MODERN

LANGUAGE NOTES.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

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DAS WORT SIE SOLLEN LASSEN STAHN UND KEIN DANCK DAZU HABEN.

For more than three centuries and a half Luther's *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* has been the favorite hymn of Protestantism wherever German is spoken; it has been discussed by commentators, translated into numerous languages, and admired by lovers of poetry the world over; and until recently no one ever suggested that any part of it was in its wording obscure or ambiguous, or at variance with common usage. On the contrary, it was universally considered a model of clear, forcible and, in the best sense, popular diction; as Cyriakus Spangenberg, in the preface to his *Cithara Lutheri* (1569), said of Luther's hymns generally:

"Da ist nichts gezwungenes, nichts genöthigtes und eingeflicktes, nichts verdorbenes. Die Reimen sind leicht und gut, die Wort artlich und auserlesen, die Meinung klar und verständlich," etc.

It was in the year of the Luther jubilee, 1883, that new interpretations, especially of the first two lines in the fourth stanza, were first brought forward. Carl Schultz, in the *Nationalzeitung*, August 5, took "das wort" to mean "der Logos Jesus Christus;" but Theodor Maurer (*ibid.*, October 5), effectively defended the traditional interpretation 'the Gospel.' E. Krey (*Neue Stettiner Zeitung*, November 5), on the other hand, understood both "das wort" and "ein wörtlin" in the last line of the preceding stanza ("ein wörtlin kan yhn fellen") to refer to a particular passage of Scripture, namely, St. John, xvi, 8–11. The improbability of such an obscure allusion has been pointed out by Georg Runze, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 41 (1898), p. 446 f.; but this same scholar offers a far more extraordinary theory. He contends (*ibid.*, p. 412 ff.) that "das wort" cannot be the object of "lassen stahn" because the personal verb "sollen" does not precede the subject "sie," though Luther, who scanned (so Runze says) "Nehmén sié den leíb," could equally well have written "Das wórt sollén sie lássen stáhn (sic!); and he proposes, in all seriousness, to take "das wort" as in apposition with "ein wörtlin," to put a colon after "wort," and to read:

> ein wörtlin kan yhn fellen,—
>
> (namely) Das wort: "Sie sollen lassen stahn und kein danck dazu haben."

It is needless to comment upon the fatal defects of this theory; the worthlessness of the inference drawn from the word-order; the monstrousness of the scanning and of the proposed *enjambement;* the enigmatical nature of the alleged "word," which contains a transitive verb without an object and is, according to the context, obviously addressed, not to Satan at all, but to the human adversaries of Lutheranism; and finally, the resulting incoherence of the last stanza. Runze is aware (p. 422) that Luther often enough sacrificed word-order to rhythm: cf. "Eyn newes lied wir heben an,"—"Auf ihn mein herz soll lassen sich," etc.; and he admits that he himself is not fully convinced of the correctness of his conclusions; but he declares that his "psychische Intuition," and his "kritisches Gesamtgefühl" (p. 451) favor his interpretation. That is doubtless the root of his trouble; to appreciate songs written for the people by a man of the people, one needs nothing more than a healthy *Sprachgefühl.* To the popular mind the line "ein wörtlin kan yhn fellen" has always been perfectly clear and complete: "a single word (from the Lord) suffices to overthrow him." The same is true of the first line in the fourth stanza: "das wort," in this connection, is readily understood to be *das Wort Gottes*, the gospel as the foundation of the Lutheran doctrine.

It is the second line of the fourth stanza, however, that has been most frequently discussed and most variously interpreted. The first expression of dissent from the common view as to the meaning of "danck" came from Theodor Bach (*Nationalzeitung*, Aug. 3, 1883), who, adopting a suggestion made privately a number of years before by the theologian Oskar Jaenicke, held that *danck* was here used in its original sense of "cogitatio.' But while

Jaenicke took the line to mean that "they (the adversaries of the Evangelical doctrine) were not even to think of assailing the gospel," Bach understood it to be directed, more specifically, against "menschliche Gedankenzuthat zum Gotteswort." His arguments were refuted by Carl Schultz and Dr. Zweylinger (both in the *Nationalzeitung*, August 5, 1883), and by Theodor Maurer (*ibid.*, October 5), all of whom adