliography is appended to the work.

Many interesting details are brought out in the study of the prototypes, as on p. 127 where the evidence of an old map seems to confirm the district of Angel in Slesvig as the home of the Angles. In this connection Dr. Schütte quotes in a note "one hitherto ignored piece of traditional evidence concerning the Angles. The Quedlinburg Annals, written in the eleventh century, say ad annum 445: 'The Angles, conducted by their king Angling, leave the country of the Danes.'" On the whole the discussion of Ptolemy's prototypes does not add very much to what was known about Germanic tribe and place names, but what is offered comes from a different angle, and for this reason the Germanist will like to supplement conveniently accessible material, such as R. Much's articles in Hoops' *Reallexikon*, with a consideration of Dr. Schütte's study. One map (p. 133 and Fig. 25) localizes the Ombrones, identical with the historical Ambrones, the companions of the Cimbri and Teutones, in Mecklenburg (cf. also the island of Amrum west of Slesvig). Much, in the *Reallexikon*, 1, 76, follows the usual interpretation of Ptolemy in placing the Ombrones near the source of the Vistula. But Dr. Schütte (p. 128) points out that what was taken for the Vistula was in fact the Baltic coast, the error in Ptolemy being due to a misinterpretation of a map, involving a displacement of 90°.

This study will, as the author intended, undoubtedly stimulate research in Ptolemy's geography along more rational lines. He has succeeded in showing that the manuscript atlases must hereafter be carefully considered along with Ptolemy's text. The possibility that Dr. Schütte's work will prove to be wrong in some or even many details does not impair the credit due him for publishing part of his material in the present form.

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<sup>3</sup> The diagram on p. LI does not seem to me to quite correspond to the editor's view as expressed on p. L, as regards the relation of *AM 81* to *AM 327* and that of the Flat Island-Book.

*A STUDY OF WILLIAM SHENSTONE AND OF HIS CRITICS.* A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Wellesley College by Alice I. Hazeltine in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin. 1918.

Something may be done for William Shenstone. Miss Hazeltine's special study is timely, though the hitherto unpublished poems printed in her appendix are not likely to cause a literary flutter like the newly discovered manuscripts of John Clare. But the little best of Shenstone's poetry is too firmly grounded in popular memory to be neglected; his essays indubitably belong in the canon of the great series of "lucubrations" begun by Addison; and his correspondence with Bolingbroke's sister and others of the Warwickshire coterie, though less interesting than Gray's or Walpole's letters, still preserves the charm of that age of men and manners. He should not continue to be, as Miss Hazeltine's bibliography too clearly shows that he has been, the exclusive property of anthologists, antiquarians, and dissertation-seekers. Like Boswell's "illustrious friend" we do not sufficiently appreciate Shenstone.

A large part of Miss Hazeltine's monograph is devoted to showing how unfairly Dr. Johnson manhandled the innocuous poet in writing the biographical sketch of him for the *Lives of the Poets*. Gray and Walpole also condescended to sneer at Shenstone without much troubling themselves to learn the facts about him. But when the facts are elaborately displayed, one cannot readily accept Miss Hazeltine's big-sisterly defense of the bullied poet. It appears that Shenstone's strongminded contemporaries were nearer right in their estimate of the man than his friends Jago, Graves, and Robert Dodsley, who venerated him for virtues negative at best and injured his reputation by indiscriminate publication of his writings. If Thoreau was in Stevenson's word a "skulker," there is no term in the language to describe the abjectness of Shenstone's retirement. He early lapsed from the cultivation of his small talents into that graceful desuetude possible only to a generation nourished on Pomfret's *Choice*, where a little poetry, a little gardening, and a little giving and receiving of visits entertained the harmless day. Marriage he avoided from motives of prudence, though Dodsley records that one "tender impression" received in youth "was with difficulty surmounted." The improvement of his Shropshire pastures became his master passion, literature his diversion. Possibly because his purse was slender, he allowed nature to co-operate in his landscape gardening, instead of domineering over her in the fashion of his day. But there is no evidence that he would not have had more urns, statues, temples, "root-houses," and artificial

effects if he could have afforded them. In short, Dr. Johnson was well within the truth in insinuating that Shenstone's talents were not comprehensive.

A small quantity of his poetry, nevertheless, has genuine merit and deserves a treatment more intelligently critical and less narrowly scholarly than Miss Hazeltine gives it. It is hardly worth while, for example, to record that a German has found hints of *The Schoolmistress* in Ovid, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Rochester, Parnell, Pope, Ramsay, Prior, Gay, ballads, and versions of the Psalms, and has then characterized the poem as "one of the earliest pioneer works in a special literary form, the lesser epic (*Kleinepos*)."<sup>1</sup> Nor is it worth while to point out that certain lines of Shenstone anticipate this or that thought of Gray, Cowper, Wordsworth, or Emerson. Originality in literature consists, not in saying a thing first, but in saying it last; Shenstone's "little bench of heedless bishops" has in despite of dates sunk into an echo of Gray's "mute inglorious Milton." To consider minor poetry in relation to absolute standards inevitably results in damage either to the poetry or to the standards. In the face of this dilemma Miss Hazeltine favors the poetry. But the embarrassing alternative might better have been avoided altogether. Considered in relation to the spirit of its age minor poetry usually gains in significance.

From this point of view Shenstone's *Schoolmistress* furnishes a particularly apt illustration of how satirical burlesque was passing over into the literature of sentiment. The successive modifications of the poem deserve a scrutiny which, in spite of a hint from Isaac Disraeli, Miss Hazeltine neglects to give them. When it was first published in 1737, mock-epic, mock-romance, and mock-pastoral were in the air. Shenstone then spoke of it as "ludicrous poetry," and "purely to show fools that I am in jest" added a "ludicrous index" or synopsis of the poem, stressing the burlesque. The temper in which he conceived it was close to that which inspired his "culinary eclogue" entitled *Colemira*:

"Ah! who can see, and seeing, not admire,  
Whene'er she sets the pot upon the fire!  
Her hands outshine the fire and redder things;  
Her eyes are blacker than the pot she brings;"

Like this mock-pastoral *The Schoolmistress* was to all appearances originally intended as one of the author's "levities." Dodsley, his publisher, was to blame for its absurd inclusion under the head of "moral pieces" and also for the suppression of the ludicrous index. But there are indications that Shenstone himself ultimately joined the ranks of the "fools" who persisted in taking the poem seriously. The changes in later editions of the poem cited by Disraeli show him consistently working away from burlesque and in the direction of tender realism. A notable example is the addition of stanzas 11-15, which describe without a trace of ridicule the old dame's



herb garden and her psalmody. As Shenstone left it the poem is neatly balanced between whimsy and sentiment. It remained for Burns, who as a provincial and a rustic falsely admired Shenstone for his "divine Elegies," to develop the strain of homely sentiment with complete seriousness in *The Cotter's Saturday Night*. *The Schoolmistress* in poetry is like *Joseph Andrews* in fiction, a work begun as a parody but ended in earnest as an appeal to the sentiments. The change was eminently characteristic of the time, and to define Shenstone in relation to it is a task that still remains to be done.

Miss Hazeltine's thesis includes a description of the manuscript book, now owned by Professor George Herbert Palmer, from which she prints fifteen new poems and a number of others containing new stanzas or other variants from the published versions. These, she says truly, "make no new revelation of the nature or the art of Shenstone." There follows a brief outline of Shenstone's life, an account of "Periods of Interest in Shenstone," and a long "Critical Estimate," in which she discusses the poet's personality, his landscape gardening at the Leasowes, and his writings—poems, essays, letters, and literary criticism gleaned from the letters. In the sections on Shenstone's prose, where she is not under obligation to retort the jeers of hostile critics, Miss Hazeltine shows a faculty for judicious quotation and performs a genuine service in calling attention to aspects of his work that should be better known.

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*EINE WESTFÄLISCHE PSALMENÜBERSETZUNG* aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts untersucht und herausgegeben. Akademische Abhandlung von Erik Rooth. Uppsala, 1919. Appelbergs Boktryckeri. CXXXIV, 164 pp.

This is an edition of the somewhat fragmentary psalms (from 15, 9 on), with twelve canticles and parts of a breviary, from a Wolfenbüttel codex (Aug. 58.4 in 8°). This psalm translation is probably the oldest reasonably complete version in Low German. In the long introduction Dr. Rooth treats the language, vocabulary, relation to possible earlier versions, the version as a translation, and the phonology of the text. After a laborious study of all possible criteria, the author is inclined to locate the home of the scribe in S. W. Westfalia (Sauerland), which is near enough to Cologne for some influence of Middle German (Riparian) literary speech to appear in the dialect. In the discussion of the vocabulary the author presents several lists to illustrate words characteristic of High German or

hitherto unrecorded in Middle Low German. Due to the conservative nature of the psalm translations, Dr. Rooth is convinced that the vocabulary of this version contains many survivals of the old fragmentary interlinear versions—that it even has some connection with the Old Low Franconian (Dutch) psalm fragments. There is no text of the Latin psalms which can be pointed out as the direct source of this translation. It represents essentially the *Psalterium Gallicanum* of the Vulgate but with some readings of Jerome's *Psalt. Romanum* and *Psalt. juxta Hebraeos*, and even with traces of the earlier Old Latin readings. Some readings of this Low German version (also of the Old Low Franconian and other psalters) find their closest parallels in the Old English psalms; significant variants of the latter and of Notker's psalms are entered in the apparatus to Dr. Rooth's text. The translation itself is faithful to the Latin but reasonably free and independent in word-order; in many passages, however, Dr. Rooth detects crudities of style that seem to represent the tradition of the old interlinear glosses.

In the sections of the study dealing with the localization of the dialect and with the sources the author indulged in hypothesis rather freely. In the fifty pages and more devoted to the phonology of his text he is on solid ground and furnishes dependable material on the history of Low German sounds. The publication is a welcome addition to the material on German psalm translations and a valuable contribution to the study of Low German, which is now exhibiting so notable a renaissance in the universities (with new chairs in Hamburg and Greifswald) and through many aspiring writers.

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*HISTORICAL OUTLINES OF ENGLISH PHONOLOGY AND MIDDLE ENGLISH GRAMMAR.* By Samuel Moore. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1919. Pp. 7+83.

Many—probably most—of us who endeavor to give our students a real grounding in Chaucer's language or some precise acquaintance with the development of the English tongue have felt handicapped through the lack of a serviceable handbook. Professor Moore's compendium is in the main well planned to supply this need, as a brief summary of the contents will show. The first section is a somewhat too scant but reasonably clear sketch of "The Elements of Phonetics," which is followed by a short chapter on "Modern English Sounds." These two chapters provide the student with the means for

observing his own production of speech sounds, without which no intelligent approach can be made to the subject of linguistic history. Part II contains a compressed but adequate treatment of the pronunciation and inflections of Chaucer's language, together with an explanation of "final e" that should be of the greatest assistance to the student whose acquaintance with earlier English begins with Chaucer. Something over a hundred lines of the *Prologue* in phonetic notation is not the least serviceable part of this chapter. Part III, "The History of English Sounds," traces the main courses of sound changes from Old into Present English with some attention to American pronunciation where it differs from that of Standard English. So condensed a treatment naturally does not concern itself with minutiae and disputed points—and properly so, as this manual is intended for elementary students who would be bewildered by a complete and detailed discussion. Part IV presents "The Historical Development of Middle English Inflections." In this chapter the Old English Forms, the corresponding forms that developed (or would have developed) phonologically, and analogical new formations are arranged in parallel columns. Such an arrangement makes for clearness of presentation at some cost of accuracy. Part V is a presentation of the conventional material on the distribution and characteristics of the four chief dialects of Middle English. An Appendix on "Middle English Spelling" concludes the work. A surprisingly large amount of serviceable material is thus provided within the narrow limits of eighty-three pages. The division into practically independent parts allows the instructor who is familiar with this manual to assign what his students need in their particular work without forcing upon them other material that would confuse them. The chapters on linguistic history as well as that on the language of Chaucer do not presuppose any knowledge of Old English.

Though this little volume has thus been carefully planned for a definite group of users and should prove very serviceable to them, it is open to adverse criticism, I believe, in a good many respects. I shall merely illustrate particulars to which serious exception may be taken. In the first place, the proof reading should have been done much more carefully. An elementary student would be much puzzled by *hōil* for *hōli* (p. 23), by *Epicurus ownes one* (p. 26) and by the paradigm of the present indicative singular of Northern *find(e)* (p. 78). There are also decidedly questionable or wholly inaccurate statements. For example, there may be warrant for beginning the Middle English period as early as 1050 (p. 79); but if this is done, the statement (p. 81, footnote 97) that "*ā* does not occur in the earliest ME., for the OE. *ā* became *ǣ* in ME." is obviously not true. It is also misleading to write *č*, *ġ* (with palatal

dot) as Old English spellings (pp. 37 ff.) and only after forty pages to state in a footnote that "the dot is added by modern editors." Further, the thoughtful student who recalls his Modern English pronouns and wishes to connect them with the Middle English forms will be led sadly astray by such inconsistencies (pp. 58-59) as occasional indications of long vowels in *ūs*, *ȝē* (*jē*), *hī*, *hē*, and only short vowels in *mi(n)*, *me*, *we*, *ure*, etc. There are a good many other particulars to which objection may be raised. For example, the sound of *a* in *mate* or of *ey* in *they* is hardly a "fair approximation" (p. 13) to the sound of Chaucer's *ei*, *ai*. The definition of preterite present verbs as those having present indicatives like strong preterite indicatives only "in that they have no ending in the first and third persons singular and have the ending *-e(n)* (from Old English *-on*) in the plural" (pp. 30, 66) is so incomplete as to be inaccurate. And is the vowel of the stressed syllable of *airy* (p. 6) properly represented by *ē*? In connection with the employment of this symbol *ē*, I must regret that Professor Moore felt impelled to depart from the notation of the International Phonetic Alphabet. A student has no great difficulty in learning his first set of phonetic characters—and he has great difficulty in unlearning them. The International Alphabet is the only one that has any considerable prospect of general currency; every substitution of symbols for those provided in it increases the confusion now existing and postpones the day when a single set of phonetic characters will be consistently employed and readily understood by students and scholars everywhere. Finally, mention must be made of an error in method that is quite sure to confuse the student. Mercian or Midland is, of course, presented as the basis of Standard Middle and Modern English, whereas Old English and West Saxon are used as synonyms. When (pp. 61-62) *slāpan*, *healdan*, etc., are presented as the Old English forms and the statement is made that "By the operation of the sound changes which have been explained, these Old English forms developed into the following Middle English forms"—*slepe(n)* [*slēpəm*], *holde(n)* [*hōldəm*], the normal student will not note in his mind the small type statement in a footnote which calls attention to differences between West Saxon and Mercian and explains that the Middle English forms are derived from the latter. The same sort of misinterpretation will result from the statement (p. 74) about the development of "Old English *īe*" in Kentish. In adapting his book to the needs of students who may be acquainted with Old English, Professor Moore encountered a real difficulty. It might have been met, I think, by a clear statement—placed prominently in the text—of the essential differences between Mercian and West Saxon, and by a consistent derivation of Midland forms from Mercian.

It is unfortunate that in a review of this work the effective features are obvious from a mere statement of the contents, whereas the defects have to be pointed out at some length; the result is to make the latter appear out of proportion. The book does need a careful revision; one must exercise considerable care in using it with inexperienced students; but even in its present state a careful and competent instructor will find it of very great service.

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## SUNUFATARUNGO

Die Erklärung des merkwürdigen Wortes habe ich vor einer Reihe von Jahren in dem Aufsätze "Zum Hildebrandsliede," in Paul u. Braunes Beiträgen 36 (1910) 367 ff., zu fördern gesucht. Der Vers

Sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun,

so führte ich aus, ist wörtlich zu übersetzen: "Sohn- und Vaterskinder brachten (sie) ihre Rüstung in Ordnung." Neben Hildebrand und seinem Sohne Hadubrand wird ja in dem alten Liede ausdrücklich der Vater Hildebrands, mit Namen Heribrand, erwähnt. Wenn also Sohn und Vater an sich stets auch Söhne oder Nachkommen von Sohn und Vater sind, so brauchen wir in diesem Falle an der Verwendung des patronymischen Suffixes *-ung-* in der feierlich einerschreitenden Zusammensetzung *sunufatarungo* um so weniger Anstoss zu nehmen. Diese Deutung hat sich neuerdings der Zustimmung mehrerer Fachgenossen (vor allem E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren ahd. Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1916, S. 13) zu erfreuen gehabt. Ich hätte also kaum Anlass gehabt, an sie zu erinnern, wäre nicht in dem letzten Hefte dieser Zeitschrift (oben S. 153 ff.) eine neue Erklärung der Endung *-ungo* vorgelegt, deren Urheber anscheinend weder mein kleiner Aufsatz noch Steinmeyers musterhaftes und überall förderliches Werk vorgelegen hat. Muss ich ausdrücklich erklären, dass ich an meiner Auffassung noch festhalte? Aber ich benutze diese Gelegenheit gerne, um bei dem in vieler Beziehung lehrreichen Worte *sunufatarungo* noch etwas länger zu verweilen.

Wie man weiss, hat Hermann Möller, *Zur ahd. Alliterationspoesie* (Kiel, 1888) S. 88 f. die Endung *-o* an die idg. Dualendung *-ōu* angeknüpft. Steinmeyer (a. a. O.) S. 14, bemerkt dazu: "Ob ein Dual oder ein Plural vorliegt, weiss ich nicht." Auch ich habe den Eindruck, dass die Gründe für die eine und für die andere Auffassung ziemlich gleich schwer wiegen. Vom Standpunkte der Lautlehre aus ist gegen die Gleichsetzung der Endung *-o* mit aind. *-ā(u)* gewiss nichts einzuwenden, und Möller selbst hat schon auf das parallele Lautverhältnis in ahd. *ahto*, got. *ahtau* und skr. *aṣṭau* hingewiesen. Ebenso erscheint

die Annahme durchaus statthaft, eine Dualform habe sich in der Nominalflexion "wenn auch vielleicht bereits als Antiquität oder nur in erstarrten Wörtern" bis auf die Zeit der Abfassung des Hildebrandsliedes erhalten. Als ausgemacht aber könnte Möllers interessante Erklärung nur gelten, wenn es unmöglich wäre, *sunufatarungo* als Nominativ pluralis zu fassen. Letztere Auffassung scheint ja zunächst durch *helidos* (Z. 6) ausgeschlossen. Aber Lachmanns Vorschlag, letzterer Form zuliebe das überlieferte *sunufatarungo* in *sunufatarungos* zu ändern, dürfte heute nur noch wenige Anhänger finden,\* zumal Plural-Nominative auf *-o* gerade in den ältesten ahd. Sprachquellen auch sonst begegnen. Eine stattliche Reihe von Beispielen hat namentlich R. Kögel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.* 2, 448 gesammelt. Freilich werden derartige Formen von Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* S. 174 und Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> S. 173 rundweg als Schreibfehler erklärt. Letzterer sagt gradezu: "Eine Nebenform auf *-o* (Kögel, *Lit.* 2, 448) gibt es im Ahd. nicht." Aber Nutzhorn hat sich dadurch in seiner ergebnisreichen Studie über die Murbacher Sprachdenkmäler (*Zs. f. dt. Phil.* 44, 453) nicht abhalten lassen, dem altelsässischen Dialekte eine Nebenform auf *-o* zuzuschreiben, und, wie mir scheint, mit guten Gründen. Dass in einzelnen Fällen Schreibfehler vorliegen, mag ja sein. Wenn Ahd. Gl. 1, 86, 25 der cod. Pa. als Glosse zu 'servi militum' *scalcho milizzo* aufweist, gegen *scalkha milizzo* in Gl. K., so ist ja möglich oder wahrscheinlich, dass ihm bei *scalcho* die Endung des folgenden Wortes vorschwebte. Aber auch die Möglichkeit ist nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass er *scalcho* schon in seiner Vorlage fand und es unter dem Eindrucke von *milizzo* unterliess, die alte Endung in *-a* zu ändern. Dieser Fall steht jedenfalls nicht ganz auf einer Linie mit dem von *sterno* Ahd. Gl. 1, 247, 23, cod. Ra. Das lateinische Lemma ist 'sidera,' und das in den Gl. K. entsprechende *sternon* scheint zu bestäti-

\*Schwerlich ist Lachmann der Meinung gewesen, das *-s* habe ursprünglich in der Handschrift gestanden und sei nur ganz oder teilweise erloschen. Freilich weist ja die Handschrift zwischen *fatarungo* und *iro* noch einen Punkt auf (vgl. namentlich die photogr. Facsimilia in Koenneckes *Bilderatlas* und bei M. Enneccerus). Aber man darf darin nicht den Überrest eines Buchstabens sehen, sondern es handelt sich um den Trennungspunkt, wie er in der Handschrift vielfach wiederkehrt, um den Abschluss einer Langzeile oder, wie hier, einer Halbzeile zu bezeichnen.



gen, dass hier das *o* dem Original angehört. Nimmt man hinzu, dass das Wort für 'Stern' auch in Pa. und Gl. K. sonst starke Flexion aufweist (*sterna* 'stelle' Pa. und Gl. K. 1, 16, 38; *thero sterno* Gl. K. 1, 17, 39; *st'na* 'stille' Gl. K. 1, 247, 24), so wird man hier, denke ich, dem *sterno* von Ra. mindestens so viel Autorität beimessen, wie dem *sternon* der Gl. K. Schwerer jedoch als derartige Glossen, fallen Formen wie *himilo* in der Isidor-Übersetzung (*himilo endi anghila* 'celi et angeli' 24, 17; vgl. acc. pl. *ahuo ir himilo garauui frumida* 'quando praeparabat celos' (1, 2) und *angilo* der Murbacher Hymnen (acc. pl. *duruh angilo wuntarlihe* 'per angelos mirabiles' 17, 3) ins Gewicht.

Somit bin ich der Meinung, dass *sunufatarungo* zwar von Möller zutreffend als alte Dualform gedeutet ist, aber zur Zeit der Aufzeichnung des Hildebrandsliedes nicht mehr so verstanden wurde. Es blieb als vermeintliche Pluralform unverändert.

Da im Althochdeutschen der Gen. plur. der einzige Kasus der *a*-Deklination ist, welcher regelmässig die Endung *-o* aufweist, so versteht man, wie Jacob Grimm (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1831, S. 71 = *Kl. Schr.* 5, 23) auf den Gedanken kommen konnte, *sunufatarungo* als Gen. pl. zu fassen und von dem vorhergehenden *heriun tuem* abhängen zu lassen. Diese Auffassung findet ja auch heute noch hier und da einen Verteidiger, darf aber dennoch wohl nach den Einwendungen von Lachmann (*Über d. Hildebrandslied* S. 12 = *Kl. Schr.* 1, 418) und Müllenhoff (Anmerkungen zu den *Denkmälern*<sup>3</sup> S. 13) als abgetan gelten. Dagegen wird es nicht überflüssig sein, hervorzuheben, dass ein von Lachmann nach dem Vorgange Grimms (*Gramm.* 2, 359) angeführtes Femininum *fædrunga* 'Gevatterin' nicht existiert, also auch auf die Deutung von *sunufatarungo* keinen Einfluss ausüben kann. Allerdings las man im Beowulf, Z. 2128 zu Grimms Zeit *fēondes fædrunga*, und auch noch bei Bosworth-Toller erscheint auf Grund der Beowulfstelle als ἀπαξ λεγόμενον ein schwaches Masculinum *fædrunga* mit der Bedeutung 'a patre cognatus.' Aber man weiss jetzt, dass dieses *fædrunga* nur auf einer Konjekture Thorkelins beruht, und der Vers erscheint in den neueren Ausgaben als

fēondes fæd(mum un)der firgen-strēam.

Man findet Näheres in den kritischen Anmerkungen der neueren Herausgeber.

Dies führt mich zu einer weiteren Bemerkung über das Patronymsuffix *-ung* und sein Verhältnis zu dem gleichbedeutenden *-ing*. Über beide hat seinerzeit J. Grimm im 2. Bande seiner *Deutschen Gramm.* S. 349 ff. und 359 ff. in gründlicher und vorbildlicher Weise gehandelt, sowohl was die Sammlung des Materials wie das Verständnis desselben anlangt. Den überreichen Stoff vollständig zu buchen oder abschliessend zu verarbeiten, konnte nicht in seiner Absicht liegen. Nach Grimm hat sich K. von Bahder in seiner ausgezeichneten Schrift: *Die Verbalabstracta in den Germanischen Sprachen* (Halle 1880) um die Erklärung der beiden Suffixe am meisten verdient gemacht. Den Endungen *-unga*, *-inga*, an deren Deutung Grimm verzweifelt hatte und deren Zusammenhang mit dem Patronymsuffix bis dahin überhaupt dunkel geblieben war, sind in dieser Schrift volle dreissig Seiten (S. 163-192) gewidmet, und das Rätsel ist, wie ich glaube, glücklich gelöst. Näheres darüber weiter unten. Nur in einer Beziehung scheint mir v. Bahder Grimm gegenüber auf einen Abweg geraten zu sein. Letzterer hatte (*Gramm.* 2, 364) von den Ableitungen mit *ng* im ganzen den Eindruck, es liege darin "ein Begriff der Abstammung oder lieber Verwandtschaft." Diese Definition ist nach v. Bahder zu eng. "Ich glaube," sagt er (S. 168) "dass man von einer viel allgemeineren Bedeutung ausgehen muss, der der Zugehörigkeit." Aus letzterem Begriffe leitet er dann zunächst (S. 169) den der Abstammung oder Verwandtschaft ab. Aber sind damit nicht die Begriffe, vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Entwicklung aus angesehen, geradezu auf den Kopf gestellt?

Jedem Suffix, das in lebendigem Gebrauche bleibt und produktiv wirkt, wohnt die Tendenz inne, nicht nur sich innerhalb seiner ursprünglichen Grenzen zu erhalten, sondern darüber hinaus sich auszudehnen. Insbesondere geht bei persönlichen Suffixen die Neigung dahin, sie auf Gegenstände zu übertragen, deren Eigenschaften sich dem Wesen und der Betätigung von Personen vergleichen. Ein nahe liegendes Beispiel gewähren die Nomina agentis auf *-er* im Neuhochdeutschen und Englischen. Mögen wir diese den lat. Bildungen auf *-arius* oder den gotischen auf *-areis* gleichsetzen: wir haben es jedenfalls mit einer alten Kategorie zu tun, die sich ursprünglich auf Personen beschränkte, z. B. nhd. *Bäcker, Fischer, Gärtner, Jäger, Maler,*

Sänger, engl. *baker, fisher, gardener, hunter, painter, singer*. Aber dann sprengt das Suffix seine ursprünglichen Schranken, und greift auf das Gebiet von Bildungssilben über, die ursprünglich ein Mittel oder Werkzeug bezeichnen. Die mit dem Suffix *-er* versehenen Gegenstände erscheinen dadurch halb personifiziert, indem sie als selbständig tätig hingestellt werden, mögen sie auch nur als Hilfsmittel bei einer Tätigkeit dienen. So z. B. nhd. *Bohrer, Dampfer, Halter, Schläger, Treffer, Wecker, Zeiger, Handschuhknöpfer, Hosenträger, Seelenwärmer, Schuhanzieher* u. dgl. Im Englischen sind Wörter dieser Art besonders zahlreich. Es gehören hierher z. B. *borer, breakers (pl.), buffer, bumper, burner, cracker, drainer, drawers (pl.), fritter, muffler, poker, rattle, rocker* (Am.= 'rocking chair'), *rubber, shutter, sprinkler, steamer, strainer, ticker*, ausserdem viele Komposita, z. T. neuesten Datums, z. B. *ash-receiver, cigar-holder, fly-catcher, fire-cracker, gas-lighter, lawn-mower, ocean-liner, paper-cutter, pen-holder, screw-holder, sky-scraper, steam-roller, torpedo-chaser*. Zur Kennzeichnung des heutigen Sprachgebrauchss genügt es hier ja, zu sagen (vgl. F. Blatz, *Nhd. Grammatik*,<sup>3</sup> Karlsruhe, 1895, S. 653), bei Ableitungen von Verbalstämmen finde sich das Suffix *-er* bei persönlichen oder sachlichen *nomina agentis*. Will man aber der geschichtlichen Entwicklung gerecht werden und zu wirklichem Verständnis gelangen, so wird man die Sache darstellen müssen, wie es O. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, §245, I. 5, getan hat: "ER . . . masc. suffix, used to form appellations of male beings. . . . Figuratively *er* is often applied to names of lifeless objects: *Wecker* alarm clock, *Bohrer* gimlet."

Wie das Suffix *-er* den Begriff der Betätigung bei Gegenständen unter dem Bilde einer handelnden Person darstellt, so macht das Suffix *-ung* (oder *-ing*, bzw. *-ling*) den Begriff der Zugehörigkeit dadurch anschaulich und lebendig, dass er ihn der Abstammung des Sohnes vom Vater oder der Nachkommen vom Vorfahren gleichsetzt.

An dieser Meinung lasse ich mich auch dadurch nicht irre machen, dass R. Much in PB. Beitr. 17 (1893) S. 65 Grimms Ansicht entgegentrat, um seinerseits die das Suffix *-ing* enthaltenden altgermanischen Volksnamen als "Eigenschaftsbezeichnungen" zu fassen, denen Adjektive und Abstrakte zugrunde liegen sollen. Diese Auffassung steht ja in Einklang mit Muchs

Bemühung, den alten Volksnamen möglichst überall eine sinnvolle Bedeutung abzugewinnen. Aber seine Erklärungsmethode stiess sogleich auf Widerspruch bei H. Hirt, der in dem Aufsätze 'Die Deutung der german. Völkernamen' (PBB. 18, 512-519) geltend machte, es werde mit ihnen der sichere Boden wissenschaftlicher Forschung verlassen. Auf Muchs Entgegnung, die denselben Titel trägt (ebd. 20, 1-19), antwortete Hirt mit einem weiteren Aufsätze 'Nochmals die Deutung der german. Völkernamen' (ebd. 21, 125-159). Im Zusammenhange mit unserem Suffixe interessiert uns an dieser Erörterung namentlich Hirts Hinweis (an der letztgenannten Stelle, S. 143 Anm.) darauf, dass Much bei der Deutung von Namen auf *-ing-* mit seiner eignen Erklärung dieses Suffixes in Konflikt gerät; sowie sein wohlbegründeter Widerspruch (S. 156) gegen die hergebrachte Erklärung des Namens *Hermunduri*, von der Much bei seiner Deutung des Namens *Thuringi* als 'die wagenden,' (a. a. O., 17 S. 65) ausgegangen war. Da die hergebrachte Etymologie auch noch M. Schönfeld in seinem verdienstlichen *Wörterbuch der altgerm. Personen- u. Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911) s.v. *Thuringi* als feststehend gilt, wird noch eine kurze Bemerkung darüber hier am Platze sein. K. Zeuss, der Urheber dieser Etymologie (*Die Deutschen u. die Nachbarstämme* S. 102) liess sich dabei von dem altnord. Verbum *þora* 'wagen' leiten. Aber dieses Verbum ist speziell nordisch, und muss trotz seiner einfachen Form, die den Schein einer altererbten Bildung gewährt, als verhältnismässig junge Neubildung gelten. Es ist an die Stelle des alten Präterito-Präsens got. *ga-dars*, pl. *ga-daursum*, inf. *ga-daursan* getreten, wahrscheinlich so, dass der im Nordischen zu erwartende Inf. *\*dorra(n)* nach dem Muster des Verbuns *þola* 'dulden'— das sich als Gegenstück zu 'wagen' ansehen lässt—in *þora* umgewandelt wurde. Ein so alter Name wie *Ermunduri* könnte, wenn er mit dem gemeinerm. Verbum (*ga-*)*dorsan* 'wagen' zusammenhinge, kaum anders als *\*Ermundorsi* lauten. Völlig einverstanden bin ich mit Schönfelds Bemerkung s.v. *Ermunduri*: "*Thuringi* ist also eine Art Kurzname zu *Ermen-duri*." Aber diese Erklärung lässt sich mit der von Much befürworteten schwerlich vereinigen.

Am weitesten hat sich in der Beurteilung des *-ng-*Suffixes W. Wilmanns in seiner *Deutschen Grammatik*, Abt. 2 (2 Aufl., Strassburg, 1899) S. 278-283, von Jac. Grimm entfernt, und ist

infolgedessen am gründlichsten in die Irre gegangen. "Das *ng*-Suffix," sagt er (S. 279, Anm. 2), "bedeutet zunächst nichts weiter, als dass das abgeleitete Wort zu dem Grundwort in irgend einer Beziehung steht (vgl. PBB. 17, 65); eine speziellere Anwendung hat es früh als patronymische Endung gefunden. Gr. 2, 349. von Bahder S. 169. 174." Ich erhalte von dieser Darstellung den Eindruck, dass Wilmanns versuchte, die drei verschiedenen Ansichten über das Suffix, die er bei seinen Vorgängern vorfand, unter einen Hut zu bringen. Als gemeinsamer abstrakter Ausdruck für Verwandtschaft (Grimm), Zugehörigkeit (v. Bahder) und Eigenschaft (Much) ergab sich ihm "irgend eine Beziehung." Er ist in den Fehler verfallen, der ja bei der Behandlung der Wortbildung nahe liegt, die verschiedenen Bedeutungen eines Suffixes als gleichberechtigt anzusehen, sie infolgedessen unter einem gemeinsamen Begriffe zu vereinigen, und dann letzteren als ursprüngliche Bedeutung an die Spitze zu stellen. In Wirklichkeit aber liegt die Sache meist so, wie bei dem oben berührten Suffixe *-er*: das Suffix hat eine charakteristische Bedeutung, die aber im Laufe der Zeit auf andre Wortkategorien übertragen wird oder sonstwie eine andre Färbung erhält. Als allgemeine Regel darf gelten, dass die anscheinend farblose Verwendung die jüngste ist. Die von Wilmanns bei unserem Suffixe als Ausgangspunkt gewählte Bedeutung ist völlig farblos. Es ist diejenige Bedeutung, welche allen Suffixen gemeinsam ist. Oder gibt es ein Suffix, das nicht zum Ausdrucke "irgend einer Beziehung . . . zu dem Grundworte" dient? Fassen wir nicht geradezu Suffixe und Flexionsendungen als Beziehungselemente zusammen, im Gegensatz zu dem materiellen Elemente des Wortes, der sogenannten Wurzel? Dass diese Deutung des *ng*- Suffixes nicht richtig sein kann, liegt, denke ich, auf der Hand. Die Frage ist nur: wie können wir ihr entgehen? Und auf diese Frage lässt sich eine sehr einfache und, wie ich glauben möchte, völlig ausreichende Antwort geben: wir müssen uns an die Anschauung gewöhnen, dass ein Suffix in bildlicher Bedeutung gebraucht werden kann.

Damit werden wir auf den Weg zurückgeführt, welchen Jac. Grimm bei der Darstellung der *ng*- Bildungen eingeschlagen hatte. Wir haben es mit einem Suffixe zu tun, das ursprünglich die Abstammung bezeichnete. Dieser Begriff lässt bildliche

Verwendung im weitesten Umfange zu, und es wird nur darauf ankommen, ob es uns gelingt, die in der Sprache ausgeprägte bildliche Anschauung wieder zu finden. Denn es ergeht den Wörtern, wie den Münzen, dass die Prägung im Laufe der Zeit sich abreift und oft schwer zu erkennen ist.

Uns allen ist der biblische Sprachgebrauch geläufig, wonach die Nachkommen Jakobs als "die Kinder Israel" bezeichnet werden. Der Ausdruck "Kinder" schliesst hier viele Generationen von Kindern in sich, so dass er fast gleichbedeutend mit 'Angehörige' oder 'Leute ein und desselben Stammes' wird. Ferner werden wir unwillkürlich auch den Stammvater selber als Mitglied des Stammes betrachten. Ähnlich werden unter den Karolingern zwar zunächst die Nachfolger oder Nachkommen Karls des Grossen verstanden; zugleich aber gilt Karl selber als der erste der Karolinger. So erklärt sich auch eine auffällige Verschiedenheit im Gebrauche des Namens 'Wölsung,' mit der man sich seit W. Grimm, *Dt. Heldensage*, S. 16 (= 318) abgemüht hat. Als Stammvater des Geschlechts der Wölsungen heisst Siegmunds Vater im *Beowulf* 898 *Wals* (also germ. \**Wals*), während die nordische Überlieferung (z. B. die ältere Edda) ihn *Völsungr* (= ags. *Walsing*) nennt. W. Grimm (a. a. O.) und J. Grimm (H. Zs. 1, 3 = Kl. Schr. 7, 53) hielten die nordische Benennung für unrichtig, während R. Much, PBB. 17, 65 darin eine Bestätigung seiner Theorie findet, dass die mit *-ing* oder *-ung* gebildeten Namen nur eine Eigenschaft bezeichnen. Ich glaube mit Much, dass ein und dieselbe Person *Vals* oder *Völsungr* genannt werden kann, möchte aber auch glauben, dass dies sich mit dem patronymischen Charakter des Suffixes *-ung* sehr gut verträgt. Bei dem ganz ähnlich gebildeten Namen *Nibelung* oder *Niflung* trägt der Stammvater des mythischen Geschlechtes schon allgemein denselben Namen wie seine Nachkommen.

Aus der Verwendung des Suffixes *-ung* oder *-ing*, zur Bezeichnung von Angehörigen eines Geschlechtes oder Stammes begreift sich auch leicht seine Beliebtheit bei appellativen Verwandtschaftsnamen, z. B. in nhd. *Nachkömmling* neben *Nachkomme*, und in dem gemeingermanischen Ausdruck für 'Verwandter': got. *gādiliggs* = ags. *gædeling*, as. *gaduling*, ahd. *gating*. Ähnlich ags. *ædeling* = ahd. *ediling*, mhd. u. mndd. *edeling*, zunächst 'der aus einem edlen Geschlecht kommende'

oder 'zu den Edelleuten gehörig.' (Im Mhd. bedeutet *edelinc* sowohl nach Benecke-Müller wie nach Lexer überall 'Sohn eines Edelmannes,' im Mndd. nach Schiller-Lübben überall 'Edelmann.' Man beachte die Parallele mit *Wals* und *Wölsung*.)

Es handelt sich aber bei der Herkunft, und demgemäss bei der Funktion patronymer Suffixe, nicht ausschliesslich um den Ausdruck persönlicher Zugehörigkeit, sondern oft auch um die Art des Verhältnisses zwischen Vorfahr und Nachkommen oder zwischen dem Einzelnen und den Familienmitgliedern oder Stammesgenossen. Abstammung, Verwandtschaft, und Ähnlichkeit sind synonyme Begriffe. Man erwartet in dem Sohne die Züge der Eltern und die Eigenschaften der Vorfahren wiederzufinden, wie in dem Individuum den Typus seines Stammes. Solche Anschauungen verbinden sich von selbst mit der Bezeichnung der Herkunft. Zur Erläuterung kann schon das ebengenannte 'Edeling' dienen. Ein weiteres charakteristisches Beispiel liefert das Wort 'König' (ahd. as. *kuning*, ags. *cyning*), das von Bahder (S. 171) einleuchtend als 'den das Geschlecht . . . gleichsam in seiner Person repräsentierenden' erklärt hat. Man kann sich den Begriff auch schon etwa so klar machen, dass der König in seiner Person den ganzen Stamm (got. *kuni* 'Geschlecht, Stamm'=ahd. *kunni*, ags. *cynne*, engl. *kin*, anord. *kyn*) gewissermassen verkörpert. (Das *o* in an. *konungr*, das mit den übrigen altgerm. Sprachen in Widerspruch steht, wird auf nachträglicher Anlehnung an altn. *konr*, pl. *konir* 'Sohn, Mann' beruhen.)

Gerade der Begriff des Ebenbildes und der Verkörperung typischer Eigenschaften hat anscheinend dazu eingeladen, das patronyme Suffix von Personen auf Dinge jeder Art zu übertragen. Leicht verständlich ist z.B. die Anwendung auf verschiedene Arten von Äpfeln, für die Grimm 2, 350 mehrere alte Beispiele anführt; denn jede der Sorten ist besonderer Herkunft und repräsentiert eine typische Eigenart. Ähnlich bei Weinsorten (z.B. *Riessling*). Aber wie kommt der 'Däumling' (im Sinne von Überzug für den Daumen) und der 'Fäustling' (im Sinne von Fausthandschuh) zu dem patronymen Suffix? Der Däumling ist das Ebenbild des Daumens, nach ihm geformt, also gewissermassen von ihm ins Dasein gerufen; der Fäustling ebenso eine Reproduktion der Faust. Das Mittelhochdeutsche hat ähnlich *hendelinc*, d. i. Ebenbild der Hand, im Sinne von Fausthandschuh.

Die Sprache tut einen weiteren Schritt, indem sie durch das Herkunftssuffix lebende Wesen mit einem Adjektiv (nhd. *Jüng-ling, Neuling*) oder gar Verbum (nhd. *Säugling*) verknüpft, um auszudrücken, dass der Adjektiv- oder Verbalbegriff in ihnen lebendige Form gewonnen hat, also in ihnen verkörpert erscheint. Der Begriff der Abstammung ist somit auch hier—wenn auch nur bildlich—festgehalten, und man gibt den Zusammenhang mit der eigentlichen Funktion des Suffixes preis, wenn man in solchen Bildungen nur den Ausdruck eines wesentlichen Merkmales oder der Haupteigenschaft einer Person oder Sache sieht.

Die letztgenannten Beispiele zeigen das Suffix *-ing* mit vorausgehendem *l*, und gerade in dieser Form ist es ja im Nhd. so beliebt geworden und so sehr über sein altes Mass hinausgewachsen, dass man den Zusammenhang mit seiner eigentlichen Funktion nicht immer auf den ersten Blick erkennt. Gerade in dieser Richtung bleibt auch nach den als Stoffsammlung vortrefflichen Arbeiten, z.B. von Carl Müller ('Das Suffix *-ling*,' Zs. f. dt. Wortforschung 2, 186-201) und Charles G. Davis ('Die deutschen Substantiva auf *-ling* im 18. Jahrhundert,' ebd. 4, 161-209) noch viel zu tun übrig. Müller hebt zwar (S. 186) richtig hervor, dass man mit Schottel und Grimm von dem Grundbegriffe der Abstammung auszugehen hat. Aber er hat darauf verzichtet, den Zusammenhang im einzelnen klarzulegen. Und schon gleich bei Davis tritt dieser Gesichtspunkt wieder so sehr in den Hintergrund, dass er—wohl durch Wilmanns beeinflusst—bei der Aufzählung der Kategorien die Personennamen ans Ende verweist, statt sie an die Spitze zu stellen. Jedoch entschädigt uns Davis dafür einigermaßen durch den Versuch (S. 162-167), eine Gruppierung der Ableitungen nach dem grammatischen Charakter des Grundwortes vorzunehmen. Auch das ist nicht immer leicht. Zwar wird man ihm ohne weiteres beistimmen, wenn er die von Adelung befürwortete Herleitung von Wörtern wie *Frömm-ling, Witz-ling* aus den Verben *frömmeln, witzeln* ablehnt. Aber ebenso ist er im Rechte, wenn er geltend macht, in Wörtern wie *Lieb-ling, Mi-ling, Fluch-ling* könne das Grundwort entweder als Substantiv oder als Verb aufgefasst werden. "Solche Fälle, wo ein Subst. und ein Verbum mit gleichem Stamm nebeneinander bestehen, sind häufig," fügt er hinzu, um dann zu versuchen, in



28 Fällen eine Entscheidung zu treffen. Ein solcher Versuch scheint mir aussichtslos, und auf keinen Fall kann ich mir den Vorschlag von Davis zu eigen machen, nur ein halbes Dutzend auf Substantive, die übrigen auf Verba zu beziehen. Zu den Ableitungen von Verben rechnet er z.B. das Wort *Lehrling*. Mir scheint *Lehr-* hier derselben Art wie in *Lehrjahre*, *Lehrjunge*, *Lehrzeit*, und von Haus aus das Subst. *die Lehre* zu enthalten, in Einklang mit Wendungen wie: 'in die Lehre gehen,' 'noch in der Lehre sein,' u. ähnl. Im Mhd. findet sich entsprechend (*lër(e)-kint* oder *lëre-knabe* 'Lehrling, Schüler,' *lëre-kneht* 'Lehrling,' *lëre-tochter* 'weibl. Lehrling.' *lëre-meister* 'Lehrmeister,' u. a., neben *lëre* f. 'Lehre, Anleitung, Unterricht.' Es kommen im Mhd. auch parallele Bildungen mit *lern-* im ersten Gliede vor: *lern-kint*, *lern-knabe*, *lern-kneht*, *lern-tochter*. Aber sie müssen wol als Ersatzbildungen für die erstgenannten gelten, um dem Unterschiede zwischen dem Lehren des *lëre-meister* und dem Lernen des *lëreknabe* Rechnung zu tragen. Dann zeigen sie, dass die Erinnerung an den Ursprung des ersten Kompositionsgliedes am Erlöschen war. Wie der 'Lehrling' als 'Sohn der Lehre,' so ist der 'Täufling' als 'Sohn der Taufe' oder 'Taufkind' bezeichnet. Ist der Ausdruck etwa auffälliger und die Anschauung schwieriger, als bei dem allbekanntem nhd. 'Glückskind?' Bei einem Worte wie *Fremdling* (mhd. *vremdelinc*) haben wir die Wahl, in dem ersten Gliede das Adj. *fremd* oder das Masc. *der Fremde* oder das Fem. *die Fremde* (vgl. *die Ferne*, *die Höhe*, *die Tiefe*) zu sehen. Vielleicht legt die Sprache kein Gewicht darauf, bei diesem Worte zwischen der Deutung 'fremder Leute Kind' und 'Sohn der Fremde' zu scheiden. Jedenfalls verträgt sich das Suffix *-ling* sehr wohl mit abstrakten Substantiven, wie in *Günstling*, *Flüchtling*. Es entspricht das ganz der im Nhd. so häufigen bildlichen Verwendung des Wortes *Sohn* in Verbindung mit abstrakten oder unpersönlichen Begriffen. Der Titel, z.B., von Halms bekanntem Drama 'Der Sohn der Wildnis' ist in demselben Sinne gemeint, wie das Wort *der Wildling*. Man findet reichliche Belege im Grimmschen Wörterbuche unter *Sohn*<sup>4</sup> sowie in Sanders 'Wörterbuch der Dt. Sprache' unter *Sohn* 2d und f. Hier nur eine kleine Auswahl daraus: *eynen sun der ungehorsam und bosheyt* (Luther); *ihn, des Kummers müden Sohn* (Bürger); *ich, Sohn des Unglücks, zeige mich* (Schiller, *Don Carlos*); *der*

*Mensch, der flüchtige Sohn der Stunde* (ders., *Braut v. Messina*); *er nannte sich Sohn des Himmels, wie wir Günstlinge des Glücks Söhne des Glücks nennen* (Schiller); *der Künstler ist zwar der Sohn seiner Zeit, aber schlimm für ihn, wenn er zugleich ihr Zögling oder gar noch ihr Günstling ist* (Schiller); *sei mir gegrüsst, du Sohn von grossen Taten* (Tieck); *und es schwieg der Sohn der Lieder* (Uhland). Der Gebrauch ist so allgemein, dass man nach ähnlichen Beispielen nicht lange zu suchen braucht. Die beiden folgenden, z.B., gehören der Zeit nach dem Erscheinen der genannten Wörterbücher an: *der Sohn der Fremde* (Ztschr. d. Dt. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft, 1908, S. 106); *als echter Sohn des Jahrhunderts* (Kühnemann, *Herder*, 2. Aufl., München 1912, S. 336). Ähnlich im Französischen der bildliche Gebrauch von *filz*; z.B. *nous sommes les fils de la fortune*; im amerikan. "Slang" der von *son* in *a son of a gun*, (einer der Lieblingsausdrücke des Kapitäns in Stevensons Roman *The Wrecker*), nicht sehr verschieden von *a big gun*, etwa 'ein grosses Tier,' d.h. eine Respektsperson.

Schliesslich nur noch ein Wort über die Abstrakta auf *-ung*, im Nhd. ohne Zweifel die beliebteste Kategorie der *ng*-Formen, zugleich aber diejenige, welche von jeher die Sprachforscher in die grösste Verlegenheit gesetzt hat. Grimm gesteht (*Gramm.* 2, 364), dass die Berührung, welche zwischen dem Begriffe der Masc. auf *-ng* und dem der weibl. Abstrakta stattfindet, ihm unklar sei. Und noch jetzt gehen die Meinungen darüber auseinander, ob diese Abstrakta als urgermanisch gelten dürfen und wie sie zu erklären sind (vgl., z.B., v. Bahder, *Verbal-abstracta*, S. 185 ff. und anders Wilmanns, *Dt. Gramm.* II<sup>2</sup> S. 375). Mir scheint v. Bahder den richtigen Weg eingeschlagen zu haben, wenn er auf die altnord. denominativen Feminina auf *-ung* mit abstrakter Bedeutung zurückgreift. Wie er hervorhebt (S. 187 f.), gehören Wörter wie *lausung* f. 'Unzuverlässigkeit, Trug' und *verþung* f. 'Gefolgschaft' nicht nur dem Sprachschätze der älteren Edda an, sondern erweisen sich durch die ihnen entsprechenden Wörter ags. *lēasung*, andd. *lōsunga* und ahd. *werdunga* als gemeinsam westgermanisch-nordisch. "Mit der Bildung der denominativen Abstrakta auf *-ungō-*," fährt v. Bahder fort, "hatte die Sprache den ersten Schritt getan, mit der Schöpfung der verbalen tat sie den zweiten, der von ungleich grösserem Erfolge begleitet sein sollte."

Dieser zweite Schritt wird sich am leichtesten begreifen, wenn wir annehmen, dass er von denominalen Bildungen ausging, die man zugleich als Deverbativa verstehen konnte. Als Bildung dieser Art lässt sich z.B. ahd. *samanunga* "Versammlung, Gemeinde" (im ältesten Ahd. noch in der Form *samanunc* erhalten) ansehen. *samanung(a)* ist wahrscheinlich von dem alten Adjektiv *saman(a)*- abgeleitet, das sich als Adverb (*saman* 'zugleich' Tat., Otrf.; vgl. *samant* Graff 6, 42, und das häufige *zisamane* 'zusammen') und in Ableitungen wie *gisamani* n. 'Versammlung, Menge' erhalten hat. Von demselben Adjektiv stammt das Verb ahd. *samanon* 'versammeln' = anord. *samna*, ags. *samnian*. Es lag nun nahe, *samanung(a)* und *gi-samanunga* auf den in *samanon* vorliegenden Verbalbegriff zu beziehen, und demgemäss als Ableitungen aus dem Verbum aufzufassen. Aus dieser Verknüpfung ergab sich dann ein bequemes Vorbild, um Verben auf *-on* und weiterhin Verben überhaupt eine Abstraktbildung auf *-unga* zur Seite zu stellen.

Wie bei den Masculina, so drückt das *ng*-Suffix auch hier ursprünglich die Abstammung aus und verleiht Gegenständen und abstrakten Verhältnissen gewissermassen das Fleisch und Blut lebender Wesen. Nur handelt es sich hier um Wörter, die durch ihre Endung und ihre Flexion deutlich als Feminina charakterisiert sind. Um ihren Gehalt voll zu würdigen und die Anschauung, aus der sie erwachsen sind, nachzuempfinden, brauchen wir nur statt des Suffixes den Begriff der Tochter oder den allgemeineren des Kindes einzusetzen. Und auch hier dürfen wir uns auf den bildlichen Ausdruck in Poesie und Prosa berufen, der in ähnlicher Weise das Wesen abstrakter Verhältnisse und lebloser Dinge durch den Hinweis auf ihre Herkunft uns näher rückt und anschaulich macht. Für die Wahl zwischen dem Femininum 'Tochter' und dem Neutrum 'Kind' ist dabei vorzugsweise das grammatische Genus des bildlich dargestellten Wortes entscheidend, nur dass 'Kind' nicht auf das Neutrum beschränkt ist und namentlich auch als gemeinsamer Ausdruck für Masc. und Fem. gilt. Der Gebrauch des Wortes *Kind* in übertragenem Sinne ist von Rud. Hildebrand im 5. Bande des Grimmschen Wörterbuches so gründlich erläutert, dass ich mich der Kürze halber darauf beschränken möchte, nur das aus Goethes Faust bekannte Wort:

das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind

anzuführen, um im übrigen auf die Darstellung Hildebrands zu verweisen. Es kommen hier in erster Linie die Abschnitte II 7. 10-12. 14 u. 15 s.v. 'Kind' in Betracht. Für 'Tochter' steht das Grimmsche Wörterbuch noch aus; einstweilen gewährt hier das Wörterbuch von Sanders wohl die beste Auskunft. Dort findet man Wendungen angeführt wie: *Gierigkeit, die Tochter und Gefährtin der Unwissenheit* (Forster); *weil die Bewunderung eine Tochter der Unwissenheit ist* (Kant); *diese feige Reue, mehr eine schwache Tochter der Unentschlossenheit als der Überlegung* (Schiller); *Töchterchen des Augenblicks ist das flüchtige Vergnügen* (Klamer Schmidt; das Diminutiv ist hier wohl nur gewählt, um Übereinstimmung mit dem grammatischen Genus von *Vergnügen* zu erzielen). In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch der Anfang von Schillers Lied an die Freude:

Freude, schöner Götterfunken, Tochter aus Elysium.

Kants pessimistischer Ausspruch über die Bewunderung stimmt ja zu dem *nil admirari* der Römer. Trotzdem wird man sagen müssen, dass z. B. die Bewunderung für die klassische Kunst eher ein Wissen auf dem Gebiete der Kunst voraussetzt. Die Sprache nimmt in solchen Fragen keine Partei. Sie bezeichnet das Wort durch das Abstammungssuffix zwar auch als eine Art Tochter, aber nur als die des Begriffes 'bewundern.' Bei abgeleiteten Verben und weiterhin bei Verben überhaupt war ein solcher Begriff in allgemeiner Form immer schon durch den Infinitiv gegeben. Man brauchte nur für die Infinitivendung das Abstammungssuffix einzusetzen, um dem allgemeinen Begriffe eine mehr konkrete, fassbare Form zu geben. Diese zuweilen sehr deutliche, oft aber auch kaum merkbare Umformung des im Infinitiv ganz abstrakt hingestellten Verbalbegriffes kleidet die Sprache in das Bild der Abstammung, oder, genauer gesprochen, in das Verhältnis der Tochter oder des Kindes zur Mutter. Hildebrand a. a. O. (Grimms Wb. 5, 723, g) schreibt dem Worte Kind unter andren die Bdtg. 'Ausgeburt' zu. Mögen wir dieses oder irgend ein andres Wort an Stelle von 'Tochter' einsetzen, um uns die ursprüngliche Funktion des Suffixes klar zu machen: jedenfalls werden wir an zwei Gesichtspunkten festhalten müssen.

1) Die Feminina auf *-ung* stehen ihrer Bedeutung nach von

Haus aus nicht mit dem Infinitiv oder dem allgemeinen Verbalbegriff auf einer Stufe, sondern erscheinen nur als mit diesem Begriffe verwandt oder, genauer ausgedrückt, aus ihm abgeleitet.

2) Ähnlich wie bei den Masculina auf *-ling* ist damit für die weitere Entwicklung dieser Klasse ein breiter Spielraum gegeben. In der Regel bleibt der Zusammenhang mit dem Verbalbegriffe durchsichtig, so dass es nahe liegt, diese Feminina als Verbalnomina im Sinne eines substantivierten Infinitivs zu verwenden. Aber in solchen Fällen ist ihre eigentlich Bedeutung schon etwas verblasst, und zudem wird selbst bei anscheinend ganz abstrakten Ausdrücken wie *Einteilung*, *Überzeugung*, *Verwendung* die Stufe des Infinitivs kaum erreicht. Es bleibt wenigstens noch ein Rest gegenständlicher Auffassung, der gleich in Ausdrücken wie *eine Einteilung vornehmen*, *die Überzeugung gewinnen*, *Verwendung finden*, hervortritt, mögen auch diese Ausdrücke synonym sein mit den Infinitiven *einteilen*, *sich überzeugen*, *verwendet werden*. Rein gegenständlich aber werden Wörter wie *Festung*, *Quittung*, *Rechnung*, *Postanweisung* empfunden. Hier haben die Nomina den Verbalbegriff so völlig verloren, dass man nachdenken muss, um ihn wieder zu finden. Eine Mittelstellung nimmt die Hauptmasse der *ung*-Bildungen ein, wie etwa *Äusserung*, *Gründung*, *Richtung*, *Wendung*, usw. Der Zusammenhang mit dem Verbalbegriffe liegt hier klar zu Tage, zugleich aber ist die Bedeutung eigenartig.

Blicken wir auf den Ausgangspunkt unsrer Untersuchung zurück, so werden wir nicht zweifeln, dass sich in *sunufatarungo* ein altertümlicher Gebrauch des Suffixes erhalten hat, der völlig in Einklang steht mit den alten mythischen Namen der Heldensage wie *Amelungen*, *Nibelungen*, *Wölsungen*. Von hier aus bis zu Wörtern wie *Rechnung* und *Quittung* ist zwar ein weiter Weg. Aber hoffentlich sind wir nicht fehlgegangen. Und vielleicht haben wir uns unterwegs überzeugt, dass die Grammatik gut daran tun wird, mit der bildlichen Verwendung von Suffixen (insbesondere bei der Übertragung persönlicher Suffixe auf sachliche Kategorien) künftig mehr zu rechnen, als sie bisher gewohnt war.

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## MODERN WELSH VERSIONS OF THE ARTHURIAN STORIES

Although works dealing with the Arthurian story in modern times are by no means as numerous as those which cover the earlier periods, yet the student is not left to shift entirely for himself in this field. The books of Professor MacCallum and Professor Maynadier for example give all that the ordinary inquirer needs to know about the English versions of the story down to the time of their publication, and by a small amount of annotating they may be brought down to date. The former, too, devotes considerable space to the French and German versions of the story but neither in these books nor anywhere else have I been able to find any consideration of the modern Welsh treatment of it. Yet in the number of stories written on this subject in recent years the Welsh rank ahead of both the French and the Germans and not far behind the English, and several of the poems are of decided literary merit. It is to give the reader who knows no Welsh some idea of what is being done in that language<sup>1</sup>—"Amheus pob anwybod (Everything not known is doubtful)," as the Welsh proverb says—by pointing out the general characteristics of the movement and by giving summaries of some of the more important poems, that I have undertaken the following article.<sup>2</sup>

The Welsh Arthur stories deserve a certain amount of consideration also from the fact that they are one of the manifestations of that racial consciousness that is so strong in the Celt. We are most familiar with it in the political disturbances in Ireland and in certain phases of Anglo-Irish literature, but in the Brythonic countries it is no less active. While both

<sup>1</sup> The English reader can get some idea of the character of this movement from the poems and plays of Mr. Ernest Rhys who, although he writes in English, is thoroughly saturated with the Welsh spirit.

<sup>2</sup> I do not pretend that this list is complete; the meagerness of the Welsh collections available in this country makes that impossible to hope for. I do believe however that the examples I give are representative of the tendencies existing in modern Welsh literature, and that I have included the more important poems dealing with the Arthurian material. For an adequate treatment of the equally interesting subject of the Arthurian stories in Brittany I have not the necessary materials at hand as yet.

Wales and Brittany are desirous of greater freedom in determining their own political and economic affairs, the movement in these countries has been largely linguistic and literary rather than political. Even in Cornwall there have been attempts on the part of some people to join in this movement by reviving the ancient language and poems have been written and speeches made in Cornish, although these are probably intelligible to a far larger number of people in Brittany than in Cornwall itself. But in the two former countries<sup>3</sup> there is to-day a strong and vigorous literature in the native tongue drawing its inspiration either from the past history of the Celt or from the life of the ordinary Welshman or Breton of to-day. In either case the attempt is made to emphasize the fact that the Celts are a race distinct from either Saxon or Gaul; to this purpose the story of Arthur, the Celtic hero, lends itself admirably and it is in this way that it has been used by many of the Welsh writers.

But in Wales the use of the story for this purpose has been complicated by the presence of what some Welsh critics have called "Puritanism" (although in this country that term has lately been applied to something very different), and even to-day that influence has not been wholly eliminated although it is lessened. Until very recently almost the only people in Wales who possessed any book-learning and still kept to the old language were the ministers of the various dissenting churches. They it was who wrote most of the poetry—the novel and the drama were considered improper for Christians to meddle with—and they practically controlled the eisteddfod and dictated the choice of subjects for its competitions. Hence it was that while in England poets were producing *The Idylls of the King* and *The Defence of Guenevere*, the Welsh poets were

<sup>3</sup> Wales and Brittany are doing much at the present day that is calculated to draw them closer together. The Welsh National anthem *Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau* has been adopted by the Bretons with words by Taldir (François Jaffrennou) under the title *Bro Goz Ma Zadou*. A number of Breton poets have been invested at the Welsh eisteddfod, and since 1901 Brittany has had her own Gorsedd and her own eisteddfodau. At the eisteddfod is performed the symbolic "joining of the sword," half of which is kept by each nation, in order to signify that the two peoples are essentially one.

busying themselves with such subjects as *Emmanuel*,<sup>4</sup> *The Destruction of Jerusalem (Awdl Dinystyr Ierusalem)*,<sup>5</sup> or *Charity (Elusengarwch)*.<sup>6</sup> Even in the latter part of last century *Eifion Wyn (Eliseus Williams)* was denied a prize for his poem on *The Shepherd (Y Bugail)* because in it he made no mention of any but earthly shepherds.<sup>7</sup> In such an atmosphere as this it was next to impossible to write about King Arthur and his court; the few mentions we do find of him are in pseudo-historical works such as Dewi Wyn's (David Owen) *Ode in Praise of the Island of Britain (Awdl Molawd Ynys Prydain)*<sup>8</sup> written in 1805, or Cynddelw's (Robert Ellis) *Ode on the Race of the Welsh (Awdl Cenedl y Cymry)*.<sup>9</sup> The former mentions briefly Arthur "whose bright praise shall long endure" (*pery yn hîr ei glîr glôd*), his sword *Caledfwlch*, and Medrod "whose name rots."<sup>10</sup> The latter devotes ten lines to Arthur and his defense of Britain, and eleven more to Geraint who fell in the battle of Llongborth.<sup>11</sup> Neither author shows the least feeling for the romantic elements of the story.

The only person of any note to deal with the romantic portions of the Arthur story during the nineteenth century—for the *Can o Hanes y Carwr Trwstan*<sup>12</sup> (*Poem from the Story of Tristan the Lover*) of Twm o'r Nant (Thomas Edwards) is hardly Arthurian in spite of its title—was that self-satisfied literary rebel Llew Llwyfo (Lewis William Lewis).<sup>13</sup> He chose the

<sup>4</sup> Gwilym Hiraethog. *Emmanuel; neu Ganolbwngc Gweithredoedd a Llywodraeth Duw*. 2 vol. Dinbych, 1861-1867.

<sup>5</sup> Eben Fardd. *Gweithiau Barddonol, &c.* Bryngwydion [1873], p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Blodau Arfon; sef, Gwaith yr Anfarwol Fardd Dewi Wyn*. Caerlleon, 1842, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> T. Gwynn Jones. *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg*. Caernarfon, 1920. p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Blodau Arfon*. p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Barddoniaeth Cynddelw*. Caernarfon, 1877. p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Blodau Arfon*. p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Barddoniaeth Cynddelw*, p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> *Gwaith Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant)* Liverpool, 1874, p. 460. I am using the term "nineteenth century" somewhat loosely since this poem was first published in 1790.

<sup>13</sup> *Gemau Llwyfo*, Utica, N. Y., 1868. T. R. Roberts, in his *Eminent Welshmen* (p. 310) mentions an edition published in Liverpool in that year, but in view of the very positive statements made in the preface to the Utica edition (Dec. 1868) it seems that this must be an error.



subject of Modred's love for Guinevere and his consequent rebellion against his uncle, Arthur, as the subject for his poem *Gwenhwyfar*<sup>13a</sup> submitted to the eisteddfod at Merthyr Tydfil in 1859.<sup>14</sup> The materials for this poem, a "dramatic epic after the style of those of Goethe (arwrgerdd dramataidd . . . megis Arwrgerddi Goethe<sup>15</sup>)," are taken largely from Geoffrey of Monmouth with the addition of a few details from the triads, but the whole is shaped by the author's own invention. The story briefly is as follows:

Gwenhwyfar, waiting vainly for news of Arthur and his Roman wars, asks Medrawd, in whom she has the utmost confidence, to send ten trusty messengers to different parts of the continent, each with instructions not to return without news from the king. Medrawd instead gets Iddog to forge a letter which he then takes to Gwenhwyfar. It purports to be from Arthur to Medrawd, telling him that since coming to the continent he has fallen in love with another woman and therefore he desires to have Gwenhwyfar put quietly out of the way. Medrawd renews his protestations of love for her and of Arthur's unfaithfulness, but in spite of the letter, which she believes genuine, she rejects him. Medrawd's next step is to introduce Rhitta as a messenger coming from the army. Rhitta tells Gwenhwyfar that in the last battle Arthur was much changed and all laid it to the French woman with whom he had fallen in love. His army was defeated and he himself stopped in the midst of an ignominious flight and committed suicide. Gwenhwyfar is finally won over to marry Medrawd, whom she respects but says she can never love. Meanwhile Arthur, who has defeated the Romans under Lucius and Cotta and is about to cross the Alps to Rome, hears of Medrawd's treachery; he divides his forces, sending Hoel

<sup>13a</sup> At the International Eisteddfod held in Chicago in 1893 a prize of one hundred dollars was awarded to the Rev. Erasmus W. Jones for a translation of this poem into English. So far as I have been able to discover, this translation has never been printed.

<sup>14</sup> Evidently the subject at this eisteddfod was not fixed, as it usually is. See Jones, *Llenyddiaeth*, p. 30.

<sup>15</sup> *Gemau Llwyfo*, p. 45. The translations throughout are my own. I have tried to make them idiomatic rather than pedantically literal.

with part of the army to attack Rome, while he himself returns with the rest to Britain. On his approach Gwenhwyfar flees to the nunnery at Afallon, while Medrawd prepares to resist. He makes his men drunk to keep up their courage but they are defeated and he himself is killed by Arthur. Iddog however mortally wounds Arthur with an arrow. Arthur is carried to the nunnery at Afallon where he meets Gwenhwyfar, forgives her, and dies in her arms.<sup>16</sup>

Again in 1866 Llew Llwyfo tried his hand on an Arthurian subject—this time in his poem *Arthur y Ford Gron*<sup>17</sup> (*Arthur of the Round Table*) which won the prize at the eisteddfod in Chester in that year. This poem, as the author says,<sup>18</sup> covers the same ground as *Gwenhwyfar* and is in his opinion better, being less dramatic but more heroic, slower but more dignified (yn fwy arwrol ac yn llai dramataidd—yn arafach ond yn fwy urddasol). In several important incidents and in many minor ones this poem differs from the other.

In the beginning Medrawd holds a council, decides on rebellion against Arthur, and tells that as a preparation for it he has sent Celdric back to Germany for additional forces. Arthur meanwhile is encamped in the Alps where, at a banquet of the Knights of the Round Table, Peredur tells the story of Arthur's early battles, his dream, and his fight with the giant much as they are related by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The next morning comes news of Medrawd's treachery, and Arthur returns to Britain with part of his forces. Upon landing he is everywhere received with joy because of the cruelty of Medrawd and the pagans. An example of this cruelty is the plot to kidnap Enid to give her as a bribe to Celdric to keep him contented. She is saved from him only by the fact that his men call him to lead them to the battle and he is forced to leave her. Both armies march to Camlan; Medrawd is entrenched on a hill and waits for Arthur to attack him, which the latter does not wish to do because of a warning dream he has had.

<sup>16</sup> Another summary, not particularly flattering, is given by Elphin (R. A. Griffith) in his article on *Yr Arurgerdd Gymreig*, in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion* 1904-05, p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Gemau Llwyfo*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 119.

The two leaders, each with seven followers, meet between the lines, and then the poem ends with a version of the chapter (Book XXI, Chap. IV) which Malory entitles, "How by misadventure of an adder the battle began." It seems as though Llew Llwyfo, finding the time short before the meeting of the eisteddfod, has been obliged to send in his poem in an unfinished condition. But both this poem and *Gwenhwyfar* are but fragments of a longer poem that he intended to write. He tells us in the preface to *Arthur y Ford Gron* as printed in *Gemau Llwyfo*<sup>19</sup> that it was his life's dream that he should be able to use both poems in the composition of a Welsh national epic which when he was dust should become "the subject of the attention of the nations of the world, and should make the critics of the earth confess that there is in the Welsh language one great, superior, heroic, and truly national composition (cyfansoddiad mawr, uchelradd, arwrol, a gwir genedlaethol), one that can be, and will be, translated into every literary language under the shining sun." He died without realizing his ambition, and it is perhaps significant of the attitude of his countrymen at this time toward the story, that he was unable to get a Welsh publisher to accept what he had done in that direction, and he was obliged to come to the United States before he could find a printer for it.<sup>20</sup>

It was a number of years after this before another serious attempt was made to make use of the Arthur stories. At the National Eisteddfod held at Llanelly in 1895, a prize was offered for the best libretto on the subject of Myrddin (Merlin) and there were two contestants. In 1897 at Newport *Arthur y Ford Gron* (*Arthur of the Round Table*) was again assigned as the subject for an "arwrgerdd" (epic or heroic poem). The results were not such as to encourage the committee to repeat the experiment, but in 1901 at the National Eisteddfod held at Merthyr Tydfil a prize was offered for a "rhaingerdd" (love poem) on *Cillwch ac Olwen* (*Cillwch and Olwen*), and the results were more promising. In the following year at Bangor, Arthurian subjects were assigned for both of the main literary

<sup>19</sup> p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

competitions, the "subject of the chair"<sup>21</sup> being *Ymadawiad Arthur* (*The Departure of Arthur*), and the "subject of the crown" *Trystan ac Essyllt* (*Tristan and Iseult*). In 1904 at Rhyl the subject of the chair was *Geraint ac Enid* (*Geraint and Enid*), and in 1907 at Swansea the subject of the crown was *Y Greal Santaidd* (*The Holy Grail*). In 1915 at Bangor William Morris's *Defence of Guenevere* was chosen as the subject for translation from English into Welsh, and in 1918 at Neath the subject assigned for the "rhieingerdd" was *Olwen*. From time to time still other Arthurian poems have been produced without the stimulus of an eisteddfodic contest.<sup>22</sup>

The prize offered at the 1895 eisteddfod for a libretto on Myrddin was awarded to Gwili (John Jenkins).<sup>23</sup> Under the conditions governing the competition the poem was limited to 300 lines and as the author has crowded into it four acts and thirteen scenes he is able to give but the barest outline of a story. Myrddin claims the newly-born Arthur of his father Uther and gives him to Ector to be brought up. Later upon the death of Uther, Arthur, after all others have failed, draws the sword from its sheath (o'r waen) and becomes king of Britain. In the third act he has been wounded in battle and has lost this sword; Myrddin leads him to the lake where he receives Caledfwlch. In the last act Arthur sends to Lodigran to ask for the hand of his daughter Gwenhwyfar; he receives her, and with her the Round Table; he establishes the Order of The Round Table, and dedicates himself and his knights to God, whereupon Myrddin dies, his work now completed.

<sup>21</sup> At the National Eisteddfod a carved oaken chair is given as a prize for the best poem on a designated subject written in the "strict metres" (mesurau caethion), the old Welsh alliterative metres, and a silver crown for another similarly composed in the "free metres" (mesurau rhyddion) which are based on the English metrical schemes.

<sup>22</sup> Along with this movement has gone a revival of interest in the non-Arthurian portions of the Mabinogion. In 1906 the subject of the crown at Carnarvon was *Branwen ferch Llyr* (*Branwen the daughter of Lear*); in 1917 at Birkenhead it was *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed* (*Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*); in 1921 at Carnarvon the contestant for the crown was given a choice of four subjects, one of which was *Breuddwyd Macsen* (*The Dream of Maxen*). A number of minor poems of the same type have been produced also.

<sup>23</sup> *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Buddugol Eisteddfod Llanelli, 1895*. London, 1898.

At Newport two years later the prize for a "heroic poem" (arwrgerdd) on the subject of *Arthur y Ford Gron* was awarded to the Rev. T. Mafonwy Davies.<sup>24</sup> Very probably his poem was the best of the nine submitted, but one wonders somewhat whether the three dissenting ministers (Dyfed, Ceulanydd, and Elfed) who acted as judges based their decision solely upon the poetic merits of the poem, or whether they took into consideration the moral tone as well. One of the judges, who voted at first for another of the poems, objected to the presentation of the sin of Guinevere as being a dark blot upon this poem, and expressed his disappointment at seeing the author mar his work in this way.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Davies' poem may be described as a Welsh version of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* with all the poetry left out of it, and with the moral greatly emphasized and so labelled that the most careless reader cannot miss it. The author begins by asking whether Arthur is a real person or a poetic creation and answering his own question he says that he is both—"His dress is poetry but I see a man in it";<sup>26</sup> so he "listens at the closed door of the ages"<sup>27</sup> and gets the story. The summary which the author prefixed to his poem, while it leaves out little touches such as Arthur's moistening the blade of Caledfwlch with his tears before striking with it,<sup>28</sup> gives a pretty good idea of the general tone of the poem.

The heroism of justice (cyfiawnder)—the boy Arthur—justice begins to bud in his character in the house of Hector, his foster-father—protects the wretched and his native land in the face of wrong.—Justice gives him energy and courage—chases away the enemy—finds the crown of some king under the feet of his horse—puts it on his head—feels a

<sup>24</sup> *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Eisteddfod Genedlaethol 1897 (Casnewydd-ar-Wyseg.)* p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> A chwiliaf fi drwy'r niwl am fylchog gledd  
Na chafodd un fudolaeth;—neu am fedd  
Yr hwn sydd heb ei gladdu,—marw na byw,—  
Arthur? Ai person neu farddoniaeth yw?  
Y ddau.—Barddoniaeth yw ei wisg, ond dyn  
A welaf dani.

*ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>27</sup> Clustfeiniaf fi wrth gauad-ddor yr oesau

*ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Mae'm cledd yn llaith

Gan ddagrau cyn eu taro,—galed waith!

*ibid.*, p. 45.

desire to be a king for the sake of getting justice into the laws.

### I. THE "CROWN" AND THE "CROSS" = THE CHRISTIAN KING.

Coronation day in Caerlleon—Myrddin tells Arthur his story—the justice of Arthur turns to grief and anger after hearing how he was begotten—offended at Myrddin for helping his father to sin—thinks to remove the shame of his father and of his country by living and serving justice—establishes laws to defend the wretched and punish the wicked.—Justice in punishments and rewards—joy of the weak and the poor—the responsibility makes Arthur's soul sober.

### II. "EXCALIBUR"—THE "DRAGON" = THE NATIONAL WARRIOR.

Treachery and oppression raise the rudiments of justice in Arthur's bosom—raises the sword to defend it—justice in his brotherly love and in his patriotism—his crushed feeling at administering justice on his brothers with the sword—overcomes his enemies at home—order—overcomes the *aggressive* foreigners and makes them acknowledge his laws. Myrddin puts into rhyme a list of Arthur's battles—shows the victory of justice in them all—looks at Gwenhwyfar and his song becomes silent.

### III. THE "ROUND TABLE" = THE JUST JUDGE.

The Round Table—the kingdom of justice and order—the judgment-hall of Arthur where his justice is administered—the needs of nature and of man are supplied—the victory of justice—the golden age of Arthur.—The soberness and severity of Arthur kill the love of Gwenhwyfar—she turns to Launcelot for sympathy—the two fall—the influence of their fall upon the court—others follow their example.—The sharp justice of Arthur becomes an element of pain in the court—the knights, having failed to live the laws of Arthur, seek to get his reputation by following the Holy Grail—fail.—The love of Arthur for Gwenhwyfar turns to anger against her—seeks to administer punishment to her.—

Launcelot defends her—war—destruction.—Arthur continues to fight and to administer justice.

#### IV. "AVALON"—THE IMMORTAL CONQUEROR.

Arthur sees the world forsake justice for a time—night and the last battle—kills the traitor Medrod and his army—he himself is wounded by the traitor—the country is sacrificed.—Arthur sleeps in his blood near the altar—dreams—sees that the life of sacrifice is the highest—sees the victory of justice—Gwenhwyfar, Launcelot, and Myrddin in their monasteries repent—they return in their tears and seek for him in the paths of justice—Myrddin announces to him (in his sleep) that he is not to die—to go to "Avalon"—to return constantly to fight the battles of justice and to win them—the country follows him to some Avalon—the immortal conqueror.

Certainly the romantic revival has not yet touched the Arthur story in Wales.

Of the poems submitted in 1902 on the subject of the departure of Arthur nearly all were of this same type ("soliloquies, meditations, essays on the influence of Arthur, Arthur yet living, etc.").<sup>29</sup> Among them however was one of a very different type—the "Awdl" (poem in the strict metres) of Mr. T. Gwynn Jones.<sup>30</sup> This is a work of real poetic merit. It follows closely Malory's account of Arthur's departure, and therefore at once challenges comparison with Tennyson's poem on the same subject which it so closely resembles. One critic has expressed, although perhaps not quite fairly to Tennyson, the essential difference between the two poems: "The two characteristics of the Awdl are Dramatic Movement and Concentration. Two characteristics of Tennyson's Passing of Arthur are Eloquence and Fine Writing. King Arthur in the Awdl is a dying desperate man. In Tennyson he is a

<sup>29</sup> Translation of the adjudication of Sir John Morris Jones. *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Buddugol Eisteddfod Bangor, 1902*. Liverpool, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Both this poem and the winning "Pryddest" on Tristan and Iseult were published in *Cofnodion . . . Bangor, 1902*, and both are reviewed by Elphin (R. A. Griffith) in *Y Cymmrodor*, XVI, 140-168. The Awdl was later published in *Ymadawiad Arthur a Chaniadau Ereill*. Carnarvon, 1910.

polished deliberate speaker, with a tendency to exaggerate, and a love of show. In the Awdl Arthur is Arthur. In the Idyll he is the Poet trying to be Arthur."<sup>31</sup> Part of the terseness which makes the Awdl so effective comes from the use of the "mesurau caethion,"<sup>32</sup> which lend themselves naturally to compression, but more of it is due to the author's deliberate treatment of his subject. The story as he tells it is as follows:

Over the tumult of Camlan rises the cry "Medrawd is killed," and Medrawd's army turns in flight followed by that of Arthur, leaving only two persons alive on the field of battle, "the one like a god of carnage with his weight on the fair hilt of his sword, and the other beside him, amazed, watching him."<sup>33</sup> To Bedwyr's inquiry as to why he has left his men, Arthur replies that he is seriously wounded<sup>34</sup> and asks to be helped from the field. So Bedwyr carries him to a green glade near by and lays him down by the stream. At Arthur's command he takes Caledfwlch (Excalibur) to a near-by lake, but as he is about to cast it in he hears the croak of a raven, and this calls to his mind the old stanza,

Hast thou heard what the raven sang,  
Is it good or bad his foreboding?  
"There shall be no strong man without a fair sword."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> William Hughes Jones. *At the Foot of Eryri*. Bangor, 1912., p. 160.

<sup>32</sup> Very brief treatments of these metres may be found in H. Idris Bell's *Poems From the Welsh*, p. 9, and in Alfred Percival Graves' *Welsh Poetry Old and New in English Verse*, p. 135. Somewhat more full are *The Rules and Metres of Welsh Poetry* by H. Elvet Lewis (*Transactions of the Society of the Cymmrodorion for 1902-3*, p. 76), and *Welsh Versification* by Sir John Morris Jones (*Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IV, 106). A full and clear explanation (in Welsh) of the whole matter is given by Dafydd Morganwg (David William Jones) in *Yr Ysgol Farddol*. (5th edition Carmarthen, 1911.)

<sup>33</sup> Yno, mal duw celanedd,  
A'i bwys ar garn glwys ei gledd,  
Yr naill oedd, a'r llall ger llaw  
A golwg syn, yn gwyliaw. p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ebr yntau: "Clyw, brwnt y clwyf  
Hwn; clyw Fedwyr, claf ydwyf." p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Glywaist ti a gant y fran,  
Ai drwg ai da'r darogan,  
Na fid cryf heb gleddyf glân p. 8.

This triplet is modelled after the old Welsh poetry such as "The Sayings of the Wise (Chwedlau'r Doethion)." See for example the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 260-261.



Bedwyr looks again at the sword and feels that to throw it away would be a great mistake and that Arthur must have been distracted by the pain of his wound when he ordered it done, so he hides the sword in a cave not far away and returns to the King. As in Tennyson's poem he is sent back a second, and again a third time with emphatic orders to throw the sword into the lake. On the third trip he does hurl it away and a hand comes up out of the water and catches it. When he returns and tells this to the king Arthur bids him carry him to the shores of the lake. There they find a vessel, not dark like Tennyson's but brightly colored, and the three maidens receive Arthur on board. Bedwyr asks to go too, saying simply, "Together we were in battle; together from the world let us escape the day of death,"<sup>36</sup> but one of the maidens replies, "Be thou silent, the end is not yet come; Arthur shall never sink into the grave; as for thee, go, there is work yet remaining for thee ere thou goest to rest,"<sup>37</sup> and as the boat sails Arthur says to him, "Be not sad; I go now to the fine summer weather of Afallon to recover, but I shall come back again to my people, and when the day comes I shall restore them, victorious, their renown among the nations."<sup>38</sup> As the ship sails away Bedwyr hears sweet voices singing of Afallon, and then a fog slowly spreads over the lake and into it the vessel vanishes like a phantom.

No summary of this poem can give any adequate idea of the swift movement and dramatic power of it. It is without a doubt the best thing the Welsh have produced on King Arthur in modern times, and it is worthy to rank with the best in any language.

<sup>36</sup> Ynghyd y buom ynghadau, ynghyd  
O'r byd caffom ddiengyd ddydd angau. p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Bid iti dewi, ni ddaeth y diwedd;  
Arthur byth ni syrth i'r bedd; tithau dos,  
Y mae'n d'aros waith cyn mynd i orwedd. p. 18.

<sup>38</sup> "Na bydd alarus," eb o:  
"Mi weithion i hinon ha  
Afallon af i wella;  
Ond i fy nhud dof yn ol,  
Hi ddygaf yn fuddugol  
Eto, wedi delo dydd  
Ei bri ymysg y broydd." p. 18.

The *Tristan and Iseult*<sup>39</sup> of R. Silyn Roberts, the other prize-winning poem at the Bangor Eisteddfod of 1902, is of a very different character. In the first place the metre is modelled upon those of England instead of on the old Welsh forms, and in the hands of the author it often lacks the dignity that the subject demands. Perhaps the most striking example of this is to be found in Part V where Trystan, sick in Brittany, turns his face toward Cornwall, "whispering the anguish of his breast into the ear of his harp (wrth suo cynni'i fron yng nghlust ei delyn),"<sup>40</sup> to a tune that makes one think at once of *Annabel Lee*. Again Trystan after his return from Ireland sits on a rock on the Cornish coast and sings to the breezes a song of *Esyllt*<sup>41</sup> modelled probably after the old Welsh-song of *Mentra Gwen* but reminding the American reader of *Here's to Good Old Yale*. That the poem seems just as undignified to the native Welshman is, I think, sufficiently clear from the review of it by Elphin (R. A. Griffith),<sup>42</sup> himself a Welsh poet of considerable note. Neither the phraseology nor the metrical form seems to him worthy of the subject.<sup>43</sup>

In subject matter too there is a great difference between the two poems. The *Awdl* is wholly tragic, and the action is compressed into the space of perhaps an hour. The *Pryddest* is largely romantic, and the action occupies several years.

<sup>39</sup> R. Silyn Roberts. *Trystan ac Esyllt a Chaniadau Eraill*. Bangor, 1904. The text given there is changed slightly from the original form. (See note 30.)

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*. XVI, 154-168.

<sup>43</sup> He attempts to translate one couplet so as to give the English reader the same impression that the original would give to a Welshman, and evolves the following:

His eye flashed out in anger fierce, he gave the Pat a shove,  
My golden harp has won the girl, a fiddler she's above.

Perhaps it was this criticism that caused the author to change, "Yr Gwyddel rhoddodd wth (he gave the Irishman a shove)" to "Ymaith, anghenfil rhwth (Away gaping monster)" when he reprinted the poem in the collected edition of his works.

Elphin also points out in his review the extent to which Mr. Roberts is indebted to Swinburne and other poets, not only for the ideas of many of his best passages but often even to the words of whole lines.

A summary of the poem will perhaps make the difference more clear.

In Part I we find a vessel driving toward the coast of Ireland in a March storm and on board it a wounded man.

But who is the man? Why is his aspect sad?  
Why does the grey of the grave cover his splendor?<sup>44</sup>

The answer to this question occupies the rest of the canto, and tells us of Trystan's birth and rearing, of his fight with Morollt, and of his attempts to find a cure for his wound. Part II begins with Trystan sitting on the Cornish coast singing of Eyllt. March (Mark), passing by, hears him and asks if she is more beautiful than Gwenhwyfar. Trystan assures him that she is, and tells March the story of his trip to Ireland—how by his harping he had won the favor of the king and queen and had been healed of his wound. March falls in love with the maiden Eyllt whom he has never seen, and upon the advice of Trystan's enemies he sends his nephew to Ireland to win her and bring her back to Cornwall. Trystan, upon his arrival, kills the dragon that is wasting the country, and when he is brought to court to receive his reward, the hand of the princess, Eyllt recognizes in him her old teacher Tantrys. Later she discovers from the notch in his sword that he is the Trystan who killed Morollt, but she quickly finds that her love for Tantrys is stronger than her hatred for Trystan. Part III opens with Trystan and Eyllt aboard ship on their way back to Cornwall. They are already in love with each other but neither is ready to admit it. Eyllt pretends to be homesick and asks Trystan to sing to her. When the song is finished Trystan takes the oars—the rowers have all fallen asleep from weariness—and drives the vessel onward. After a time Eyllt sends Branwen to sleep and whispers,

Trystan leave your rowing,  
And sit here a while to rest yourself.  
Tell me the story of the love of Gwenhwyfar,  
And Lancelot, her brave matchless knight.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ond pwy yw'r marchog? Pam mae'n drist ei wedd?  
Paham y gwisga'i harddwch lwydni'r bedd? p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Trystan, gad dy rwyfo;  
Ac eistedd yma ennyd i orffwyso.  
Cei adrodd imi hanes serch Gwenhwyfar  
A Lancelot, eim harchog dewr digymar. p. 38.

So Trystan comes and sits at her feet. The details of her wooing may be passed over, but finally he asks for a drink. She searches in vain for wine until finally she finds a golden flask in the bosom of Branwen. She dances lightly back again<sup>46</sup> and offers Trystan the drink in a golden cup, but he suggests that they both drink from it at the same time. As they do so a shudder runs through them, for the wine is a love potion brewed by Eyllt's mother and given to Branwen to keep against Eyllt's wedding day. Part IV. Eyllt has given March her hand but not her heart. Soon, at the instigation of Meiriadog, Trystan is banished from court and forced to live in a cave in the woods with only his horse, his sword, and his harp for company. A brook came out of the woods and flowed by the door of Eyllt's home, and regularly every day Trystan sent her flowers by this means.<sup>47</sup> One day a knight from Ireland, a former lover of Eyllt's, appeared at March's court. He was a wonderful fiddler but he refused to play until March promised to give him as a reward anything he might ask. The next morning he named as his reward Eyllt, and as March could not go back on his word the knight led her away. But Trystan who had heard about it all came up just as they were sailing, and Eyllt persuaded the knight to return to take the supposed minstrel with them. As soon as the vessel landed Trystan seized Eyllt and bore her away to his cave in the woods; there they lived for some time until their hiding-place was discovered and Eyllt was brought home and Trystan forced to flee with a price on his head. Part V. Trystan, now in Brittany, is singing of Eyllt, and Eyllt of the White Hands thinks that the song refers to her; when her father offers her as wife to Trystan the latter is afraid to refuse. He soon falls sick and sends his squire Dyfnant to Cornwall for Eyllt, bidding him hoist a white sail if she returns with him and a black one if she does not. His wife Eyllt hears of the plan, and when he asks her the color of the returning sail she says

<sup>46</sup> Ar ysgafn droed hi ddawnsiai'n ôl yn llawen. p. 42.

<sup>47</sup> Bob dydd cyn wired ag fod dydd yn dyfod,  
Doi blodau gyda'r dwr at drws yr hafod. p. 50.

"black." He dies of grief, and Eyllt of Ireland comes in only to fall on his body and die also.

To my mind a much better poem on the same subject is the one by Mr. W. J. Gruffydd.<sup>48</sup> It is written in blank verse, which, while it never has in Welsh quite the dignity that it sometimes does in English, is not unsuitable for a serious poem. The author has wisely simplified his material by leaving out a great deal of the early history of Trystan, while the remainder Trystan himself tells, so that the whole time actually occupied by the poem is but a single night.

Trystan lies sick within his castle in Brittany, with his wife Eyllt of Brittany watching over him while overhead a sentry paces back and forth looking anxiously for an expected sail. Trystan in his delirium begins to live over again his past life: the voyage from Ireland upon which he and the first Eyllt had drunk together the love-draught which on a sudden changed her hatred into love; the night before Eyllt's marriage which he spent with her after killing the sentinel who guarded the house, thus making necessary the substitution of Branwen for her on the wedding night; his forced flight to Brittany where he married the second Eyllt that he might have flesh to clothe the soul of his dreams,<sup>49</sup> and finally his delirium in which he imagined himself leaving this wife and dwelling for a time in a far-off land with the first Eyllt. His wife is so angered by this revelation of his feelings toward her that, when the watchman comes in to announce that a vessel is approaching, she tells Trystan that the sail it bears is black and taunts him with his vain hope that his former love would give up her station in Cornwall and come to him. Trystan dies of his grief and Eyllt of Ireland, who really has come, enters soon afterward, falls upon his body, and expires.

The last section of this poem has been translated into English blank verse by Mr. H. Idris Bell,<sup>50</sup> from his translation the person ignorant of Welsh may get a fairly accurate idea of the character of the whole poem.

The next Arthurian poem to receive a prize at a National

<sup>48</sup> W. J. Gruffydd. *Caneuon a Cherddi*. Bangor, 1906., p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> "crawd i wisgo enaid fy mreuddwydion." P. 98.

<sup>50</sup> *Poems from the Welsh*. Carnarvon, 1913. P. 61.

Eisteddfod is the *Geraint and Enid* (*Geraint ac Enid*) of Machreth (J. Machreth Rees).<sup>51</sup> In subject matter it follows so closely the version given in Lady Guest's *Mabinogion* that it is unnecessary to say much about it: Part I begins just before Geraint gets to the town—he tells to Ynywl what had led up to his journey—and ends when Geraint and Enid are received at court; Part II begins with Geraint, after three years of married life, neglecting his warlike exercises, and ends with the recovery of Geraint from his swoon and the killing of Limwris.

The poem is written in the strict metres, as is required in one submitted in competition for the Chair, and, if it is permissible in one for whom Welsh is an acquired language to express an opinion on a point of Welsh metrics, I should say that herein lies its chief weakness. When composing in the strict metres one must pay so much attention to the form that often the spirit is sacrificed. This is particularly likely to happen in the "englyn" which is the most elaborate and artificial of all the twenty-four metres. Mr. Gwynn Jones seems to realize this danger and in *The Departure of Arthur* he uses chiefly the simpler forms, and employs the englyn very sparingly, but Machreth in *Geraint and Enid* uses it, and forms similar to it, very frequently. The result is that, although the reader may be filled with admiration for the author's mastery of the technical details of his craft, he finds it difficult to get into the spirit of the story and he longs for the simplicity of the *Mabinogion* version.

Of the eight competitors for the crown in 1907 some merely retold in Welsh verse stories that were much better in the original prose versions; others cast aside the old stories entirely and wrote simply sermons or essays in moral philosophy crammed full of abstract terms from beginning to end.<sup>52</sup> The winner, who proved to be Dyfnallt (John Dyfnallt Owen),<sup>53</sup> avoided both of these extremes. His characters exhibit some-

<sup>51</sup> *Geraint ac Enid a Chaniadau Eraill gan Machreth*. Liverpool, 1908. It had previously been published in *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Eisteddfod Genedlaethol 1904 (Rhyl)*, p. 21.

<sup>52</sup> Adjudication of Haweh (David Adams) in *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Eisteddfod Genedlaethol 1907 (Abertawe)*. London, 1908., p. 48.

<sup>53</sup> *Pryddest: "Y Greal Santaidd."* in *Cofnodion . . . 1907.*, p. 61.

thing of a tendency toward rhetorical speeches but the plot, composed largely of incidents taken from Malory (Books XIII–XVII), is one that is not far from the spirit of some of the old Grail romances.

The poem begins (after a brief introduction) with the assembling of the knights at Eastertime in Arthur's court. Kai, Gwalchmai, Peredur, and Lawnslet each has a story to tell of some marvel he has seen or heard while on his journey. Then Galahad, "The Red Knight," arrives at the court and preaches the Grail Quest to them. One test after another proves his fitness to lead this enterprise: his forgetfulness of self is shown by his sitting in the Siege Perilous (*Eisteddfa Beryglus*); his strength by drawing a sword from a stone in the river after all the other good knights had failed; his courage by his conduct in the tournament in which he wins the victory. Finally a mystic light accompanied by thunder fills the hall in which all the knights are at meat and all take this as a sign that the Quest should begin.

The knights ride forth from Camelot amid general mourning on the part of those left behind. Galahad is leading and one after another the rest turn aside as the fancy strikes them, until finally he is left alone. He comes to the Castle of the Maidens and frees them from their oppression. Meanwhile Gwalchmai has been riding onward, his mind full of worldly things. He curses himself for his folly in taking the rash oath of a Quester. As he passes by the cell of a hermit the latter comes out and, as though reading Gwalchmai's mind, rebukes him for his interest in the world and exhorts him to seek spiritual things. Lawnslet, too, soon tires of an enterprise which he had undertaken out of love for *Gwenhwyfar* rather than from religious motives and he longs to be back with her again. Finally a realization of his sin comes to him and just at this time he meets a hermit who explains that because of his unlawful love the Grail has remained hidden from him. He meets Galahad who sails with him for some months but at the bidding of the mystic voice leaves him again. Lawnslet alone in a boat at the mercy of wind and waves prays night and day that he may have a vision of the Grail.

He arrives at the Grail Castle but when, not yet purged of his pride, he attempts to stride into the sacred chamber he is met by a whirlwind that strikes him powerless to the floor and the vision is hidden from him. Peredur has been sustained during his wanderings by the prophecy that he should be one of the three knights to finish the Quest, but after he has climbed to the summit of the Mount of Vision he begins to doubt his power. Galahad meets him and cheers him and they ride on together until they meet Bwrt. Bwrt tells them that he has met Lawnslet returning to his old life; he himself was sorely tempted by the delights of the flesh but managed to overcome them. The three reach the Temple of the Grail and Galahad, the object of his whole life now accomplished, prepares to die. To Peredur he gives his sword and to Bwrt his shield and sends them back to tell his friends that he has passed through the veil that separates this life from the life eternal.

Of the poems produced without the stimulus of a prize contest a considerable number deal with the expected return of Arthur to aid his people in the day when their need shall be greatest.<sup>54</sup> In most cases this takes the form of the legend of Arthur and his men sleeping in a cave until the day comes, a belief which has persisted as folk-lore down to the present day in many parts of Wales.<sup>55</sup> The most ambitious work on this

<sup>54</sup> This theme has become associated also with the Nationalist and Pan-Celtic movements in Brittany. As early as 1859 François-Marie Luzel in the preface to *Bepred Breizad (Always Breton)* wrote, "Did the old Bards lie to us when they prophesied the resurrection of Arthur? No, Arthur shall yet reappear in the midst of his faithful Bretons and the old Celtic spirit will be reborn," while Édouard Beaufils calls upon Merlin to hear the cry of distressed Brittany and to arise—to keep the French from building a railroad between Guingamp and Tréguier. Of the twenty-seven poems containing Arthurian references which are included in Le Mercier d'Erm's collection of Breton nationalist poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries, fourteen make use of the theme of the expected return of Arzur (Arthur), and often of Marzin (Merlin) as well, to free Brittany from the yoke of the French. The editor himself says in his preface, "Quant à moi, s'il doit nous naître, un jour, un O'Connell ou un Mazarik—et il nous naîtra!—et si Arthur— qui n'est pas mort—doit se manifester à ses fidèles sous quelque nouvel avatar, mon ambition et ma fonction auront été d'être un peu comme le *Précurseur* de ce Messie des Bretons."

<sup>55</sup> Sir John Rhys has collected a number of versions of this legend in Chapter VIII of his *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*.



subject is the *Dyfodiad Arthur (The Coming of Arthur)*<sup>56</sup> of the late Robert Bryan, which the author calls an "operetta libretto on a Welsh subject (Libretto Operetta ar Neges Cymru)." There are five solo parts, a chorus of men—the knights, and a full chorus—the Welsh People. A good idea of the story of the piece may be obtained from the summary which the author prefixes to it.

"SCENE I. THE VIGIL. The Welsh people, remembering the afflictions of the past and longing for the dawning of the day when Arthur and his knights shall come.

SCENE II. THE CAVE. Arthur and his armed knights sleeping. A Covetous Man intrudes into the cave and the bell of the watchman rings. The knights arise and ask, 'Has the day come?' The watchman replies that some one in search of riches is there. Arthur drives him away to be punished and bids the host sleep for the day has not come. Then an Ambitious Man comes in and the bell rings a second time. The knights awake again and ask, 'Has the day come?' No, the day has not dawned; this man loves selfish glory (*hunanglod*). Away with him to his fate, and the knights sleep again. Then a Patriot appears and the bell rings a third time. The knights rise up and the watchman announces that the day is dawning. Arthur calls for the Patriot, and having heard his message the host starts out into the world with the light of the long-expected day shining on their arms.

SCENE III. THE DAWNING OF THE DAY. The Welsh people rejoicing at the dawning of the day. King Arthur and his knights are seen marching with the dawn on the eastern hills. They are greeted by the Welsh, and the heroes of Old Wales and Modern Wales (*Cymru Fu a Chymru Sydd*) join in a song of triumph on the dawning of a new day in the history of the world."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Robert Bryan. *Tua'r Wawr*. Liverpool, 1921., pp. 22-32. It was written first in English for a musical festival (see the author's letter to Sir Owen M. Edwards concerning it in *Cymru*, Number 352, p. 144), was apparently never published, and was then rewritten in Welsh by the original author, and was published in *Cymru*, No. 352, p. 146, before appearing in Bryan's collected works.

<sup>57</sup> Another play on the same subject, *Y Deffroad (The Awakening)* by Griffith R. Jones, I have not seen; it is written for children's schools.

Another poem on the same subject is the *Ogof Arthur* (*Arthur's Cave*)<sup>58</sup> of Mr. T. Gwynn Jones, the fourth of his *Songs of Yesterday* (*Cerddi Doe*); it follows very closely the popular version of the story found in Glamorgan by Iolo Morgannwg.<sup>59</sup>

A Welshman walking one day in London is stopped by an old man who asks him where he cut the ash wand which he carries in his hand, and tells him that beneath that spot is a great cave in which sleep Arthur and his men. The cave contains a great treasure but in its entrance is a bell which, when touched, will give forth a sound that will awaken the warriors. Arthur will start up and ask, "Is it day?" and if one answers "Sleep, the time has not come," they will sink back again, but when one comes and answers, "Arise, the day comes," they will all rise up and Britain shall yet be free. The Welshman went to the spot indicated and found everything as the old man had said; as he was carrying away a load of the treasure he touched the bell which sounded loudly, but to Arthur's question he answered, "Sleep, the time has not come," and the knights all sank back to sleep. Many a time after that the man sought for the cave but never found it again.

Very much the same story is told by J. Spinther James in his *Ogof Arthur Gawr* (*Giant Arthur's Cave*)<sup>60</sup> except that Einion hears of the cave from a witch whom he meets in the hills of Wales. Other poems which tell the same story but omit some of the details are *Arthur Gyda Ni* (*Arthur with us*)<sup>61</sup> by Elfed (Howell Elvet Lewis), and *Arthur yn Cyfodi* (*Arthur arising*)<sup>62</sup> by R. Silyn Roberts. Still others who treat more briefly of the same subject, usually with the emphasis on the expected return of Arthur are Gwmryn (Gwmryn Jones) in *Codi Baner Cymry*,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> T. G. Jones. *Ymadawiad Arthur.*, p. 95.

<sup>59</sup> J. Rhys. *Celtic Folklore.* II, 485. A very closely related version of the story (taken from *Llyfrau Ystraeon Hanes* by Owen M. Edwards) has been used by Mr. Ernest Rhys for his English poem *King Arthur's Sleep.* (*Welsh Ballads*, p.20).

<sup>60</sup> *Cyfaill yr Adroddwr.* Wrexham, 1910., p. 60.

<sup>61</sup> *Caniadau Elfed.* Cardiff, [1909]., p. 94.

<sup>62</sup> *Telynegion gan R. Silyn Roberts a W. J. Gruffydd.* Bangor, 1900, p. 78. Reprinted in *Trystan ac Eryll*, p. 125.

<sup>63</sup> *Gemau Ceredigion.* Cardiff, n.d. II, 63.

T. E. Nicholas in *Gymru Annwyl, Cwyd dy Galon*,<sup>64</sup> D. R. Jones in *Gobaith Cymru*,<sup>65</sup> Eifion Wyn (Eliseus Williams) in *Coelcerthi'r Bannau*<sup>66</sup> and Machreth in *Dychweliad Arthur*.<sup>67</sup>

A somewhat different treatment of the same materials is to be found in *Yr Awrhon a Chynt (Now and Formerly)*<sup>68</sup> by Index (David Rhys Williams), who has lived in the United States since 1883. The poem is wholly humorous in tone but back of the humor the author seems to have had a serious purpose; like other writers who use the Arthur story he attempts to appeal to the feeling of Welsh nationality, but he is interested also in other problems of the day and he fits a discussion of them into the framework of his story.

The poet dreams that he discovers Arthur's Cave and the watchman leads him through the midst of the host to the monarch's presence where a stool is placed for him and he sits and converses with the king. The mention of Medrawd's rebellion causes the poet to remark that such a lack of unity had been the curse of their race throughout the ages, and to regret that Arthur could not come back to earth to annihilate the Dicshondafydds<sup>69</sup> and other enemies of the Welsh people. His inquiry as to Arthur's wound and the physician who tended him leads to a comparison between the simple living of the older time which needed no doctors, and our modern life which places so much reliance upon them that it is a wonder that any of us survive. Arthur is much heartened to hear that in spite of everything the Welsh people are still prospering, for he has had no news of the outside world, being without either telephone connections or newspapers. At this point Gwenhwyfar comes into the room and is introduced—"This is my wife! A friend from Wales! (Dyma'm cydwedd! Car o Gymru!)"—and the talk drifts to modern education, the modern woman who

<sup>64</sup> *Salmau'r Werin*. Second Edition. Wrexham, 1913, p. 78.

<sup>65</sup> *Cyfaill yr Adroddur*. p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> *Telynegion Maes a Mor*. Second Edition. Cardiff, [1908]. p. 110.

<sup>67</sup> *Geraint ac Enid*. p. 81.

<sup>68</sup> *Am Dro i Erstalwm*. Utica, N. Y., [n.d.] pp. 97-125. In the same volume, pp. 50-62, is a discussion of some of the versions of the Arthur story.

<sup>69</sup> Welshmen who are ashamed of their nationality; so called from the poem of Glan y Gors (John Jones) which may be found on page 51 of *Gwaith Glan y Gors*, Llanuwchllyn, [1905].

rides astride and is learning to spit like a man, the wonders of modern science, and finally to religion. The poet is rather bitter over the pretensions of the Catholic Church to have a monopoly of divine grace, and Arthur and Gwenhwyfar agree with him that the faith professed by the Welsh people is by far the best. He is invited to remain over night, and the next morning, after having been shown over the whole palace, he is sent back to earth with the best wishes of both the king and the queen for his people.

Next in popularity as a source for Arthurian poems is the story of Kilhwch and Olwen included by Lady Guest in her *Mabinogion*. The *Cilhwch ac Olwen*<sup>70</sup> of Elphin (Robert A. Griffith) is a somewhat impressionistic retelling of this story.

Cilhwch ab Cilydd, a noble young warrior, had no thought of love until one day he met a witch who warned him to love while he was young. Meanwhile Olwen, the beautiful daughter of Ysbyddaden Gawr the bitterest of Arthur's enemies, is living a lonely life. Cilhwch rides by followed by Cai, Bedwyr, Gwalchmai, Sandde Bryd Angel, Trystan, and Rhun. Cilhwch falls in love with Olwen, and with the help of the six other knights he fights his way into the presence of her father. Ysbyddaden lays upon him certain seemingly impossible tasks that he must perform before he can win Olwen. He rides away and she waits lonely for him, but at last he returns with all the feats accomplished and takes her away with him.

The *Olwen*<sup>70a</sup> of Bryfdir (Humphrey Jones) tells very much the same story, dwelling upon the descriptions of Cilhwch and Olwen as the *Mabinogion* does; the various tasks which play so important a part in that version are left out, and instead we get a certain amount of sentimentality that was unknown to the old story-teller. In places where the author has followed closely the *Mabinogion* it would seem that he has used Lady Guest's

<sup>70</sup> This poem was awarded one of the lesser prizes at the National Eisteddfod held at Merthyr Tydfil in 1901. It was printed in *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Eisteddfod Genedlaethol, 1901* (p. 82), and reprinted in Elphin's *O Fôr i Fynydd a Chaniadau Ereill*. Liverpool, 1909. (p. 27.)

<sup>70a</sup> This was awarded the prize for a rheiengerdd at the National Eisteddfod at Neath in 1918. It is published in *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Eisteddfod Genedlaethol 1918 (Castell Nedd)*. London, 1919. p. 119.

,translation rather than the original Welsh. For instance, the Red Book "a llugorn eliffeint yndi" she renders "his war-horn was of ivory" (Loth refers this to the sword and translates "dans la croix était une lanterne d'ivoire"), and Bryfdir has "Teg ifori oedd ei udgorn"; the Red Book "Os ar dy gam y doethost mywn. dos ar dy redec allan" she translates, "If walking thou didst enter here, return thou running," and Bryfdir has, in a slightly different construction, "Tan gerdded daethai'r porthor, tan redeg aeth yn ol"; the Red Book "Pedeir meillonon gwynnnyon. a uydei yn y hol pa fford bynnac y delhei" is given by Lady Guest as "Four white trefoils sprung up wherever she trod," and by Bryfdir as "'Roedd pedair o feillion clauerwynion yn tyfu lle sangai ei throed," losing completely the play on the name Olwen. In other places however he approaches the original more closely in his choice of words.

Certain incidents of this story are taken by other poets as the subjects of poems such as the *Hela'r Twrch Trwyth*<sup>71</sup> of G. ap Lleision (W. Griffiths), which tells the story of the hunting of the Twrch Trwyth, and *Y Morgrug*<sup>72</sup> by Sir John Morris Jones, which relates how the ants recovered the flax-seed demanded by Ysbaddaden Gawr, but the feature of the story that seems to have appealed most to the poets is the picture of the fair Olwen in whose foot-steps white clovers sprang up. Sometimes she is used simply to bring out the beauty of the poet's own love as in the *Fy Olwen i (My Olwen)*<sup>73</sup> of Crwys (W. Crwys Williams), but more often she becomes a symbol of Springtime as in the *Dewiniaeth Olwen (The magic of Olwen)*<sup>74</sup> of Elfed or the *Mabinogi*<sup>75</sup> of Eifion Wyn. References to one or the other of these characteristics of Olwen are so numerous in Welsh poetry that it is idle to attempt to make a list of them.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Cerddi'r Mynydd Du*. Aberhonddu, 1913. P. 21.

<sup>72</sup> *Caniadau*. Oxford, 1907. P. 21.

<sup>73</sup> *Cerddi Crwys*. Llanelli, 1920. P. 49.

<sup>74</sup> *Caniadau Elfed*. P. 54.

<sup>75</sup> *Telynegion Maes a Mor*. P. 85.

<sup>76</sup> This type of poem is well illustrated by the *Olwen* of Sarnicol (Jacob T. Thomas) which is written in English but is very likely to escape the English reader since it is published in the midst of a volume of Welsh poems. *Odlau Môr a Mynydd*. Abergavenny [1912], p. 94.

The *Gareth ac Eluned (Gareth and Lynette)*<sup>77</sup> of Pedr Alaw (Peter Edwards), a musical play intended for school children, is worthy of comment as showing the Welsh interest in this story that became attached to the Arthurian cycle, but it is too well adapted to its purpose to deserve extended consideration here. Mention should be made also of the *O Ffarwel, fy Arthur Fawr (O farewell my great Arthur)*<sup>78</sup> of Ceiriog (John Ceiriog Hughes), "Written after reading the *Gwenhwyfar of Llew Llwyfo*," and the *Molarwd Arthur, sef Can y Frenhines (The praise of Arthur, or the song of the Queen)*<sup>79</sup> by R. J. Derfel, but a much better poem than either of them is the *Arthur Gawr (Arthur the Giant)*<sup>80</sup> which is number three in the *Songs of Yesterday* of Mr. T. Gwynn Jones. This is a spirited ballad, full of color, describing the assembling of the lords of Britain to select a successor to Uther Bendragon, their failure to agree, and the suggestion of Myrddin that they pray for guidance. The next morning, there in the public square they found an anvil with a sword stuck through it, and on the stone beneath was written in letters of gold, "He who pulls the sword out of the middle of the steel shall be king of the island."<sup>81</sup> No one could accomplish this feat except Arthur, and he was accordingly chosen king.<sup>82</sup>

In one respect the Welsh Arthurian stories are different from those of any other nation in modern times. For all the others Arthur is a purely imaginary person, good as the subject

<sup>77</sup> Wrexham, 1911. Another book prepared for school children is *Y Seint Greal* by J. M. Edwards (Cardiff n.d.) a reader based on the Grail stories in the Peniarth and Mostyn manuscripts.

<sup>78</sup> First published in *Oriau'r Bore* in 1862. In the collected edition of Ceiriog's Works (Third Edition, Wrexham, 1911) it is printed on page 65 of the second section of the first volume.

<sup>79</sup> *Cerddi Cymru*. Carnarvon, n.d. I, 210.

<sup>80</sup> *Ymadawiad Arthur*. P. 90.

<sup>81</sup> A dynno'r cledd o ganol y dur  
A fydd ar yr ynys ri.

<sup>82</sup> In this paper I have not taken into consideration poems such as the *Myrddin Wyllt* and the *Arthur Llewelyn* of Glasynys (Owen Wynne Jones) or the *Derwen Arthur* of Machreth which make use of certain Arthurian names, but belong to quite different traditions; neither have I made any attempt to make a collection of all the brief references to Arthurian subjects. There is also a cantata *Llys Arthur (Arthur's Court)* by Joseph David Jones which I have not seen. See *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 261.

for a romantic story but having absolutely no connection with modern life and not to be taken seriously. The Welshman, however, does take him seriously. For the simple peasant Arthur still sleeps in the midst of his men in some remote cavern in the Welsh hills, while for some, though not all, of the writers the return of Arthur has become symbolic of the future in store for the Cymric race. Sir John Morris Jones in the preface to *Gwlad fy Nhadau (The Land of my Fathers)*,<sup>83</sup> a book of selections from Welsh literature and art published during the war for the Welsh troops, says, "Surely it will be noticed how appropriate to the present occasion are many of the pieces that relate to the patriotic tradition of the Welsh; the reason is that this conflict is the old one—between the spirit of the Celt and the spirit of the Teuton. Britain is throughout more Celtic than was formerly thought, and to-day is fighting the battle of the Celt for freedom and civilization against the military arrogance and barbarism of the Teuton. (brwydr y Celt dros ryddid a gwareiddiad yn erbyn traha milwrol ac anwariaeth y Teuton.)" Among the selections printed in this book we find Eifion Wyn's *Coelcerthi'r Bannau* in which occur the lines

Shall the stranger have a road he can travel  
 Shall our castles fall?  
 What are you doing in the cavern,  
 Idle host of Arthur the Great?<sup>84</sup>

and Elfed's *Arthur Gyda Ni* which reads when translated:

Arthur the Great is sleeping  
 And his warriors who are around him  
 Grasping their swords:  
 When day shall come in Wales,  
 Arthur the Great shall rise up  
 Alive—alive from his grave!

When the land of men shall arise  
 To battle true-heartedly  
 On the side of heaven and man,

<sup>83</sup> *Gwlad fy Nhadau; Rhodd Cymru i'w Byddin*. London, [1915].

<sup>84</sup> Gaiff yr allfro ffordd yr elo  
 Gwypmo'n cestyll hyd y llawr?  
 Beth a wnewch chwi yn yr ogof,  
 Fintai segur Arthur Fawr? *Gwlad fy Nhadau*. P. 115.

This poem is found also in *Telynegion Maes a Mor*, p. 110.

The undying ages shall come  
To stand beside them—  
To stand unshaken.

When the land shall be ready,  
And greater purity be the custom,  
Arthur shall be with us:  
Where the polished heart is found,  
There shall be found the Holy Grail,  
And man in honor.<sup>85</sup>

as well as Dyfed's (Evan Rees) rather prosaic *Saf i fyny dros dy Wlad* (*Stand up for your Country*) in which occur the lines

Remember Glendower and Llewelyn  
And the knights of Arthur the great;  
And in the face of the surly enemy,  
Put your foot down hard.<sup>86</sup>

All of these poems, I believe, were selected by the editors in

85

Mae Arthur Fawr yn cysgu,  
A'i ddewrion sydd o'i ddeutu  
A'u gafael ar y cledd:  
Pan ddaw yn ddydd yng Nghymru,  
Daw Arthur Fawr i fyny  
Yn fyw—yn fyw o'i fedd!

Pan ddeffry gwlad o ddynion  
I frwydro'n gywir-galon  
O blaid y nef a dyn,  
Daw anfarwolion oesau  
I sefyll wrth ei hochrau—  
I sefyll yn ddi-gryn.

Pan fydd y wlad yn barod,  
A glendid mwy yn ddefod,  
Bydd Arthur gyda ni:  
Lle ceir y galon lathraidd,  
Fe geir y Greal Santaidd,  
Ac fe geir dyn mewn bri.

*Gwlad fy Nhadau*, pp. 5-6.

Printed also in *Caniadau Elfed*, p. 94.

86

Cofia Lyndŵr a Llywelyn,  
A marchogion Arthur fawr;  
Ac yn wyneb sarrug elyn,  
Rho dy droed yn drwm i lawr.

*Gwlad fy Nhadau*, p. 114.



accordance with the thought already quoted from the preface to the book.<sup>87</sup>

Mention has already been made of Robert Bryan's *Dyfodiad Arthur*. This was written before the war but its author evidently intended it to be symbolic, for in 1920 he writes concerning it, "You will see how close I was to prophesying the influence of Wales upon the world through our Prime Minister. (Gwelwch mor agos a fum i broffwydo dylanwad Cymru ar y byd trwy ein Prif Weinidog.)"<sup>88</sup> Finally one must not overlook the *Wedi'r Frwydr* (*After the Conflict*) written in the midst of the great war by that promising young poet Hedd Wyn (Ellis H. Evans), private in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, B. E. F., who soon afterwards lost his life in this great conflict "somewhere in France":—

In the day of the battle thou shalt become as an old man,  
 And thy long hair the color of the foam on the wave;  
 Behind thee shall be the days of the battle and their troubles  
 Before thee the blue sea with its peaceful bosom;  
 Thou shalt see on the crests of the waves  
 The ships of the maidens from the beautiful shores  
 Coming to take thee like Arthur of old  
 Over each blue wave there to Avalon,  
 The war-less isle of the immortals,  
 The island of green trees and melodious winds;  
 There shall be forgetfulness of thy deep wounds;  
 There shalt thou have the joy of the hall of the Pendragon;  
 And thou shalt dwell forever in the Isle of the Dawn,  
 The island whose ramparts are the blue sea.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Another poem that might well have been included in the book is Eifion Wyn's *Ochain y Clwyfawg* (*The groaning of the Wounded*) in which the dying soldier sends home word "that I died like Arthur and the men of the Round Table of old—my face to the banner, and my wounds in my breast." *Telynegion Maes a Mor*. P. 114.

<sup>88</sup> Letter to Sir Owen M. Edwards, dated 25/IV/20. *Cymru*, Number 352, p. 144.

<sup>89</sup> Yn nydd y frwydr cei droi'n hynafgwr,  
 A'th hirwallt un liw ewyn y don;  
 O'th ôl bydd dyddiau'r frwydr a'u cynnw'r  
 O'th flaen bydd glasfor tawel ei fron;  
 Dithau a weli ar frig y tonnau  
 Fadau rhianedd y teg ororau  
 Yn dod i'th gyrchu fel Arthur gynt  
 Dros fin pob glasdon draw i Afallon,

When a simple shepherd lad, taken from his father's farm among the Welsh hills and brought face to face with death in the trenches of Flanders, thus uses the Arthur story for the concluding stanza of one of his most thoughtful poems, surely he does not look upon it as an idle fiction; rather is it for him, as for so many of his countrymen, a symbol of all the hopes and the longings of the Celtic race.

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Ynys ddi frwydrau yr anfarwoliau,  
 Ynys dan lasgoed a cherddgar wynt;  
 Yno bydd angof dy glwyfau dyfnion;  
 Yno cei londer Llys y Pendragon;  
 A thrigi fyth yn Ynys y Wawrddydd,  
 Ynys a'r glasfor iddi yn geirydd.

*Cerddi'r Bugail, Cyfrol Goffa Hedd Wyn.* Cardiff, 1918. P. 145.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. The Arthurian Story is to receive recognition again at the Eisteddfod to be held at Mold next summer; among the subjects recently announced is "The Return of Arthur," (*Dychweliad Arthur*), which is assigned as the subject of the ode to be presented in competition for the chair.

## DIE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE BEDEUTUNG DER ÄLTESTEN RUNENINSCHRIFTEN

Während man bis vor nicht langer Zeit glaubte, der Norden Europas habe, ehe das römische Reich seine Fangarme nach ihm ausstreckte, ein von der übrigen Kulturwelt isoliertes Dasein geführt, wissen wir jetzt, dass das niemals der Fall war, seit man vom Aufblühen der menschlichen Kultur reden kann. Handelsverbindungen zwischen Nord- und Südeuropa bestanden schon in fernen vorgeschichtlichen Perioden.<sup>1</sup> Nordische Produkte wie der Bernstein finden sich bereits in den Gräbern der mykenischen Zeit in Griechenland, und fremde Erzeugnisse wie die Bronze wurden dafür nach dem Norden eingeführt. Aber nicht nur materielle Güter wanderten auf uns nur teilweise bekannten wegen von Volk zu Volk, auch geistige Anregungen verbreiteten sich schon in undenklicher Vorzeit im Gefolge der Handelsbeziehungen und kriegerischen Eroberungen. Wir wissen, dass sich lange, bevor das Licht der Geschichte über Europa dämmerte, die Ausbreitung der indogermanischen Sprachen vollzog; aber auch religiöse Vorstellungen wanderten schon vor Jahrtausenden über weite Strecken, wie in geschichtlicher Zeit die Weltreligionen des Buddhismus, des Christentums und des Islam. Der prähistorische Kult des Sonnenrads, der sich vom Orient aus bis nach Nordeuropa verbreitete und zum christlichen Kreuz umgestaltet noch heute fortlebt<sup>2</sup>; die Doppelaxt als heiliges Symbol, das wir von dem minoischen Kreta bis in die jüngste heidnische Zeit Nordeuropas verfolgen können (Thorshammer),<sup>3</sup> sind Beispiele für die Wanderungen religiöser Symbole. Die in den verschiedenen prähistorischen Perioden abwechselnde Erdbestattung und Verbrennung der Toten zeigt, dass sich die Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode änderten und, wie die wandernden Begräbnisriten beweisen, von Volk zu Volk verbreiteten. Ein

<sup>1</sup> O. Montelius, Der Handel in der Vorzeit. Prähist. Zs. 2, 249 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ders. Das Rad als religiöses Symbol in vorchristlicher und christlicher Zeit. Prometheus 16, Nr. 16-18 u. Mannus 1, 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Dussaud, Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée, 2 éd. p. 329 ff. Sophus Müller, Urgeschichte Europas, S. 59 f. f. O. Montelius, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens, 55 f.

schwedischer Forscher hat in den letzten Jahren die Ansicht vertreten, dass die nordischen Felszeichnungen Symbole eines Totenkultes sind, der von Aegypten ausgehend sich schon in der jüngeren Steinzeit nach Nordeuropa verbreitet hat.<sup>4</sup> Gewisse Darstellungen auf schwedischen Felswänden stimmen auffallend zu Szenen aus dem ägyptischen Totenbuch. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass sich auch der sprachliche Niederschlag dieser religiösen Vorstellungen aufspüren lässt. Wenn die Zwerge in Strophe 14 der *Völuspō* durch sumpfige Täler "til *jorovalla* "ziehen, so wird das dunkle Wort *jorovøllr* entweder<sup>5</sup> als "Sandfeld" oder<sup>6</sup> als "Kampfebene" gedeutet (daneben findet sich übrigens ein mit dem gleichen ersten Bestandteil *jöru*-zusammengesetztes *jöruskōgr* "Joruwald" in dem Vers 1 des *Stjornu-Odda draumr*<sup>7</sup>; zu deuten als "Sandwald"?) Offenbar steht der *jorovøllr* in einem Gegensatz zu dem *ipavøllr*, wo sich die Götter treffen, von ebenfalls unsicherer Bedeutung. Vermutlich haben wir sowohl in *joro*—wie *ipa*—höchst altertümliche, vielleicht prägermanische Bestandteile zu erblicken. Darf man bei dem Versammlungsplatz der Götter an eine Art *Ἠλύσιον πεδίον* nach griechisch—homerisch—minvischer (?) Vorstellung denken, so wird man bei den Zwergen, die doch chthonische Wesen sind, einen Ort der Unterwelt als Treffpunkt annehmen müssen. Da bietet sich nun zur Deutung von *joro*—der Name des Feldes *Earu* aus dem ägyptischen Totenglauben (eig. Binsfeld?), zu dem man über die umgebenden Gewässer (vgl. die sumpfigen Täler in der *Völuspō*) auf einem Kahn gelangt<sup>8</sup>). Sollte der Name nicht mit der Vorstellung von dem Jenseitsdasein nach dem Norden gekommen sein?

Denn gerade die von Ägypten ausgehenden Vorstellungen von dem Leben nach dem Tode scheinen im Norden am nachhaltigsten gewirkt zu haben. Die "Bootfahrt ins Jenseits"<sup>9</sup> ist ein Glaubenssatz geworden, der vom Ende der jüngern Bron-

<sup>4</sup> G. Eckholm, *De skandinaviska hällristingarna och deras Betydelse*. Ymer 1916, 275 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Nach K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Bd. 5, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Sv. Egilsson, *Lexicon poëticum* ed. F. Jónsson, S. 330.

<sup>7</sup> ebenda.

<sup>8</sup> A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, S. 93 ff.

<sup>9</sup> M. Ebert, *Die Bootfahrt ins Jenseits*. *Prähist. Zs.* 12, 179 ff.

zeit mit Unterbrechungen bis zur Wikingerzeit fortlebte. Auf der schwedischen Insel Gotland findet sich eine grosse Anzahl schiffsförmiger Steinsetzungen um die Gräber, die in Verbindung mit den häufigen Schiffsbildern auf Grabplatten und auf den Felsenritzungen keinen Zweifel über einen schon damals herrschenden Totenglauben, nach dem man zu Schiff in das Jenseits gelangt, lassen können. Seine glänzendste Ausgestaltung aber findet er viele Jahrhunderte später zur Wikingerzeit, wenn der verstorbene Häuptling entweder mit seinem Boot bestattet oder in ihm auf der See verbrannt wird.

Aber auch abgesehen von den Jenseitsvorstellung ist der germanische Glaube von orientalischen Einflüssen nicht frei geblieben. *G. Neckel* hat in einem vor 2 Jahren erschienenen Buch den Versuch gemacht,<sup>10</sup> die Gestalt des Gottes Balder aus dem Bild des phrygischen Gottes Attis herzuleiten, der selbst mit dem babylonischen Tamūz identisch ist und in dem griechischen Dionysos eine uns vertrautere Widerspiegelung gefunden hat. Er durfte sich dabei auf das Zeugnis von *Axel Olrik*, des berühmten nordischen Sagen- und Religionsforschers, sowie von Gudmund Schütte, des bekannten Altertumsforschers, stützen, die ebenfalls an frühe Beeinflussung des germanischen Glaubens durch orientalische Vorstellungen glauben, worauf in einem gleich zu erwähnenden Aufsatz *Neckels* hingewiesen wird.

Dieser im Jahre 1921 erschienene Aufsatz ist für den in der vorliegenden Abhandlung verfolgten Zweck ganz besonders interessant, weil *G. Neckel* die auf dem Goldhorn von Gallehus aufgelöteten Menschenfiguren als Götter orientalischen Ursprungs zu deuten versucht.<sup>11</sup> Dieses Horn trägt aber bekanntlich eine der ältesten Runeninschriften, auf die wir im Folgenden noch zu sprechen kommen werden. Mögen wir diesen Deutungen immerhin einige Skepsis entgegenbringen—zumal die anderen eingeritzten Bilder auf näherliegende Vorbilder römischer Herkunft zurückgehen<sup>12</sup>—die Tatsache, dass ein solcher Versuch von einem so gründlichen Kenner germanischer Religionsgeschichte unternommen werden konnte, spricht für die in wissenschaftlichen Kreisen allmählich durchdringende

<sup>10</sup> Die Überlieferungen vom Gotte Balder. 1920.

<sup>11</sup> Die Götter auf dem goldenen Horn, Zs. f.d. Altert. 58, 225 ff.

<sup>12</sup> O. Almgren, Det runristade guldhornets datering. Namn og Bygd, 2, 217 ff.

Überzeugung von der Bedeutung der Einflüsse des Orients auf die Ausgestaltung der germanischen Religion.

Doch dem sei, wie es wolle, jedenfalls steht das eine fest, dass in verschiedenen Epochen der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Beginn der geschichtlichen Periode Nordeuropas, schon vor dem Eindringen des Christentums, religiöse Vorstellungen und wohl auch zugehörige Formeln oder Worte von den Höhenlagen uralter Kultur im vorderen Orient zu den abgelegenen Ländern des Nordens gewandert sind. Eine solche Wanderung religiösen Gutes wollen wir nun auch in den folgenden Zeilen beleuchten.

In vielen urnordischen Runenschriften findet sich eine Formel: "ich (häufig+Name) schrieb die Runen (oder ähnlich)".

Die Inschrift der im Jahre 1910 entdeckten Grabplatte von Hugi<sup>13</sup> lautet: **ek gudija** (oder **gudinga**) **ungandiR ih . . .** "ich Gudja (Gudinga), der zauberfeste, schrieb (zu ergänzen der fehlende Schluss: die Runen),"—oder wenn man **gudja** appellativ und **ungandiR** als Eigennamen fasst, "ich, der Priester UngandiR, schrieb. . . ." Auf dem Lanzenschaft von Kragehul steht: **ek erilaR a(n)sugisalas muha haitega** "ich, (der) Jarl Ansigisals Muha (aisl. Mōe) heisse ich." Auf der Felswand von Valsfjord (Norwegen) ist zu lesen: **ek hagtaldar þewar godagas . . .** "ich Hagestolz, der Knecht Gothags, . . . (schrieb die Runen). Das eine der Goldhörner von Gallehus trug um die Trinköffnung die Inschrift: **ek hlewagastiR holtungaR horna tawido** "ich Hlewagastir der Holting (oder aus Holt) machte (d.h. liess anfertigen) das Horn." Auf dem Stein von Einang steht: **dagaR þaR runo faihido** "DagaR schrieb (eig. malte) die Runen." Auch auf dem Kontinent ist die Formel vertreten, wenn die erste Zeile der Freilaubersheimer Spange lautet: **boso wraet runa** "Boso schrieb den Runen (spruch)." Die Beispiele lassen sich noch vermehren, doch genügt das vorgelegte Material für unseren Zweck.

Ich habe schon früher darauf hingewiesen,<sup>14</sup> dass diese Inschriftenmehr besagen als die blosse Mitteilung, wer die Runen angebracht habe. Sie tragen sakralen Charakter und, wie *Mag-*

<sup>13</sup> Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer, Bd. II 1, 605 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Arkiv för nordisk Filologi 35, 243 ff.

nus Olsen an verschiedenen Stellen<sup>15</sup> nachgewiesen hat, sollen sie einen magischen Zweck erfüllen: Der Tote soll in seiner Grabesruhe vor bösen Geistern geschützt sein; das Grab soll gegen Grabschänder gesichert werden; der Träger eines Schmuckstücks glaubt in dem runenbeschriebenen Gegenstand ein Amulett zu besitzen und dergleichen mehr.

Um eine Zauberwirkung zu erreichen, sind bekanntlich feststehende Formeln nötig, von denen im Wortlaut nicht abgewichen werden darf. Diese Vorstellung ist zu allen Zeiten und bei allen Völkern die gleiche. Die Zauberformeln wandern nicht selten von Volk zu Volk; mit dem Wechsel der Religion werden wohl die Benennungen alter Gottheiten durch neue Namen ersetzt, aber die althergebrachte Form bleibt die Jahrhunderte hindurch erhalten.<sup>16</sup> Soll die Zauberwirkung freilich eine dauernd wirksame sein, so muss die Formel festgehalten werden, indem man sie aufschreibt. Die aufgeschriebene Zauberformel dient dann als Schutzmittel gegen alle dem irdischen (und nachirdischen) Wohle des Menschen feindliche Mächte.<sup>17</sup>

Dieses Ziel suchen auch die Runenmeister durch die Runeninschriften (neben sonstigen magischen Zeichen und Mitteln, über die hier nicht zu sprechen ist) sakralen Charakters und religiöser Form zu erreichen. Die den Runen zugeschriebene Zauberwirkung ist ein Ausfluss des auch schon im Altertum weitverbreiteten Glaubens an Buchstabenzauber,<sup>18</sup> und vielleicht sind die Runen in erster Linie zu solch magischen Zwecken erfunden worden, wie *Magnus Olsen* annimmt. Wir legen uns aber ferner die Frage vor, woher die Ich-Formel, in die der Zauber häufig eingekleidet wird, stammt und auf welchem Weg sie nach dem Norden gekommen ist.

Um diese Frage zu beantworten, wollen wir uns in der aussergermanischen Literatur über das Auftreten der Ich-Paraklese

<sup>15</sup> Festschrift zu Vilhelm Thomsens 70. Geburtstag 15 ff.; Bergens Museums Aarbok 1911, No. 11; Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer, Bd. II, 2, 615 ff.; Om Troldruner (= Fordomtima II); Eggjum—Stenens Indskrift med de ældre Runer, Kristiania 1919.

<sup>16</sup> Zahlreiche Beispiele bei S. Chr. Bang, Norske Heaeformularer og magiske Opskrifter 1901.—Fr. Kraus, Zaubersprüche und Krankheitsseggen aus dem Rösnerland. Korr.-Bl. des Ver. f. siebenb. Landes. 42/43, 39 ff. mw 44, 25 ff.

<sup>17</sup> A. Wuttke, Der deutsche Volksaberglaube, 177 ff.

<sup>18</sup> A. Dieterich, A-B-C-Denkmäler in Kleine Schriften 202 ff. und M. Olsen in den oben genannten Schriften.

unterrichten.<sup>19</sup> In den soteriologischen Reden der orientalischen Pseudopropheten spielt sie eine grosse Rolle. Ein Beispiel ist uns bei dem Kirchenschriftsteller Origenes erhalten,<sup>20</sup> wenn er den Christenfeind Celsus eine solche *ῥῆθις* eines phönizischen oder samaritanischen Phropheten beginnen lässt: *Ἐγὼ ὁ εὐὸς εἰμι ἢ εὐὸ παῖς ἢ πνεῦμα εἶον . . . ἐγὼ δὲ σῶσαι ἔλω* "Ich bin Gott oder Gottes Sohn oder der göttliche Geist. . . . ich aber will euch retten." Sehr häufig ist die Wendung *ἐγὼ εἰμι* in den johannäischen Reden; man vergleiche Joh. 6, 35: *εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς · ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς* "Jesus sprach zu ihnen: ich bin das Brot des Lebens;" Joh. 8, 12; *ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου* "ich bin das Licht der Welt"; Joh. 10, 7; *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων* "ich bin die Tür zu den Schafen"; Joh. 11, 25; *ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ* "ich bin die Auferstehung und das Leben."

Man wende nicht ein, dass Jesus sich ganz natürlich so habe ausdrücken müssen, denn die Wendung "ich bin . . ." findet sich dafür zu häufig und gerade an den Stellen gehobener Redeweise, wo Jesus starken Eindruck auf die Hörer machen will. Eine Zufälligkeit erscheint auch deshalb ausgeschlossen, weil die Ich-Formel in noch weit höheres Altertum hinaufreicht.

In der mystischen (hermetischen wie gnostischen) Literatur des hellenisierten Orients ist die Formel weit verbreitet. So spricht der Samaritaner Simon beim Verfasser des Martyriums Petri und Pauli<sup>21</sup> zum Kaiser Nero: *ἄκουσον, ἀγαθὲ βασιλεῦ ἔγω εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς* Höre, o guter König: ich bin der Sohn Gottes, der vom Himmel herabgestiegen ist." Zu der Quelle für diese Literaturgattung gehört aber (freilich unbewusster Weise) die althellenische Prophetie und auch hier findet man die Ich-Prädikation, wenn z.B. Empedokles in der Vorrede zu einem Gedicht sagt: "Ich aber wandle jetzt ein unsterblicher Gott, nicht mehr ein Sterblicher vor euch." Offenbar ist seit alter Zeit im vorderen Orient ein soteriologischer Redetypus gang und gäbe gewesen, bei dem die Ich-Formel eine erhebliche Rolle spielte. Zahlreichen Sedimenten dieses Rede-

<sup>19</sup> Die meisten Hinweise verdanke ich der Zusammenstellung bei A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 92 ff. und E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 188 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Buch VIII, 8 f.

<sup>21</sup> *Acta apocrypha* ed. Lipsius-Bonnet I, 132.



typus begegnen wir im alten Testament; ich erinnere nur an den Beginn des Dekalogs (im griechischen Gewand der Septuaginta): Ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου. . . . "Ich bin der Herr, dein Gott." Doch hier ist er nicht original, sondern geht, wie das hebräische Schrifttum überhaupt, auf ältere Vorbilder zurück.

Wenden wir uns noch weiter ostwärts, so treffen wir auf die gleiche Redewendung an vielen Stellen in den dreisprachigen keilinschriftlichen Texten der persischen Achämeniden. So sagt Kyros in der Tonzylinderinschrift<sup>22</sup>: "Ich (bin) Kyros, der König, der grosse König, der mächtige König, König von Babylon, König von Šumer und Akkad . . . u. s. w." Darius I in der grossen Inschrift von Bisutūn:<sup>23</sup> Ich (bin) Darius, der grosse König, König der Könige, König in Persien . . . u. s. w." Ja selbst auf unbedeutenden Gegenständen wie Gewichten und Siegeln steht die Formel, offenbar zum Zwecke der Weihung.<sup>24</sup> Sein Nachfolger Xerxes bedient sich ihrer gleichfalls zu Anfang der von ihm herrührenden Inschriften,<sup>25</sup> nachdem er in der ersten Strophe Ahuramasda im gleichen feierlichen Stil wie sein Vorgänger angerufen hat.

Wie das Schriftsystem der persischen Inschriften, so geht auch die von ihren Königen zur Selbstprädikation verwendete Formel auf das Vorbild des assyrisch-babylonischen Stils zurück, dessen religiöse Ausprägung auch für den jüdischen Brauch Muster gewesen ist. Wir nähern uns daher jetzt dem Urquell der Ich-Formel, wenn wir ihn in assyrisch-babylonischen religiösen Texten finden. So heisst es in einem Orakel an Asarrhadon:<sup>26</sup>

Ich bin die Ischtar von Arbela!  
Aschschur habe ich dir gnädig gestimmt. . . .  
Ich bin Nebo, der Herr des Schreibmeissels.  
Preise mich!

Oder in einem Beschwörungstext—also unseren Runeninschriften vergleichbar—heisst es:<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> F. H. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, S. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Ebenda S. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Ebenda S. 105.

<sup>25</sup> Ebenda S. 109.

<sup>26</sup> Edv. Lehmann, Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte S. 119.

<sup>27</sup> Ebenda S. 129 und in etwas anderer Fassung: A. Ungnad, Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer, S. 291.

Der Beschwörer, der Oberpriester, bin ich, der rein ausführt die Zeremonien von Eridu, der Bote Eas, der vor ihm einhergeht, bin ich. Marduks, des weisen Reinigungspriesters, des erstgeborenen Sohnes Eas, Bote bin ich. Der Beschwörer von Eridu, dessen Beschwörung kunstvoll ist, bin ich. . . .

Während in ältester Zeit die Selbstprädikation nur dem Gott zukommt, wendet sie später auch dessen Vertreter, der Priester oder der Priesterkönig, auf sich an. So spricht Hammurapi in seiner Einleitung zu seinem Rechts kodex:<sup>28</sup>

Hammurapi, der Hirte, der von Enlil Berufene bin ich. . . .

und nun folgen die zahlreichen Eigenschaften und Taten des grossen Königs in einer langen Liste.

Wie bekannt, ist das babylonische Ritual nur der Abklatsch des älteren sumerischen, das die einziehenden Semiten mitsamt der übrigen Kultur (Schriftsystem u.s.w.) einfach übernommen haben. Bei den Sumerern sind wir somit am Endpunkt der stilistischen Reihe angelangt, die wir vom neuen Testament über die Gnosis, das alte Testament, die persischen Keilinschriften und die babylonischassyrischen Texte bis an den Anfang der uns bis jetzt zugänglichen menschlichen Kulturen im vorderen Orient in ununterbrochener Reihe verfolgen konnten.

Merkwürdigerweise findet sich die Ich-Prädikation in ihrer ältesten, auf Götter beschränkten Anwendung auch in Ägypten. So heisst es im 17. Kapitel des Totenbuchs:<sup>29</sup>

Ich bin Atum, indem ich allein bin im Urwasser, ich bin Re in seinem ersten Erglänzen. . . . Ich bin der grosse Gott, der von selbst entstand, der seine Namen schuf, der Herr der Neunheit der Götter . . . u.s.w.

Über die Frage, ob ein Zusammenhang zwischen der ägyptischen und sumerischen religiösen Form der Selbstprädikation besteht, lässt sich nichts Bestimmtes sagen. Das Werden der Kultur in den Gebieten des Nil und des Zweistromlands ist ja noch in Dunkel gehüllt; sie tritt uns auf beiden Gebieten beim Beginn der geschichtlichen Überlieferung (4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.) schon auf einer Höhe entgegen, die eine lange Entwicklung voraussetzt.

Wohl aber können wir nachweisen, dass zwischen der sumerischen Form der Selbstprädikation und der magischen Formel der germanischen Runenmeister ein Filiationsverhältnis besteht,

<sup>28</sup> Edv. Lehmann, S. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Edv. Lehmann, S. 49.

das wir im Vorangehenden bis zum vorderen Orient verfolgt haben. Es fehlt nur noch die Brücke zum germanischen Norden. Diese bieten uns die in Ägypten in grosser Anzahl zu Tage getretenen Zauberpapyri.

Zauberei war ja schon in alter Zeit in Ägypten (wie überall auf Erden) im Schwang—wir denken an die Zauberkünste Moses im alten Testament—und die Inschriften liefern uns zahlreiche Zaubertexte.<sup>30</sup> In einem Zauberspruch des neuen Reiches spricht Rē zu Isis: "Ich bin der, der Himmel und Erde machte . . . ich bin der, der das Wasser machte und die Himmelsflut schuf . . . u.s.w." mit fortwährenden Ich- Prädikationen.

Die Form der Beschwörung hat sich von der ältesten bis in die historische Zeit unverändert erhalten; nur wurde in die alte Form neuer Inhalt gegossen, als die alten Götter erblassten und neue Mächte an ihre Stelle traten. Eine hervorragende Rolle spielte der Judengott **Jehovah** (oder wie er in den Zauberschriften heisst: **Jao**) in der spätägyptischen Zauberei. Sein Name oder seine Prädikate erscheinen oft in den griechischen Zauberpapyri aus Ägypten. Eine öfter angewendete Formel lautet mit Gebrauchsanweisung:<sup>31</sup> *Λέγε πρὸς ἀνατολάς · Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο Χερουβείν, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο φύσεων, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κτλ.*

Sprich nach Osten gewandt: "Ich bin der über den beiden Cherubim, mitten zwischen den zwei Naturen, Himmel und Erde, Sonne und Mond u.s.w."

Aehnlich spricht auf einer Tabella defionialis aus Amisos der Zauberer im Namen der Gottheit: *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ καθήμενος* "ich bin der grosse (Gott), der im Himmel thronende."<sup>32</sup>

Aber auch die alten Götter sind nicht untergegangen, wie wir aus einem andern Papyrus<sup>33</sup> ersehen, wo ein merkwürdiger Synkretismus herrscht: *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς ὀρᾷ οὐδὲ προπετῶς ὀνομάζει . . . ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἥλιος. . . ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη Τύφη. . . ἐγὼ εἰμι Κρόνος . . . ἐφῶ εἰμι μήτηρ θεῶν ἡ*

<sup>30</sup> A. Erman, Die ägyptische Religion, S. 148 ff.

<sup>31</sup> C. Leemans, Papyri Graeci Lugduni-Batavi II, 101.

<sup>32</sup> R. Wünsch, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1909, 25 zitiert bei Th. Schermann, Griech. Zauberpapyri in Texte und Untersuchungen zur altschristl. Lit. III, 4, Bd. II a (1909), S. 44, Anm. 5.

<sup>33</sup> C. Leemans, a. a. O. S. 27.

καλουμένη οὐράνιος. ἐγὼ εἰμι Ὅσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ. ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἴβις ἢ καλουμένη δρόβος κτλ. κτλ.

“Ich bin der Gott, den niemand sieht noch leichtfertig nennt (also Jehovah) . . . ich bin die Sonne . . . ich bin Aphrodite mit dem Beinamen Typhe . . . ich bin Kronos . . . ich bin die Mutter der Götter, die Himmlische genannt; ich bin Osiris, der das Wasser (Totenfluss?) genannt wird; ich bin Isis, die der Tau genannt wird u.s.w. u.s.w.”

Die Häufung der Formel ἐγὼ εἰμι schliesst jeden Zweifel aus, dass sie etwa nur eine alltägliche Redensart ohne religiösen Hintergrund sei. Im Grossen Pariser Zauberbuch<sup>34</sup> kommt sie sehr oft vor; so heisst es Zeile 573: λεγε σιγη σιγη ολ ἔγω εἰμι συμπλανος υμιν αστηρ και εκ του βαθους αναλαμπων

“Sprich! Stille! Stille!

Ich bin der mit euch umherschweifende Stern, der aus der Tiefe aufleuchtet.” Zeile 1018: ἐγω εἰμι ο περικως εκ του ουρανου “Ich bin der aus dem Himmel Entsprössene.” Wichtig für die Art des germanischen Runenzaubers ist die Anweisung in demselben Papyrus Zeile 1075: γραψας επ αυτου ζμυρναν ταυτα ἐγω εἰμι ωρος αλκιβ αρσαμωσις ιαω.

“Nachdem du auf demselben Myrrhenblatt folgendes geschrieben hast: Ich bin Horos, Alkib, Arsamoses, Jao.” Wir denken unwillkürlich an die Strophen 6 ff. der eddischen Sigdrifumōl, wo Anweisung gegeben wird, Runen zu Zaubere Zwecken auf die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände (Baumrinde, Ruder, Hand, Schnabel u.s.w.) zu schreiben und dabei den Namen des Gottes Týr zu nennen.

Die Nennung eines magisch wirksamen Namens war also wesentlich.

Der Namenzauber, den wir in Ägypten wie im germanischen Norden treffen, war im ganzen hellenisierten Orient seit alter Zeit verbreitet. Die ihm zu Grunde liegende Vorstellung war, dass der Name dem Träger Macht verleiht. Wenn ein Gott oder ein seine Stelle auf Erden vertretender Mensch (Priester, König) seinen Namen ausspricht und dies zudem noch schriftlich dokumentiert, so weichen die Dämonen, die vor nichts mehr Angst haben als vor einem sie zwingenden und bindenden Namen. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die Goten, als sie

<sup>34</sup> Heransgegeben von C. Wessely, Griechische Zauberpapyri. Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wiss. Philos.-Hist. Kl. 36, II, 27 ff.

in die Kulturzone des vorderen Orients einbezogen wurden, diesen Namenzauber (wie auch den Buchstaben- und Zahlenzauber) kennen lernten und ihn mit den wohl bei ihnen erfundenen Runen ausübten. Auf den nie unterbrochenen Verbindungswegen zwischen ihnen und ihren germanischen Stammesgenossen gelangten dann Runen und Runenzauber nach dem Norden, wo uns die Zeugnisse dafür erhalten blieben, weil hier das jedem Zauber feindliche Christentum erst spät seinen Einzug hielt und die volkstümlichen Bräuche viel schonender behandelte als auf dem Kontinent. Doch wie die Inschrift der Freilaubersheimer Spange zeigt, fehlt ein Zeugnis für die zauberische Ich-Formel auch hier nicht.

Wenn wir im germanischen Norden die spätesten Zeugnisse einer Jahrtausende alten religiösen Tradition finden, die ihren Ursprung im Zweistromland (Mesopotamien) hat so stellt sich diese Erscheinung in Parallele zu der für die germanische Urgeschichte wichtigsten Überlieferung aus dem klassischen Altertum, der *Germania* des Tacitus. Auch dieses Buch steht als letztes und spätestes Glied einer langen Reihe da, die bei den jonischen Historiographen des 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus beginnt und bei allen Geschichtswerken griechischen Geistes als unumgängliche Beigabe geschätzt wurde, der ethno-graphischen Schilderung der behandelten Völker. Auch in die *Germania* sind weitverbreitete literarische Überlieferungen des Altertums in reicher Fülle eingeströmt, wie *Eduard Norden* in einem unlängst erschienenen gehaltvollen Buche gezeigt hat.<sup>35</sup> So verknüpft sich der heutigen wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis der zeitlich und räumlich ferne Orient mit dem germanischen Norden auf mannigfachen Wegen. Der Gedanke eines isolierten Daseins der Germanen vor ihrer Berührung mit dem Römertum, der so lange die geschichtlichen Darstellungen beherrscht hat, muss endgültig fallen gelassen werden. Auch für die Germanen gilt zum Teil wenigstens was *Adolf Erman* jüngst wieder in einer Akademierede<sup>36</sup> von dem geistigen Leben des Abendlands gesagt hat:

Wir leben doch alle von dem grossen Strom der Kultur,  
der seinen Ursprung im Orient hat.

*Berlin*

SIGMUND FEIST

<sup>35</sup> Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus *Germania*. Leipzig-Berlin 1920. Zweiter Abdruck mit Nachträgen 1922.

<sup>36</sup> Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wiss. 1922, S. XXVIII.

## SEMANTIC NOTES

### NE. *baffle*

The NED., after discussing the possible influence of Fr. *beffler* 'deceive, mock or gull with faire words' (Cotgr.) and Fr. *baffouer* 'hoodwink, deceive, besmeare' (Cotgr.) as well as the Scotch *bauchle* 'treat contemptuously' on NE. *baffle*, comes to the conclusion that there is a confusion of two or possibly three stems in the word. This confusion is not one of phonetic form but one of the variety of meanings which apparently cannot be explained from any one of the above words. NE. *baffle* has the following meanings, the earliest dating from the 16th century (I give them as arranged by the NED.): 'disgrace, subject to public disgrace of infamy; vilify, run down; cheat, juggle, bewilder, confound, foil; hoodwink, gull, cheat, juggle, shuffle, quibble; bewilder, confuse, confound; frustrate, foil; struggle ineffectually, exert oneself in a futile manner.' The arrangement of the meanings here given is obviously an accommodation to the three assumed sources. But the two French sources are brought in apparently only to explain the meanings 'cheat, deceive.' Other meanings such as, 'bewilder, confound, confuse, frustrate, etc.' are left out of account and no explanation of them is attempted.

It is doubtful whether the French words have influenced NE. *baffle* in any way. Of the underlying meanings of these we have no trace in the English word. A similarity of phonetic form and the secondary meaning 'deceive' are hardly sufficient proof of influence.

We need not go outside of the NE. and the NE. dialects for an explanation of most of the meanings of NE. *baffle*. Scotch *bauchle* mentioned by Skeat and the NED. as furnishing some of the earliest meanings 'disgrace, vilify, etc.' is probably the source of most of the meanings. According to Jamieson (Scotch Etym. Dict.) it has the following meanings: 'wrench, distort, put out of shape; treat contemptuously, vilify, *bauchle*, *bachle* 'shamble, move loosely on the hinder legs, walk as those who have flat soles, *sb.* whatsoever is treated with contempt or disregard; a mean, feeble creature; an awkward, clumsy person,'

*bauch* 'weak, tired out, exhausted.' Wright, NE. dialect Dict. gives *baffle* these meanings: 'confuse, perplex, worry, annoy; impede, obstruct, thwart, balk; twist irregularly, entangle; cheat, humbug, make a fool of; insult bully, tease; strike, beat In the supplement of his Dictionary Wright further adds: *baffle* 'confuse, discredit; flutter, beat the wings,' *boffled* 'confused, rendered stupid.' From a comparison of the above, it would appear that the underlying meaning of the word was a movement from side to side as in walking in a slovenly manner or with a shambling gait. This meaning of the word Jamieson calls attention to more particularly by citing a number of Scotch dialect words, all with the ending-*chle*, such as: *jauchle*, *srauchle*, *shauchle*, *trauchle*, *trachle*, *wauchle*, *hauchle*, *hychle*, and with such meanings as: 'move from side to side in walking, like a young child; walk with a shuffling gait, as with trailing feet, as with feeble joints, etc.' The suffix seems to have the frequentative force of *-le* in NE. *shamble*, *wriggle*, *waddle*, *waggle*, *hobble*, etc.

Such meanings as 'twist, distort, etc.' in NE. *baffle* develop directly from 'move from side to side in walking.' There also develop: 'walk awkwardly, unsteadily, walk in a slovenly manner; be clumsy, stupid, confused, perplexed; confound, bewilder, etc.'

For similar meanings in other words compare the following: NE. dial. *hyter* 'walk with tottering steps; work in a weak, unskilful manner, *sb.* an act of working or walking; state of confusion; nonsense, weak, stupid person,' Scotch *hyter* 'confusion, ruin, nonsense, act of walking with a weak tottering step, or working in a weak, confused manner; weak, stupid person.'

From the meanings 'perplex, bewilder, confuse' develop 'deceive, humbug, etc.' in *baffle* just as they do, for example, in the following: NE. *flummock*, *flommock*' go about in an untidy, slovenly way; trail the dress in a slovenly manner, *sb.* hurry, confusion, '*flummox* 'bewilder, perplex, puzzle, astound; overcome in an argument, non-plus, confound, baffle; cheat, deceive, 'NE. dial. *flummer* 'state of agitation, confusion,' Norw. dial. *fluma*, *floma*' tumble or flounder about as a horse in the mire.' Cf. Wood, *Hesperia*, *Ergänz.* I, §20.

Since, therefore, Fr. *beffler* and *baffouer* have been brought in merely to explain the meaning 'deceive' their connection

becomes superfluous, if this meaning can be explained from the NE. dialects.

As for other influences on NE. *baffle*, it is very likely that such meanings as 'strike, beat, insult, bully,' in the NE. dialect word are influenced by NE. *baff* 'strike, beat' connected with Norm. Fr. *baffer* 'slap in the face,' Prov. *bafa* 'scoff,' which may be borrowed from MHG. *beffen* 'scold.' It is even likely that Fr. *beffler* and *baffouer* may be from the same word, a connection which Skeat suggests.

#### NE. *gum*

For this word the Century Dictionary records the following meanings: 'smear with gum, clog by gum or gumlike substance; play a trick upon, humbug, hoodwink (U. S. slang).' For the last three meanings it gives this explanation: "said to be from the fact that opossums and racoons often elude hunters and dogs by hiding in the thick foliage of gum trees." I have been unable to trace the origin of this explanation, but the uses of the word given by the Cent. Dict. and the NED. do not in the least indicate any such origin. The explanation, in fact, smacks of 'folk-etymology.'

The quotations are:

"You can't gum me, I tell you now,  
An' so you needn't try." Lowell, *Biglow Papers, 1st series*  
(Cent. Dict., NED.)

"I began to think he was quizzing me—'gumming' is the proper Transatlantic colloquialism." Sala, *Tw. Round the Clock* (1861).  
(NED.)

This much is clear about the word. It is used here in the sense of 'deceive,' and its use with this meaning is confined to the United States.

Two very natural semantic developments of the meaning 'deceive' in this word are possible. In the first place, if we take ME. *gomme* < Fr. *gomme* < Lat. *gummi* as the phonetic antecedents, 'deceive' develops from 'smear with gum, clog or stick by a gumlike substance' directly, just as in NE. *stick* 'smear with a viscuous or glutinous matter; impose upon, cheat (slang),' and numerous other words in the Germanic dialects especially.

Secondly, it may have developed (and this seems still more likely) from E. Dial. *gum* 'impertinent talk, chatter, 'jaw,'



insolent talk; deceitful speech,' *gummy* 'deceitful, boastful.' Compare the following quotations from the NED.: "Come, let us have no more of your gum." Grose, *Dict. Vulg. Tongue*. "Come, none of your gum—now you are but an underling" R. B. Peake, *Americans Abroad*.

The use of this noun as a verb, a very common occurrence in slang, gives us a meaning parallel to the use in the quotations above. Note especially the quotation from Sala defining 'gumming' as 'quizzing' by which he means 'bantering talk.' Here, then, the idea 'deceive' develops from the meaning of the substantive *gum* 'flesh of the jaws': ME. *gome*, OE. *gōma* 'jaws, palate' just as, for example, the following: E. dial. *gag* 'ridicule, quiz; hoax, deceive,' NE. *gag* 'impose upon, ply with talk, 'stuff,' deceive': OE. *gagul*, MDu. *gaghel* 'palatum, caelum oris.'

Now it is possible that the word may have been used by hunters of the opossum in the meaning 'deceive,' but it is not probable that he originated the meaning 'deceive' as that could easily have been current.

#### NHG. *belemmern*

Kluge (Etym. Wb. 9, 45.) regards NHG. *belemmern* 'betrügen' as of Low German origin, derived from the comparative of Germ. \**lam-* in NHG. *lahm*, etc., and compares MLG. *belemmern* 'verleumden, belästigen' without any further explanation of or investigation into the meanings of the word in the other German dialects. Evidently he erroneously believes that 'betrügen' develops from 'hindern, belästigen.' Weigand (DWb., 199) calls attention to the prevalent meaning in the High German, viz. 'beschmutzen,' and surmises correctly that 'betrügen' develops from this. But he is puzzled by the apparently unrelated meanings of the MLG. and MDu. forms.

The word appears in the various NHG. dialects as follows:

Early NHG. *belemmern*, *belampern*, *belemmeln* 'bedrecken, sordidare,' NHG. *belemmern* 'sich beschmutzen, durch kleine Kniffe betrügen, übers Ohr hauen,' Sax. *belämmern*, *belämpern* 'einen etwas einreden, ihn herumkriegen; betrügen,' *belemmern* 'besudeln, belasten, hintergehen,' Westph. *belämmern* 'beschmutzen; hintergehen, überlisten, übervorteilen, betrügen,' Pruss. *belämmern* 'besudeln, verunreinigen, übervorteilen, betrügen,' KurHess. *belemmern*, *belammeln* 'beschmutzen;

betrügen, hintergehen,' *lammel* 'der beschmutzte untere Rand des Weiberrockes,' *belammeln* 'den Rock am unteren Rande beschmutzen.'

The meanings of the NHG. word clearly indicate the semantic development 'befoul: deceive,' a common development in the German dialects. MLG. *belemmern*, MDu. *belemmeren*, 'hindern, hemmen,' Efris. *lemmern* hindern, hemmen, aufhalten,' *belemmern* zum Stehen bringen; aufhalten, hemmen hindern, lähmen; beschweren, belasten' do not develop the meaning 'deceive' at all and are unrelated semantically. These forms are explained by Franck (Etym. Wb.) as coming from the stem \**lam-* in NHG. *lahm*, OHG. *bilemen* 'lähmen,' MLG. *lemmen*, MDu. *lemen* 'lähmen, lahm machen,' etc. But this connection does not satisfactorily explain the meanings of the NHG. words.

These belong to another base, the Germ. \**limp-* \**lamp-* 'hang down, hang loosely.' Compare the following words from this base: NE. *limp* 'walk lamely, *adj.* flaccid, pliant, hanging down,' MHG. *lampen* 'welk niederhängen,' *limpfen* 'hinken,' Swiss *lampe* 'Wamme, herabhängender Lappen': Skt. *lāmbate* 'hängt herab,' Lat. *limbus* 'Besatz am, Kleide.' Cf. Fick, Wb. III,<sup>4</sup> 363.

The meaning 'soil, befoul' in NHG. *belemmern* comes from a form like Hess. *lammel* 'der beschmutzte untere Rand des Weiberrockes,' i.e. 'the part of the dress hanging down and therefore soiled,' *belammeln* 'den Rock am unterem Rande beschmutzen,' early NHG. *belampfern*, *belemmeln* 'sordidare.'

Note the same semantic development in Als. *hammel* 'der beschmutzte nasse Saum eines Frauenrockes; unreinliche, dicke, böse Frauensperson,' *hammeln* 'sich beschmutzen,' Lothr. *hammelen* 'den unteren Rand der Kleider beschmutzen,' KurHess. *behammeln* 'beschmutzen; betrügen.'

Nfris. *bislanterje* 'onder het eten zich bemorsen; bekladden, een smet aanwrijven; bedriegen, soil in eating; besmear, stain, deceive,' Efris. *slunteren* 'schlottern, schlaff, lose, u. unordentlich hängen,' *slunte* 'unreinliche Person.'

It is probable that Kluge and Franck are right regarding the origin of the Low German and Dutch forms. We have here a case of different stems \**limp-*, \**lamp-*, and \**lam-*, \**lōm-*, developing synonymous meanings. Compare the meanings given for

\**līmp-*, \**lamp-* above with the following from the stem \**lam-*  
 \**lōm-*: MHG. OHG. *lam* 'gliederschwach, lahm,' NE. *lame*,  
 ON. *lemja* 'hindern,' OHG., MHG. *lemen*, 'lähmen,' EFrīs.,  
*lōm* 'gelähmt, hinkend, matt,' Du. *loom* 'lahm, träge, faul,  
 langsam,' MHG. *luomen* 'matt, schlaff sein od. werden.'

#### Du. *lorrendraaier*

An attempt has been made by Falk-Torp (Etym. Wb., 665) to explain this Dutch word from which the Dan. *luren-dreier* was borrowed. The Dutch word has the meanings 'smuggler, deceiver' and is used today principally among sailors speaking the Low German and Scandinavian dialects. Falk-Torp derive the first part of the compound from Du. *loer* 'Lump, Tölpel' which is identical with Du. *luur* 'Windel,' OHG. *lūdara*, *lodera* *ibid.*, OS. *lodara* 'Fetzen,' found also in the shorter form in OHG. *lodo*, *ludo* 'grobes Wollenzug,' NHG. *loden*, etc., from a Germ. base \**lub-* 'hang down loosely.'

The semantic connection between these and the compound is arrived at in the following ingenious way. There is a Dutch expression *iemand een loer draaien* corresponding to NHG. *einem eine Nase drehen* 'deceive,' as well as an older NHG. expression *einem ein Lödlein eintragen* also meaning 'deceive,' an expression referring to the dishonest weaver who weaves poor wool (*Lödlein* is diminutive of NHG. *Loden*, cf. above) into cloth. In the Low German the word corresponding to Du. *loer* has the forms *lurde*, *lorde*, *lurre* 'Fetzen, Sorrgarn aus altem Tauwerk' with the additional meaning 'verfälschtes Tauwerk' from which are supposed to have developed 'Lüge, Erfindung, falscher Pass, falsches Dokument, 'which we find in LG. *lurrendreier* 'einer, der mit falschem Pass oder falscher Flagge fährt; Betrüger.' Starting with the expression *iem. een loer draaien*, *lorrendraaier* would apparently, according to this explanation, have the following semantic development: 'one who mixes (twists) shoddy wool into cloth (in weaving), adulterater, falsifier; one who goes with a false pass or under a false flag: smuggler, deceiver.'

The compound appears in verb as well as noun form. Compare the following: Du. *lorrendraaier* 'smokkelaar, schipper van een smokkelvaartuig; schip, voor den sluikhandel gebezigd; bedrieger, misleider, smuggler, the skipper of a smuggler (ship);

a ship used in the smuggling trade; cheat, deceiver,' *lorren-draaien* 'sluikhandel drijven, misleiden, bedriegen, carry on a smuggling trade, deceive,' EFris. *lurendreier*, *lurrendreier* 'ein Mensch, der andere Leute durch allerhand Kniffe u. Pffife hinters Licht führt, Betrüger, Schurke,' Dan. *lurendreier* 'betrügerische u. listige Person, Duckmäuser, Leisetreter,' Swed. *lurendrögere* 'Schleichhändler.' It will be seen from a comparison of these words that the idea common to all is that of some furtive, stealthy, surreptitious action, such as is practiced by the smuggler. But such an idea is not in evidence in the semantic explanation of Falk-Torp, for to 'go with a false pass' does not imply 'going surreptitiously'; in fact, the implication is rather the opposite of a secret, stealthy action.

An investigation of the possible sources of our word is somewhat confusing. We have, for example, the following words: Du. *loer*, *lor*, *leur*, *luier* and *luur* all meaning 'cloth, rag, patch, worthless article, etc.' besides a variety of other meanings from other stems which must be kept distinct from these. The above words may all represent a Germ. base \**luþ-* 'hang down loosely' as accepted by Falk-Torp, since the different dialect usages of the word account for the variety of spellings. (Cf. Franck, *Etym. Wb.* s. v. *leur*, *luier*, *lor*). Various verbs have developed from this stem, of which let us note especially the following: MDu. (Kil.) *leuren*, *loren* 'trekken, traag handelen, drag, act slowly, lazily' (Franck, s.v. *lurken*), MDu. *loren*, *lorren* 'betrügen, pfschen, heimlichen u. unerlaubten Handel treiben,' Du. *leuren* 'einen Klein- od. Hökerhandel od. auch einen Schleichhandel betreiben,' *lorren* 'betrügen, anführen,' Antwp. *lörren* smokkelen, heimlijk, diefachtig wegdragen, smuggle, carry off secretly, stealthily' (Dornkaat Koolman, *Wb. d. OstFries. Spr.*). The *Woordenboek d. nederlandsch Taal* (s.v. *leuren*) gives these meanings for Du. *leuren*: 1. 'venten, carry on a trade; 2. lappen knoeirrig herstellen, knoeien, onhandig met iets omgaan, bedrieglijk handelen, bedriegen, patch, bungle, botch, handle awkwardly, act deceptively, deceive; 3. sleuren, drag.' A comparison of MDu. *leuren*, *loren*, *lorren*, and Du. and Du. dial. *leuren*, *lorren*, *lörren* shows these to be probable variants of the same stem. The semantic development is clear and can be paralleled by many words in the German dialects. Such words show a semantic development analogous to the following:

'move back and forth, work in a careless manner; dawdle, fritter away time; botch, bungle, be awkward, slovenly, trifling, deceptive; do something in a surreptitious, stealthy manner: deceive.' With the ideas botch, bungle, be awkward, slovenly are associated such meanings as 'hang loosely,' or 'a piece of cloth, rag, patch, etc.' Conversely, a word meaning 'a rag, patch, a worthless piece of cloth, etc.' may develop verb ideas such as 'work carelessly, botch, etc.' Compare: MHG. *blez* 'Lappen, Flicken, Fetzen,' Swiss *bletzen* 'flicken, pfuschen, durchprügeln, p. part. angeführt, betrogen,' *anbletzen* 'anlügen, zum besten haben,' Als. *bletzen* mit einen Lappen besetzen, flicken; hintergehen, betrügen.'

Whatever the origin of Du. *leuren* may be, this development of meaning in the word seems clear: 'drag, act lazily, awkwardly; botch, bungle, be trifling, stealthily deceptive: deceive.' Note the similar development in: EFris. *fudden* 'unordentlich und nachlässig arbeiten, pfuschen; heimlich beiseite schaffen; *fudde* 'Lappen, Fetzen, NE. *fode* 'waste time, delay, postpone a matter by evasive excuses; beguile,' Westph. *füdeln* 'betrügen,' Als. *fudlen* 'eine Arbeit langsam verrichten, oberflächlich arbeiten.'

Antwp., WFlem., SEFlem. *foefelen* 'haastig en ruw, slordig iets bijeendoen; heimlijk verbergen, noffelen; bedrieglijk te werk gaan; brodelen, knoeien, put together in a hasty, clumsy slovenly manner; hide secretly, shuffle, act deceptively; botch, bungle, 'Antwp., WFlem. Zaan. *foefen* 'bedektelijk bedriegen, foppen,' *befoefelen* 'heimlijk bedriegen,' WFlem. *foef* 'vod, lap, rag, piece of cloth.' But Du. *leuren* also means 'carry on a trade.' The association of this meaning with the foregoing idea of a stealthy action developed 'carry on a trade stealthily, secretly: smuggle.'

The word *lorrendraaijer*, then, developing from the expression *iem. een loer draaien* 'deceive' gets the meaning 'smuggler, etc.' not through the LG. *lurde, lorde, lurre* 'verfälschtes Tauwerk,' etc., but from the meanings of the related Du. *leuren, lorren*. (Falk-Torp regard *lorren* as developing 'deceive' through the meanings 'verfälschtes Tauwerk, etc.' But compare the semantic explanation above.) The word originally probably meant 'deceiver' and was formed just as, for example, NHG. *Nasendreher* 'deceiver' might be formed from *einem eine Nase drehen* 'deceive,' but that would not explain the meaning

'smuggler.' The explanation for this must be sought for in Du. *leuren, lorren* which also meant 'deceive,' but which developed this meaning in an entirely different way.

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## HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S "DER PRINZ VON HOMBURG"<sup>1</sup>

Ein Verhängniss ist es wohl, dass das letzte sonnenklare Drama Heinrich's von Kleist von den drängenden Schatten einer grübelnden Kritik verdunkelt wird, und durch den Eifer der Interpreten, durch das Blei der Erwägungen die schlichte, rührende Tragik des Stückes eine unnötige Belastung erfährt und unser inneres Gefühl ins Schwanken gebracht wird. Verwirrend wirkt hauptsächlich die anfängliche Strenge des Kurfürsten, sein Beschluss die Pflichtversäumnis des jungen Prinzen mit aller Entschiedenheit zu strafen, um dem Gesetze, dem Leitstern seines Staates, unbedingte Achtung zu verschaffen. Dünkte ihm wirklich die Schmach des durch Ungehorsam und Trotz erlangten Sieges so gross, um gleich zum äussersten Mittel der Sühne, dem Tode des Schuldigen, zu greifen, und erbarmungslos das vom Kriegsgericht gefällte Urteil vollstrecken lassen zu wollen? Erstickte er selbst gewalttätig im Herzen alle milden Gefühle, verjagte er alle Gedanken der Gnade, oder drohte er bloss mit dem furchtbaren Todesgespenst, um die schliessliche Bekehrung und Heilung des Helden zu erzielen? Und war sein fester Vorsatz die Aufopferung des Prinzen, seines Lieblings, auf dem Altare des Vaterlands; wann und wodurch erfolgte seine innerliche Umkehr, die zur Begnadigung führte? Welche Stimmen waren massgebend? Wollte er noch kurz vor dem letzten Entschlusse die delphische Weisheit seiner Offiziere mit einer Verstellungskomödie irreführen?

Müssige Fragen, die den Kern der Schöpfung nicht berühren und unser Verständniss so wenig fördern wie das häufige Hervorheben der Gegensätze im Seelendrama: Empfindung und Vernunft, jugendliche Bestürzung und Besonnenheit des reifen Mannes, die Gebote des Herzens und jene der Pflicht, das Recht des Individuums und die Erfordernisse des Staates, der Nation. Gewiss liebte der Dichter die scharfen Kontraste; die Kämpfe

<sup>1</sup> Gedanken und Betrachtungen aus meinem im zweiten Kriegsjahre gehaltenen Kolleg über Heinrich von Kleist. Eine allgemeine Charakteristik Kleists in italienischer Sprache enthält das Buch *L'opera d'un maestro* Torino 1920.

im Gemüte seiner Helden steigerte er geflissentlich ins Mass— und Grenzenlose; aus den höchsten Dissonanzen des Lebens entnahm er oft die überwältigende Harmonie seiner Kunst. Im Labyrinth der Menschenbrust sah er aber das Wirken dunkler, geheimnissvoll kontrastirender Kräfte, die steigenden, die sinkenden Wellenberge und Wellentäler des Gefühls, und mit dem Gleichmut der Athleten, mit der starren Festigkeit der fertig entwickelten und nicht mehr im Werden begriffenen Individuen wusste er nichts anzufangen. Mit diesem Complex von Empfindungen und den immer tätigen, menschenbildenden Seelenkräften musste sein Drama rechnen. Sein "Prinz von Homburg" sollte die innere Läuterung eines jungen, durch Leichtsinns, Torheit und Ehrgeiz in grosses Verschulden geratenen Helden darstellen, dem ein mächtiges Aufrütteln seines Gewissens und selbst ein Gleiten und Drängen der Todesschatten über die tollkühnen Pläne der Selbstüberhebung notwendig waren, um in der tiefsten Tiefe der eignen Brust die Stimme der Pflicht zu vernehmen. Dieses schlummernde Pflichtgefühl zu wecken, und, in ernster Stunde, den Verblendeten und Irregeleiteten zur Einsicht in sein Vergehen zu bringen, war Aufgabe des weisen Staatslenkers, der nicht im Entferntesten an ein Ersticken der Lebenskeime in der Seele des jungen Fürsten dachte, seinen Liebling gewiss niemals, selbst mit dem festen Erfassen des Todesurteils, dem Tode weihen wollte, vielmehr ein volles, unerschütterliches Vertrauen zu seinen edlen Instinkten hegte, und den Augenblick des Erwachens des noch ungeahnten kategorischen Imperatives herbeisehnte, um den zur richtigen Schätzung der Nichtigkeit aller Lebensgüter gelangten Jüngling zur vollen Entfaltung seiner Gaben, zum höchsten Genuss seiner Lebensfülle, zu führen.

Lasst die Jugend gewähren, denn ihr gehört das Leben, durch die Jugend allein erzwingen wir das Höchste. Die innere Gärung ineinander wirkender Kräfte im Jüngling gestattet freilich keine Ruhe im Denken und im Handeln; stürmisch, auf regellosen Bahnen, durch die Macht unüberlegter Impulse, unaufhaltsam wird man weiter und weiter gedrängt. Der zum Mann gereifte Dichter dachte an seinen eigenen Lebensfrühling, den wirren ungestümen Lauf ins Ungewisse. Wäre ihm doch, wie seinem Sieger in der Schlacht bei Fehrbellin, mild und streng ein weiser Lenker entgegengetreten! "Wir kennen die



Beschwörungsformel noch nicht," schrieb er, tastend noch im Jahre 1799, um "den sichern Weg des Glücks zu finden," "um die wunderbar ungleichartigen Gestalten, die in unserem Innern wühlen und durcheinander treiben, zu besänftigen und zu beruhigen. Und alle Jünglinge, die wir um und neben uns sehen, teilen ja mit uns dieses Schicksal. Alle ihre Schritte und Bewegungen scheinen nur die Wirkung eines unfühlbaren aber gewaltigen Stosses zu sein, der sie unwiderstehlich mit sich fortreisst. Sie erscheinen mir wie Kometen, die in regellosen Kreisen das Weltall durchschweifen, bis sie endlich eine Bahn und ein Gesetz der Bewegung finden." Wehmütig blickte Kleist damals in sein ewig bewegtes Herz. Stürme rissen ihn fort und fort. Es wankte jede Lebensstütze. Die besonnene Schwester Ulrike vernahm die bitteren Klagen. Unter die Menschen wollte der Dichter nicht passen. Und wiederum, von der Sehnsucht nach Ruhe erfaßt, "wonach die ganze Schöpfung und alle immer langsamer und langsamer rollenden Weltkörper streben," greift er zum Bilde der regel- und ziellos ins Ungewisse irrenden Gestirne, um das Pochen und Glühen seines Herzens zu offenbaren, "das wie ein Planet unaufhörlich in seiner Bahn zur Rechten und zur Linken wankt."

Wüteten aber die Dämonen im Innern und schien auch die Welt, auf die die Götter kaum einen mildtätigen Blick warfen, aus den Fugen zu gehen, so blieb doch die Freude an diesem mutigen Wagen, und mächtigen Anschwellen der Gefühle in der beklommenen Brust; der höchste Ruhmeskranz winkte aus der Ferne; es gab kein Zögern, kein Schwanken im kühnen Siegeslauf, gerade so wie im tollen Vorwärtsdrängen Egmonts, der in überschwänglicher Rede sein "Frisch hinaus ins Feld" schmetterte, "ins Feld, wo aus der Erde dampfend jede nächste Wohltat der Natur und, durch die Himmel wehend, alle Segen der Gestirne einhüllend uns unwittern; wo wir, dem erdebornen Riesen gleich, von der Berührung unsrer Mutter kräftiger uns in die Höhe reißen; wo wir die Menschheit ganz und menschliche Begier in allen Adern fühlen; wo das Verlangen, vorzudringen, zu besiegen, zu erhaschen, seine Faust zu brauchen, zu besitzen, zu erobern, durch die Seele des jungen Jägers glüht; wo der Soldat sein angeboren Recht auf alle Welt mit raschem Schritt sich anmasst und in fürchterlicher Freiheit wie

ein Hagelwetter durch Wiese, Feld und Wald verderbend streicht und keine Grenzen kennt, die Menschenhand gezogen.”

Kleist's junger Held, der mit flammendem Eifer sich ins Gewühl der Schlacht stürzt, und, wie sein Dichter, Menschenruhm und Grösse als das begehrenswerteste Gut erachtete, das Gift des "unseligen Ehrgeizes" in sich sog, gepeitscht von den inneren Furien, unfähig noch dem Andrange und dem Sturme der Leidenschaften zu widerstehen, verbindet mit dem glühenden Empfinden und der unbändigen Energie der Tat die Zartheit und Weichheit eines Kindes. Der verwegene Kämpfer unterliegt einer tiefen Ohnmacht im Augenblick der tiefsten Seelenspannung. Mit rührender Scheu wagt er den Namen des geliebten Mädchens, das sein Tun und Denken gänzlich beherrscht, nicht zu nennen. Der Anblick lieblich duftender Blumen beglückt ihn; im märkischen Lande entdeckt er den grünen Lorbeer, womit er sich, träumend, eitel wie ein Mädchen, die Stirn umwindet. Ein "lieblicher Träumer"—so nannte auch Henriette Vogel im Taumel der Gefühle ihren Todesgefährten—wandelt er, sich selbst unbewusst, im Mondschein, durch den stillen Garten, dem er seine schwärmerischen Visionen anvertraut.

Weshalb dieses Aufdrängen der Welt des Traumes in dieser so überaus konkreten und fasslichen Welt der künstlerischen Wirklichkeit? Hebbel, Dahlmann, und wie viele Andere noch, hätten in den Dramen Kleists, im "Käthchen" sowohl wie im "Prinz von Homburg," Magnetismus und Wandeln im Schläfe preisgegeben und alles Übersinnliche durch das Greifbare, Sichtbare und Sinnliche ersetzt! Gewiss hätte ein Liebesblick der Prinzessin mehr Wunder der Zerstretheit und Geistesabwesenheit in dem Helden, während der Verteilung der Schlachtbefehle bewirkt, die Ungeduld, durch das eigenmächtige Eingreifen den schliesslichen Triumph herbeizuführen, begreiflicher gemacht, als alle träumerischen Visionen in der mondbeglänzten Zaubernacht. Ob aber dadurch der Zauber der Kleistschen Poesie nicht beeinträchtigt worden wäre, möchte ich bezweifeln. Das Unbewusste in dieser Wunderwelt, das geheimnissvoll Unfassbare in unserem Innenleben war es gerade, was den Dichter an seinem Lebensende am meisten beschäftigte. Seinen Anteil an dem grüblerischen Sinnen und Forschen Schuberts brauchen wir darum nicht zu übertreiben, um seine Sucht in

jeder Menschenbrust Geheimnisse zu wittern, seinen Eifer im Enträtseln ("Und jeder Busen ist, der fühlt, ein Rätsel"—"Penthesilea") für erklärlich zu finden. Im Schlaf- und Traumzustande kann der Mensch gleichsam ein höheres seelisches Sein entwickeln, sein Wahrnehmungsvermögen klarer als bei wachen Sinnen entfalten. Die Last der äusseren Welt ist gefallen. Das Gefühl waltet allein. Das innere Auge durchschaut alle Herzenswirren. Alle Dissonanzen der Seele scheinen sich zu lösen. Ahnend wird in die Zukunft gegriffen. In lichtere Sphären gehoben, befreit von der Erdschwere, tritt der Mensch den übernatürlichen Offenbarungen entgegen, und die Stimme Gottes ist ihm in der feierlichen Stille der Mysterienwelt lauter vernehmbar. Musste ja der feurige Prinz zur stillen Andacht neigen, und rühmte ihn auch Kottwitz, der ihn betend überraschte, als "einen frommen jungen Herrn."

Sein Amt als Dichter wollte Kleist am würdigsten verwalten, indem er die Welt des Sinnlichen und des Übersinnlichen harmonisch verkettete, aus der willenslosen Wahrnehmung im Traum, dem tiefen Schweigen der Sinne, das Konkrete und Zielbewusste ableitete, und die hellsten Lichtfunken aus dem dunklen Reich des Unerforschlichen entstehen liess. Ein Traumbild wird zum besten und sichersten Vorboden des wirklichen Ereignisses. Wer möchte die tiefe und klare Symbolik im "Prinz von Homburg" entbehren? Und doch hat sie immer noch nicht die gebührende Beachtung gefunden; ihr mangelhaftes Verständnis hat das üppige Gedeihen aller unnützen Erörterungsversuche verschuldet. Alle spärlichen Scenendeutungen, welche die versifizierte Handlung begleiten, sind besonders im letzten Drama von grosser Bedeutung. Der Dichter legte entschieden ein Hauptgewicht auf die Selbstkrönung des "sinnverwirrten Träumers," der nach überstandener Prüfung, nach der Sühne der leichtsinnigen Überhebung, die wirkliche Siegeskrönung des Helden von der Hand der Geliebten, mit allem strahlenden Glanz entsprechen sollte.

Wie oft, seit frühesten Jugend, beschäftigte sich die Phantasie des Dichters mit dem Flechten und Winden des Ruhmeskranzes! Dieser Kranz, nach dem der Schöpfer der "Penthesilea" sich mächtig sehnte und der ihm, dem masslos Strebenden, so oft die Stirn umrauschte, wurde ihm zum Segen und zum Fluch. Tag und Nacht wollte er sich bemühen, "zu so vielen Kränzen, noch

einen" auf die Kleistsche Familie herabzuringen. Zu seinem "einzigem Vergnügen" wollte er die geliebte Schwester betätigt wissen, ihm "den Kranz der Unsterblichkeit zusammen zu pflücken." Nach den höchsten Lorbeeren streben seine Helden, und erfahren fast immer wie im Augenblick, wo sich die gierige Hand nur regt, den vorüberfliegenden Ruhm "bei seinem goldnen Lockenhaar zu fassen," wie eine verhängnisvolle Macht ihnen hämisch in den Weg tritt. Was herrlich begann, droht ins Verderben zu stürzen. Selbst um den nimmer zu lösenden Freundschaftsbund mit Rühle zu verdeutlichen, greift Kleist zum Bilde des Kranzes; "dieser Kranz, er ward beim Anfang der Dinge gut gewunden, und das Band wird schon, auch ohne weiteres Zuthun, solange aushalten, als die Blumen." Und wirklich galt für den Kämpfer in der Schlacht bei Fehrbellin, die Frage, welche der Dichter an den Sieger im Kriege der bewegten Jahre, die der Schöpfung des "Prinzen von Homburg" vorangingen, stellte: "den Ruhm eines jungen und unternehmenden Fürsten, der in dem Duft einer lieblichen Sommernacht, von Lorbeeren geträumt hat."

Den verträumten Liebling belauscht der Kurfürst, wie er sich im Garten in vorgerückter Nachtstunde den Siegeskranz windet. Was für ein Laub flicht er? Laub der Weide? Nein, seltsam, beim Himmel, der Lorbeer ist's. Des jungen Toren Brust bewegt sich im fiebrigen Wahne. Sein hoher Herr "mit der Stirn des Zeus," naht sich ihm, und nimmt ihm den Kranz aus der Hand; er "schlingt seine Halskette um den Kranz und gibt ihn der Prinzessin" um dann mit einem "Geschwind! Hinweg!", mit dem dreifachen Zuruf: Ins Nichts—ins Nichts—ins Nichts, und der feierlichen Erklärung: "Im Traum erringt man solche Dinge nicht," sammt der Prinzessin Nathalie zu verschwinden. Der scheinbar harmlose Scherz hat doch seine tiefe Bedeutung. Weshalb dieses Umschlingen des Lorbeerkranzes mit dem Golde der Kette des Staatsfürsten? Zielte der Dichter nicht auf ein Befestigen jener Heldentugenden, die noch locker und flatternd, in der Gärung der Gefühle die Brust des Jünglings bewegten? Dieser Kette, deren Glanz das Auge der sonst weitsehenden Kritiker nicht traf, gewiss ein Symbol der verbindenden nicht zu brechenden Macht des Gesetzes, wird immer wieder im Drama gedacht; dem Lorbeer einmal zugesellt, teilt sie das Loos des blättrigen Ruhmesspenders.

Lebhaft erinnert sich der Scene des Prinzen jugendlicher Freund, der Graf von Hohenzollern, selbst von der Strenge des Kurfürsten irregeleitet:

Du, gleichsam um sein tiefstes Herz zu prüfen,  
Nahmst ihm den Kranz hinweg, die Kette schlugst du,  
Die dir vom Hals hängt, lächelnd um das Laub;  
Und reichtest Kranz und Kette, so verschlungen,  
Dem Fräulein, deiner edlen Nichte, hin.

Gleichsam um das tiefste Herz des Prinzen zu prüfen! Ja, auch der Held selbst, der schlafend und träumend, klar doch des Kurfürsten Tat erblickte, hatte die gleiche Empfindung. Sah er ja wie sein väterlicher Führer, um ihm "ganz die Seele zu entzünden," den Schmuck, der ihm vom Nacken hing, um den Lorbeerkrantz schlug, und den so verschlungenen Kranz dem geliebten Mädchen reichte, "auf die Locken mir zu drücken"—"Hoch auf, gleich einem Genius des Ruhms, / Hebt sie den Kranz, an dem die Kette schwankte, / Als ob sie einen Helden krönen wollte."

Die ausgestreckte Hand sollte doch ins Leere greifen, und verflüchtigen sollte sich die herrliche Vision, "wie der Duft, der über Täler schwebt, Vor eines Windes frischem Hauch zerstiëbt." Unfertig und unreif war noch der Held. Noch hatte er nicht strenge Kriegszucht und unbedingten Gehorsam gelernt. Nur einer vollkommenen Tugend gebührt die schönste Palme, jene Krone, welche der Dichter strahlend auf dem Haupte seiner Königin Louise von Preussen ruhen sah; "die Krone auch der Welt—die goldenste, die dich zur Königin der Erde macht, / Hat still die Tugend schon dir aufgedrückt." Und wir begreifen den Dichter, der den letzten Bekränzungsakt nach erfolgter Läuterung und innerer Festigung des Helden und dem Schwinden aller trügerischen Phantome des Ruhms, gerade an den Ort der anfänglichen Vision versetzt wissen wollte, wo, in stiller Abgeschiedenheit, in der grünenden Flur, lieblich die Nachtviolen, Levkojen, und Nelken dufteten, die Minne in der Seele des Helden keimte, im unbewussten Drange der glänzendste Sieg erfochten wurde. Hier nun, in lichter Sphäre und wie befreit von der Erdenlast, konnte dem Sieger aus der Hand der Geliebten der ganze Himmel entgegengebracht werden, jener Kranz, den der Dichter dem gefeierten Erzherzog Karl mit Begeisterung gewünscht:

Und so duftet, auf welchem Gipfel  
 Unverwelklich, wie er Alciden kränzet,  
 Jungfrau und Lorbeer, dich, o Karl, zu krönen,  
 Überwinder des Unüberwindlichen!

Was vorgeahnt, musste in Erfüllung gehen. "Jungfrau und Lorbeerkranz und Ehrenschnuck," durfte der milde Gott dem gereiften Helden kurz nach dem Tage der Schlacht schenken. Der alles adelnden, erhebenden, verklärenden Liebe ziemte es das Werk der Veredlung zu vollenden. "Die Prinzessin tritt, umgeben von Fackeln, vor den Prinzen, welcher erstaunt aufsteht; setzt ihm den Kranz auf, hängt ihm die Kette um, und drückt seine Hand an ihr Herz."

Wie konnte nur ein Gedanke an eine beabsichtigte Vollstreckung des Todesurteiles seitens des Kurfürsten, nach dem schweren Vergehen des Prinzen, im Gehirne der Kritiker und Teaterregisseure Platz greifen? Verkannte man nicht dadurch die ganze erzieherische Mission des Staatsoberhauptes? Streng und mild, fest entschlossen nirgends in seinem geordneten Lande die Willkür walten zu lassen, unter der granitnen Säule des Staates keinen schwankenden Stützboden zu dulden, gleichzeitig aber die Rechte der Jugend, den begeisternden Drang zur Tat, die Macht der lieblichen Gefühle in einer Heldenbrust vollkommen anerkennend, klar in alle Seelenwirren, wie in alle Getriebe des Staats blickend, wollte er den seiner Obhut anvertrauten Jüngling dem Sturme blinder Leidenschaften entreissen, ihm die Erfüllung der strengsten aller Pflichten, die Überwindung des eigenen Mutwillens einschärfen. Zum Manne musste er ihn bilden, die schweigenden Stimmen in seinem Gewissen musste er wachrufen.

Durch Einkehr in sich selbst und das Befragen des Innern, ohne die Wirkung äusserer Triebe und Einflüsterungen, siegreich über alle Todesschauer, erfolgt die beabsichtigte Läuterung. Kein trüber Gedanke, kein Zweifel konnte die Stirne des Herrschers umdüstern. Den edlen Kern in der Natur des Prinzen hatte er wohl im dunklen Drange erkannt. Von der Macht des eigenen Übermuts hingerissen, konnte der Jüngling irren, dem Vaterlande die schwerste Kränkung beibringen, schliesslich musste der Edelmut durchbrechen, und der rechte Weg, vom sittlichen Pflichtbewusstsein geleitet, gefunden, der Triumph "über den verderblichsten / Den Feind' in uns," den

Trotz und Übermut, glorreich errungen werden. Spricht ja der Gott im Menschen unmittelbar durch das Gefühl. Für das Gefühl des Prinzen trägt der Kurfürst—ausdrücklich will er's betonen—"die höchste Achtung . . . im Innersten." Wo anders als in uns selbst, in unserer Herzentiefe, die Richtschnur für unser Handeln und Empfinden suchen? Seiner Wilhelmine schrieb einst der Dichter: "Ich trage eine innere Vorschrift in meiner Brust, gegen welche alle äussern, und wenn die ein König unterschrieben hätte, nichtswürdig sind," und mahnte unbesorgt dem schönsten der Triebe, der Herzensstimme zu folgen: "was Ihnen Ihr Herz sagt, ist Goldklang, und der spricht es selbst aus, dass er ächt sei." Jede Schuld ist im Grunde eine Versündigung gegen unser untrügerisches Gewissen, unser unbeirrbares Gefühl. Wehe dem, dem die unfehlbare Sicherheit des eigenen Herzens versagt, der verschmäht, mit der Goldwage der Empfindung, sein Inneres zu befragen, über sich selbst Gericht zu halten. "Über jedwedes Geständniss geht mein innerstes Gefühls doch," verkündigte bereits Eustache im ersten Schroffensteindrama. Und alle Helden Kleists, das rührende Kätchen vor Allen, erfahren wie Alles dem Zuge des Innern weichen muss, schöpfen in der höchsten Not ihre höchsten Gebote aus dem Innern, nur in ihrer Brust sehen sie die Schicksalssterne leuchten. Dämonen peitschen und zerfleischen die unglückliche Penthesilea, doch Nichts von Aussen vermag auf ihre Entschlüsse zu wirken; massgebend ist ihr Nichts als ihr töricht Herz; dem Feinde in ihrem Busen, keinem anderen Gegner, fällt sie zum Opfer, und sinkend, dem Lebenssturme entrissen, wünscht sie, man möge die Asche der Tanais in die Luft streuen und gönnt dem armen Menschenherzen sein volles Recht. Ungeheure Entschlüsse wälzt Guiskard im Busen, "doch sein Geist bezwingt sich selbst." Der Dichter selbst empfindet den tiefsten Seelenriss wie er, kurz vor seinem Sturze, den Widerspruch in sich zwischen Handlung und Gefühl wahrnimmt; alles gerät ins Schwanken, es löscht sich Stern um Stern, unser Dasein wird zur Qual: "Ach es ist ekelhaft zu leben."

Gewiss war es nicht leicht, den von seinem Liebes—und Ruhmestraum verführten Jüngling, der in entscheidender Stunde alles wagt um allein an der Spitze seiner Schaaren den Sieg herbeizuführen und sich als Held krönen zu lassen, noch im wilden, dämonischen Brausen der Leidenschaften zu bändigen,

ihn zur stillen Einkehr in sich selbst, zur Verurteilung und Verdammung des eignen Frevelmuts zu bewegen. Vor seinen Augen verschwindet gleichsam der Staat, die Welt, seitdem er das erste Zeichen der Liebeshuld erhält. Siegen musste er, triumphiren über alle Feinde, koste es was es wolle. Wer vermag ihn zur Ruhe, zur Gehorsamkeit, zur Pflicht zu mahnen? Die tiefe, herrliche Vision hat gewirkt. Er ist zerstreut, geteilt, im höchsten Grade abwesend; überhört alle Befehle, die vor Schlachthanfang erteilt werden. Umsonst lässt der Kurfürst seinen Generalen den Kriegsplan verkündigen: das Heer der Schweden so in die Flucht zu drängen bis es, zersplittert vor den Brückenkopf am Rhyn gelangt, nach Sprengung der Brücke, seine gänzliche Vernichtung gefunden hätte. Umsonst wird verordnet, der Prinz solle sich in seinem angewiesenen Platz, gegenüber dem rechtem Flügel des Feindes, unbeweglich halten, vom Platz nicht weichen bis der gedrängte linke Flügel des Feindes, aufgelöst, sich auf seinen rechten stürzt und wankend zu wilder Unordnung vor die Sümpfe gelangt wäre. Die wiederholten Befehle erschallen in die Luft. Dieses nicht eher sich Rühren als. . . stellt dem Prinzen eine unerträgliche Schranke entgegen. Die Fanfare soll er blasen lassen an einem bestimmten Zeitpunkte der Schlacht; seinem Flammgeist musste dieses Zögern des Siegesmarsches unerträglich erscheinen. Beim ersten Siegesruf der Genossen sieht er seinen eigenen Triumph gefährdet, und er bricht auf, reisst die Seinigen mit sich fort, und entscheidet den Sieg, der zwar glänzend erfochten, jedoch dem Kriegsplan und dem festgesetzten Ziele des Staatslenkers nicht entsprach.

Glück und Zufall hatten jede Kriegsweisheit und erleuchtete Vorbestimmung zu Schanden werden lassen. Und nicht persönlicher Mut, dieses Stürzen auf die Feinde gleich einer verheerenden Lavine, der zur eigensinnigen Überhebung hinzugekommene edle Drang, den todtgeglaubten Kurfürsten mit unerhörter Kampfeswut zu rächen, konnten die Schuld des Prinzen rein waschen. Das eigenmächtige Eingreifen hätte auch verhängnissvoll werden können. Entheiligt waren die Gesetze des Krieges. Willkür ersetzte die Regel, die Ordnung. Ins Herz des Vaterlandes war eine tiefe Wunde geschlagen. Nun hatte der Fürst seinem Herrn jüngst, durch Leichtsinn und Trotz, am Ufer des Rheins, zwei Siege verscherzt. Bändi-



gen, mässigen, erziehen musste man ihn vor der erneuten Schlacht, im Zaum sollte er gehalten werden. Wiewohl als ruhmvoller Führer gewürdigt, sollte er doch Geduld üben, etwas entlegen gestellt, der Obhut und dem Rat des Obristen Kottwitz anvertraut werden. Der vom Kurfürsten empfohlenen Ruhe folgte aber die fieberhafte Überstürzung, dem "regier dich wohl" ein zügelloses Durchbrechen aller Schranken. Was Wunder, wenn der Herrscher nun, nach dieser neuen Kränkung und Missachtung des Gesetzes, der "Mutter seiner Krone," die schärfsten Mittel wählt, um endlich den unreifen, eigenwilligen Jüngling zur strengen Pflichterfüllung reifen zu lassen, wenn er das Urteil des Kriegsgerichts fordert, die Todesschatten vor den Augen des Ruhmestrunkenen gleiten, Wolken um sein Haupt sammeln lässt, und mit ungebrochenem Willen, die Erkenntniss der begangenen Tat, ein eigenes Gericht im Gewissen des Schuldigen verlangt?

Die Liebe zu dem mutigen, noch immer irregeleiteten Helden brauchte darum nicht vor dem Trotze und dem schweren Verschulden zu weichen. Sie blieb lebendig und ungeschmälert als die höchste Triebkraft in des Herrschers Brust. Und je mehr Liebe, desto grösser der Eifer des Bildens und Erziehens um zur ersehnten Vollendung zu gelangen. Wir kennen den Bildungstrieb in der Seele des Dichters, der ihn oft zum Katecheten der Menschheit machte und zum unermüdlichen Ratgeber, Prüfer und Lenker seiner geliebten Wilhelmine, unfähig mit Stürmen und Wellen zu kämpfen, hätte er nicht selbst, "mit starkem Arm," "das Steuer des Schiffers" ergriffen. Seine Liebesbriefe gestalteten sich oft zu Erziehungstractaten. Und es ist nicht ein geringes Wunder der wunderreichen Poesie Kleists, dieses Schmelzen und Verschmelzen so vieler belehrenden Elemente im goldenen Tiegel der Kunst, diese Verklärung des Unpoetischen ins Poesievolle, die nirgends erzwungene, von der Natur selbst bewirkte Wandlung des Betrachtenden ins Handelnde und Bildene, der harmonische Bund des Bewussten und des Unbewussten, das aus dem Boden des Begrifflichen erstiegene kraft- und lichtvolle Reich des Konkreten und des Fasslichen. Verhielt sich auch Kleist zu dem "allerneuesten Erziehungsplan" skeptisch und zurückhaltend, so mahnte er doch die in die Fusstapfen Fichtes und Pestalozzis tretenden Weisen sie

möchten "die Jugend / Nun zu Männern" erziehen. Er machte seinen Kurfürsten zum originellsten aller Erzieher und Gewissensführer. So sicher, mit einer so unfehlbaren Erkenntnis aller Seelenkräfte hatte noch Keiner den Werdegang eines Helden bewacht und geleitet. Er durfte am Schlusse der harten Prüfung den von seinem eitlen Übermut geheilten, siegreich durch "die Schule dieser Tage durchgegangenen" jungen Helden den versammelten, um das Recht der Empfindung noch kämpfenden Offizieren als den Würdigsten der Würdigen, völlig in sich Befestigten, vorstellen und feierlich, mit unerschütterlicher Zuversicht sein: "Wollt ihr's zum vierten Male mit ihm wagen?" aussprechen.

Nur dank der strengen militärischen Zucht werden die Feinde Brandenburgs in den Staub geworfen. Eine stille Wandlung im Empfinden und im Denken des Dichters seit der ersten stürmischen Jugend war gewiss eingetreten. Einst bereute Kleist bitterlich seinen Soldatenstand; ein Offizier schien ihm ein besonders gearteter Mensch, der etwas mit seinem eigenen Wesen durchaus Unvereinbares in sich trug; mit der erlangten Freiheit atmete er auf; eine neue Sonne beschien seine Leiden und seine Freuden, ein neues Leben begann. Doch die vielen Enttäuschungen, die politischen Wirren und Kämpfe in seinem Lande, die drohende Gefahr einer Unterjochung stimmten ihn milder gegen seinen abgedankten Stand, den er in der Not noch weiter und mit entschlossenem Mut ergriffen, hätte man ihm nur den angebotenen Dienst nicht verweigert. Und fürwahr den schönsten Gewinn hätte das preussische Heer an diesem so innerlich festen, vom Schicksale so gepeinigten Dichter gehabt. Mit grösserer Wärme empfahl noch Keiner Ordnung, innere Disciplin, die unbedingte Hingabe an das leitende Gesetz, die Selbstaufopferung aller individuellen Wünsche auf dem Altar des Vaterlandes. Niemand wage es an die feste Burg des Staates zu rütteln. In den schweren Zeiten der Bedrängnis konnten die Verse des Patrioten wie Schwerthiebe wirken. Und mächtig donnerte der von der felsigen Höhe seiner thronenden Germania angestimmte Schlachtgesang ins Tal hinab. Und Flammen in die Seele der Zögernden hätte das leidenschaftliche Vaterlandsdrama mit der Verherrlichung der gewaltigen, von Liebe und Hass und Rache und Hinterlist genährten Feldherrenkunst des Befreiers der Germanen, werfen sollen.

Doch die Leier, die der Dichter zum Ruhme seines Landes so begeistert, mit so überwältigendem Gefühle schlug, rührte die Wenigsten und drohte in der Einsamkeit zu zerbrechen. Weit mildere, gedämpftere Töne hob, in gekläarterer Sphäre, die patriotische Muse im neuen Drama an. Die innere Energie blieb aber ungelähmt. Noch in reicherer Fülle waren hier die Goldkörner der militärischen Weisheit ausgestreut. Ein Dichter, der mit grösster Ruhe und Verstandesschärfe Schlachtenpläne entwirft, Massen bewegt, mit der befohlenen Bedrängung und Umringung des Feindes, die das Versinken und Vernichten in den Sümpfen in der letzten Triebjagd bezwecken sollte, die geniale strategische Kunst eines Hindenburg vorwegnimmt! Dazu ein Schöpfer von so lebensvollen, wahren Charakteren wie des prächtigen in ewiger Jugendfrische lebenden Kottwitz, der, auf seine Erfahrung in der Kriegskunst gestützt, bereit ist die Tat des Prinzen, das eigenmächtige Eingreifen in die Zügel des von dem Kurfürsten geleiteten Schlachtwagens gut zu heissen, und die Rechte der Empfindung vor dem unbeugsamen, Gehorsam und Zucht fordernden Staatslenker in hinreissender Rede zu verteidigen, mühevoll das glühende Gefühl unter der harten Soldatenrinde zurückpressend, gemacht auch er, wie der Tag der Schlacht, vom hohen Herrn der Welt "zu süsserm Ding, als sich zu schlagen!"

Wiederum geraten hier im "Prinzen von Homburg" wie in der "Penthesilea" die inneren Forderungen des Individuums mit den Gesetzen und Rechten des Staates in tragischen Konflikt. Ein Bezwingen des Gefühls und der brennenden Leidenschaft im Herzen der Amazone war nicht denkbar; losgelöst von den Gesetzen der Tanais, übermannt von ihrer Empfindung, musste sie zu Grunde gehen. Hebbel, der immer mächtig den zündenden Funken der Kunst Kleists in sich fühlte, und der den Zwiespalt zwischen Staat und Einzelindividuum, zwischen Gefühl und Vernunft in der "Agnes Bernauer," so bis zum Triumph der harten Notwendigkeit und der von keiner gesetzgebenden Macht jemals zu billigenden Aufopferung und Vernichtung der Unschuldigen<sup>2</sup> verschärfte, hätte gewiss die Kluft

<sup>2</sup> Und also auch ästhetisch revoltierend, wie ich in meinem in Deutschland wenig bekannten Buche "Hebbel e i suoi drammi," Bari, 1911, S. 128 ff. nachzuweisen versuchte.

zwischen der Empfindungswelt des Kurfürsten und derjenigen des Prinzen erweitert, und vielleicht auch, trotz seiner Anerkennung des im Drama wundervoll dargestellten Werdegangs des Jünglings zum reifen Manne, die strengste Bestrafung, das Opfer des Schuldigen gefordert. Eine solche Gegenüberstellung der Gegensätze, ein so klares Durchblicken der Idee, ein Werden und Gedeihen auf Trümmern einer dem Untergang geweihten Welt war nicht Kleists Sache. Die grösste Spannung musste gewiss zwischen dem Leiter des Staates und dem übermütigen, dem Wahne seines Ruhmes nachjagenden Prinzen herrschen, und dunkle Schatten und düstere Wolken sollten den Himmel des verzückten, pflichtvergessenen, nur seinem Siegestraum lebenden Jünglings verfinstern; das aufbauende, immer verklärende, beseelende Werk der Liebe sollte darum keine Unterbrechung erleiden; den strengen Herrscher mit dem unbeugsamen Willen führt ein unwiderstehlicher Drang zum jungen Helden, der jugendlich die Schranke des Gesetzes durchbrochen. Ein Vater liebt den eigenen Sohn nicht minder. Sein starkes, gegen alle Pfeile gepanzertes Herz ist so voller Milde. Wehmutsvoll denken wir an das Herz des Dichters selbst. Schliesslich, ohne die geringste Überraschung seitens des Kurfürsten, erfolgt die Erkenntnis des begangenen Vergehens; die Stimme des Gewissens kann laut und mächtig sprechen; der durch diese Selbstschau in den tiefsten Seelengrund und den gefundenen Imperativ der Pflicht gänzlich umgeschaffene Held, tritt in voller Würde vor seinen Richter, ein Gleicher zu dem Gleichen, selbst im Stande seinem alten Kottwitz Kriegszucht und Gehorsam zu lehren. Alle Gegensätze schwinden. Die Welt des Kurfürsten ist eins geworden mit der Welt des Prinzen.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wir untersuchen nicht wie weit andere Dramen, die ähnliche Konflikte zwischen Liebe und Pflicht, Gefühl und Vernunft behandeln, Szenen des "Wallenstein," die Ballade Schillers "Der Kampf mit dem Drachen," die den harten Kampf in der Brust des jungen mutigen Ritters, die Selbstdemütigung nach der strengen Rückweisung des hohen das Gesetz schützenden Fürsten als Bedingung zum Erlangen des höchsten Sieges, die Überwindung und Unterdrückung des widerspenstigen Geistes, "der gegen Zucht sich frech empöret, / Der Ordnung heilig

Band zerreisst" fordert und das Flehen aller Brüder um Gnade zu Nichte macht, sowie die zur Kenntniss des Dichters gelangten sagenhaften Berichte über die Fehrbelliner Schlacht und die Überhebung eines Prinzen von Homburg, die Betrachtung alter Kupfer und Gemälde auf das Gestalten und Bilden des neuen Dramas wirken konnten. In Kleists Schaffen sind allein die aus dem Innern fließenden Lebensquellen massgebend. Als einzige Richtschnur, wie in des Prinzen Neuumbildung, gelten die Gebote des Herzens.<sup>3</sup>

Wie durch eine mächtige Liebeswelle der Tatendrang des Jünglings bestimmt und geleitet, die höchste nimmer zu bewältigende Gährung der Gefühle, das titanische Anstürmen um den höchsten Schicksalskranz zu erringen, hervorgebracht wird, zeigt der Dichter, der selbst in den Zeiten seines stürmischen Begehrens um sein Alles oder Nichts kämpfte, mit packender Anschaulichkeit. Vom Glück einmal gestreift, schienen die Lockungen des Ruhms unwiderstehlich. Nicht geklärt, noch durch Edel- und Opfermut gereinigt von den Schlacken des Eigennutzes, und massloser Leidenschaftlichkeit war dieses hinreissende Liebesehnen in der Brust des jungen Helden. Auch die Liebe verlangte ein Bilden und ein Erziehen. "Edler und besser sollen wir durch die Liebe werden," erfuhr einst Wilhelmine von ihrem eifrigen Herzenslenker. Dem ewig Weiblichen fiel die Rolle zu, das Werk des Verklärens, der sittlichen Reinigung zu vollenden, und so leitet die liebliche Prinzessin, ganz erfüllt von ihrer Mission, zu dem ewig Guten, ewig Schönen; dem letzten Triumph des Helden setzt sie die funkelndste Krone hinzu.

Immer gefasst, mit ruhigem, klarem innerem Blick, mit entschlossenem Mut, und dem unbeirrbareren Gefühl aller

<sup>3</sup> Will man unbedingt auch auf die Wirkung äusserer Kräfte Gewicht legen, so vergesse man nicht, wie zumeist geschieht, die Ballade Schillers. Selbst des Lindwurms ist im Drama Erwähnung gethan: "Trat er dem Lindwurm männlich nicht aufs Haupt?" (III) Unmut und Streitbegier nagten an dem Herzen des Jünglings der Ballade. "Ja selbst im Traum der stillen Nächte / Fand ich mich keuchend im Gefechte." Der Meister straft den frivolen Mut des Ritters, die Unfähigkeit: "Der Pflichten schwerste zu erfüllen, / Zu bändigen den eignen Willen. / Dich hat der eitle Ruhm bewegt." Der Ritter büsst, legt das Gewand von sich, küsst des Meisters strenge Hand und geht; liebend wird er zurückgerufen: "Umarme mich, mein Sohn! / Dir ist der härtere Kampf gelungen. / Nimm dieses Kreuz: es ist der Lohn / Der Demut, die sich selbst bezwungen."

Kleistischen Heldinnen, steht sie, als Anwalt der lieblichen Gefühle, dem Anwalt der strengen sittlichen Pflicht, mit voller Zuversicht bei. Die Welt kann ihr ja nichts anderes bieten als das Schicksal des Prinzen. Spricht man ihr von Sitte, so antwortet sie: "Die höchst' in solcher Stunde" ist den Geliebten zu lieben. Der inneren Vernichtung des Prinzen setzt sie ihre Seelenfestigkeit entgegen; und wie er niedersinkt, von Todesangst gepackt und jämmerlich um Gnade fleht, erhebt sie sich in majestätischer Ruhe und Grösse. Darf denn ein Held, der so oft im Sturm der Schlacht dem Tode ohne ein Zittern entgegen schaute, jetzt plötzlich vor einem geöffnetem Grabe mit mattem Herzen zurückweichen? "Der im Leben tausendmal gesiegt, / Er wird auch noch im Tod zu siegen wissen." Würdig an der Spitze eines Regiments zu stehen, gibt sie mit männlicher Tatkraft Befehle und Verordnungen und fügt der Macht des Gesetzes die Macht ihres Willens hinzu. Freilich musste sie auch, so gut wie die Mehrzahl der Kritiker unseres Dichters, die innerste Absicht des Oheims verkennen und einen Augenblick wenigstens an seinem unerschütterlichen Festhalten am Spruch der Kriegsgerichts irre gehen; auch sie beunruhigt in einem so milden Fürsten die Starrheit der Antike. Den Helden kränzen zunächst, dann enthaupten, "das wäre so erhaben . . . dass man es fast unmenschlich nennen könnte." Zur entscheidenden Siegeskrönung erscheint sie aber selbst, das "süsse Kind," dem strengen Manne unentbehrlich, konnte sie auch nicht ahnen, dass die Entscheidung in dem tragischen Ehrenkonflikt in der Hand des Schuldigen, nicht in der des Anklägers lag. Sie allein durfte als Bote jenes Schreibens gewählt werden, das die so unliebsam verzögerte Entscheidung fordern, das schlummernde Pflichtgewissen wecken sollte: "Willst du den Brief ihm selber überbringen?" Sie eilt, von dem früheren Anblick des Verstörten und Zerknirschten noch eingenommen, ihre Mission zu vollführen, sie wohnt mit einem Gefühl des Staunens der sittlichen Auferstehung des Geliebten bei; ein leises Beben durchzuckt sie, die ersehnte Rettung könnte noch durch ein Schwanken in der Antwort des zum eigenen Gericht Geforderten gefährdet werden; wirklich ergreift das Herz des Prinzen eine neue Regung; die überraschendste Wendung tritt wirklich ein; mit dem Bekenntnis der schweren Schuld, und dem Zurückweisen der Gnade gewinnt der Held die volle innere Festigung;

der Unbegreifliche, der Rasende, der Ungeheuerste erscheint nun in voller Würde, geadelt, gerettet, verklärt, als "süßer Freund" vor den Augen der Fürstin.

Nimm diesen Kuss!—Und bohrten gleich zwölf Kugeln  
Dich jetzt in Staub, nicht halten könnt' ich mich,  
Und jauchzt' und weint' und spräche: du gefällst mir.

Am Rand des Verderbens lacht sonnenumstrahlt die schönste Seelenblüte. Wer aber regelt in diesem rätselvollen Leben unser kühnes Emporsteigen und das tiefe Herabsinken? Auf den höchsten Schwingen des Glücks schien der Prinz getragen, und Triumph schrie er im Sturmesbrausen, als plötzlich sich gähnende Abgründe vor den trunkenen Augen öffnen. Dem verwegenen Rufe: "O Cäsar Divus / Die Leiter setz' ich an, an deinen Stern," donnert ein "Schuldig des Todes" drohend und vernichtend entgegen. Wer zu hoch mit titanischem Übermut gegriffen, erfährt die tiefste Erniedrigung. Die Klage über die Nichtigkeit aller Menschengüter wird aus der beklommenen Brust des von den Lockungen irdischen Glanzes und Ruhmes Hingerissenen entsteigen. Und es schwindet der Taumel des Lebens sobald die Schauer des Todes sich zeigen.

Im Grunde handelt der Prinz mit blinder Überstürzung und verkennt selbst seine eigene innere Anlage, wie er die strafende heilende Tat seines Herrschers richtet, der ihm mit der Starrheit eines Brutus, ungeheure Entschlüsse in sich wälzend, entgegentritt. Für einen Schuft hielt er, wer sich seinem Schlachtbefehl widersetzt und befiehlt einen Offizier, der ihm unbedingten Gehorsam verweigerte, gefangen ins Hauptquartier abzuführen. Den eigenen Fehltritt begreift er nicht. Sein zu früh gewagter Angriff, dem doch ein entscheidender Sieg folgte, war er denn ein todeswürdiges Verbrechen? Und er schmachtet fassungslos in dem Kerker, nur auf Mitleid und Gnade harrend. Erst nach seiner gänzlichen Entwürdigung sollte er zur vollen Würde gelangen. Grimmig naht sich das Gespenst des Todes. Auch Egmont schüttelte dieses frühe Drängen ins finstere Schattenreich, "mitten unter Waffen, auf der Woge des Lebens": "Versagt es dir den nie gescheuten Tod vorm Angesicht der Sonne rasch zu gönnen, um dir des Grabes Vorgeschmack im eklen Moder zu bereiten?" Ein innerer Schauer durchzuckt den Helden; doch jede Zerknirschung bleibt ihm erspart; gleich

rafft er sich zusammen; mutig scheidet er vom süßen Leben und schreitet dem ehrenvollen Tode entgegen.

Alle inneren Kräfte versagen indessen dem Prinzen, seitdem ihn die bleiche Furcht beschlichen. Sein Heldenherz ist geknickt. Und tiefer und immer tiefer fällt er, ein unfreundlich jammernswürdiger Anblick vor den Augen der Geliebten, welche seine Klagen um das Schwinden des Lichts des goldenen Tages hört: "O, Gottes Welt . . . ist so schön!" Das Grab hat er vor sich, und er will nichts als leben, leben um jeden Preis, wie Claudius in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure"; "Let me live" "it is too horrible"—"the weariest and most loathed worldly life . . . is a paradise to what we fear of death." Auf Ruhm und Grösse will er Verzicht leisten. Die Liebe, die ihn entflamnte und all sein Tun und Streben, das heldenmütige Stürzen in die Schlacht, bestimmte, will er nun seinem Herzen entreissen, und die Geliebte Nathalie erfährt das "Geh' ins Kloster," das Hamlet seiner Ophelia bitterlich riet: "Geh an der Main . . . ins Stift der Jungfraun." Himmelhoch, den Sternen nah, trugen ihn die Schwingen des Ruhms; nun wünscht er sich das bescheidenste Plätzchen unter den Ruhmlosen, und so ein stilles Idyll auf entlegener Erde, wie einst der Dichter selbst, nach erlittenem Schiffbruch der heissesten Ideale am Thuner See es suchte, die geistigen Güter mit den materiellen vertauschen, bauen, niederreißen, dass ihm der Schweiss herabtrieft, auf seinen Gütern am Rhein, säen, ernten, und nach der Ernte, von neuem säen, "und in den Kreis herum das Leben jagen, / Bis es am Abend niedersinkt und stirbt." Der Schlachtgesang ist verstummt, und nur ein zitterndes Lied . . . auf die Vergänglichkeit aller Erdengrösse und das Schwinden im Fluge des Menschenlebens vermag die auf Wehmut und Trauer gestimmte Leier anzuschlagen.

"Ach es ist nichts ekelhafter als diese Furcht vor dem Tode," schrieb einst der Dichter seiner Wilhelmine. Nie hat aber Kleist die Darstellung des tiefsten Niederganges und des gänzlichen Zusammenbruchs der Gefühlswelt seiner Helden gescheut; ja mit sichtlicher Wollust schildert er alle Extreme der Empfindung, die höchste Verzückung, wie die grösste Fassungslosigkeit unter der zermalmenden Wucht des Schicksals. Nach dem jähen Sturz musste ein rasches, ganz unmittelbares Aufstehen und Wiederaufleben im vollsten Glanz erfolgen. Ein ernstes



Wort der Pflicht findet Zugang zum Gewissen des so verstörten Jünglings und gleich strömt vom Himmel das Licht, gleich sind alle Schatten und Gespenster verdrängt. Mit einem Schlage gelangt der Fürst zu seiner sittlichen Reife. Die höchste Lebensreife, wir wissen es, fällt im Urteil des Dichters mit der Reife zum Tode zusammen. Der Spruch des Gesetzes muss für das Heil des Staates in Erfüllung gehen. Der früher um Rettung flehte und sich an die Trümmer des gesunkenen Lebens anklammerte, sieht nun, wie Schillers Maria Stuart, wohlthätig heilend den Tod nahen; den beseelenden Willen in der nun gestärkten Brust will er ausschliesslich für die Verherrlichung des heiligen Gesetzes des Krieges durch einen freien Tod verwenden. Was hat denn dieses rätselhafte Ding, das man Leben nennt, für einen anderen Preis, als das man es leicht und freudig opfern kann? Wie oft hat der Dichter diesen seinen festen Glauben ausgesprochen! "Das Leben ist viel wert, wenn man's verachtet"—"Das Leben hat doch immer nichts Erhabeneres als nur dieses, dass man es erhaben wegwerfen kann." Und neue Kräfte durchzucken die matten Glieder des wiederauferstandenen Jünglings. Er hat entbehren, entsagen gelernt. Die wiedererlangte Lebensfülle stellt er jubelnd in den Dienst der notwendig gewordenen Lebensvernichtung. "Ich bin so selig, Schwester! Überselig! Ganz reif zum Tode"—dieselbe Todesschwärmerei, welche den Dichter der "Penthesilea" unmittelbar vor seinem Ende ergriff, bemächtigt sich des Prinzen. Die Erdschwere fällt. Alle finsternen Mächte sind gebannt. Leicht und frei erhebt sich die Seele über die Welt in die höheren Sphären. Der bangen Scheu vor dem Ungewissen folgt der freudige trunkene Blick in die bald zu lösenden Mysterien des Jenseits. Der beflügelte Geist schwingt sich durch stille Aetherräume. Mit dem Glanz einer tausendfachen Sonne strahlt den Augen des Todtgeweihten die Unsterblichkeit zu.

So sehr wir diese Wollust der Selbstaufopferung auch im Hinblick auf des Dichters eigenes Frohlocken auf "das unendliche, prächtige Grab" und den selbstgewollten Tod billigen und erhaben finden, so unnötig erscheint uns doch der Nachdruck, den der Seelenforscher auf die Einschüchterung durch das immer wieder gezeigte offene Grab legen will. Durch dieses zu deutliche Abzielen auf die gewollte Wirkung erleidet das Kunstwerk unliebsame Risse, die Ausschaulichkeit, die man

erhöhen möchte, wird beeinträchtigt. Es ist genug des qualvollen Gefühls, genug der Schatten, die aufgedrängt werden. Dieses Schaufeln der Erde, die das Gebein des gefallenen Helden empfangen und decken soll, widert uns schliesslich an und hätte leicht dem so tief gesunkenen Prinzen erspart werden können. Die Feuerprobe, welche der Graf von Gleichen von seinem Kätchen mit übertriebener, fast grausamer Härte erfordert, um zum glanzvollsten Triumph der Tugend zu gelangen, wiederholt sich hier im Drama der aufgezwungenen Selbstzucht. Nur Schade, dass dem Kurfürsten die Grabkunst Michelangelos, die von dem Gewaltigen zur Verdammung des eitlen Menschenruhms gebrauchten Sinnbilder menschlicher Hinfälligkeit, nicht zur Verfügung standen. Die militärischen strengsten Bestimmungen sollten helfen. Mit dem Bilde der offenen Gruft wetteifert das Bild des von den strafenden Kugeln zu Todgetroffenen. Schon sind auf dem Markte die Fenster bestellt, "die auf das öde Schauspiel niedergehn." Der eifrigste Verteidiger des Prinzen wird ausserwählt, "mit seinen zwölf Schwadronen / Die letzten Ehren zu erweisen." Ein Regiment soll bestellt sein den Versenkten "aus Karabinern, überm Grabeshügel / Versöhnt die Totenfeier" zu halten. Sollte wirklich aus dem Übermass der Liebe des Kurfürsten dieses Übermass von drohender Härte fließen?

Nach der erfochtenen Schlacht sehen wir alle Kräfte des Herrschers verwendet, um die Unwandlung des Prinzen, den Sieg über den verhängnissvollen Trotz und Mutwillen herbeizuführen. Vor dieser Pflicht der Erziehung eines unbesonnen stürmischen Jünglings zum wahren, des Kranzes wirklich würdigen Helden, treten alle Staatsgedanken und Geschäfte zurück. Und wenig bedeuten noch die einzelnen Fälle der Insubordination, die sich im Kreise der um das Schicksal des Prinzen besorgten Offiziere wiederholen. Eine gelinde Rüge genügt um sie zu beseitigen. Wie in allen vom Dichter ersonnenen Herrscheraturen treten Schroffheit und Unbeugsamkeit des Willens zusammen mit der grössten Feinheit und Zartheit des Empfindens. "Gott schuf nichts Milderes als ihn," beteuert die liebevolle Nathalie, die von ihrem mächtigen Beschützer mit den Koseworten: "mein süßes Mädchen" "süßes Kind," "mein liebes Kind," "mein Töchterchen," "mein Nichtchen," angesprochen wird. Und Milde erkannte man auch in dem

gotterleuchteten, alle Mittel und Greuel der Bekämpfung, Mord und Brand nicht scheuenden Retter und Befreier der Germanen. "Der Frühling kann nicht milder sein." Als Fürst wohl, aber auch mit väterlicher Fürsorge liebte der Brandenburger Herrscher den jungen Stürmer: "Ich bin ihm wert, das weiss ich / Wert wie ein Sohn." Und wie andächtig und liebevoll blickte der Prinz zu seinem Herrscher empor; wie pries er die Tat des in Staub gesunkenen Froben, dieses Opfers seiner Treue! Hätte er zehn Leben, könnte er sie nicht besser brauchen als so. Den Irrungen des Verblendeten musste das unbeirrbar, durch keine Macht ins Schwanken zu bringende Vorgehen des weisen Lenkers entgegengesetzt werden.

Dass der Kurfürst mit einem Unfertigen und immer noch in Gärung Begriffenen zu tun hatte, der ihm in der wichtigsten Schlacht noch einen tollen Streich spielen könne, wusste er wohl. Auch zweifelte er nicht im Geringsten, dass die beabsichtigte Wendung im Gewissen des Schuldigen erfolgen würde. Seine Erkenntnisschärfe konnte keinem argen Trug unterliegen. Eine Entwicklung zur vollen Geistesfreiheit konnte nur unter eigener Verantwortung vor sich gehen. Und eigenmächtig im tiefsten Innern keimt im Menschen das Pflichtgefühl. Wie bedacht ist der Dichter, Richter und Gerichteten von einander zu trennen und sie solange auseinanderzuhalten bis der Prozess des Selbsturteilens und des Selbstentscheidens zur Vollendung gelangt! Kein Wort zwischen ihnen darf vorher gewechselt werden. Und nicht im Entferntesten gedenkt der Kurfürst in seinen Schreiben an den Prinzen zur Pflicht zu mahnen; genug wenn er selbst kein Verschulden gegen das innere, alles regierende und bestimmende Müssen begeht. "Darf ich den Spruch . . . unterdrücken?" Dass die Haft den Prinzen, statt ihn zu ernster Besinnung zu bringen, so erbärmlich feige macht, scheint sein eigenes Gefühl einen Augenblick zu beirren. Ein Held, der um Gnade fleht, muss ja sein höchstes Erstaunen erregen. Wird ihm selbst, dem Prüfer, nicht eine schwere Prüfung zubereitet? Ein anderer Dichter hätte gewiss dem Schmerz des erfahrenen Mannes in gesonderten Selbstgesprächen Ausdruck verliehen. Bei Kleist, wo Alles auf die Handlung, auf die Tat, auf die Charakter- und Lebensgestaltung hinausläuft, sind derartige Ergiessungen müssig. Ein Hin- und Her mit lapidarischer Kürze ersetzt alle Auseinandersetzung-

en. Die Kunst ist Fasslichkeit und Prägnanz. Oft leisten die Kleistischen Helden im Verschweigen ihr Höchstes.

Gewähren wir dem Kurfürsten nebst anderen Gaben auch die der weisen, immer zum gefassten Ziel führenden Strategik. Wer so die Menschen in seiner Macht hat, mit Adlerblick erhaben über Alles sieht, darf sich mitunter auch in der strengsten Ausübung seiner Pflicht einen Scherz, ein Verstellungsspiel als Zeichen seiner Überlegenheit gestatten. Wir wissen, wie auch in der Kunst der Täuschung die Grösse Hermanns als Führer der Germanen sich bekundet. Die ungemein klare Auffassung der Dinge, die Kenntniss der seelischen Vorgänge teilt ja der Fürst mit Niemanden in seiner Umgebung; und so kann er, ohne besondere Rednerkunst, bloss gefasst "auf märk'sche Weise," die Weisheit Aller überflügeln und gelegentlich verwirren. Die Gesinnung seiner Treusten lernt er am Besten und am Tiefsten durch sein Verharren als gnadenloser Urteilstvollstrecker, und die Maske des grausamen Richters, die er trägt, kennen, während doch in seinem Innern nur Milde, nur Güte herrscht. Nur so konnte er in seinem Lebensherbst die schwungvolle Rede von Kottwitz als Verteidiger der scheinbar verletzten Rechte des Gefühles veranlassen, die höchste Spannung im Kreise seiner Untertanen bewirken, dem staatschützenden Gesetz die grösste unverlierbare Kraft und Würde verleihen. Ein tragisches Spielen fürwahr mit dem Verbluten der stärksten Seele, keine Komödie; und wir begreifen die Bedrängnis der Mitleidenden an dem Spiele: "O Gott der Welt! Musst' es bis dahin kommen?"

Er allein, der Herrscher, wiewohl er gewissenhaft vor den wichtigsten Entschlüssen all die Seinigen um sich sammelt, und mit einem "was meint ihr?" ihren Rat fordert, waltet über das Schicksal seines Landes, und schlichtet mit fester Hand und unfehlbarem Instinkt Sorgen und Kämpfe. Der Graf von Hohenzollern bleibt im Glauben sein Wort fiele, "ein Gewicht, in seine Brust." Nichts als die eigene Stimme des Gewissens ist aber entscheidend. Und wo der Fürst in seine Herzenstiefe greift, findet er seinen belebenden Gott. An seiner Lebensneige, kann er immer noch das frische Wagen, das warme Fühlen, das Sehnen der Jugend im Blühen des Lenzes mitempfinden. Und so wird ihm vergönnt die vollste Harmonie zwischen der Gefühlswelt und der Welt des Verstandes zu

erzielen, so vermag er die gelöschten Sterne in der Brust seines Liebblings zu entzünden und den Gereiften so fest an sich zu ziehen, dass ein Seelenaustausch erfolgen kann, und der Prinz zum besten Sachwalter wird, der des hohen Herren Sache führt.

Ein Kuss auf die Stirne des Helden besiegelt den nun unzertrennlichen Bund. Das Herz bebt. Wie prächtig war das Werk gelungen! Mit welcher Manneswürde trat ihm der Jüngling entgegen! Wie überragte er, selbst an Verstand und Strenge des Pflichtbewusstseins, die besten und erfahrungsreichsten der Führer! Doch die Verstellungskunst sollte weiter geübt werden. Zurückhaltend noch im Anschwellen der Gefühle sprach der Herrscher von der Bewilligung der letzten Bitte. Dann aber bereitet er den höchsten Triumph des Lebens mitten in der höchsten Todesverzückung des Geheilten. Und er reicht den Kranz mit der nie zu brechenden Kette der Prinzessin, die als Anwalt der Liebe die feierliche Krönung des Helden vollführt. Ein Donnern der Kanonen, ein mächtiges: "In Staub mit allen Feinden," die Siegessymphonie eines Kleist brauchte keine anderen Töne. Neue Zeiten dämmern. In voller Ordnung und Eintracht, innerlich gefestigt, schreitet das Vaterland seinen künftigen Schicksalen entgegen.

Sein Dichter aber, mit dem Tod im Herzen, entzieht sich dem feierlichen Gang. Das Leben bereitet ihm nur Qual und Leiden, und er scheidet, wagt den oft ersonnenen Wurf; sinkt ungebeugt wie die Eiche "weil sie zu stolz und kräftig blühte." Und wir denken erschüttert an diesen Sturz. War er nicht selbst der Zauberer, der die entgegengesetzten Welten harmonisch zu verbinden verstand, und das Leidenschaftliche, Himmelstürmende der Jugend nahe an die Sterne göttlicher Weisheit rückte? Der das Herbe und Strenge der sittlichen Pflicht mit dem lieblichsten Schmelz der Gefühle und der rührendsten Zärtlichkeit im Bunde mit der keuschesten Liebe zur schönsten Entfaltung und innigstem Zusammenwirken brachte? Wer sonst noch vermochte in die gedrungenste Darstellung der Seelenkonflikte so viel Anmut, in eine so wortkarge Kunst so viel Weichheit und Empfindungsfülle hineinzuzaubern, den Traum des Weltentrückten so lieblich und täuschend mit dem Ereignis des wachen Lebens mitten im Weltgetümmel zu verketten; wer Dämonen und Götter im

Gewimmel der Erscheinungen dieses wunderlichen, gebrechlichen Erdenreiches, im raschen Zerstieben des Glückstraums der Menschen in so tiefen Einklang tätig nebeneinander zu erdenken; wer das Schreckliche selbst und scheinbar Widerwärtige so mit poetischem Glanz zu verklären? Wohl hat das lange Verweilen und Sinnen im Reich des Unbewussten diese geheimnisvolle Macht in dem Dichter und Träumer entwickelt. Er, der ewig unbegriffene, unselige Mensch, der einst nach dem höchsten Kranz der Dichtung strebte, durfte alle Erdengüter gering schätzen, gefasst sein eitel Nichts aussprechen—"wir begegnen uns, drei Frühlinge lieben wir uns, und eine Ewigkeit fliehen wir auseinander"—nur den Gesang, der aus der freien Brust, so mächtig, so voll unnennbaren Wonnen strömte, behorchen, und singend, frei wie der Vogel singt, sich losgelöst von allen Banden fühlen. Der Todespfeil traf, und das Lied verstummte in der zerschmetterten Brust. Und sterbend nahm der Dichter mit sich auf die Fluren der Seligen das Geheimniss seines so kräftigen und zugleich so süßen Liedes.

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## BURKE'S ESSAY ON THE SUBLIME AND ITS REVIEWERS

Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* has often been reprinted, and almost always, since the second edition of January 10, 1759,<sup>1</sup> 'with an Introductory Discourse concerning Taste, and several other Additions.' A comparison with the original edition, published by Dodsley on April 21, 1757,<sup>2</sup> shows that most of the changes were merely verbal and of a minor sort; these casual differences Burke, in his second Preface, passes over in silence—and for the present we may follow his example. Nothing of importance is either deleted or rewritten. There are, however, considerable additions. The significant changes, then, consist of a new Preface, an introductory essay on taste, and, in the text proper, scattered additional passages in sum larger by half than the treatise on taste.

The original Preface recounts the manner in which the *Inquiry* came to be written; it briefly describes the common confusion of mind upon the subject-matter of the essay, and the author's method of inquiry:

He observed that the ideas of the sublime and beautiful were frequently confounded, and that both were indiscriminately applied to things greatly differing, and sometimes of natures directly opposite. Even Longinus, in his incomparable discourse upon a part of this subject, has comprehended things extremely repugnant to each other under one common name of the sublime. The abuse of the word beauty has been still more general, and attended with still worse consequences.

Such a confusion of ideas must certainly render all our reasonings upon subjects of this kind extremely inaccurate and inconclusive. Could this admit of any remedy, I imagined it could only be from a diligent examination of our passions in our own breasts, from a careful survey of the properties of things which we find by experience to influence those passions, and from a sober and attentive investigation of the laws of nature, by which those properties are capable of affecting the body and thus of exciting our passions.<sup>3</sup>

The second Preface is altogether new, both in phrase and in idea; it omits any account of the origin of the work, but mentions

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher, and Playwright*, 1910, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Inquiry*, 1757, pp. vi-vii.

the changes in the second edition, and discusses, this time more technically, the method of investigation and its uses:

In considering any complex matter, we ought to examine every distinct ingredient in the composition, one by one, and reduce everything to the utmost simplicity; since the condition of our nature binds us to a strict law and very narrow limits. We ought afterwards to re-examine the principles by the effect of the composition, as well as the composition by that of the principles. We ought to compare our subject with things of a similar nature, and even with things of a contrary nature; for discoveries may be and often are made by the contrast, which would escape us on the single view. . . . The use of such inquiries may be very considerable. Whatever turns the soul inward on itself tends to concentrate its forces and to fit it for greater and stronger flights of science.<sup>4</sup>

The more positive tone of the second Preface reflects the favor with which the first edition had been received. On August 10, 1757, Burke wrote to Shackleton, a former school-mate:

This letter is accompanied by a little performance of mine, which I will not consider as ineffectual if it contributes to your amusement. It lay by me for a good while, and I at last ventured it out. It has not been ill received, so far as a matter on so abstracted a subject meets with readers.<sup>5</sup>

David Hume, indeed, in spite of his interest in literary and aesthetic questions, which in 1757 led him to publish a dissertation on taste, and another on tragedy,<sup>6</sup> was not among the early readers; it was not until after the second edition that he mentioned to Adam Smith, in a letter of April 12, 1759, his acquaintance with "Burke, an Irish gentleman, who wrote lately a very pretty treatise on the sublime."<sup>7</sup> That Burke's original edition was not ill-received may be seen from three contemporary reviews, by Arthur Murphy in Johnson's *Literary Magazine*,<sup>8</sup> by an unknown writer in the *Critical Review*,<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>4</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, pp. v, viii; *Works* 1.58, 60. (In this paper, I cite as *Works* the six-volume edition published in the *World's Classics Series* by the Oxford University Press, 1906.)

<sup>5</sup> *Works and Correspondence of Burke*, 1852, 1.17.

<sup>6</sup> *In Four Dissertations*.

<sup>7</sup> Burton, *Life and Correspondence of Hume*, 2.55.

<sup>8</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.182-189 (1757). This review was ascribed by Thomas Davies to Samuel Johnson, and was inserted in the first edition of Johnson's works (1787; vol. 10) by Sir John Hawkins; but Boswell ascribed it to Murphy. It is not included in the edition of Johnson's works published in 1792 with an introduction by Murphy. (W. P. Courtney, *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, p. 77; Boswell's *Life*, ed. by G. B. Hill, 1.310.)

<sup>9</sup> *Critical Review* 3.361-374 (April, 1757).



by Oliver Goldsmith in the *Monthly Review*.<sup>10</sup> The *London Chronicle*<sup>11</sup> carried an account of the *Inquiry* which was spread over five issues, but Dodsley was its publisher, and the review largely consisted of quotations. Yet it is noteworthy that even Dodsley's reviewer did not subscribe to Burke's theory, and was struck, not so much by the soundness of the *Inquiry*, as by its "bold uncommon spirit" and its giving "criticism a face which we never saw it wear before."<sup>12</sup>

Murphy, the most severe of the three reviewers who attempted serious criticism, said:

Upon the whole, though we think the author of this piece mistaken in his fundamental principles, and also in his deductions from them, yet we must say we have read his book with pleasure. He has certainly employed much thinking; there are many ingenious and elegant remarks which, though they do not enforce or prove his first position, yet considering them detached from his system, they are new and just. And we cannot dismiss this article without recommending a perusal of the book to all our readers, as we think they will be recompensed by a great deal of sentiment, [and] perspicuous, elegant, and harmonious style, in many passages both sublime and beautiful.<sup>13</sup>

The unknown writer in the *Critical Review* remarked that on a subject so abstruse he could give, not a critique, but a short review of the work, proposing some doubts without impugning the theory,<sup>14</sup> and heartily recommending the book as "a performance superior to the common level of literary productions as much as real ingenuity is superior to superficial petulance, and the fruit of mature study to the hasty produce of crude conjecture."<sup>15</sup> Goldsmith, though he vigorously contested Burke's theory, was yet the most cordial of the three. His summary very largely borrowed Burke's phrasing, his objections he relegated to footnotes, and he said:

Our author thus, with all the sagacity so abstruse a subject requires, with all the learning necessary to illustration of his system, and with all the genius that can render disquisition pleasing—by proceeding on principles not sufficiently established, has been only agreeable when he might have been instruc-

<sup>10</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.473-480 (May, 1757). The ascription to Goldsmith is found in Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, 1837, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *London Chronicle* 1.556-8, 580-581, 595-596; 2.26-27, 50-53 (June 9-11, 16-18, 21-23; July 7-9, 14-16).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.52.

<sup>13</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.189.

<sup>14</sup> *Critical Review* 3.374.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.361.

tive. . . . If we have, in a very few instances, attempted to point out any mistake or oversight in this very agreeable author's principles, not a captious spirit of controversy, but concern for truth, was the motive; and the ingenious Inquirer, we are persuaded, is too much a philosopher to resent our sometimes taking a different course in pursuit of the game he has started.<sup>16</sup>

These notices, perhaps, together with the need for a new edition, encouraged Burke in his second Preface to omit the following remark in his first:

He now ventures to lay it before the public, proposing his notions as probable conjectures, not as things certain and indisputable.<sup>17</sup>

True, in the later Preface, Burke did allude to the possibility of errors in his work and even of failure, but he asserted also, perhaps a little impatiently:

A theory founded on experiment and not assumed, is always good for so much as it explains. Our inability to push it indefinitely is no argument at all against it.<sup>18</sup>

This last remark, with the rest of its paragraph, evidently was evoked by the critics, whose practice it was "to pass over both the premises and conclusion in silence, and to produce, as an objection, some poetical passage which does not seem easily accounted for upon the principles I endeavor to establish."<sup>19</sup> This offense had been committed by all three reviewers, and in making the same point, that terror and pain are not the only sources of the sublime, nor sources of that alone.<sup>20</sup>

In his second Preface, Burke gives no explanation for the introduction of the *Discourse on Taste* other than by saying:

It is a matter curious in itself, and it leads naturally enough to the principal inquiry.<sup>21</sup>

It is not within the design of this paper to discuss the origins of the *Discourse*; yet it may not be amiss to point out here that the year 1757 saw the appearance of Hume's *Dissertation on Taste*,<sup>22</sup> and that of the seventh volume of the *Encyclopédie*, which contained the article *Goût*. This article, by Voltaire,

<sup>16</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.473, 480.

<sup>17</sup> *Inquiry*, 1757, p. viii.

<sup>18</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, p. vii; *Works* 1.59.

<sup>19</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, p. vi; *Works* 1.59.

<sup>20</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.475; *Critical Review* 3.363; *Literary Magazine* 2.183.

<sup>21</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, p. iii; *Works* 1.57.

<sup>22</sup> In *Four Dissertations*.

Montesquieu, and D'Alembert, was later translated as an appendix to Gerard's *Essay on Taste*,<sup>23</sup> and Burke included a partial translation of Montesquieu's treatise in the first volume of the *Annual Register* (that for 1758). Gerard's essay was written in competition for the gold medal offered in 1756 by the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture.<sup>24</sup> It would be interesting to know who were the unsuccessful competitors of Gerard.

The changes in the body of the work fully justify the words of Burke in the Preface to the second edition:

Though I have not found sufficient reason, or what appeared to me sufficient, for making any material changes in my theory, I have found it necessary in many places to explain, illustrate, and enforce it.<sup>25</sup>

Virtually all the explanations and enforcements were called forth by the opinions expressed in the three reviews. The additions, then, represent Burke's side of a debate with his reviewers. It would hardly be profitable to try to discriminate finally and in every case the influence of each of these upon Burke's additions. For a number of changes, it is clear that more than one criticism is responsible. The most important suggestions—or, rather, occasions for rebuttal—concerning the first two parts, are Goldsmith's; he was aided chiefly by Murphy. The expansion of the sections on proportion in the third part was chiefly called forth by the objections of the writer in the *Critical Review*, as were also the few additions to the fourth part. Murphy's remarks brought the relatively large additions to the short final part on words. Save for the strictures of Goldsmith, Burke did not try to meet every objection.

We may first attend to the changes occasioned by the criticisms of Goldsmith. He first objects to Burke's distinction between positive pleasure and the feeling we experience upon the removal or moderation of pain, and thus states his objection:

Our author imagines that positive pleasure operates upon us by relaxing the nervous system, but that delight [on the removal of pain] acts in a quite contrary manner. Yet it is evident that a reprieve to a criminal often affects him with such pleasure that his whole frame is relaxed, and he faints away

<sup>23</sup> 1759.

<sup>24</sup> *Advertisement* prefixed to Gerard's *Essay*, 1759.

<sup>25</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, p. iii; *Works* 1.57.

Here then a diminution of pain operates just as pleasure would have done, and we can see no reason why it may not be called pleasure.<sup>26</sup>

This argument, which Murphy also advanced,<sup>27</sup> Burke meets with the remark:

It is most certain that every species of satisfaction or pleasure, how different soever in its manner of affecting, is of a positive nature in the mind of him who feels it. The affection is undoubtedly positive; but the cause may be, as in this case it certainly is, a sort of privation. And it is very reasonable that we should distinguish by some term two things so distinct in nature as a pleasure that is such simply, and without any relation, from that pleasure which cannot exist without a relation, and that too a relation to pain.<sup>28</sup>

Goldsmith's next objection concerns a principal part of Burke's theory, namely that the ideas of pain and danger are the ultimate sources of the sublime, as the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.

Our author, by assigning terror for the only source of the sublime, excludes love, admiration, etc. But to make the sublime an idea incompatible with those affections is what the general sense of mankind will be apt to contradict. It is certain we can have the most sublime ideas of the Deity without imagining him a God of terror. Whatever raises our esteem of an object described must be a powerful source of sublimity; and esteem is a passion nearly allied to love.<sup>29</sup>

This last sentence drew from Burke the frequently quoted dictum that "love approaches much nearer to contempt than is commonly imagined."<sup>30</sup> Burke illustrates and enforces his original statement as to the relation of terror and sublimity with the words:

I am satisfied the ideas of pain are more powerful than those which enter on the part of pleasure. Without all doubt, the torments which we may be made to suffer are much greater in their effect on the body and mind than any pleasures which the most learned voluptuary could suggest. . . . Nay, I am in great doubt whether any man could be found who would earn a life of the most perfect satisfaction, at the price of ending it in the torments which justice inflicted in a few hours on the late unfortunate regicide in France.<sup>31</sup>

To strengthen the argument by alluding to the regicide in France was natural enough if Burke was making his corrections

<sup>26</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.474-475.

<sup>27</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.183.

<sup>28</sup> *Inquiry* 1.4; 1761, pp. 52-53; *Works* 1.88. The addition runs one sentence farther than the quotation above.

<sup>29</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.475.

<sup>30</sup> *Inquiry* 2.5; 1761, p. 116; *Works* 1.117.

<sup>31</sup> *Inquiry* 1.7; 1761, p. 59; *Works* 1.91. The addition runs from the first sentence quoted to one after the last quoted.

shortly after the appearance of the three reviews. Murphy, indeed, had suggested it by the remark, left unanswered by Burke, that "the iron bed of Damiens [is] capable of exciting alarming ideas of terror, but cannot be said to hold anything of the sublime."<sup>32</sup> Damiens unsuccessfully attempted the life of Louis XV on January 5, 1757, and after other tortures was put to death by *écartèlement* on March 28 of the same year.<sup>33</sup> The *Monthly Review* for May, 1757, referred to two lives of the regicide, but refused to review either, on the ground that "we have seen enough of Damiens already in the newspapers." A later number<sup>34</sup> gave a detailed account of the trial and the torture.

Goldsmith's sentence already quoted, alleging that we can have sublime ideas of the Deity without supposing him a god of terror, was by Burke made the occasion of part of another and eloquent addition, the section on power.<sup>35</sup> Burke held that to the human imagination, the power of the Deity is the most striking of his attributes. This view he supported with quotations from Horace, Lucretius, and the Scriptures. Thus the second half of the section on power (the whole appeared for the first time in the enlarged edition) finds its cause in the reviewer's allusion to the Deity. If reflection on the force of Goldsmith's remarks had not been sufficient to incite Burke to the account, in the first half of the inserted section, of the general idea of power as a cause of the sublime, a phrase in the *Critical Review* might well have done so:

We impute the idea of the sublime to the impression made on the fancy by an object that indicates power and greatness.<sup>36</sup>

Still attacking Burke's fundamental separation of the sublime and the beautiful on the basis of pain and pleasure, Goldsmith had cited an instance in which painful and pleasant ideas are mingled:

When, after the horrors of a tempestuous night, the Poet hails us with a

<sup>32</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.183.

<sup>33</sup> *La Grande Encyclopédie*.

<sup>34</sup> *Monthly Review* 17.57.

<sup>35</sup> *Inquiry* 2.5. The addition of a whole section explains the two sections numbered 4 in this Part.

<sup>36</sup> *Critical Review* 3.369.

description of the beauties of the morning, we feel double enjoyment from the contrast. Our pleasure here must arise from the beautiful or the sublime.<sup>37</sup>

Goldsmith had proceeded to overthrow his author's fundamental separation of the causes of these two on each hypothesis. The *Critical Review*, too, had more curtly refused to accept the division.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, Burke took a hint from Murphy's remark<sup>39</sup> that "the sublime will exist with beauty," and said:

In the infinite variety of natural combinations, we must expect to find the qualities of things the most remote imaginable from each other united in the same object. . . . If the qualities of the sublime and beautiful are sometimes found united, does this prove that they are the same? Does it prove that they are any way allied? Does it prove even that they are not opposite and contradictory?<sup>40</sup>

Goldsmith's next point of attack was Burke's view of the relation between indistinctness of imagery and sublimity. Burke's theory, that clearness is always detrimental to emotional effect, may have been among the opinions that led Arthur Murphy to say:

The love of novelty seems to have been a very leading principle in his mind throughout his whole composition; and we fear that in endeavoring to advance what was never said before him, he will find it his lot to have said what will not be adopted after him.<sup>41</sup>

Goldsmith refrained from a like censure, and even granted that obscurity sometimes produces the sublime, as indeed did Murphy also.<sup>42</sup> Goldsmith merely said:

Distinctness of imagery has ever been held productive of the sublime. The more strongly the poet or orator impresses the picture he would describe upon his own mind, the more apt will he be to paint it on the imagination of his reader. Not that, like Ovid, he should be minute in description. . . . We only think the bold yet distinct strokes of a Virgil far surpass the equally bold yet confused ones of Lucan.<sup>43</sup>

Burke did not attempt to deal with these arguments merely in the passage against which they were directed.<sup>44</sup> To this he added a paragraph in which he argued that a clear idea, being

<sup>37</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.475.

<sup>38</sup> *Critical Review* 3.366.

<sup>39</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.188.

<sup>40</sup> *Inquiry* 3.27; 1761, pp. 238-9; *Works* 1.172-173. The addition runs from the first sentence quoted to the end of the section.

<sup>41</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.183.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.185.

<sup>43</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.477.

<sup>44</sup> *Inquiry* 2.[4]; 1761, pp. 107-110; *Works* 1.114-115. The addition is the last paragraph.

readily perceived, "is therefore another name for a little idea," and that painters, in picturing scenes of horror, had achieved only "odd, wild grotesques"; and he quoted the vision of Job as an instance of moving indistinctness. To the section on Magnificence,<sup>45</sup> Burke added an instance of numerous confused images in a passage from Shakespeare, and another from Ecclesiasticus; and to the section on Light<sup>46</sup> was added a quotation from Milton illustrating the "power of a well-managed darkness."

The paradoxical defense of obscurity may be thought to spring from Burke's preference for an idealistic to a realistic art, but one need only refer to his idea of imitation, expressed in the introduction,<sup>46a</sup> to see that his was by no means an idealistic theory of art. Burke really derives his paradox on obscurity from a rhetorician's examination of the human passions, as is evident from Part V of the *Inquiry*. The limitations of Burke's theory are made clear by contrast with Reynolds' well-known papers in the *Idler*<sup>46b</sup> published some months after Burke's enlarged edition. In these papers, it will be recalled, Reynolds prefers the Italian painters to the Dutch, because the Italians attend "only to the invariable, the great and general ideas which are fixed and inherent in universal nature; the Dutch . . . to literal truth and a minute exactness in the detail."<sup>46c</sup> The opposition of the invariable idea, inherent in universal nature, to the accidental, is not parallel to Burke's opposition of the great or obscure to the little or clear. The extent of Reynolds' debt to Burke and Johnson has been disputed, but, in the passage here quoted, there need be no question: Reynolds owes his idea of the invariable to his friend Mudge,<sup>46d</sup> who taught him Plato.<sup>46e</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Inquiry* 2.13; 1761, pp. 141-143; *Works* 1.128-129. The addition begins "There are also many descriptions" and runs to the end of the section.

<sup>46</sup> *Inquiry* 2.14; 1761, pp. 145-147; *Works* 1.130-131. The addition begins "Our great poet" and runs to the end of the section.

<sup>46a</sup> *Inquiry*, 1761, pp. 15-16; *Works*, 1.72. *Inquiry* l. 16, which is formally on imitation, adds nothing to the definition.

<sup>46b</sup> Nos. 76, 79, 82; Sept. 29, Oct. 20 and Nov. 10, 1759.

<sup>46c</sup> No. 79.

<sup>46d</sup> Northcote, *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, l. 113-115. Northcote relies on Burke's letter of 1797 to Malone.

<sup>46e</sup> I owe to Professor H. S. V. Jones the suggestion of a comparison with Reynolds, as also the reference to Ruskin's interesting qualifications on Reynolds' opinion: *Modern Painters* 3.4.1, ed. Cook and Wedderburn, 5.20 ff.

Another objection of Goldsmith's was to Burke's account of beauty as the cause of love. In a passage<sup>47</sup> somewhat confused in its terms, the reviewer held that love, or a sense of beauty, is not always caused by the mere physical aspect of objects, but by our reasonings as to the fitness of their structure for our uses or for their own; and he cited friendship as a kind of love based rather on interest than on physical attraction. Murphy<sup>48</sup> agreed with Goldsmith, but the writer in the *Critical Review* approved Burke's rejection of utility as an element of beauty.<sup>49</sup> Burke strengthened his refutation of the argument that fitness is a cause of beauty, by adding<sup>50</sup> several instances of fit animals that yet are not considered beautiful, and defended his limitation of the term<sup>51</sup> to "the merely sensible qualities of things" on the ground of "preserving the utmost simplicity" in a difficult and complex subject.

In his last note, Goldsmith brought his incomplete knowledge of medicine to bear on Burke's explanation of the manner in which darkness affects the eye. Burke, of course, consistently with his whole theory, held that darkness is terrible; and in Part IV, in which he explained the efficient—that is, the physical—causes of the sublime and of the beautiful, he had to show how darkness is painful to the eye. This he did by referring to the painful contraction of the radial fibres of the iris as the pupil dilates; and this painful contraction or tension he opposed to relaxation, which he called pleasant. Goldsmith said in objection:

The muscles of the uvea act in the contraction, but are relaxed in the dilatation of the ciliary circle. Therefore, when the pupil dilates, they are in a state of relaxation, and the relaxed state of a muscle is its state of rest. . . . Hence darkness is a state of rest to the visual organ, and consequently the obscurity which he justly remarks to be often a cause of the sublime, can affect the sensory by no painful impression; so that the sublime is often caused by a relaxation of the muscles as well as by a tension.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.476.

<sup>48</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.187.

<sup>49</sup> *Critical Review* 3.367.

<sup>50</sup> *Inquiry* 3.6; 1761, pp. 193-195; *Works* 1.152-153. The addition begins 'I need say little on the trunk of the elephant' and ends 'not very different from men and beasts.'

<sup>51</sup> *Inquiry* 3.1; 1761, pp. 162-163; *Works* 1.138-139. The new matter includes all save the first three sentences of the section.

<sup>52</sup> *Monthly Review* 16.480.



Burke strengthened his original position by showing that the antagonist muscles, the radial fibres of the iris, are forcibly drawn back by the relaxation of the iris; and he alluded to the common experience of pain in trying to see in a dark place.<sup>53</sup>

Forster in his life of Goldsmith has thus described the article in the *Monthly Review*:

His criticism was elaborate and well-studied; he objected to many parts of the theory, and especially to the materialism on which it founded the connection of objects of pleasure with a necessary relaxation of the nerves; but these objections, discreet and thoroughly considered, gave strength as well as relish to its praise, and Burke spoke to many of his friends of the pleasure it had given him.<sup>54</sup>

The critical part of this description is not more correct than the last statement is substantiated. The review itself was avowedly a bundle of extracts, the criticism was contained in but five footnotes, and Goldsmith's chief objection was not to the author's materialism, but to his strict division of the sublime and beautiful on the basis of pain and pleasure; all his comments on the relation of pleasure and relaxation are to this end.

Goldsmith had ranged with Burke over a wide field of fact and deduction, but not without leaving much unsaid. The writer in the *Critical Review* directed his objections chiefly to the relation of proportion and beauty. Murphy had dismissed Burke's reasons for not considering proportion a cause of beauty by referring to the authorities, "Hutchinson and others," saying at the same time that the "gradual variation"<sup>55</sup> Burke found beautiful was simply another name for proportion. This comment of Murphy drew from Burke an allusion to Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* which requires explanation. Burke's words are:

It gives me no small pleasure to find that I can strengthen my theory in this point [that gradual variation is necessary to beauty] by the opinion of the very ingenious Mr. Hogarth, whose idea of the line of beauty I take in general to be extremely just. . . . I must add, too, that, . . . though the varied line is that alone in which complete beauty is found, yet there is no particular line which is always found in the most completely beautiful.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Inquiry* 4.16; 1761, pp. 279-280; *Works* 1.191. The addition constitutes sentences 5-7 of the section.

<sup>54</sup> Forster, *Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. 1871, 1.107.

<sup>55</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.187.

<sup>56</sup> *Inquiry* 3.15; 1761, pp. 216-217; *Works* 1.163. The addition comprises the last six sentences of the section.

This addition suggests either that Burke, though he finished his work in 1753, did not come upon Hogarth's book, which was published in December, 1753,<sup>57</sup> until his own first edition had appeared; or else that he made no changes in the writing during the four years in which it lay by him; the latter supposition is strengthened by Burke's own statement in his first Preface:

It is four years now since this inquiry was finished, during which time the author found no cause to make any material alteration in his theory.<sup>58</sup>

It is unlikely that Burke, in his extended refutation<sup>59</sup> of the arguments for proportion and fitness as causes of beauty, was glancing at Hogarth, as Bosanquet<sup>60</sup> asserts. There is little in Hogarth's confused work that could be taken for the set of ideas Burke was opposing. It is true that in one passage<sup>61</sup> Burke seems to notice a view held by Hogarth<sup>62</sup> that our judgment of beauty depends upon an intuitive perception of the fitness of the observed proportion for use; but much of Burke's attack on proportion and fitness is found in the first edition, and at the time of writing this, Burke, as we see, probably did not know the *Analysis*. The principal advocates of proportion and fitness were writers who had been longer known and better received than Hogarth. Shaftesbury and Hutcheson had developed the idea of a "sense of beauty" that responds to perceived proportions. Shaftesbury and Bishop Berkeley had, with varying emphasis, united proportion, fitness, and beauty.<sup>63</sup>

The passage on fitness, inserted in the second edition, has already been accounted for in the discussion of Goldsmith's influence on Burke. The additions on proportion can be attributed in part to Murphy's curt insistence<sup>64</sup> that "a beautiful and entire whole never existed without proportion," and

<sup>57</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* 27.89.

<sup>58</sup> *Inquiry*, 1757, p. vii.

<sup>59</sup> *Inquiry* 3.1-8.

<sup>60</sup> *History of Aesthetic*, 1917, p. 208.

<sup>61</sup> *Inquiry* 3.6; 1761, p. 191 ff.; *Works* 1.151 ff.

<sup>62</sup> *Analysis of Beauty*, ch. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Shaftesbury, *Miscellaneous Reflections* 3.2; *Moralists* 2.4. Hutcheson, *Inquiry concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, and Design* 1.12; 2.7, 8, 10, 11. Berkeley, *Alciphron* 3.8, 9.

<sup>64</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.187.

chiefly to the longer argument in the *Critical Review*,<sup>65</sup> which laid great stress on a general range of proportions in each type of beauty, and asserted that "proportion is symmetry." The vague ideas of proportion held by his critics led Burke to insert two pages<sup>66</sup> on its definition and his method of reasoning about it. Proportion he defined to be the measure of relative quantity. He demanded of his opponents demonstrative proof that in every type of beautiful object there is a fixed quantitative relation of parts. He himself in subsequent passages undertook to show the absence of such a relation. With one exception, these passages are not new; the single change is the argument from the different proportions of the sexes in the same species.<sup>67</sup> It is of interest that Burke's refusal to reduce beauty to definite ratios won Ruskin's cordial assent in *Modern Painters*.<sup>68</sup>

The declaration in the *Critical Review*,<sup>69</sup> that "the well-proportioned parts of the human body are constantly found beautiful," Burke met with the challenge:

You may assign any proportions you please to every part of the human body, and I undertake that a painter shall religiously observe them all, and notwithstanding produce, if he please, a very ugly figure.<sup>70</sup>

Burke now turned to the broader meaning, suggested in the words already quoted from the *Critical Review*, of proportion as a common form of a species within which individuals vary considerably.<sup>71</sup> The confusion of beauty and proportion taken as the common form he found to be due to this, that beauty was commonly opposed to deformity. Burke rightly held that the opposite of beauty is ugliness, not deformity, and he streng-

<sup>65</sup> *Critical Review* 3.366-367.

<sup>66</sup> *Inquiry* 3.2; 1761, pp. 164-168; *Works* 1.139-141. The addition begins 'what proportion is' and ends 'whilst we inquire in the first place.'

<sup>67</sup> *Inquiry* 3.4; 1761, pp. 177-179; *Works* 1.145-146. The addition so far as here in point begins 'Let us rest a moment on this point' and covers six sentences.

<sup>68</sup> *Modern Painters* 3.1.6; ed. by Cook and Wedderburn, 4.109.

<sup>69</sup> *Critical Review* 3.367.

<sup>70</sup> *Inquiry* 3.4; 1761, p. 176; *Works* 1.144-145. The addition is one of three sentences, beginning 'You may assign any proportions.'

<sup>71</sup> *Inquiry* 3.4; 1761, pp. 179-186; *Works* 1.146-149. The addition here in question is the rest of the section after the matter mentioned in note 67.

thened his case<sup>72</sup> against the common or customary form by repeating the argument of the first section of the *Inquiry*. In this he had held that novelty is necessary to beauty, and that custom soon stales all beauty.

Except for the long section on Power, the new matter on proportion and fitness constitutes the most considerable of the additions to the *Inquiry* proper.

The *Critical Review* joined Goldsmith in the attack on Burke's central position, that the sublime is caused by a mode of pain, as some tension or labor of the physical organism, or by ideas associated with pain, and that pleasure is caused by a relaxation of the nerves or by related ideas. Goldsmith's citation of a mixed instance has been mentioned. The *Critical Review*<sup>73</sup> suggested that the pleasures of love might be considered "an exertion of the nerves to a tension that borders upon pain." Since this would be an instance, if admitted, of positive pleasure derived from a relation to pain, it would break down the fundamental distinction. Burke, therefore, struck out of his definition of love, "desire or lust, which is an energy of the mind, that hurries us on to the possession of certain objects, that do not affect us as they are beautiful, but by means altogether different."<sup>74</sup> But this arbitrary exclusion did not satisfy him; in the section on the physical cause of love, accordingly, he added both an appeal to the general experience of mankind, and an admission that partial exceptions might occur:

Who is a stranger to that manner of expression so common in all times and in all countries, of being softened, relaxed, enervated, dissolved, melted away by pleasure? The universal voice of mankind, faithful to their feelings, concurs in affirming this uniform and general effect; and although some odd and particular instance may perhaps be found, wherein there appears a considerable degree of positive pleasure, without all the characters of relaxation, we must not therefore reject the conclusion we had drawn from a concurrence of many experiments; but we must still retain it, subjoining the exceptions which may occur according to the judicious rule laid down by Sir Isaac Newton in the third book of his *Optics*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Inquiry* 3.5; 1761, pp. 187-188, 189-190; *Works* 1.150, 150-151. Three sentences beginning 'Indeed beauty is so far'; and five sentences beginning 'Indeed, so far are use and habit.'

<sup>73</sup> *Critical Review* 3.369.

<sup>74</sup> *Inquiry* 3.1; 1761, p. 162; *Works* 1.138.

<sup>75</sup> *Inquiry* 4.19; 1761, p. 288; *Works* 1.195.

To Part IV, which, it will be remembered, deals with the efficient or physical causes of the sublime and the beautiful, two other small additions were evoked by the *Critical Review*.

We likewise conceive he is mistaken in his theory, when he affirms that the rays falling on the eye, if they frequently vary their nature, now to blue, now to red, and so on . . . produce a sort of relaxation or rest to the organ, which prevents that tension or labor allied to pain, the cause of the sublime. Such a quick and abrupt succession of contrasted colors and shapes, will demand a quick succession of changes in the . . . eye, which, instead of relaxing and refreshing, harass the organ into the most painful exertions.<sup>76</sup>

Burke replied<sup>77</sup> by contrasting "the different effects of some strong exercise and some little piddling action." The reviewer's second objection was to Burke's classifying sweet things with those that are smooth and relaxing; he held instead "that sweet things act by stimulation, upon the taste as well as upon the smell."<sup>78</sup> The author's rejoinder was an appeal to the custom of languages: in Latin, French, and Italian, "soft and sweet have but one name."<sup>79</sup>

The effect of Murphy's criticisms, in so far as they did not coincide with those of the other two reviewers, is easily traced. His speculation,<sup>80</sup> that "astonishment is perhaps that state of the soul, when the powers of the mind are suspended with wonder," rather than with horror, drove Burke to defend his own theory by instancing the use of several languages.<sup>81</sup> Murphy's argument<sup>82</sup> against Burke's idea that words affect the emotions without raising images in the mind, led to two long additions, the first of which shows Burke at his best, illustrating his argument by apt quotation and comment. The reviewer's argument had been:

On hearing any of these words [virtue, honor, cited by Burke], a man may not instantly have in view all the ideas that are combined in the complex one

<sup>76</sup> *Critical Review* 3.369.

<sup>77</sup> *Inquiry* 4.10; 1761, pp. 262-263; *Works* 1.183. The addition is the third sentence of the section.

<sup>78</sup> *Critical Review* 3.370.

<sup>79</sup> *Inquiry* 4.22; 1761, p. 296; *Works* 1.199. The addition in this section comprises sentences 3-5.

<sup>80</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.185.

<sup>81</sup> *Inquiry* 2.2; 1761, pp. 97-98; *Works* 1.109. The addition comprises the last seven sentences of the section.

<sup>82</sup> *Literary Magazine* 2.188.

. . . but he may have the general idea . . . and that is enough for the poet's purpose.

Burke's reply began:

Indeed, so little does poetry depend for its effect on the power of raising sensible images, that I am convinced it would lose a very considerable part of its energy if this were the necessary result of a description. Because that union of affecting words, which is the most powerful of all poetical instruments, would frequently lose its force along with its propriety and consistency, if the sensible images were always excited.<sup>83</sup>

Citations from Virgil, Homer, and Lucretius are brought to illustrate the confusion of images by which poets affect the passions. The second addition in this part is a passage distinguishing a clear from a strong expression. It is directed against a statement of Murphy's:

He who is most picturesque and clearest in his imagery, is ever styled the best poet, because from such a one we see things clearer, and of course we feel more intensely. It is a disposition to feel the force of words, and to combine the ideas annexed to them with quickness, that shows one man's imagination to be better than another's.

The distinction between clearness and force which Burke made here, he had already stated quite definitely in a different context and even in the first edition.<sup>84</sup>

But still it will be difficult to conceive how words can move the passions which belong to real objects without representing these objects clearly. This is difficult to us, because we do not sufficiently distinguish, in our observations upon language, between a clear expression and a strong expression. These are frequently confounded with each other, though they are in reality extremely different. The former regards the understanding, the latter belongs to the passions. The one describes a thing as it is, the latter describes it as it is felt.<sup>85</sup>

Here we may conclude the account of Burke's alterations so far as they were inspired by objections to his thought. A word may be said of Burke's use of Biblical quotations in illustration or enforcement of his ideas. Except for a brief reference to the phrase "the angel of the Lord,"<sup>86</sup> all the passages from the

<sup>83</sup> *Inquiry* 5.5; 1761, pp. 328-332; *Works* 1.213-215. The addition begins with the sentences quoted and runs to the end of the section.

<sup>84</sup> *Inquiry* 2.4, *Of the difference between Clearness and Obscurity with regard to the Passions*.

<sup>85</sup> *Inquiry* 5.7; 1761, pp. 338-341; *Works* 1.218-219. The addition runs from 'if they may properly be called ideas' to the end of the paragraph.

<sup>86</sup> *Inquiry* 5.7; 1761, p. 336; *Works* 1.217.

Bible appear for the first time in the enlarged edition. All are adduced as examples of the sublime. With two exceptions, all appear in the section on Power.<sup>87</sup> One passage is drawn from Ecclesiasticus; all the others come either from Job or from the Psalms. It is probable that two papers by Joseph Warton in the *Adventurer*<sup>88</sup> inspired these additions. Warton's essays are in the form of a newly-discovered letter from Longinus in praise of the Hebrew writings, and include, among others, passages from the Psalms and from Job, though none of those used by Burke.

The collation of the two editions has then shown that no changes in structure or substance were made by Burke; that in point of style he was sensitive to the turn of a sentence, and quite willing to alter details of expression; and that he was so keenly sensitive to the public reception of his work as to regard almost every objection raised against him as a challenge to defend his position.

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<sup>87</sup> The exceptions are the vision of Job, *Inquiry* 2.[4], last paragraph, and the panegyric of Simon from Ecclesiasticus, *Inquiry* 2.13.

<sup>88</sup> *Adventurer* Nos. 51, 57. The statement as to Warton's authorship is found in a note to the final essay of the series.

## METHODS OF SATIRE IN THE POLITICAL DRAMA OF THE RESTORATION

Political satire in the Restoration drama can largely be classified under four headings, with reference to the method employed in inserting it in the plays. First, there is the parallel play, with its basis of real or feigned history, such as Dryden's *The Duke of Guise* and several of Crowne's and Southerne's plays. The purpose of this kind of play is to cast ridicule upon a party or faction by a display of the folly of their views in the action of the play. In this sense *Coriolanus* is a satire upon popular government. Such a play may be purely didactic. *Gorboduc*, for example, may be interpreted as a serious exposition of the misery arising from civil discord. The action may be subordinated to the introduction of caricatures of political opponents, as is the case with Crowne's *City Politics*. The parallel play may be comedy or tragedy. Rowe's *Tamerlane* is a tragedy, but it satirizes Louis XIV, in the person of Bajazet, by making him utterly ridiculous, and by contrasting him with the high-minded Tamerlane, William III.

Second, political satire in the drama often makes use of the typical character. The use of the typical character is a part of the classical theory of comedy, and, as such, was a part of the dramatic theory of Ben Jonson, who had great influence upon the political satire of the Restoration period.

From the typical character it is an easy step to the use of persons in the drama. Ben Jonson may not have introduced contemporary Puritan individuals into his comedies, but some of the Restoration dramatists had no hesitation about doing so. Besides, partisan warfare such as that which existed about 1680 is not likely to be free from personalities.

The fourth method employed consisted in the insertion of satirical remarks about political conditions or problems into the plays. Such remarks were often put into the mouths of unimportant characters, as was the case in *Eastward Hoe*, where the remarks that apparently gave most offense and landed the authors, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, in jail, are spoken by an unimportant sea captain.



All four of these methods may exist in combination, or only one may be used in a given play. Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* and possibly *The Duke of Guise* employ all four of the methods in a single play. The comedy of manners, on the other hand, ordinarily contented itself with sneering comments about the Puritans.

The most important of the four methods is the parallel play, which appeared in great numbers. It was the favorite method of Dryden, Crowne, and Southerne, not to mention many inferior dramatists. This may be ascribed to two things: the taste for allegory, and the comparative safety of the method for the dramatist. The age of Dryden, it should be remembered, is the age of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the readers of which were, to be sure, of a very different class from that which frequented the theaters, and it precedes the age of *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*. It is also the age of *Absalom and Achitophel* and *The Hind and the Panther*. It is not least among the times that loved allegory.

If the play is to be personal, the allegorical nature of the parallel play offers a very convenient refuge. The playwright may avow, as Dryden did in the case of *The Duke of Guise*, that the "play's a parallel" or he may deny that it has any significance whatever, as Southerne did in the case of *The Spartan Dame*, written about the time of the Revolution of 1688. The plot of Southerne's play is based upon the story of the expulsion of Leonidas by Cleombrotus, his son-in-law. This play was begun, it is needless to say, before William had succeeded to the throne formerly held by his father-in-law.

If the parallel play permitted the dramatist to equivocate about his intentions, it sometimes got him into trouble when no offense was intended. Dryden's *Cleomenes* may not be a parallel play at all, but it gave offense to Queen Mary, though her anger was apparently against certain passages and not against the nature of the plot. Tate's adaptation of *Richard II* met with as much disfavor from the court party as *Richard II* itself did from Elizabeth, when it was being used as a parallel play by Essex. Nor were Tate and Dryden the only sufferers. Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*, in which the character in the title rôle represents, in some measure, Charles II, was stopped on the third night as anti-monarchical, though the play is

about as anti-monarchical as Corneille's *Cinna*. The play does contain some ridicule of kings, but it is spoken by Vindicius, a demagogue, who is evidently patterned after the tribunes of the people in *Coriolanus*.

The parallel play might be concerned only with presenting a principle or an institution, as was the case with Settle's *The Female Prelate*, in which the satire was directed against the Roman Catholic Church as an institution, the inference to be drawn from the play being that what was once true of the church was still true, even though the methods of the church might have changed. Or the satire in the parallel play might be largely directed against individuals, as was the case with Crowne's *City Politics*, in which the Neapolitan setting and the Italian names form an almost transparent disguise for Shaftesbury, Oates, and others, or in Southerne's *Loyal Brother*, the action of which takes place in Persia, but the villain which is Shaftesbury.

All such political plays are allegorical in their nature, as was the prophet Nathan's story of the ewe lamb. In fact, the quintessence of the satire of the early eighties may be found in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. But such plays seldom passed into such undiluted allegory as Dryden's *Albion and Albanius*, in which we take leave of the machinery of history and romance, and adopt that of the mask or opera.

Ward says, in his *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, that, in the time of the Restoration, "No voice—except that of Milton prophesying in his days of darkness—was heard to protest against this servility of sentiment—to the Crown."<sup>1</sup> We need to know more about the real meanings of the parallel plays to be able to accept this statement. True, most of the dramatists favored the Crown, but Pepys considered Robert Howard's *The Duke of Lerma* a satire upon one of the prerogatives of Charles II.<sup>2</sup> He also records the furious anger of the king over Edward Howard's *The Change of Crowns*,<sup>3</sup> the exact nature of which play we do not know, though it seems to have had elements of the parallel play.

<sup>1</sup> Second Edition, Vol. III, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys's *Diary*, February 20, 1667-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, April 15 and 16, 1667.

The genesis of the parallel play may be sought in the French romances, with their use of allegory, or in the plays of Pierre Corneille, the political nature of which was perfectly known to Dryden, who says in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, "Look upon the *Cinna* and the *Pompey*; they are not so properly to be called plays as long discourses of reason of state." It is not necessary, however, so far as the dramatists of the Restoration are concerned, to seek for French origins. The parallel political play had already existed in England before the Civil War. John Tatham does not figure largely in the standard histories of English dramatic literature. Ward gives him three lines in footnotes with mention of his name in the text and Professor Schelling devotes about fifteen lines to him in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. Nevertheless, he is important as a connecting link between the two divisions of the Stuart drama, and he illustrates more clearly than any other author of the period the methods and material of the dramatic satire of the Restoration.

In 1641 Tatham wrote *The Distracted State*. In this play Sicily of the time of Agathocles is put on exhibition to show that the professions of popular leaders are not to be trusted and that the whole nation suffers from any attempt to dethrone an established and legitimate royal family. The play is apparently not personal. The Scotch are satirized; so are all those who were not loyal to Charles I. Here was a parallel play before the Civil War, that employed the methods of *The Duke of Guise*, and, incidentally, some of the same arguments. And this play is not unique.

No one would, I suppose, seriously question the native English origin of typical, or "humour," satire, as applied to Puritans. The work of Ben Jonson, the creator of *Tribulation Wholesome* and *Zeal-of-the-Land Busy*, in this field is too well known to need comment. The relation of satire against the Puritans to political satire comes from the fact that the Puritan was politics: he was the chief problem with which the Crown had to deal from the beginning of the reign of James I onward. Ben Jonson recognized that fact, though he considered that the root of the perversity of the Puritan was in human nature itself. Probee, one of the characters in the Induction to *The Magnetic Lady*, says: "The reconciliation of

humours is a bold undertaking, far greater than the reconciliation of both churches, the quarrel between humours being ancients, and in my opinion, the root of all faction and schism in church and commonwealth."

From the time of Ben Jonson the Puritan was a stock figure in comedy. The tradition is continuous through Cartwright and other sons of Ben, Tatham, and Wilson to Shadwell. Moreover, when the Puritan appeared in the comedy of manners, which was but seldom, for the writers of the comedy of manners regarded the Puritan as "low," he showed Jonsonian traits. Traces of the manner of Ben Jonson may be found in Sir Nicholas Cully, a Puritan character of Etherege's first play, *The Comical Revenge*, and in Sir Samuel Forecast, of Sedley's *Mulberry Garden*. Mrs. Saintry, of Dryden's *Limberham*, is assuredly of the Jonsonian type. As late as 1709, almost exactly a hundred years after the appearance of *The Alchemist* with its Ananias and Tribulation Wholesome, Thomas D'Urfey produced the *Modern Prophets*, a play satirized in the *Tatler* (Nos. 1,4,11,43), in which D'Urfey ridiculed the Puritans in the good old Jonsonian way.

Since the Puritans detested plays, play actors, and playhouses at all times, it is easy to see that there was little love lost between them and the Royalist supporters of the theater. There are, however, three distinct degrees in the treatment of the Puritans as a comic figure. The Jonsonian figure, a canting hypocrite, decrying the things of the world and secretly enjoying them, a "humour" character, prevailed before 1642. Immediately after the Restoration, he reappeared as an even more maleficent figure, one given to casuistry, as Scruple, in Wilson's *The Cheats*, a minister who will "conform, reform, transform, perform, deform, inform, any form" for three hundred pounds a year, or to abuse of power, as Mr. Day, in *The Committee*. The playwrights had just endured a long period of Puritan rule and felt toward the Puritans about as a Russian *émigré* does toward Communists. In addition to these changes, the personal element figured to a great degree. Cromwell and his associates appeared in the drama in person, there to be held up to the execrations of an angry, exultant mob.

In the third period, the treatment of the Puritans is much more conventional. In the hands of Shadwell it returns to the

Jonsonian tradition. The Puritan was, for the most part, to be found in the ranks of the Whigs, after the parties took shape about 1680, but it is incorrect to think that the satire of that period against the Puritans is as malicious as that of the earliest period. Satire of the Puritans had some value to the Tory party, but, when it was employed, it was largely a matter of convention or imitation or downright plagiarism from older writers. The Tory dramatists were interested in Puritans just so far as Puritans were Whigs or just so far as they could cast contempt upon the Whigs by associating them with the frightful days of Cromwell. Professor Schelling, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*<sup>4</sup> mentions two Tory satires of the eighties that illustrate the continued use of the Puritan as an object of satire: Crowne's *City Politics*,<sup>5</sup> and Mrs. Behn's *The Roundheads*. The former is, however, only to a slight degree a satire upon the Puritans as Puritans; it is a personal assault upon Shaftesbury and his following. Such satire of the Puritans as exists is conventional, harking back to the sixties. Mrs. Behn's *The Roundheads* is her version of Tatham's *The Rump*. What she did was to eliminate the slight love affair of the original and substitute a large amount of intrigue, in which she was a specialist, invent conventional "humour" characters, such as Ananias Goggle, a Jonsonian Puritan, and treat Lady Cromwell more respectfully than the original did. The rest of the satire is, of course, Tatham's.

Although the Puritans were, for the most part, Whigs, satire of the Puritans was a distinct thing from satire of the Whigs. This is proved by the writings of Shadwell, who never ceased to satirize the Puritans. In his last play, *The Volunteers* (1693), he mingles ridicule of the Jacobites with ridicule of the Puritans in the person of an Anabaptist, Hackwell, who had served under Oliver. This character, as well as Scrape-All, of *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), was created by the man who had enraged the Tories, high and low, by his caricature of the High Churchman in the person of Smerk, the hypocritical chaplain of *The Lancashire Witches*.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. VIII, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> The date of *City Politics* is 1683, not 1673, as it is printed on p. 122. See p. 188 of the same volume.

Ward says that the Restoration dramatists, "in their personal abuse of the enemies, real or supposed, of the cause with which they have identified themselves, add a new element . . . to the literature of the theater."<sup>6</sup> The word *new* is undoubtedly too strong. Personal abuse on the stage is, of course, as old as Aristophanes. The War of the Theaters showed that the great Elizabethans were not wholly averse to personal satire. Shirley is said by Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, to have satirized persons about the court in his and Chapman's forbidden play, *The Ball* (1632). It is true that the amount of personal satire increased after the Restoration, and that it formed the chief feature of the early Tory satires of Crowne and Southerne.

Again, John Tatham is interesting as one who led the way. His *The Rump; or a Mirrour of the Late Times* (1660) is largely personal. The play is a caricature of the events in London between the death of Cromwell and the arrival of Monk. The characters are presented with only the thinnest of disguises, that is, disguise produced by a slight change of name. Lambert appears as Bertlam; Wareston, as Stoneware, and so on. The characters are treated with the greatest malevolence. Fleetwood is a canting hypocrite; Wareston is given to low trickery and ribaldry. The women fare no better than the men. Lady Lambert is domineering, revengeful, and, of course, unfaithful to her husband. Lady Cromwell is a coarse old vixen, who attempts to scratch Lady Lambert's face in return for a sneering remark. She raves over her troubles and predicts for herself a life as an oyster woman or bawd. The play is interesting not only as marking the high- or low-water mark of the personal in the Restoration drama, but is a joy to the source hunter, who can find therein not only reflections of Ben Jonson but imitations of Rabelais and Aristophanes, the father of the personal attack by means of comedy. The virulence and malignity of its portrait painting were not surpassed during the Age of the Restoration, though it fell to more skilled hands, such as Otway, Crowne, and Dryden, to depict Shaftesbury.

Only a word need be said about the practice of satirizing persons or principles in the dialogue itself. Ben Jonson had

<sup>6</sup> *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, Second Edition, Vol. III, p. 293.

used no little amount of this kind of satire. His jail experience did not cure him of the habit. His contemporaries and successors, such as Shirley, Brome, Davenant, Mayne, and Killgrew continued his manner of poking fun at the Puritans in this way.

Such satire served one useful purpose in the Restoration drama. As has already been said, the writers of the comedy of manners would not, as a rule, use Puritan characters, because they were "low." Their "high bred" characters could, however, ridicule the Puritans. This is the principal political satire that appears in the comedy of manners. Dryden made extensive use of this method. In his first comedy, *The Wild Gallant*, there is a character who is an ex-Puritan, but little use is made of him as a "humour" character. The real satire comes from the allusions by other characters to the Rump Act and the "gude Scotch Kivenant."

As in the case of the heroic drama of the Restoration, which can be traced back, so far as its principal elements are concerned, to Fletcher and Marlowe, by way of D'Avenant, so the methods of the dramatic satirists of the Restoration go back to Ben Jonson and his contemporaries, by way of John Tatham, who resembles D'Avenant in connecting the old and the new. Satire of the Puritans was as old as Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, but it became bitter and personal just after the close of the Civil War, while the Puritan figures were looming so large in retrospect. It was only the ghosts of these figures, combined with the stock characters from the Jonsonian tradition, that were evoked during the stormy period of Shaftesbury's attempted domination of state affairs. This satire of the Puritans was undoubtedly used with a political purpose, but it must be distinguished from party satire. There was, on the whole, little that was new about the methods of the Restoration political drama, even if no other period has produced so much drama that "foamed with politics."

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## A NOTE ON KLEIST'S *PRINZ VON HOMBURG*

In Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg* the hero, an impetuous young cavalry officer, is charged with disobedience to military orders. Though a prince, he is court-martialed for this breach of discipline and, despite the further fact that the military action in question was crowned by victory, he is pronounced guilty as charged and sentenced to death. The self-centered nature and defiantly individualistic attitude of the young man now, in the hours of deepest humiliation, undergo a profound change; his former irresponsible haughtiness gives way to a broader, social view of disciplined patriotism. It is the chastening experience within prison walls which effects his spiritual regeneration, and the absolute change thus wrought in his soul is dramatically revealed when the elector's letter suddenly throws upon him the tremendous moral responsibility of judging his own case. Under this unexpected appeal to his innermost being the young officer superbly rises to the full stature of his manliness. Sincerely and profoundly regretting his personal insubordination and eager to atone for his gravely irresponsible conduct, he fervently desires that he be sacrificed to the larger principle of eternal law and order as he now sees it. Only in view of this complete transformation does the elector then order, not only the revocation of the death sentence, but also the pardon of the prince.

The relation between Kleist's much discussed motif and a strikingly similar episode in Livy (VIII, 30-35) has been dealt with in detail by Johannes Niejahr.<sup>1</sup> Professor Nollen, in his scholarly edition of the *Prinz von Homburg*, epitomizes Livy's account in the following passage: "In the second Samnite war the master of the horse, Q. Fabius, 'a high-spirited youth,' contrary to the explicit orders of the dictator, L. Papirius, attacked the enemy at a favorable moment, and with a desperate cavalry charge put them to flight. Papirius, enraged at such a flagrant breach of discipline, and still more at the young man's persistence in stubborn defiance of his authority, summarily con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his article *Ein Livianisches Motiv in Kleist's Prinz von Homburg* in Euphorion IV, 61.



demned him to death, and turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the whole army, and even of the senate, when they pleaded for mercy. Only when Fabius himself fell at the dictator's feet with a humble confession of his guilt, when 'military discipline and the majesty of government had prevailed' and the defiant pride of the young officer had been broken, did Papirius grant the life of Fabius 'as a boon to the Roman people,' amid universal applause."

I have ventured to recall these two parallel episodes for the reason that they were brought back vividly to my mind by the following brief historical account of the stern working of military law in Thomas Fuller's *The Holy State and the Profane State*, the first edition of which appeared in 1642. In the passage in question, Fuller relates the interesting and touching fate of "the French soldier in Scotland, some eighty years since,<sup>2</sup> who first mounted the bulwark of a fort besieged, whereupon ensued the gaining of the fort: but Marescal de Thermes, the French general, first knighted him and then hanged him within an hour after, because he had done without commandment." I do not recall having seen any reference to this incident in connection with Kleist's play; to forestall a possible misapprehension, however, I ought to add that I am taking this occasion to draw attention to it solely because of the features which are common both to Kleist's motif and the historical episode. Whether there is reason to suspect any influence, direct or indirect, in the matter, I am not prepared to say; in view of the very much closer Livian account, however, I confess I am inclined to doubt it.

I feel moved to point out, in an English work of fiction, another scene whereof certain features naturally provoke a comparison with at least one phase of the painful experience of Kleist's hero. I have in mind the scene in Scott's *The Fair Maid of Perth* in which the young Highland chief, Conachar, at the mere thought of an impending battle, betrays an abject cowardice—a situation reminding one of the unconventional scene in Kleist's drama where we see the young officer, the undaunted hero of more than one battle, so completely un-

<sup>2</sup> This would fix the date of the incident at about 1560, at which time there were French soldiers in Scotland. I found no mention of the particular episode in the historical works which were accessible to me.

manned by the harrowing sight of his own grave as to be reduced to a state of groveling helplessness—an ordeal which he undergoes while still a prisoner and prior to his regeneration. Since the *Fair Maid of Perth* is one of Scott's least popular novels, it may be desirable to present the arresting episode somewhat fully.

In a scene well-nigh as bold as Kleist's, Scott introduces the reader to old Simon Glover's hut. "Two hours before the black-cock crew," we read, "Simon Glover was awakened by a well-known voice, which called him by name." When he raised his eyes he saw standing before him not "the mail-clad Highland chief, with claymore [a heavy two-handed broadsword] in hand, as he had seen him the preceding night, but Conachar of Curfew Street, in his humble apprentice's garb, holding in his hand a switch of oak" and carrying "a piece of lighted bog-wood . . . in a lantern."

The young chief who comes at this unusual hour to press old Simon to bestow upon him his daughter Catharine, finally, despite his ardent suit, receives the unequivocal and disheartening answer, "With my consent my daughter shall never wed save in her own degree," whereupon he exclaims in despair, "Farewell the only hope which would have lighted me to fame or victory." And shortly after he adds, "I am about to tell you a secret . . . the deepest and dearest secret that man ever confided to man." This he does not reveal at once, however. Instead, by way of preparing the way for his intimate disclosure, he asks, "In this age of battle, father, you have yourself been a combatant?" A brief question indeed, but quite sufficient to induce old Simon to relate at some length the war-like experience of his earlier years. In the course of his narrative he frankly confesses that he seldom slept worse than the night before the expected onslaught which he describes. In the morning the warriors were summoned to their places by the ringing of a bell. Of the tolling of that bell he says, "I never heard its sound peal so like a passing knell before or since." Nevertheless the "cold fit" and the "strange breathlessness" which he experienced, together with a "desire to go home for a glass of distilled waters" when he saw the enemy "marching forward to the attack in strong columns," soon gave way to composure and

self-control, and during the actual conflict, as he declares, his conduct even "gained some credit."

At this point of the old man's recital the imagination of the young Highland chief, stirred to feverish excitement, conjures up the horrors of an impending fray between two powerful clans which is to settle a mountain-feud of long standing—a conflict in which he will be compelled to participate. And under the spell of his vivid mental picture he suddenly utters the startling confession, "Father, I am a Coward!" Then launching forth upon a description of the "demoniac fury" of the bloody fray as he conceives it, he speaks as follows, "Blows clang, and blood flows, thicker, faster, redder; they rush on each other like madmen, they tear each other like wild beasts; the wounded trodden to death amid the feet of their companions! Blood ebbs, arms become weak; but there must be no parley, no truce, no interruption, while any of the maimed wretches remain alive! Here is no crouching behind battlements, no fighting with missile weapons: all is hand to hand, till hands can no longer be raised to maintain the ghastly conflict! If such a field is so horrible in idea, what think you it will be in reality?" How vividly all this reminds one of the piteous outburst of Kleist's unnerved hero after he has caught a glimpse of his own open grave. Constitutionally weak of nerve, the young Scotch chief feels that with one blow all support has been knocked out from under him, for in his ardent suit for Simon Glover's daughter he has failed; we now see him in a state of moral helplessness well-nigh as abject as that of the young imprisoned officer under sentence of death in the *Prinz von Homburg*.

Scott did not intend in his novel, any more than did Kleist in his drama, that his young hero should by his betrayal of fear forfeit our sympathy; nor, indeed, does he, and least of all when he exclaims, "Were Catharine to look kindly on the earnest love I bear her, it would carry me against the front of the enemies with the mettle of a war-horse. Overwhelming as my sense of weakness is, the feeling that Catharine looked on would give me strength. Say yet—oh, say yet—she shall be mine if we gain the combat, and not the Gow Chrom himself, whose heart is of a piece with his anvil, ever went to battle so light as I shall do! One strong passion is conquered by another."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In Kleist's play it is the hero who finally, in the hour of supreme trial,

Though the characters about which Scott wove his novel are admittedly fictitious, we know from his own statement that in his story he utilized features of an episode which he found ready to hand in a historical record dealing with a "barrier-battle" and chronicling even "the flight of one of the appointed champions." Perhaps there is no reason, therefore, to suspect any further literary influence here, even in the way of suggestion, despite the fact that both in Kleist's play (published in 1821) and in Scott's novel (1828) the particular feature under consideration is virtually the same, namely, an exhibition of cowardice in an author's male character, and despite the further fact that Scott not only admired German literature but even prepared and published some translations from German authors. Still, in any case, we have before us two interesting examples of an unusual theme in literature which, for purposes of comparison, it seemed desirable to bring together within the same field of vision.

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sustains the woman, and not vice versa—a situation quite in keeping with the poet's characteristic conception of the ideal woman.

## DR. GROSART'S ROSALIND

Dr. Grosart's well known interpretation of the Rosalind *loci* in the *Shepherd's Calender* is definitely based on his whole conception of early Spenserian biography. He declared that Spenser's family originated in northeastern Lancashire, and based this opinion on Spenser's spelling of his name and on his apparent use of Lancashire scenery and Lancashire dialect, especially in the *Shepherd's Calender*.<sup>1</sup> Arguing from this premise, he maintained that Spenser, at the end of his University career, visited his relatives in Lancashire, there fell in love with Rosalind, and wrote the *Calender*,<sup>2</sup> and finally, as a corollary to all this, he declared himself "satisfied" that Rosalind was some as yet "untraced Rose or Eliza or Alice Dineley or Dynley or Dinlei" of north-eastern Lancashire.<sup>3</sup>

This theory, originally promulgated in 1882-4, has been much attacked of recent years. In 1897, Herford found the diction and grammar of the *Calender* "highly composite,"<sup>4</sup> but drew no conclusions as to the tenability of Grosart's opinions: indeed, he appears to have accepted them. In 1908, Long pointed out that Elizabethan spelling of proper names was not fixed, that the scenery in the *Calender* is not especially Lancastrian, and that the words beginning with A and B in Grosart's list were not peculiar to Lancashire—if we may use modern dialects as a criterion for Elizabethan: in fact, Spenser could have found most of the words in Chaucer or in the English and Scotch Chaucerians.<sup>5</sup> Long's work has shaken the confidence of many scholars in Grosart's theory.<sup>6</sup> In 1919, the present author re-

<sup>1</sup> Spenser, *Works*, ed. Grosart, I, xlii *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, 43 *et seq.* The recent discovery that Spenser was Secretary to the Bishop of Rochester in 1578 certainly does not bear out this conjecture, *Pro. Brit. Acad.* 1907-8, 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I, 50 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Spenser, *Shep Cal.*, London, 1914, xiv, lvii, *etc.* Even this edition shows no change from Herford's original acceptance of Grosart.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglia* XXXI, 72 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Higginson in his *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender*, New York, 1912, 289 *et seq.*, especially emphasizes the significance of Long's work. Higginson reviews scholarly opinion at length.

viewed the entire list of words glossed by E. K., and came to the conclusion that a dialectical provenience need be sought for only a very few and that those few were localized mainly in Yorkshire rather than Lancashire.<sup>7</sup> Tests of vocabulary and of inflectional forms, have, therefore, seriously undermined Grosart's point of view, but, since it is still widely propagated by standard works and occasionally by a current volume,<sup>8</sup> any further evidence may still be timely.

Although the *Calender* has been studied for diction and grammatical forms, questions of phonology, especially as expressed in the rhymes, have been largely neglected; and, indeed, Herford remarks that the phonetic characteristics of the Lancashire dialect of Elizabeth's day are "chiefly a matter of inference."<sup>9</sup> Since the publication of his book, however, further light has been shed on the matter: in 1920, Brown edited the *Stonyhurst Pageants*,<sup>10</sup> a body of verse running to almost nine thousand lines, which, as he shows in his *Introduction*, was composed in Lancashire shortly after 1610. This is a far safer test of Grosart's dialect theory than the evidence of verbal peculiarities of which we have record only in the late Nineteenth Century; and, although pronunciation may have changed in Lancashire between the 1570's and the early Seventeenth Century, the change was probably small, for dialects are conservative and Lancashire was remote from foreign influence.

The significant fact is that the *Pageants* show a peculiarity not usually to be found in Elizabethan literature: the rhyming of *ee* as in *seen* with *i* as in *sign*. Thus, as Brown points out in his *Introduction*, "*bee, hee, mee, see, thee, and tree* are made to rhyme with *by, cry, dry, eye, flye, I, lye, nigh, thigh, try, tye, and why*."<sup>11</sup> The natural inference is that these words must have

<sup>7</sup> *Jour. Eng. Ger. Phil.* XVIII, 556 et seq.

<sup>8</sup> *Vide* Higginson, *op. cit.*, 290, note 13. One might add other names to this list.

<sup>9</sup> Herford, *op. cit.* liii.

<sup>10</sup> Carleton Brown, *The Stonyhurst Pageants*, Göttingen and Baltimore, 1920.

<sup>11</sup> Brown, to be sure, notes (p. 11\*-12\*) that the author had a "surprisingly weak feeling for rhyme"; for there are twenty-two non-rhyming lines, and at times unstressed syllables are used in rhyme. False rhymes in accented vowels, however, do not constitute a typical license in the *Pageants*; and the *seen-sign* type of rhyme is so common that the author can hardly have felt them imperfect.

been pronounced nearly, if not exactly, alike. The association, moreover, of this peculiarity with the northern dialects—if not especially with Lancashire—is borne out by its appearance north of the Tweed: turning over some forty pages of Drummond's *Works*,<sup>12</sup> one finds six cases of it. In short, if one may hazard a theory in so difficult a field as Elizabethan phonology, it would appear that in the North, and particularly in Lancashire, ME *ē* shifted its sound, before or during Elizabethan times, to the modern pronunciation, expressed in *maitre phonétique* as *i*—without any corresponding shift of ME *ī* to the modern diphthong *ai*. At all events, it is reasonably certain that *ī* and *ē* (spelled *ee*) were pronounced alike.

Of the London pronunciation of this period, much has been written, but there is some uncertainty among scholars as to the exact pronunciation of *ē* and *ī*.<sup>13</sup> One fact, however, is evident: the two sounds were not pronounced alike. Viëtor points out that Shakespeare never makes such rhymes as *he* and *die*.<sup>14</sup> They do not appear in the 832 lines of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, nor in Chapman's 1616 additional lines, nor in Donne's five satires—although he is much given to doubtful rhymes. All of these poets come from the South of England: Chapman and Donne doubtless spoke the London English of the day; Marlowe may have intermixed some Kentish; and Shakespeare seems to have carried a few traces of Warwickshire dialect into his plays. It seems, therefore, fair to say that in London, and probably in most of the southern dialects, *ē* and *ī*, however they were pronounced, were clearly differentiated; whereas in Lancashire, they must have been very similar, if not exactly the same, in sound.

Although the *Shepherd's Calendar* has many doubtful

In the 1048 lines of *Joseph*, it appears nine times; and, in the first thousand lines of the *Moses*, it appears sixteen times. I count the sound only when it appears under primary stress.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Turnbull, London, 1856, 5-45.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Bradley in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 542-3. Cf. Sweet, 234-5; Viëtor, I, 13 *et seq.*; Wyld, 71 *et seq.*, *et al.*

<sup>14</sup> Viëtor, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, London, 1906, I, 14. Rhymes in unstressed or secondarily stressed *-y* or *-ie* are, of course, common; but vowels in atonic syllables are regularly "obscured" in English. It is only of stressed *ī* and *ē* that this paper takes account.

rhymes,<sup>15</sup> Spenser never rhymes *-ee-* and *-i-* in syllables bearing a primary stress: in the *April Eclogue*, indeed, he even prefers to repeat *green*, rather than substitute such a word as *fine*, which would have solved his technical difficulty at once.<sup>16</sup> The separate use of the two rhyme-sounds, moreover, is very common: in the 123 couplets of February, for example, there are fifteen rhymes in *i* and ten in *ee*<sup>17</sup>. If Spenser pronounced the two sounds similarly, in the fashion of Lancashire dialect, it is inconceivable that he should never once have rhymed them together. Further positive evidence, however, is not lacking: even when Spenser rhymes *-y* atonic, or with secondary stress as in *jollity*, with such words as *me* and *thee*, he regularly spells the *-y* as *-ee*,<sup>18</sup> showing thereby that he intended a slight change of pronunciation, even in that "obscured" vowel, and implying that such a change in pronunciation was necessary in order to make the rhyme accurate.<sup>19</sup> In *February*, moreover, Spenser actually follows a couplet rhyming *dye* and *enemie* with one rhyming *plea* and *lea*.<sup>20</sup> Surely, if these rhymes were exactly the same, he would not have chosen to repeat them, thus giving the effect of a quatrain in *aaaa*.

<sup>15</sup> *E.g. foeman* and *came*, *February*, 21-2; *loord* and *words*, *July*, 33, 35; *nyne* and *rhyme*, *November*, 53-5. In the *Pageants*, the doubtful rhymes seem to have been caused by the length of the line and the consequently weakened feeling for sound-repetition; but, in the *Calender*, the lines are usually rather short; and the reason for the bad rhymes must be sought rather in the inexperience of the poet and the difficulties of the form. *Vide Jour. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, XVIII, 560 *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup> *April*, 1 55 *et seq.*

<sup>17</sup> I count only cases where at least one rhyme bears an undoubted primary stress. The uncertainty of pronunciation of *-ea-* and of *-ie-* makes an exact count almost impossible.

<sup>18</sup> This change of spelling appears regularly in words of Romance origin where the *-y* stands for an O.F. *e* or *é*. I find it in *February*, ll 207-8; *May*, ll 191-2, 221-2, 247-8; *June*, 97 *et seq.*, *September*, 50-51, 64-5, 238-39; *November*, 26 *et seq.*, 114 *et seq.* The one exception is, I suspect, a printer's error, *May*, 302-3. In rhyming *-y* with *-y* or *-ye* or *-ie* under primary or secondary stress, he regularly spells the former *-y* or *-ye* or *-ie*; and he rhymes these rather indiscriminately with one another.

<sup>19</sup> *Cf. Jour. Eng. Ger. Phil.* XXVIII, 564: *e.g. behight* and *bynempt*. Spenser does not hesitate to vary spelling or grammar in the *Calendar* to make his rhymes.

<sup>20</sup> *February*, 1 155 *et seq.*



But one conclusion seems possible: that Spenser did not pronounce *i* and *ee* alike, in short, that in this respect at least, the phonology implied in the rhymes of the *Calender* is not Lancastrian, any more than is the grammar or the diction. Spenser, apparently, did not naturally speak Lancastrian; and, moreover, even when he was trying to imitate dialect, and largely Northern dialect at that, he did not know or at least did not care to use this striking phonological characteristic. The results of the present study reinforce the conclusions already apparent, that Grosart's argument for his Lancashire theory is quite unsound, and that his identification of Rosalind with a supposed Rose Dinley of North-East Lancashire, is an unsupported guess and nothing more.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

*BEOWULF, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE POEM WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE STORIES OF OFFA AND FINN.* By R. W. Chambers. Cambridge University Press, 1921. xii+417 pp.

Now it can be told. The war-cloud has lifted, at least for the nonce, from that lively battle-ground of clashing conjectures and calculations, the field of *Beowulf* criticism. Of the contestants themselves, some have passed away, others, weary or without ammunition, have withdrawn from the strife, or else have patched up a truce. Hence it is possible not only to consider the sources of the war and to analyze the causes of contention, but to trace its varied campaigns and study its strategy, and finally to ask and answer the pertinent question, "What good came of it at last?" But the task of the historian is not easy, demanding all along the wordy way the happiest combination of two qualities, seemingly seldom mated, wide knowledge and balanced judgment. These qualifications, so essential to proper perspective, are duly applauded by Mr. Chambers in the regretted Björkman, and are found in no less measure in Mr. Chambers himself. His *Widsith* of ten years ago, in its exhaustive study of Old English heroic legend, bespoke a range as wide as his wanderer's. His revision of Wyatt's *Beowulf*, two years later, attested a conservatism and caution, a judicial habit of mind, that augured well for the then promised "Introduction" to the study of the poem. The promise has been well kept in the book of four hundred pages now before us.

Yet another and more genial quality, unusual in digests or summaries of any sort—I had almost said, in scholarly productions,—humanizes the study of origins. Mr. Chambers is not only a just judge, but so generous a one that he oft rejects and never once offends. The breadth of his outlook is matched by the largeness of his tone and temper. His graceful dedication to Professor W. W. Lawrence is not merely personal, but national in its friendly gesture of "hands across the sea." Moreover—and here good scholarship and good sportsmanship meet—the differences of opinion which compose his book are always traced with wisdom and courtesy to an initial common ground of agreement. Treated in this wise, competition becomes coöperation. Like De Quincey, who was wont "to take his pleasure in the Michelet woods," our critic, in true English wise, has "a rattlin' day's sport" on Grendel's trail through the shires, even when "this huntin' doesn't pay." This zest of the chase pervades the volume, like a blast of fresh air from the fields.

The book falls into four parts, not too closely coördinated. Indeed, Mr. Chambers himself would smilingly concede that his arrangement of material—divisions and subdivisions alike—is in no way inevitable, nor, indeed, mechanically plotted. Part I, a discussion of the historical and non-historical elements in the poem, and of theories as to its origin, date and structure, is copiously illustrated by the documentation of stories in Part II and interestingly supplemented by divers suggestive postscripts in Part IV, the Appendix. In Part III, "The Fight at Finnsburg," Finn, unlike his companion in the book's title, Offa, dominates, with his friends and his foes, an entire division. Genealogical tables of Danish and Gēat royalties properly preface the *Introduction* and an extensive bibliography of *Beowulf* and *Finnsburg* and an adequate index conclude it in workmanlike fashion.

From the mass of story-matter, disguised and indeed transformed by "the great camera-obscura, tradition," Mr. Chambers, with less credulity than either Professor Chadwick or Miss Clarke, seeks to segregate the component of fact. Beowulf himself may be sheer fable, but his environment, his allies and his enemies, are brought within space and time. "The Gēats are the Götär of Southern Sweden," thinks our editor, like everyone else, save those Danes, whose patriotic identification of the Gēat land with Jutland is considered by him with characteristic tolerance. With knowledge and skill, and with such conclusiveness as is possible in a world of conjecture, he arrays the Danish chieftains against their background of Leire. Through the maze of cousinships and the confusion of generations, he treads triumphantly not only here, but on the insecure ground of the Offas and their Angles, where pitfalls menace every step. The facile theory of Earle, which regards Thryth in *Beowulf* as "a mere fiction evolved from the historical Cynethryth, wife of Offa II, and by poetic license represented as the wife of his ancestor Offa I," is fairly stated and then fully overthrown. Indeed romance reverses Earle's process and converts an historical paragon of virtue, like Edward I's Eleanor many hundred years later, into a prodigy of vice.

No less unsafe is the footing when one surveys the non-historical elements in the poem (in the second chapter of the first part). Mr. Chambers finds little to link Beowulf the Gēat with Beow or with the culture-god's *doppelgänger*, Beowulf the Dane—ruling out of court without, perhaps, all his wonted warrant the propinquity of Beow and Grendel in the English place-names of the Charters—and hence rejects the seductive theory of Müllenhoff that would make of our hero a nature-myth, a deity struggling with wind and flood of early spring, and with the wild weather of late autumn. The sundry striking likenesses between the stories of Beowulf and Grettir, the Out-

law of Iceland, are independently derived from one common original, presumably far back in their joint Germanic inheritance,—thus argues with sweet reasonableness our careful calculator of probabilities. He is not of the same mind as the doughty Danish champion, whom we all deplore, Axel Olrik, who sturdily denied any parallel between the adventures and personality of Beowulf and those of Bothvar Bjarki of the *Saga of Rolf Kraki*, and he points with conviction to the similarity of the heroic situations. Conversely, Mr. Chambers does not agree with Sievers, who has argued at length that the Danish story of Frotho's fight with the dragon is a close analogue to the final battle with the fire-drake in our poem. Folk-lore, particularly in the widely popular tale of the Bear's son, goes far to explain certain incidents and inconsistencies of our story, as Panzer has triumphantly demonstrated; but Mr. Chambers rightly remarks that the *Beowulf* and the *Grettir* story have 'many features in common which do not belong to the folk-tale.' With the entrance of Scef and Scyld the combat thickens. Shall we hold with Müllenhoff that Scyld Scefing means Scyld, son of Scef, or with Lawrence that the second name is not a patronymic, but must be read "with the sheaf?" With some reserves, Chambers shares the older view. Scef is no late creation entirely due to a misunderstanding of Scefing, but in the ninth century genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronology (A° 855) his name leads all the rest. The reviewer concurs heartily with Mr. Chambers' conclusion that Scyld and Scef were both ancient figures standing at the head of famous dynasties, and were later connected, and influenced by each other.

Theories as to the origin, date and structure of the poem fill the thirty pages of the third chapter. Few of us, despite Sarrazin's enthusiastic advocacy of the translation theory which Sievers strenuously combated, and Schücking's recent contentions which Mr. Chambers himself weighs in the balance and rejects, will quarrel with the double verdict that "evidence to prove *Beowulf* a translation from a Scandinavian original is wanting," and that evidence against the theory is ample. The reviewer, himself an obstinate and blatant heretic in despite of many of the so-called tests of the time and place of the poem through the criteria of grammar, metre and syntax, is glad that Mr. Chambers seems to lay far less weight upon these supposedly significant variation of usage than, ten years ago, in his introduction to the *Widsith*, and to feel with this enemy of philological legend, that 'we must be cautious in the conclusions that we draw' from such usages. Present reaction against the assumptions of the "dissecting school" of Müllenhoff and Ten Brink is represented by Mr. Chambers, who has large reasons for his unbelief in the composition theory, even when it receives the backing of so skilful an advocate as Schücking in his study

of *Beowulf's Return*. Such trustworthy guides as Bradley and Chadwick have found the Christian elements incompatible with the rest of the poem; but our critic is justified in his insistence that this "incongruity" between traditional heathendom and the new holiness is only to be expected in an English writer of 700 A.D., and need not suggest that stalking shadow, the clerical interpolator. The poem, he thinks, is homogeneous—"a production of the Germanic world enlightened by the new faith."

We are grateful for the documentation in Part II of the volume. It is good to have within the compass of one hundred and twenty pages a dozen hitherto widely scattered illustrations of our story. Here are copious extracts from Saxo and Sagas, from the *Lives of the Offas* in the Cotton manuscripts. Mr. Chambers' admirable renderings of Icelandic prose, in their Saxon simplicity and directness, continue the best traditions of English translations from the Norse and are at once a valuable aid to the student and a forceful commentary upon the texts which they accompany. Only young *doctorandi* would disdain a like guide to the Latin analogues,—which are not all easy reading—but this neither space nor convention permitted.

In Part III, "The Fight at Finnsburg," Mr. Chambers seems less the judge and more the advocate than elsewhere in the book. As a destructive debater he has little difficulty in opposing strong objections to the views of those, who, like Möller and Chadwick, deem the treacherous Eotens Danish retainers of Hnæf or of those who, like Bugge, confound them with the Frisian followers of Finn. As a constructive pleader, he marshals weighty arguments, both historical and dramatic, to show that the problematic people are Jutes, adherents of Finn, who is not responsible for their treachery. On the basis of this theory, "which seems to fit in best with what we know of the historic conditions at the time when the story arose, and which fits in best with such details of the story as we have," the tale is skilfully reconstructed. Mr. Chambers thus muzzles the dogs of war—but, one fancies, only for a moment.

Part IV, the "Appendix," contains nearly a hundred pages of interesting material. Here is a postscript on Mythology, something more about the two Beowulfs and about Beow, the barley-god, whom we can connect, not with our Gêat hero, but with his Danish namesake. Here is an interesting discussion of Grendel place-names, which seem to point to a water-spirit—two meres, two pits, a mire and a beck. Next, a detailed examination of the West Saxon genealogy, involving so careful a survey of the even more intricate relationships of Chronicle versions, that the pedigree of the manuscripts divides interest with the manuscripts of the pedigree, and the provenance of B and C looms as large as the paternity of Woden. Entirely

sound seems Mr. Chambers' contention that, in the family trees, "the names above Woden were added in Christian-times to the original list which, in heathen times, only went back to Woden, and which is still extant in this form." In a fourth division, the author gives large reasons, linguistic, literary, social, religious, for dating our poem about 700 A.D. rather than, with Schücking, two hundred years later; and somewhat cautiously subscribes to a belief in the classical scholarship of the poet. In a fifth section, Mr. Chambers re-opens the "Jute-question" to refute, at the cost of seemingly needless labor, the Danish chauvinism that continues to defy the laws of sound-change and the evidence of geography and history by identifying "Geats" and "Jutes." He then presents and rejects the inference, derived by Stjerna's translator, Clark Hall, from Stjerna's archaeological material, that the *Beowulf* is Scandinavian. "We must be careful not to read a Scandinavian coloring into features of *Beowulf*, which are at least as much English as Scandinavian, such as the ring-sword or the boar-helmet or the ring-corslet." After a survey of Germanic weapons and ships, the Appendix passes in review the recorded folk-tales of the Bear's son, that exhibit a real likeness to the *Beowulf-Grettir* story, and concludes with a brief note on the date of the death of Hygelac (525-530?).

Very helpful to the student is the comprehensive bibliography, thirty pages of fine print, including all books and articles dealing with the *Beowulf*, save the textual criticism or interpretation of single passages, and popular paraphrases and summaries, and containing good and terse comment. An adequate index closes this useful volume—a book essential not only to the specialist, but to every lover of our early literature, for it is a library in epitome, at once informative and judicial, a digest of various writings not easily accessible to many readers, and a discriminating commentary upon our present state of knowledge of our first epic. In make-up the *Introduction* is an "eye-pasture"—serviceably bound, beautifully printed, and delightfully illustrated, chiefly by the vivid Offa-drawings of the Cotton Nero manuscript.

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ALBERT HEINTZE: *Die deutschen Familiennamen geschichtlich, geographisch, sprachlich*. 5. verbesserte Auflage hgg. von Paul Cascorbi. Halle a. d. S., Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses 1922. VIII, 330 Stn. 8°

In aufopfernder Mühe hat Prof. Cascorbi eine neue Auflage von Heintzes Familiennamen veranstaltet, die das altbewährte Buch zum zuverlässigsten und kundigsten Führer durch eine

der anziehendsten Provinzen des deutschen Sprachlebens erhebt. In schwerer Zeit, unter ungünstigen Bibliotheksverhältnissen, neben der Last eines verantwortlichen Lehramts hat der verdiente Herausgeber seine Aufgabe gelöst und damit ein Anrecht auf den Dank aller Fachgenossen erworben. Wir meinen ihn nicht besser abtatten zu können, als indem wir künftigen Auflagen des trefflichen Buchs, die gewiss nicht ausbleiben werden, durch einige Beobachtungen vorzuarbeiten suchen, die wir in der alphabetischen Folge der behandelten Namen aneinanderreihen.

*Ahn-* wird durch die Verweisung auf *Agin* nicht erschöpft. *Ahn* ist auch ein Ortsname in Luxemburg, und von da geht der Familienname aus: Nik. Müller, Die Familiennamen des Grossherzogtums Luxemburg (1886) 17;35. In meinem Aufsatz "Familiennamen und frühneuhochdeutscher Wortschatz" (Hundert Jahre Marcus & Webers Verlag) 1919 S. 126 ist dieser Zusammenhang verkannt, ebenso bei Edw. Schröder, Anz. f.d. Alt. 39 (1920) 168, der in *Ahn* die Kurzform zu *Arnold* sieht, wie in *Behn* die zu *Bernhard*, in *Wehn* die zu *Werner*.—Schweiz. *Bärtschi* ist Kurzform zu *Berthold*.—*Bartholomäus* ist entstanden aus *Bar Ptolemaeus* "Sohn des Ptolemaeus."—*Beck* ist häufig in Luxemburg nach einem dortigen Ort.—*Beck* ist die im badischen Oberland geltende Form, im fränkischen Nordteil Badens gilt *Becker*.—Was hindert, in *Beringer* den Mann aus *Beringen* (Dorf in Lothringen) zu sehen, in *Böhringer* einen aus *Böhringen* (mehrfach in Baden und Württemberg)?—*Binz* ist ein Dorf in der Zürcher Pfarrei Mauer, das den Namen von den Binsen des Greifensees trägt. Deutlich nach ihm heisst *Uli von Binz*, der im Zürcher Steuerbuch von 1357 erscheint: Wh. Tobler=Meyer, Deutsche Familiennamen aus Zürich (1894) 135. Alem. z für gemeindeutsches s hält der bis heute im gesamten alemannischen Gebiet häufige Familienname *Binz* fest: Schweizerisches Idiotikon 4, 1412; H. Flamm, Geschichtliche Ortsbeschreibung der Stadt Freiburg (1903) 181; Matrikel der Universität Freiburg i.B.1, 554; Gg. Stoffel, Topographisches Wörterbuch des Ober=Elssasses (1876) 47 f. Als mundartgerechte Nebenformen treten *Bünz* und *Bienz* hinzu: H. Fischer, Schwäbisches Wörterbuch 1, 1124 f.; M. Lutz, Baslerisches Bürgerbuch (1819) 53.—*Brauch*, ein für Lahr in Baden kennzeichnender Name, meint den, der viel braucht, den Verschwender. Mit dem gleichen Suffix *-io* wie das eben genannte *Beck* und wie weiter *Schnetz* und *Trösch* neben gemeindeutschen *Schnitzer* und *Drescher* wird zuahd. *brühhan* ein Nomen agentis \**brühho* gebildet, das appenzellisch heute noch in appellativem Gebrauch vorkommt (Schweiz. Id.5.364), zugleich aber auch die seit dem 14. Jahrhundert belegten Familiennamen *Bruch*, *Bruchi*, *Bruchli* liefert (das. 348). In Freiberg i.B. begegnet seit 1460 *Bruch* als Familienname

(Flamm 206. 250. 258. 261), seit 1775 die patronymische Ableitung Brüchig, Brichig (das. 142. 278), heute Brauch, Brauchle, Bruch, Brüchig.—Unter *Braunabend* wäre zu sagen, dass braun in dieser Floskel der zweiten schlesischen Dichterschule 'violett' bedeutet: Zs.f.d. Wortf. 12, 200 f.—Im Grossherzogtum Luxemburg gab es bei der Volkszählung von 1880 79 *Clemen*, 181 *Clemens*, 294 *Clément*: Nik. Müller 46. *Clemen* als deutscher Familienname ist, wie hier sichtbar wird, derart entstanden, dass sich ein deutscher *Clemens* romanisierte zu *Clément* und dann deutsch aussprach.—Die aus früheren Auflagen übernommene Erklärung von *Dreizehner* muss wohl der besseren weichen, die von der Behördenorganisation mittelalterlicher Städte ausgeht: Elfer, Zwölfer, Dreizehner, Fünfzehner, Zwanziger sind ursprünglich Mitglieder eines Ausschusses von 11, 12, 13, 15, 20 Köpfen.—Bei *Fliedner* lässt sich ausser an den Ort Flieden in Hessen auch an mhd. *diu flite* "Lasseisen" denken.—Zu den Ableitungen von Flühe "Felsen" tritt der im badischen Lahr häufige Familienname *Flüge*, vermittelt durch oberelsässische Flurnamen wie *Flieg* und *Flügen*: Stoffel 165 f.—Zu Abraham gehört im alten Frankfurt a. M. *Afrom* als jüdischer Vorname: Adelheid Schiff, Namen der Frankfurter Juden (1917) 18. Mit Kürzung des unbetonten Anlauts ist daraus *From* geworden: O. Meisinger, Wörterbuch der Rappenaue Mundart (1906) 33. Damit ist *Fromm* als jüdischer Familienname erklärt.—*Gervasius* mit seiner Kurzform *Fäsi* verdiente Aufnahme. Die Verweisung von Vaes—auf Servatius ist wohl auf Gervasius umzulenken.—*Grieb* ist aus altem Uebernamen zum Familiennamen geworden und stellt sich zu ahd. *griobo* "ausgeschmorter Fettwürfel": Socin, Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch (1903) 143; Fischer 3, 829; Flamm 191; 230; 260 f.—Die Auffassung von *Halbrehder* als "Halbritter" wird gestützt durch den Familiennamen *Halbedel*, der in Thür, Kreis Mayen an der Mosel, heimisch ist.—*Heineck* mit seinen Nebenformen und Latinisierungen wie Hayneccius ist böhmische Koseform zu Ignaz.—*Himstedt* ist in Freiburg als Familienname aus Norddeutschland zugewandert. Ein Dorf gleichen Namens liegt zwischen Hildesheim und Braunschweig, es ist nach E. Förstemann, Deutsche Ortsnamen, 3. Aufl. 1, 1191 alt bezeugt in den Formen *Hemstide*, *Heemstede*, bedeutet also ursprünglich "domicilium," wie ags. *hámstede*, fries. *hamsted*.—Mit der anzüglichen Deutung von *Hindelang* ist leider ein Irrtum aus meinen Familiennamen im badischen Oberland (1918) 61 in Cascorbis neue Auflage übergegangen. *Hindel* (w)ang(en) und *Hindelbank* sind Ortsnamen in den gleichen Landschaften, die *Hinde*(n)lang als Familiennamen kennen.—Neben *Hirschsprung* begegnet der gleichbedeutende Name *Hertzsprung*.—Zu den Namen mit Apfel im zweiten Teil tritt *Hochapfel* in Strassburg.—Deutlich von der Tracht genommen ist der am



Niederrhein heimische Fn. *Hochgürtel*, eine wundervoll sinnkräftige Bildung.—*Holzadel* ist mit dem Prädikat "halbniederdeutsch" aus der 4. Auflage übernommen, aber wie soll ein hd. Holzsattel im Nd. anders heissen als Holt-sadel (ts=z)? Eingordnet ist die Form allerdings, als hiesse sie Holz-sadel.—*Jehle* habe ich Familiennamen im badischen Oberland 6 über Üelin aus Ulrich entwickelt. Ich zweifle, ob es sich je als einstämmige Kürzung zu Geilhard wird erweisen lassen.—*Johl* ist in Rust bei Ettenheim jüdischer Fn. und wird von Socin 561 f. mit überzeugenden Belegen auf hebr. Joël zurückgeführt.—Dem deutschen Stein entspricht poln. *Kamin* auch in Orts- und Familiennamen. Stein von Kaminski wandelt den Begriff in beiden Sprachen ab, die Kamecke auf Usedom stammen aus dem nd. verkleinerten Slavenort Camminke.—Zu den mannichfachen Endformen des kirchlichen Taufnamens Kyriakus tritt *Kiliusl* in Lahr und Freiburg, hier schon 1460 als *Cilius* bezeugt (Flamm 19).—*Kleineibst* als Fn. geht aus vom Namen des Dorfs Klein-Eibstadt bei Königshofen im Grabfeld.—Die lange umstrittene Bedeutung von *Lahr* ist endgültig zu gunsten von "Weide" entschieden durch Joseph Schnetz, Das Lär=Problem. Schulprogramm Lohr a.M. 1913.—Bei *Mangold* springt die innere Verwandtschaft mit griech. Πολυκάρης in die Augen.—*Morstadt*, häufig im badischen Lahr, ist der Mann aus dem Weiler Marstatt bei Messelhausen, Amtsbezirk Tauberbischofsheim, der alt stets *Morstat* heisst: Albert Krieger, Topographisches Wörterbuch des Grossherzogtums Baden, 2. Aufl. 2, 152.—*Mozart* ist in Luxemburg heute noch ein geläufiger Fn.: Nik. Müller 32; 87.—*Nirrnheim* und *Nirrheim* deuten sich als "Nirgends daheim."—*Nissl* dürfte bei den einstämmigen Kürzungen zu *Nid-* zu streichen und allein bei Dionysius zu belassen sein.—*Bapst* ist in Zürich seit 1386 Fn.: Schweiz. Id. 4, 1427 f. Dass er alter Uebername ist, nicht etwa vom Hausnamen ausgeht, zeigen die Belege dort, z. B. ein aargauisches Brüderpaar von 1470: *Hensly und Ruedy, die bāpst*. Die obd. Formen setzen mhd. *babest* voraus, in Schwaben ist heute *bōbscht* gangbar: Fischer 1, 550. In Lahr hat sich der damit gedeutete Fn. *Posth* entwickelt.—*Primus* als kirchlicher Taufname hat den Freiburger Fn. Briem geliefert. Er beginnt hier 1460 mit *Peter Brim, Murer* (Flamm 277), 1494 folgt *Ludwig Brim* (das. 115), 1540 wird *Udalricus Brim ex Fryburgo* immatrikuliert (Freib. Matrikel 1, 324).—*Püttrich* ist früh missdeutet worden: der bekannte Püterich von Reichertshausen (+1470) führt einen Bottich im Wappen.—Die Häufigkeit des Namens *Richter* gilt nicht für den deutschen Südwesten. Das Freiburger Adressbuch für 1921 kennt nur 16 Richter, die Vogt, Vögtle(r) und Vögthlin sind weit häufiger.—*Rothmund* und *Rotermund* sind wohl unter Rothe zu streichen und nur bei Hröpis zu belassen.—Der Artikel *Russwurm* ist in glücklicher

Weise berichtigt. Die Bedeutungen "Schmied, Schlosser" lassen sich stützen aus Fischer 5, 499, Hnr. Klenz Scheltenwb. (1910) 126 und den dort angeführten Stellen. Auch als Adelsname wurzelt Russworm in mitteldeutscher Mundart, die ihrerzeits das Wort aus dem Rotwelschen bezogen haben kann. Bei *Salzer* fügt die neue Auflage zu dem früher einzigen Ansatz "Einsalzer" fragweise den andern: "Salzhändler." Er lässt sich stützen aus K. Bücher, Die Berufe der Stadt Frankfurt a.M. im Mittelalter (1914) 112, wo *selzer* seit 1300 regelmässig in der Bedeutung "Salzverkäufer" nachgewiesen ist.—*Schellkopf* bedeutet schwerlich "Kopf des Schelchs," vielmehr einen, der im Kopf schellig, d.i. aufgeregt ist: Deutsches Wörterbuch 8, 2501.—Bei *Schleinzer* bleibt auch Herkunft aus Schleinitz zu erwägen: Huhn, Topogr. Lexikon 5 (1849) 860 nennt 7 Dörfer und Weiler dieses Namens in Österreich, Preussen und Sachsen.—Der gewerbsmässige Veranstalter von Glücksspielen und Aufseher über solche heisst mhd. **scholderer**: Lexer 3, 766 f., nachmals oft verkürzt zu **Scholder**: Deutsches Wörterbuch 9, 1450. Daraus ist z.B. in Lahr der Fn. *Scholder* entstanden, Karlsruhe (mit Angleichung von *ld* zu *ll*) *Scholler*, im alten Reutlingen **Schölderli(ng)**, **Schelderlin**: Freiburger Matrikel 108 ff., im heutigen Württemberg *Scholter*: Fischer 5, 1098.—*Stolterfoth* ist nicht "stolzer, stattlicher Fuss," sondern gehört mit *Stuhfath*,—*farth*,—*fauth* zu *Stollfuss* (Deutsches Wörterbuch 10 III 215) und bezeichnet den Schlepffüssigen.—Neben *Streicher* ist auch *Strick(ler)* aus älterem Gewerbenamen zum Fn. geworden. Zur Verbreitung der verschiedenen Seilernamen s. Leo Ricker, Zs.f.d. Mundarten 15 (1920) 99 ff.—*Tilk* in Lahr, *Dilger* in Freiburg, *Tilger* in Augsburg stellen sich zum Ortsnamen Ottilien. *Tilg* ist die alte Kurzform zum Frauenamen Ottilie, die sich auch im schwäbischen Flurnamen *Tilghäuslein* erhalten hat: Fischer 2, 208.—*Warneyer* ist der Mann aus Warnau an der unteren Havel.—*Weibezahn* möchte man den Schweifwedlern anschliessen, die sonst *Weibezahl* heissen, und die Deutung "Wackelzahn" streichen.—Zu *Wursthorn* als Übernamen des Metzgers ist auf Schweiz. Id. 2, 1617 und 1625 zu verweisen, wo das Gerät und seine Verwendung geschildert werden.

Neu aufgenommen zu werden verdienen die Namen *Batt* (alemannische Entwicklung zu dem gleichfalls fehlenden Taufnamen *Beatus*); *Bolza* (in Freiburg 1874 eingewandert, häufiger italienischer Fn.); *Consentius*; *Dees* (zu den im Anlaut verkürzten Formen von *Matthäus*); *Dehio*; *Enneccerus*; *Erbschlöh* (in und um Köln, zum Weiler Erbschlöe südlich von Barmen); *Gesenius*; *Gluck*; *Judeich*, nd. *Judick*; *Kurs* (neben *Cohrs*, *Kohrs*, *Coërs*); *Leander* (Übersetzung von *Volkman*); *Leidenroth* (in Leipzig, dahin wohl aus Schweden gelangt, wo die Fn. gern auf *-rot* "Wurzel" enden); *Lessing*; *Leverkinck* (kleine

Lerche?); *Liefmann* (zu Livland oder Levi?); *Mollenbott*; *Natorp*; *Nernst*; *Petschke* (nd. Verkleinerung zu Pätsch); *Peckruhn* (in Dresden, wohl zu den littauischen Fn. auf **-uhn**); *Pernice*; *Piloty*; *Rosenlucher*, *-lecher* (wohl eins mit Rosenlehner); *Schapiro*; *Silbergleit*; *Spirgatis* (wieder littauisch); *Tholuck*; *Treibs* (zu den im Anlaut gekürzten Formen von Andreas); *Trübner*; *Uchthoff*; *Umbreit*; *Unwerth*; *Vigener* (Nachkomme eines Friedrich); *Windelband*; *Zenker*.

Verweisungen sind erwünscht von A(e)ngenheister auf An; von Eisentraut auf S. 38; von Lepsius auf Philipp; von Liebig auf Leubhas; von Pross auf Ambrosius; von Teuchers auf Penhan; von Thorbecke auf Bach; von Weber auf Textor. Die westgermanischen Ansätze sind in der 5. Auflage vielfach geändert, z.B. **Audag**, in **Audhas**, **Hadug**, in **Hadhus**. Die neuen Schreibungen sind nun auch in den Verweisungen durchzuführen, während es jetzt noch heisst: Aabel s. **Audag**, Hebbel s. **Hadug**, und so sehr oft. Im Quellenverzeichnis fehlt das z.B. S.61 benutzte Karlsruher Namenbuch von C. Wilh. Fröhner, Karlsruhe 1856, manche andere Erweiterung ergibt sich aus den oben beigezogenen Werken. Druckfehler sind selten: 107<sup>b</sup>34 lies Auslaut, 36 Anlaut; 118<sup>a</sup>26 Schultze; 123<sup>a</sup>13 Pertsch; 135<sup>a</sup>13 **daz**, statt **das**; 215<sup>b</sup>24 niederdeutsch; 231<sup>b</sup>25 ahd. statt mhd.; 272<sup>a</sup>45 Rotzel statt Rötzel; 296<sup>a</sup>31 Stichling; 329<sup>b</sup>5 Zum Hofe; 330<sup>b</sup>18 Stalder statt Stadler.

Die deutsche Namenkunde ist so reich gegliedert und so mannichfach entwickelt wie die deutsche Landschaft. Bisher sind vorwiegend norddeutsche Forscher am Werk gewesen, auch bei dem vorliegenden Werk. So ist es nicht schwer, vom süd=und westdeutschen Standpunkt allerhand Nachträge zu geben, die das Gesamtbild bereichern und manche Auffassung verschieben können. Die Absicht ist dabei nicht, das Geleistete irgend wie herabzusetzen, sondern einzig, dem Buch voranzuhelfen und ihm neue Freunde zu werben. Dazu aber ist im Grund jeder berufen, der einen germanischen Namen führt, gleichviel wie er lautet, wann oder wo er ihn erworben hat und unter welchem Himmel er ihn trägt:

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JOSEF WIEHR: *KNUT HAMSUN: His Personality and his Outlook upon Life. Smith College Monographs in Modern Languages*, III, Nos. 1-2. Northampton, 1922. Pp. 130

In 1888 Knut Hamsun published his first book. *Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv*. The thesis of this brilliant and sardonic performance is delightfully simple: There is no culture in America. That was before our literary awakening of course, before Mencken and Sandburg and Sherwood Anderson and

Van Wyck Brooks. Hamsun said then of these states pretty much what these men are saying, only he said it with an elemental energy of which they are incapable—perhaps they are Americans all in spite of themselves. For in Hamsun there is no hint of literary smartness, of sophisticated preciosity shot through with commonplace. There is insight, and a comprehension which even his fierce contempt cannot dim. One wonders just a little what these critics of American life would say of Hamsun's contribution to their symposium: there can be little doubt what Hamsun would say of them if he were to bring *Aandsliv* down to date.

Still, even if he were to annihilate them as he annihilated Whitman, he could not fail to see that the intellectual life of America has changed since the eighties, changed perhaps even more than the American scene. Can anyone imagine *Pan* and *Hunger* commercially successful in this country a generation ago? Or, for the matter of that, even *Growth of the Soil*? No doubt much of Hamsun's success is adventitious. We read him, many of us, because he was once a streetcar conductor in Chicago and a "wobbly"—if such beings were then—in North Dakota, or because some academy or other, or was it a Mr. Nobel?—has awarded him a prize of forty thousand dollars. The piquant and the spectacular are mighty yet in the land of Barnum. None the less there is a genuine public for Hamsun here, with eyes to read and brains to understand. Thirty years ago he would have gone the way of Ibsen, become the icon of a cult—if he had been read at all.

Professor Wiehr therefore has done a great service in giving us this thorough and painstaking monograph. It surveys Hamsun's works in chronological order from the juvenilia of his Bodø days (1878) to *Konerne ved Vandposten* (1920). And the survey includes not merely a summary of contents, for the most part excellent, but an analysis of the work, a study of characters, style, and setting, and an attempt at least to fit each succeeding book into a synthesis of Hamsun's outlook upon life. Certainly such a task well done is most useful, and on the whole Professor Wiehr has done it well. The reader will gain much useful information and a sense too of what it is that Hamsun in novel after novel is trying to do. But one is compelled to say that in this more difficult task of revealing the substance of Knut Hamsun, the critic only imperfectly succeeds.

To begin with, the chronological order is most unfortunate. It is at once monotonous and confusing. Each novel, for instance, becomes an isolated phenomenon, to be analyzed by itself, so that when one has read to the end one cannot see the woods for the trees. The author has no doubt been conscious of this defect in his method, for he tries constantly to link one work with another and with some basic idea, and at the end he

attempts a synthesis, which, I must confess, seems to me too dispersed and loose to be very illuminating. One thinks of John Landquist's brief study, in which in a little more than a hundred pages that fine critic makes one see the guiding principle of all that Hamsun has written—an intense insistence on the sovereignty of the soul. Professor Wiehr sees it too; but the reader is very likely to miss it.

And he will miss in these solid pages the magic that is Hamsun—the lyric intoxication of the early novels, the less obvious, no less pervasive poetry of his later style. In great part that is inevitable, for the witchery of one language cannot be rendered in another; but he will miss it no less because of a certain stodginess in the critic's own style and treatment. Landquist speaks at the close of his essay of the golden pillar of youth that shines through Hamsun's work like a sun-glade upon dark and troubled waters. Has Professor Wiehr ever caught a glimpse of it? And has he journeyed "out upon the sun-glade into the infinite"? One is tempted to doubt it. He knows his Hamsun well, no doubt, but he has never been possessed by him, moved to the depths of being by that luminous, haunting prose. Or if he has, his monograph never once betrays him. Perhaps style and the glow of imagination are not to be sought in an academic publication. But criticism that lacks them must needs fall short of what it might have been, and ought to be.

Professor Wiehr's account of Hamsun's life builds upon the usual materials, among others, on a little article of mine that appeared some years ago in *Scandinavian Studies*. In that article I gave an account, taken from the *Autobiography* of Professor R. B. Anderson of an encounter between Hamsun and him on a Thingvalla liner in the summer of 1888. Some months after the article appeared I received through a friend of Hamsun's in California a letter in which Hamsun vehemently denies the truth of Mr. Anderson's narrative of the relations between them, and, presumably, though he does not expressly mention it, of the episode I used. Of course I had no means of appraising its accuracy, I used it in good faith because it seemed striking and apposite. But it is simple justice to Hamsun to publish his disavowal of it.

After all, as Hamsun himself says in his letter, it matters very little what tales may pass current about him. He lives, not in these, but in his work, and it is there that we have to seek him. It is Professor Wiehr's distinction to have given the first comprehensive study of that work in English. And for that we are grateful.

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*THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART AND LITURGY*,  
by Neil C. Brooks, University of Illinois Studies in Language  
and Literature, Volume VII, Number 2, Urbana, 1921.

The basis for this admirable monograph is the familiar fact that during a long period an important center of dramatic activity in the mediaeval church was the structure, or *locus*, known as the Easter *sepulchrum*. At this Easter sepulchre were performed three liturgico-dramatic offices: "the *Depositio* (*Crucis*, or *Hostiæ*, or *Crucis et Hostiæ*) of Good Friday, symbolizing and commemorating the Entombment, the *Elevatio*, in which the buried symbol or symbols were raised early on Easter morning in commemoration of the Resurrection, and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, later on Easter morning, representing the visit of the Maries to the tomb after the Resurrection."<sup>1</sup> The precise aim of the author may be clearly known from his own words at the outset:<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this study is to bring together and interpret, as far as possible, the essential facts about the sepulchre as known from art, architecture, and archives, and from liturgical rubrics. The study is an outgrowth of interest in the liturgic drama and is to be viewed primarily as an attempt to enlarge our knowledge of the *mise en scène* of the liturgical Easter plays, i.e., the dramatico-liturgical versions of the *Visitatio* and *Elevatio*.

For explaining the nature of the Easter sepulchre as *mise en scène* for the dramatic offices there are, then, four principal kinds of evidence: representations in art, archaeological remains, archival records, and the rubrics of the dramatic pieces themselves. Of these several sources of information a certain number of previous writers have fairly mastered, let us say, one or two; and a few writers have shown some general acquaintance with all four. Professor Brooks, however, is the first scholar known to me who has effectually grasped all four sorts of evidence, with the result of producing a treatise which was greatly needed, and which almost no one else could have accomplished. It was to be expected that preceding archaeologists and historians of art should expound the *sepulchrum* in its structure and appearance; and this task one scholar or another has performed for certain periods and localities. But a survey of this matter for both East and West, covering the whole period from the first century to the sixteenth, is provided for the first time in the work before us. On the other hand, whereas one could not expect archaeologists and historians of art to possess the minute literary and liturgical information necessary for interpreting the dramatic offices performed at the *sepulchrum*, Professor Brooks fully possesses just this information, gained through some two decades of notable success in editing and explaining unpublished texts of the liturgico-dramatic offices of Easter.

<sup>1</sup> Brooks, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Brooks, p. 8.

For the precise task under consideration, then, Professor Brooks is most happily competent.<sup>3</sup>

From this competence derives, naturally enough, the lucidity of the treatise in its several parts, and that organization of the whole which allows a reviewer to comment upon the chapters in the simple order of the text.

After a brief introductory statement in Chapter One, the exposition proper begins in Chapter Two ("The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem"). In this section, using the ample evidences of Heisenberg and others, Professor Brooks concisely reviews the architectural arrangements of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and traces the vicissitudes of these structures from the period when Constantine (probably) erected the circular *Anastasis* over the Sepulchre, down through the period of the Crusaders, when the buildings took substantially their present complex form. The subject of this short chapter is presented with a clarity that is fortunate in view of the inevitable references to it in later parts of the treatise. Particularly clear to the reader are the disposition of the tomb itself, and the persistence of the rotunda (*Anastasis*) over it. One is mildly surprised, perhaps, at the author's somewhat casual tone in referring to the *Peregrinatio Etheriae*,<sup>4</sup> which must always rank among the most authoritative and illuminating expositions of ecclesiological and liturgical matters in Jerusalem in the fourth century and thereabouts. Possibly appropriate quotations from this document might have enriched the exposition.

In Chapter Three ("The Sepulchre of Christ in Art") Professor Brooks surveys the representations of the Sepulchre in art throughout the mediaeval period. The earliest examples are of the fourth and fifth centuries. From this period until the twelfth century the scene in which the Sepulchre appears is that of the Maries encountering the angel at the empty tomb. After the twelfth century the Maries give way before a representation of the Resurrection itself. The present chapter, then, treats especially the representations of the Holy Women at the tomb. Of these representations there are two broad classes: the Eastern and the Western. The eastern examples may be divided into the Syro-Palestinian type and the Byzantine. The Syro-Palestinian type seems to have arisen in the sixth century, in close association with the cult of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The scene centers in the tomb itself, which represents, more or less faithfully, the actual Holy Sepulchre of the period of Constantine. The Byzantine type shows the angel as the center of the composition, with a subordinated

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. L (1908), pp. 297-312; *id.*, Vol. LV (1914), pp. 52-61; *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VIII (1909), pp. 464-488; *id.*, Vol. X (1911), pp. 191-196.

<sup>4</sup> See Brooks, p. 11, note 7.

sepulchre in the form of a rock-hewn tomb, of a sarcophagus before an opening into the rock, or of a simple sarcophagus surmounted by a ciborium, or canopy. In the Western representations the sepulchre takes the form of a cylindrical tower, or of a tower-temple in two or more stories, or of a coffer-tomb. The tower-like forms,—notably dissimilar both to the rock tomb of the Gospels and to the actual Sepulchre at Jerusalem,—show a possible influence from the circular Anastasis over the Holy Sepulchre itself, and a more probable influence from the tower-like tombs used generally in antiquity and in early Christian times.

Although I cannot speak as an expert in iconography, I venture to commend unreservedly the comprehensive scope of this chapter, the lucidity of the exposition, and the generous illustration of the text through photographic plates.

Chapter Four ("The Relation of the Sepulchre in Art to the Architecture of the Altar") "is in the nature of an excursus to consider a theory advanced by Dr. J. K. Bonnell."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bonnell contended that the Christian altar had a potent influence upon the form of the Sepulchre of Christ as it appears both in art and in the *mise en scène* of the dramatic offices, *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*. In the present chapter Professor Brooks addresses himself to the alleged relations of the altar and the representation of the sepulchre in art.

Professor Bonnell emphasizes his observation that, among the representations of the sepulchre, those that show a marked resemblance to the altar surmounted by a ciborium, or canopy, outnumber those in the other groups of his classification.<sup>6</sup> This observation Professor Brooks combats by showing, for example, that of a hundred or more accessible pictures of all types of sepulchre, Professor Bonnell used only some sixteen, and, further, that of the ten representations that seem to Professor Bonnell to show a resemblance between altar and sepulchre, at least one-half are interpreted erroneously.<sup>7</sup> In these particular contentions Professor Brooks easily wins one's assent. The incompleteness of Professor Bonnell's evidence is now obvious; and his interpretation of the painting in Hartker's *Liber Responsalis* as a direct imitation of the altar,<sup>8</sup> for example, is scarcely admissible after one has compared it with the representations of temple-sepulchres (particularly that shown in Figure 14),<sup>9</sup> the history of which Professor Brooks has amply outlined.

<sup>5</sup> The study of the late Professor Bonnell referred to is entitled *The Easter Sepulchrum in its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar*, and it is found in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 664-712.

<sup>6</sup> See Bonnell, pp. 700-712.

<sup>7</sup> See Brooks, pp. 27-29.

<sup>8</sup> See Bonnell, pp. 704-706.

<sup>9</sup> This ivory in the South Kensington Museum was not used by Professor Bonnell.



But although Professor Bonnell's demonstration cannot stand upon the evidence that he himself adduces, my impression is that the possibility of influence from the altar upon the sepulchre in art has not been definitively removed,—an impression that receives some support from the generous materials provided by Professor Brooks himself. I cannot argue the matter in detail here, and I am far from pretending to proficiency in this branch of the general subject; but I venture to mention a few relevant facts and to utter one or two queries. Professor Brooks candidly refers to a certain number of representations of the sepulchre with ciboria over them; but since these examples are almost all Eastern, he assigns them to the Syro-Palestinian type, which "is doubtless in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and hence is not reminiscent, or in imitation of the altar ciborium."<sup>10</sup> Has any one yet proved, however, that the form of the Holy Sepulchre itself was not influenced by the forms of early Christian altars? And is it finally certain that the Syro-Palestinian type was free from the influence of the altar, either through the Holy Sepulchre or independently of it? Professor Brooks observes also that a ciborium such as that seen in the mural paintings of S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 6) "may possibly stand in close relation to Eastern altar ciboria."<sup>11</sup> But since ciboria of this particular type seem not to have occurred in the church architecture of the West, Professor Brooks implies that Western representations of the sepulchre with canopy could scarcely show the influence of an altar canopy.<sup>12</sup> Is it certain, however, that Eastern altar canopies could not have influenced the form of Western sepulchre canopies? If such questions are not captious, they may serve as an indication that the possible relations of sepulchre in art and the Christian altar have not yet been definitively expounded. Controversy aside, I myself frankly desire more information concerning early Christian altars in relation to the sepulchre in art and to the Easter sepulchre as a structure, and I surmise that in such works as Rohault de Fleury's *La Messe*<sup>13</sup> can be found useful *data* not brought forward by Professor Brooks or Professor Bonnell. Professor Brooks would greatly please us all if he would apply his remarkable special learning to an article on this particular subject.

The interest of students of literature will center inevitably in Chapter V ("Liturgical Ceremonies at the Sepulchre"), for here the author treats those dramatic or quasi-dramatic liturgical offices that have long been recognized as being among

<sup>10</sup> See Brooks, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> See Brooks, p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> See Brooks, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe: Études archéologiques sur ses Monuments*, 8 vols., Paris, 1883-1889.

the origins of modern drama. These are the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*, referred to above. In this special branch of the subject Professor Brooks has long been an acknowledged authority; and in view of the importance of this particular matter, and in view of the author's superior equipment for elucidating it, I am glad to report that this chapter is the longest and most exhaustive in the volume.

Professor Brooks begins with a discussion of the origin of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Referring most generously to a study of my own,<sup>14</sup> he carefully reviews my positions in this special matter. As possible influences toward the formation of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* I have advanced these four:<sup>15</sup> (1) the processional reservation of the Host for the *Missa Praesantificatorum* of Good Friday, (2) the symbolism associated with the altar and vessels used in various reservations of the Host, (3) the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday, inevitably concluding with a ceremonial suggesting the *Depositio*, and (4) a certain papal ceremonial on Easter morning which shows resemblances to the *Elevatio*. Of these alleged influences, the only one in which Professor Brooks finds substantial force is the third: the ceremonial of the *Adoratio Crucis*. In choosing this ceremonial for emphasis he discriminates, I think, correctly. In any case he selects the influence that is most readily demonstrable, since in certain versions the *Depositio* is attached directly to the *Adoratio*, as a sequel.

Although Professor Brooks is inclined to dismiss my other proposals, I should scarcely be human, I suppose, were I not to linger over them wistfully for an instant. My suggestion of influence from the papal ceremonial of Easter morning seems to him "unnecessary and rather improbable, in view of the fact that *Depositio* and *Elevatio* doubtless originated north of the Alps."<sup>16</sup> To me this disposition of the matter seems fair enough. Although I should have been glad to have Professor Brooks mention the undeniable resemblances between the

<sup>14</sup> This study is *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre* (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 10, Madison, 1920). In apologizing for referring to myself in the course of this review I must lay the responsibility upon Professor Brooks, who has graciously drawn attention to my study, by ample commendation and notable corrections. In order both to explain Professor Brook's procedure in this chapter, and to acknowledge a valued compliment from him, I venture to quote his words (p. 30): "At the time that this chapter was planned and the material for it brought together, there was no satisfactory study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Since then there has appeared an excellent study of their development by Professor Karl Young, with a goodly number of new texts. It becomes my purpose therefore to add some new data to his and to discuss upon the basis of the combined material, certain aspects of the development of these two ceremonies."

<sup>15</sup> See Young, pp. 9-29.

<sup>16</sup> See Brooks, p. 32, note 8.

papal ceremonial and the *Elevatio*, and although I see no impossibility in an influence from papal Rome upon ceremonials north of the Alps, I agree with him in viewing this possible influence as relatively unimportant.

As to the influence of the Thursday-Friday reservation and of the symbolism attached to altar, chalice, and pyx I cannot yield so readily. Although I grant at once that for this influence I can offer no direct demonstration, I cannot ignore the clear parallelism between the ceremonial of the *Depositio-Elevatio* and the older ceremonial of carrying the Host to an altar, or other "place of repose," on Holy Thursday, and taking the Host up from this revered *locus* on Good Friday; nor can I ignore the symbolism that undeniably marked the altar and vessels as *sepulchra*.<sup>17</sup> All I can do at present is to confess that I have no document asserting that the creators of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* were consciously influenced by the reservation and the symbolism; but I must also declare that I see no likelihood of their escape from a model so conspicuous and a symbolic suggestion so pervasive.

Having discussed the origins of the dramatic ceremonials under consideration, Professor Brooks provides a classified list of "all the texts available for the study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*." Particularly acceptable in this list are the extensions and corrections of the data found in my own publication already referred to. The careful inclusiveness of the new list is such that for many years students of this subject must use it as a point of departure. This or that reviewer will inevitably add a stray text or two from recondite printed sources; but I surmise that such additions will not be numerous or weighty. The value of the list is further increased through the arranging of texts according to countries and according to the object, or objects, used for the "burial" (Cross, Host, or Cross and Host). The list provides information also concerning the position of each text in the liturgy. From this able compilation the author effectually draws fresh conclusions as to geographical distribution, and as to prevailing local types.

Professor Brook's acute attention to the texts themselves is seen, for example, in his useful elucidation of the occasional expression *Imago Crucifixi* for the object placed in the *sepulchrum*. This expression,—puzzling to me in my study of the matter,<sup>18</sup>—is shown to mean, in all probability, "an image of Christ not attached to a cross."<sup>19</sup> With similar acumen the author points to the interesting fact that the Host seems to have been considered inappropriate for the *Depositio*, and that at times the Host was not put into the *sepulchrum* with the cross

<sup>17</sup> Professor Brooks (pp. 21, 61) recognizes the existence of this symbolism.

<sup>18</sup> See Young, p. 109.

<sup>19</sup> See Brooks, pp. 37-40.

on Friday, but was placed there on Easter morning, immediately before the *Elevatio*, for use only in this latter observance.<sup>20</sup>

The closing pages of this valuable chapter<sup>21</sup> deal vigorously with two modern developments connected with the *sepulchrum*: the "heilige Gräber" and the "false" sepulchre. In churches in which the ceremonials of the sepulchre continued into the Renaissance there developed in connection with the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* a special exposition of the Host. In modern Germany the sepulchre of Holy Week seems to be used primarily as a base for the monstrance of the exposition. Since the Host is a symbol of rejoicing, the use of "heilige Gräber" for the exposition is distinctly uncanonical.

Another violation of strict liturgical tradition is the use of the term "sepulchre" for the "place of repose" in which the Host for the *Missa Praesantificationum* is kept from Holy Thursday to Good Friday. Professor Brooks discriminates ably between this "false" sepulchre and the "true" *sepulchrum* of the liturgico-dramatic offices.<sup>22</sup>

Chapter Six ("The Location of the Sepulchre in the Church") is brief, and may be briefly reviewed. Professor Brooks finds that in England the *sepulchrum* "seems to have been always in the north side of the chancel," and in France, "usually in the choir, or chancel, either at a specially prepared Sepulchre or about the altar serving as a sepulchre."<sup>23</sup> In Germany and in Italy, on the other hand, the *sepulchrum* was commonly placed outside the choir. These conclusions the author supports by an adequate citation of documents.

With Chapter Seven ("The Nature of the Sepulchre in Continental Churches") Professor Brooks begins his thoroughgoing description of the actual physical structures used as *mise en scène* for the dramatic ceremonials that have been completely considered in Chapter Five. The present chapter considers the sepulchres used on the Continent, the evidence being found chiefly in the rubrics of the dramatic ceremonials themselves.

The author finds evidence for the following types:<sup>24</sup>

"1. The high altar, either merely suggestive of the sepulchre, where, as in the *Resurrexi* tropes, there was no real action, or actually representing it in the *Visitatio*.

"2. Some vessel or small structure on the high altar, generally or always with a veil or cloth either covering it or hanging down around it.

<sup>20</sup> See Brooks, p. 40.

<sup>21</sup> Pp. 44-52.

<sup>22</sup> Additional references are found in my *Dramatic Association*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> See Brooks, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> See Brooks, p. 59.

"3. Coffe-shaped sepulchre, generally or always with a cloth or cloths over it.

"4. Coffe or altar surrounded by curtains.

"5. Temporary wooden structure that could be entered.

"6. Chapel with receptacle for cross or Host on or before its altar.

"7. The sepulchre of the present-day exposition rite, usually a tomb-like structure with a recumbent image of Christ, surmounted by a veiled monstrance in which the Host is exposed."

Although Professor Brooks modestly remarks that such a classification "cannot be very definite," I venture my own opinion that this one is highly adequate. That it should entirely supersede that of Professor Bonnell<sup>25</sup> is inevitable from the wider range of evidence upon which it rests. Professor Brooks had at his disposal, for example, large numbers of texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* that were unknown to Professor Bonnell.

After announcing his new classification, Professor Brooks, in separate sections, fully describes each of the seven types of sepulchre, summoning substantial textual evidences, and furnishing three useful photographs. Through the author's generosity, I am able to add a detail to his discussion of the decoration of the sepulchre. From the *Regnum Papisticum* of Thomas Naogeorgus<sup>26</sup> Professor Brooks quotes a passage showing that the sepulchrum was sometimes decorated with flowers.<sup>27</sup> He now very kindly sends me privately the following earlier passage from *Das Weltbuch* (1534) of Sebastian Frank, showing the use of flowers and describing interesting details of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*:

Am Karfreitag vor Ostern tret man aber eyn creüterhumb in eyner procession/leget eyn grosz gestorben menschen bild in eyn grab/darbei kniet man/brent ser vil liechter/vnd singt darbei tag vn nacht den Psalter mit abgewechseltem Chor/besteckt das grab mit feihel vnnnd allerley blumen/opffert darein gelt/eyerfladen etc. bisz disz bild erstehet. . . .Harnach inn der Osternacht bald nach mitnacht/stehet yeder mann vff gen metten/da nimpt man den hültzin bloch oder bild Christi ausz dem grab/erhebet jn vnd tret in vor yederman her/vnd singen all einhellig/Christ ist erstanden/als dann ist der fasten gen himmel geleüttet. Da isset yeder man was er hat/ (fol. 132<sup>r</sup>).

In taking leave of this valuable chapter I venture to emphasize the intimate association between certain types of

<sup>25</sup> See Bonnell, pp. 667-682.

<sup>26</sup> Edition of 1553.

<sup>27</sup> See Brooks, p. 69. It may be well to mention Barnabe Googe's English rendering of Naogeorgus's Latin, quoted by H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, London, 1897, pp. 136-137.

*sepulchrum* and the altar. In view of this association, one may reasonably expect an influence of the altar upon the form of the *sepulchrum*,—more influence perhaps, than Professor Brooks specifically mentions.

For Chapter Eight ("Easter Sepulchres in England") the evidences from liturgico-dramatic sources are slight, since texts of the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from England are very few. Fortunately, however, generous information is available from such documents as church warden's accounts, church inventories, and mediaeval wills.

Justly pointing to the inaccuracy of the classifications of Wolcott, Feasey, and Bonnell, Professor Brooks proposes a more scholarly division of the Easter sepulchres of England into "two large classes, one the wholly temporary sepulchre and the other the largely temporary one with a permanent architectural base."<sup>28</sup> This classification recognizes the fact that the architectural structures (discussed in Chapter IX) were only part of the *sepulchrum* as actually fitted out for use in the dramatic ceremonials. In the present chapter are considered only the temporary sepulchres, and the temporary features associated with the permanent architectural designs. Into the details of the description I cannot enter; but I pause to quote a passage in which Professor Brooks expresses his opinion as to the special model upon which the English Easter sepulchre was formed:<sup>29</sup>

There remain, however, the facts that altar and sepulchre had occasionally a canopy of the same type and each had lights and cloths upon or about it; but these are common means of adornment and of showing honor and do not seem to me to be convincing evidence that the sepulchre developed in imitation of the high altar. Certainly the resemblances between sepulchre and altar are not so close and specific as those between sepulchre and hearse, which are pointed out at various places in the course of this chapter. It seems to me that the English Easter sepulchre developed very largely in imitation of the church burial of persons of rank.

This may be accepted as a reasonable conclusion concerning the *temporary, or portable, sepulchre*. The central and essential part was a coffer of wood, and the frame about the coffer resembled a hearse in form, and was sometimes actually called "hearse."<sup>30</sup> Although Professor Brooks may be slightly recalcitrant in his unwillingness to admit influence from the altar,<sup>31</sup> he has, in my opinion, placed the emphasis in the right place.

Chapter Nine ("Permanent Architectural or Sculptural Sepulchres of the Continent and England") closes the mono-

<sup>28</sup> See Brooks, pp. 72-73.

<sup>29</sup> See Brooks, p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> See Brooks, pp. 75-77.

<sup>31</sup> For further indications that the altar may have influenced the form of the Easter sepulchre see Brooks, p. 89, and Fig. 21.

graph proper with a description of the permanent Easter sepulchres of Europe. There are, in the first place, the churches, side chapels, and small independent chapels built in direct imitation of the rotunda over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. A second group are the sculptural representations in Germany from the late middle ages, describable thus:<sup>32</sup>

The moment usually represented is after the Entombment; the body of Christ lies stretched out on top of a sarcophagus, like the effigy on ordinary chest tombs of that time; behind are the Maries, at each end usually an angel, and in front, generally in relief on the front side of the sarcophagus, the sleeping guards.

The group of Easter sepulchres in England differ from those of Germany in having no image of Christ. The English sepulchre is sometimes a structure solely for dramatic use in Holy Week and on Easter, and sometimes the tomb of a founder, so constructed as to serve also as a *mise en scène* for the dramatic ceremonials.

Though this chapter is short, it treats the subject comprehensively and lucidly, and generously supplies three excellent photographic illustrations (Figures 20, 21, and 22.)

In taking leave of the particulars of this study<sup>33</sup> I wish once more to express my pleasure in Professor Brooks's whole accomplishment. Rarely does a scholar's product so adequately satisfy a recognized need. I venture to say that virtually all students of the church drama have felt themselves impeded, at times, through the absence of a thorough treatise upon the Easter sepulchre. These students will hasten to applaud the monograph that Professor Brooks has now completed with distinction.

Finally, as a former editor of a series conducted in friendly rivalry with the *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, I wish to congratulate Professor Brooks upon his editorial auspices. One of my substantial pleasures in reviewing the present monograph has arisen from its handsome format, its adequate letter-press, and its generous and successful illustrations in photograph.

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<sup>32</sup> Brooks, p. 88.

<sup>33</sup> I regret that I cannot linger over the new texts of the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* in the Appendix. This rich collection of fresh material from manuscripts and incunabula deserves much more than this casual mention at the end of a review.

A *SUBJECT-INDEX TO THE POEMS OF EDMUND SPENSER* by Charles Huntington Whitman, Professor of English in Rutgers College. Yale University Press, 1918.

In his *Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, Professor Charles H. Whitman has brought within the limits of a handbook a very large amount of useful information conveniently arranged for ready reference. The book is a good deal of a concordance, something of a dictionary, and a bit of an encyclopaedia; for one finds among its alphabetically listed items not only words that Spenser uses but such general topical headings as Sports and Pastimes, Agriculture, Church Offices, Astronomy, etc., with cross-references to more specific entries. As Professor Whitman has recognized, it is hard to name a book so variously useful; *Subject-Index* is certainly not satisfactory.

It is to be regretted that Professor Whitman, having gone so far, did not go a step farther and give to his book something of the character of a variorum. Where opinions vary so widely as they do in interpreting Spenser's allegory, the more or less confident interpretations of the better known commentators would have had considerable interest, if only in emphasizing the *tot sententiae*. In his reading of the riddles of the *Fairy Queen* Professor Whitman is usually conservative; but his conservatism has here and there perhaps made him ignore interesting identifications. He retains, for example, the old equation of Satyrane with Sir John Perrot but finds no place for Padelford's opinion that Cranmer, or possibly Latimer, is here figured. On the other hand, while accepting the customary view that Duessa is Mary Queen of Scots, he says nothing of the time-honored identification of Orgoglio with Philip II. A good many other cases of omissions might of course be cited to show that the compiler made a loose application of his principle that allegorical interpretations should be admitted whenever he found "sufficient evidence to support them." Where, as in the case of Sir Calidore and Mirabella, two identifications are given, it would have been well to cite authorities.

If it is not captious to criticise further so useful a book as the *Subject-Index*, one might express a regret that Professor Whitman takes no account of the small body of Spenser's prose. Accordingly, the *Index* contains no mention of the *Areopagus*, and under Rosalind there are no references to the Harvey-Spenser correspondence. The limitation that the compiler has set upon his book justifies him in omitting references to the *View* under the heading Lord Grey, but there can be no excuse for failing to refer to the dedicatory sonnet to *Virgil's Gnat* under the Earl of Leicester.

H. S. V. JONES



*THE SATIRE OF JOHN MARSTON.* By Morse S. Allen.  
Princeton Ph.D. Dissertation. Columbus, Ohio. 1920.

Dr. Allen's dissertation is a careful summary and reevaluation of all the problems which concern Marston as a satirist. It begins with the two quarrels with Hall and Jonson, passes on to an analysis of the verse satires, *Pygmalion's Image* and *Scourge of Villainy*, and concludes with a summary of the satiric elements in the plays. The principle of Dr. Allen's work is prudence; he has no radical theories to present, and gives short shrift to the guesses of previous scholars. The result is a study of Marston that is eminently safe.

In crossing swords with Hall, Dr. Allen believes that Marston was moved not by any contemptuous references to himself; but by Hall's strictures on contemporary poets. He does not think that Hall ever replied to Marston, or took any notice of him, except possibly in the epigram which Hall is credited with having had pasted in every copy of *Pygmalion* which came to Cambridge.

Accepting Jonson's statement to Drummond that his quarrel with Marston arose out of Marston's representing him on the stage, Dr. Allen finds that origin in the character of Chrisoganus in *Histrionastix*. This he feels convinced was a satire on Jonson, and he is equally sure of Lampatho in *What You Will*. His reasons in both cases have a good deal of force; not so strongly supported is his argument that in Brabant Senior, the unsympathetic railler of *Jack Drum*, Marston was again aiming at Jonson, not so much at his person as at his habits of mind. To quote Dr. Allen's own words: "What he did was to rebuke Jonson for a characteristic of his dramas, and incidentally satirize his arrogance, and his disdain for contemporary literature."<sup>1</sup> As to Jonson's representations of Marston, Dr. Allen will accept only Crispinus of the *Poetaster* as certain. Otherwise he detects only occasional fleers at Marston's style. Thus he will not agree that either Hedon or Anaides of *Cynthia's Revels* is a portrait of Marston. And he protests against the habit of reading personal satire into the plays involved, or supposed to be involved, in the controversy. His basic premise is that "it was only the exceptional Elizabethan play which contained any personal satire."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly it is in this light that he interprets Jonson, a man by the way who saw everything in a very personal light. "His Brisks and Hedons represent a general type much more than they do any particular individual."<sup>3</sup> This is as near to a bias as Dr. Allen comes, and surely he could not have a safer bias.

<sup>1</sup> P. 37.

<sup>2</sup> P. 39.

<sup>3</sup> P. 21.

His treatment of the stage quarrel, therefore, is much simpler than most others, as is gauged by the fact that he will admit of only seven plays as having been in any way concerned. These are *Histriomastix*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *What You Will*, *Poetaster*, and *Satirromastix*.

Dr. Allen's treatment of the literary aspects of Marston's satire is in the nature of analysis rather than argument, and calls for little comment. He finds a dualism in Marston's personality comprised of a genuine distaste for corruption and desire to reform, on the one hand, and on the other a strong curiosity as to vice. "At the bottom Marston was indignant at the world, and contemptuous of it; he had something of what Swinburne apostrophized as his 'noble heart of hatred.' . . . Taking this wider outlook, I feel sure that Marston regarded himself as being like his own Malcontent or Fawn, in the world but not of it."<sup>4</sup> At the same time, "when lust is so carefully and lingeringly dwelt upon, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that its consideration was pleasing to the author."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Allen finds a parallel in Dean Swift, who in other respects seems to him to echo Marston's personality, especially in the intellectual, non-emotional character of his filth.

The satire of Marston disintegrates, we are told, in the later plays. At first, "Marston had possessed the younger, more hopeful mood where satire is administered to reform vice. Now it sours into something very close to hatred for the world as a whole. He certainly despises man."<sup>6</sup> This disintegration, begun in *What You Will*, culminates in the *Fawn*, where the satire is base and nauseous. The *Fawn* also represents the breaking up of the Malcontent type, with which Marston himself was becoming disgusted. The last plays, *Sophonisba* and the *Insatiate Countess*, are crude attempts to recapture the doubtful glories of the *Antonio* plays. Dr. Allen concludes his survey by wondering whether Marston would not have been happier in the age of the novel; "had his gifts for satire, depiction of real life, and vivid characterization, been employed in the looser form of the novel, it is possible that his name would bulk much larger than it does in literary history."<sup>7</sup> To which one might reply that inasmuch as Marston's genius was of the stage stagey, it is doubtful if it would have thriven better elsewhere.

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<sup>4</sup> P. 119.

<sup>5</sup> P. 97.

<sup>6</sup> P. 159.

<sup>7</sup> P. 161.

*THE FORMATION OF TENNYSON'S STYLE: A Study, Primarily, of the Versification of the Early Poems*, by J. F. A. Pyre (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 12). Madison, 1921.

Professor Pyre has undertaken the sort of evaluation of Tennyson's works which is suggested by the sub-title of his monograph. He has adjudicated the relative importance of Tennyson's poems by examining their prosody. This metrical examination has enabled him to arrange Tennyson's work in three chronological groups. There is in his youth the period of exuberant experimentation with a variety of complex stanza forms. Out of this groping for the forms best adapted to express his personality, developed the mature work of the 1842 volume. In this volume the prevailing forms were blank verse and the four stress or the four and three stress iambic quatrain, both of which were employed with skilful but limited modulations. The final period, if we except *In Memoriam*, was one of decadence, in which the security of the laureateship or of popular applause insidiously promoted a revolt from the standard that had been attained and a return to the freedom and the experimentation of his early years. This general view is not new. So far as prosody is concerned, it is implied in Saintsbury's chapter on Tennyson in his *History of Nineteenth Century Literature*. It is the view of those men, like Fitzgerald, who in his own day or since have been attracted chiefly by the melody of Tennyson's verse.

Professor Pyre's method of substantiating his thesis is as familiar as the thesis itself. This method, which was first given its scholarly basis in Robert Bridge's treatise on *Milton's Prosody*, assumes that English verse is primarily accentual rather than quantitative or syllabic in its nature. Once this position is taken, if English metrics are to be properly understood, an inquiry must follow into the relation between stresses. This inquiry implies a more thoro investigation than would be necessary in French or Latin into the nature and frequency of the mediums that may be used to break or modify the regularity of stress recurrence. In the hands of most commentators, including the present one, the inquiry becomes an intricate statistical analysis of inversions, cesuras, final feet, extra syllabic lines, and so on.

Applied to Tennyson, this prosodic method reveals the poet's attainment at his maturity to a comparatively simple norm in line and stanza, as the following summary shows.

In the 1830 volume there are scarcely two poems in the same meter. The irregularity of the stanza forms is shown most apparently by the fact that even in the few sonnets included the normal structure is violated. The best poems according to

Professor Pyre are those that are most regular; and of these *Mariana* is noteworthy, for the last four lines of this stanza, when detached, become the form later used for *In Memoriam*. The 1833 volume is marked by similar variety, but shows a tendency to retain the same stanza form without modification during a whole poem. In the 1842 volume the norm has been attained. Many of the poems of this volume are thoro rewritings of poems in the 1833 issue. Professor Pyre gives us once more the familiar analysis of the differences in the structure of *A Dream of Fair Women* and *The Palace of Art* (p. 50) in the two editions. There are thirty-six new poems, besides, in this volume. Of these, two are ballads, two anapestic, two trochaic, two iambic in meter; but nine are in blank verse and eighteen in four stress or four and three stress quatrains. Herein then lies the norm, which Professor Pyre believes Tennyson worked out for himself without external aid. This normal poem is short, slow of movement, regular of stress. The foot is pre-vaillingly iambic, seldom trochaic. The diction is simplified and chary of polysyllables. There is a moderate use of beginning and cesural inversions. There is an avoidance of weak syllables at the stress and at the verse end. There are few double endings and few cesuras; in other words, there are few extra syllables and predominantly masculine pauses within the line. A moderate use of spondees aids in the production of a slow line by strengthening the unstressed syllables (p. 115). Professor Pyre gives accurate statistical verification for these generalizations. This norm is somewhat relaxed in the *Morte d'Arthur*, which Professor Pyre agrees with Fitzgerald in believing Tennyson's finest poem (p. 139). But here there is a compensation. "Freedom of syllabing and stress modulation, then, are skilfully balanced by careful maintenance of the verse unit and regularity in the disposition of pause" (p. 147).

After the 1842 volume, with the exception of *In Memoriam*, Tennyson issued nothing of comparable merit. *In Memoriam* meets with Professor Pyre's approval because, being a series of short poems in a simple meter, it affords adequate opportunity for Tennyson's prevaillingly lyric gift to express itself. Its verse form, tho used by certain previous poets (Jonson, Sidney, etc.), was evolved independently, and is skilfully modulated. The pauses come generally at the end of the first line and towards the end of the third, so that the central couplet is not over-emphasized and is connected in sense with the concluding line (p. 186). In the rest of the later poems, degeneracy is evidenced as a result of the demand for fluency in the long narrative poems which enticed Tennyson at this period. This fluency, which the dramatic character of the later work demanded, Professor Pyre does not justify, for he has little respect for Tennyson as a narrative poet. *The Princess* is a *tour de force* of uncertain

interpretation in which only the songs are good. The proof rests on the fact that out of each one hundred lines 20.16 per cent have extra syllables; whereas in the 1842 volume the percentage was 5.8. In the *Idylls*, except for those written in the earlier period, there are many licenses taken to secure a dramatic realism and an ease of flow. The list is impressive, and includes counter cesural inversions, weak measures, epic cesuras, double endings, final tribrachs, weak feminine endings (p. 205). Indeed Tennyson himself is censured for saying that he wrote the poems with ease and little correction, and for admitting that he varied the verse to suit the changing character of the theme. Finally in his last work, Tennyson shows a tendency to revert to his youthful practice of experimentation; only now the experimentation is not in historical English forms but in classical meters. When he is not writing these interesting studies, which are nevertheless not poems, he betrays his histrionic tendency by writing dramas. This unnatural absorption in the dramatic, which Professor Pyre suggests may have been partly due to the influence of Browning (p. 153, 163, 190), is seen most conspicuously in the morbid impetuosity of *Maud*. If a norm is to be looked for in this period, it is to be found in a delight in three stress and six stress verse units and irregular and trochaic or dactylic rhythms (p. 222: note p. 209).

Professor Pyre's monograph concludes with two interesting appendices. The second establishes a probability that Tennyson, and not Browning, originated the *Locksley Hall* meter. The first consists of an analysis of the diction of the early poems. The result of this analysis is a correction of the views of J. C. Collins (*Tennyson's Early Poems*, London, 1900), who had emphasized the influence upon Tennyson of his immediate predecessors. After a comparative study of his diction, Professor Pyre concludes that Tennyson was under greater influence from Milton and Shakespeare in his formative years than from Shelley, Keats, and Coleridge. The influence of Coleridge is negligible. That of Shelley is found in those passages in which Shelley himself has been indebted to Milton. The early and very transient influence of Byron is similar to that of Shelley in character (p.74).

The above outline is sufficient to show that Professor Pyre has done a service in proving by a painstaking statistical analysis what has often been said of Tennyson: that by a careful apprenticeship and a constant rewriting, Tennyson had succeeded by 1842 in bringing his exuberance of descriptive powers under control and in establishing comparatively simple verse forms which he modulated in less obvious ways than previously. But unfortunately Professor Pyre has not limited himself to this service alone. He has allowed much purely literary material to creep into a monograph that begins as a technical treatise. When

he gets to the period after 1842, which he calls decadent because the normal verse forms he has set up for Tennyson are being discarded or loosely used, he gives only cursory summaries of his technical material and supplements such statements with literary speculations which he does not support with any detailed reasoning. The critic would not feel forced to object to this broadening of the scope of the work simply because it leads to a superficiality of treatment. He must object also to the critical point of view which Professor Pyre assumes to justify it. Professor Pyre is still a Pre-Raphaelite, and believes a poem to consist of a pattern of musical words built out of some inconspicuous abstraction. Even in this present day, when there are many iconoclasts who find Tennyson insipid and effeminate, Professor Pyre may be pardoned for his several references to the finality and perfection of Tennyson's poetry at its best (pp. 50, 148, 156-60). But there are few to-day who will not find objectionable the almost complete disregard of sense in favor of sound which is inevitable in a treatise that attempts a half esthetic, half technical analysis of metrics.

The reader does not have to hunt in the dark for proof of Professor Pyre's preference for form instead of content. In his criticism of *The Princess* Professor Pyre states by inference his critical canon: "It is quite plain that the theme and the stuff of his poetry came to occupy him somewhat to the exclusion of its architectonics, its technical detail, and its atmosphere. By 1869, he who once bade fair to be a very king among the Pre-Raphaelites was in a mood to hail 'Art for Art's sake' as 'truest Lord of Hell.'" (p. 164). Professor Pyre, who admires Tennyson only when he is a lyric poet, finds no compensation for what he considers faulty meter in the philosophy of such works as *Vastness*, *De Profundis*, and *The Higher Pantheism*, or in such characterizations as those of Launcelot and Guinevere, of Lucretius and Virgil. Blind to these aspects of the poet, the author of the treatise before us is not unwilling to pluck from *The Ancient Sage* such lyrical insipidities as the following stanza to illustrate a surviving beauty in a period of decay (p. 220):—

The years that when my youth began  
 Had set the lily and rose  
 By all my ways, where'er they ran,  
 Have ended mortal foes;  
 My rose of love forever gone,  
 My lily of truth and trust,  
 They made her lily and rose in one  
 And changed her into dust.

Such a critical method, arising from a supposedly scholarly treatment of metrics, the reviewer would find himself inclined to decry, if it were not so palpably a mid-Victorian survival. Shorn of its esthetic criticism, Professor Pyre's work retains a

certain value for students of English prosody. But those readers who desire a sound critical survey of Tennyson's earlier years, of which a study of verse structure forms a subordinate element, had best confine themselves to Lounsbury's *Life and Times of Tennyson (1809-1850)*.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

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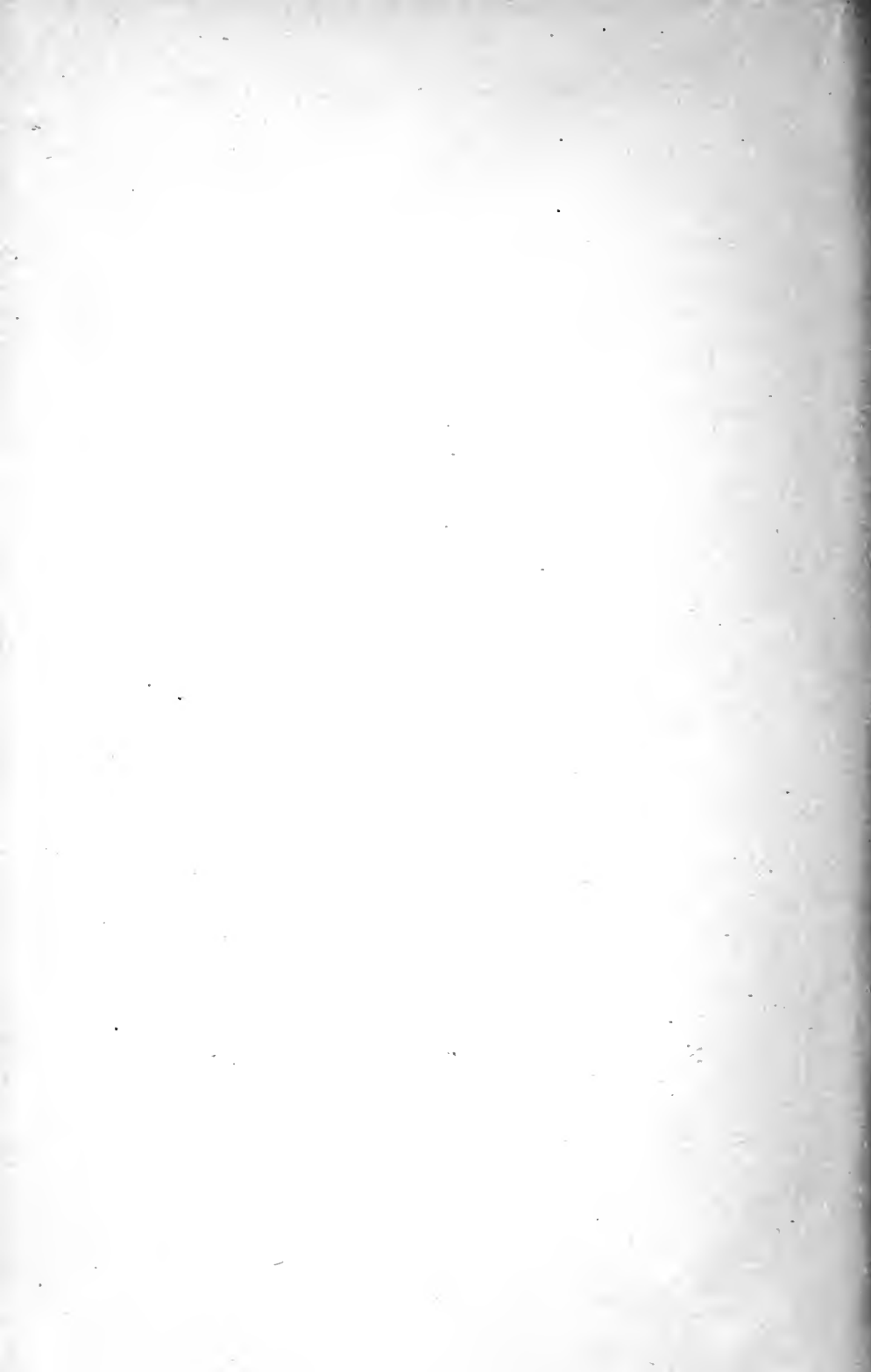
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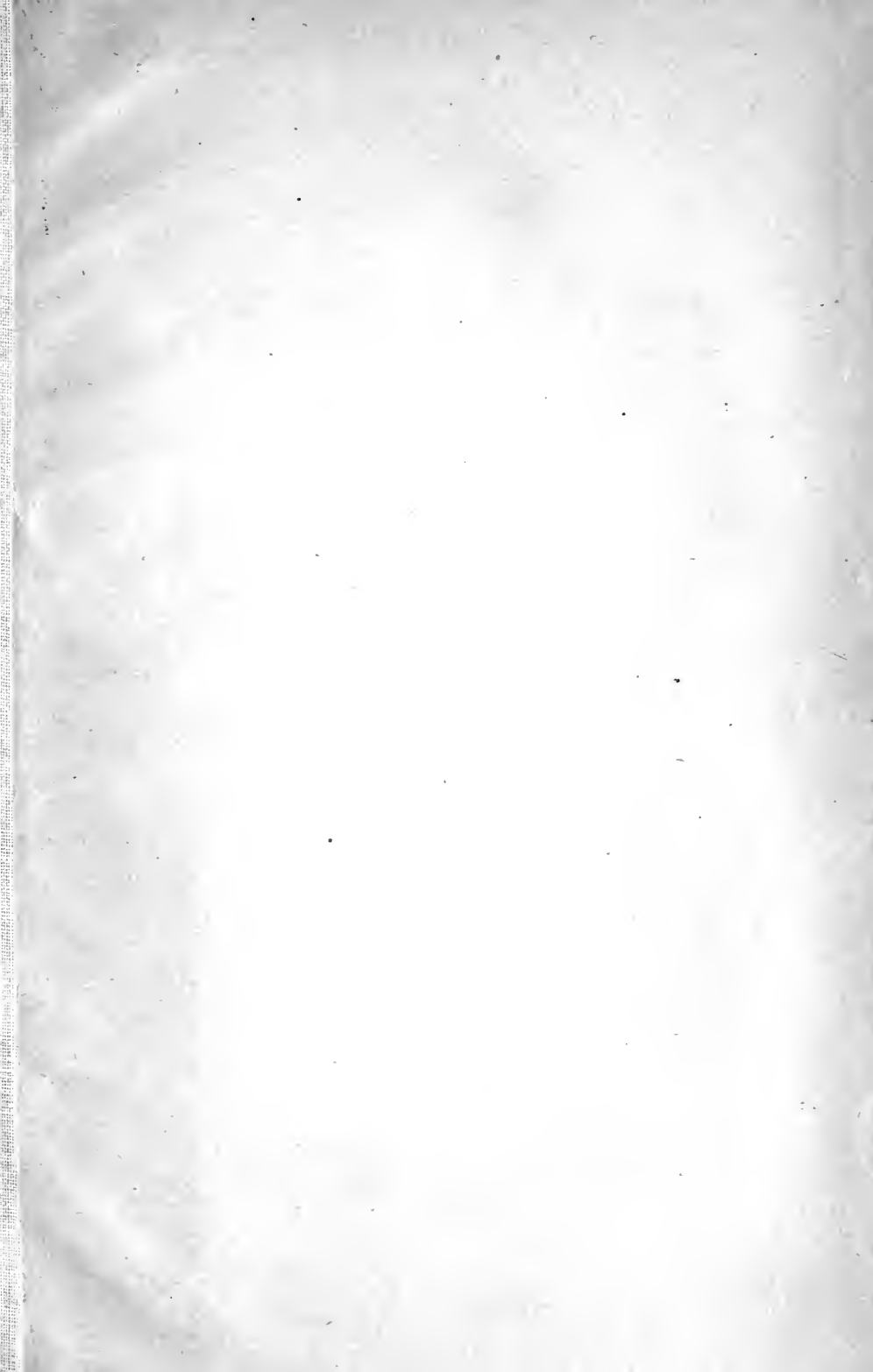
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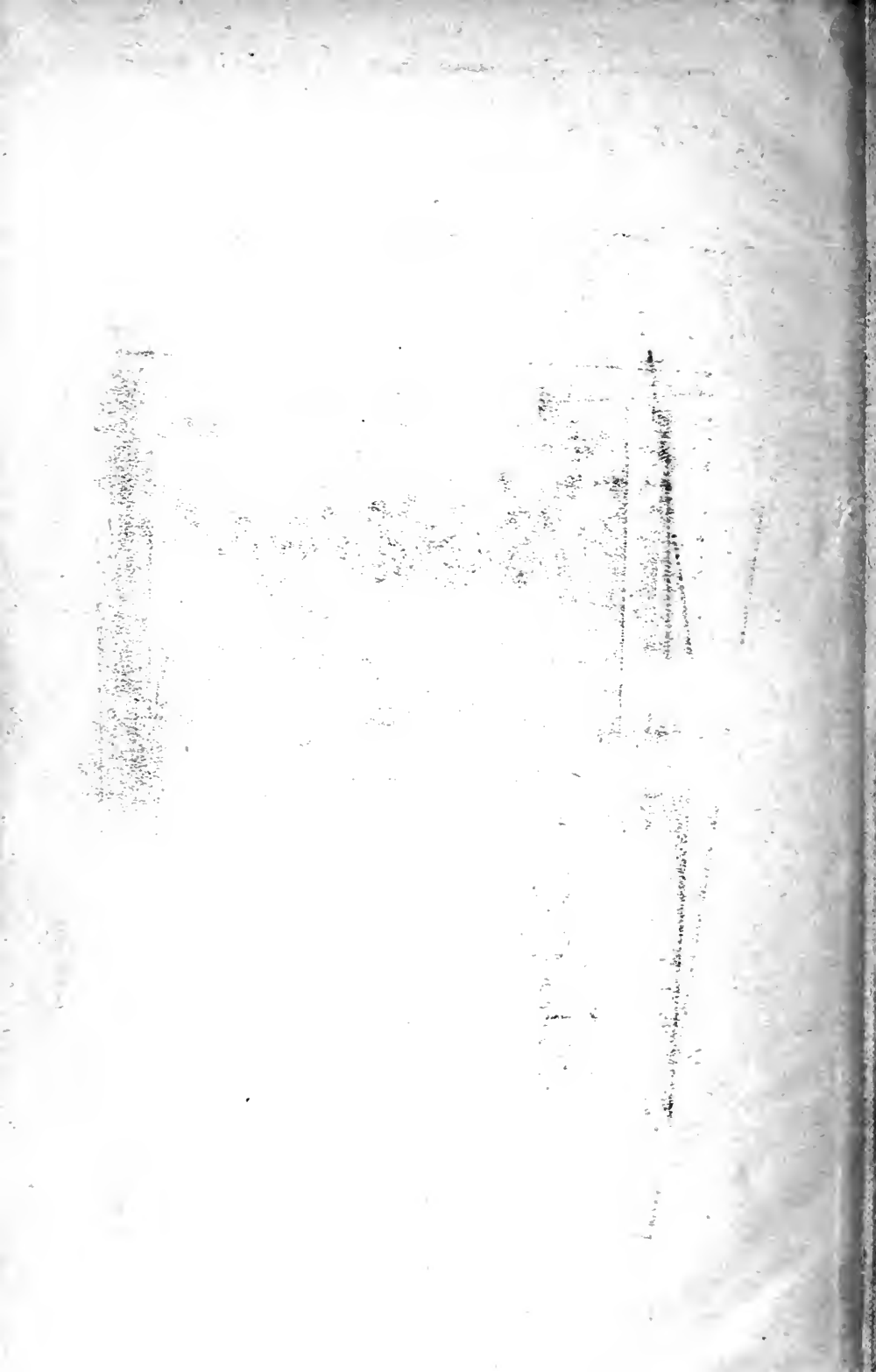
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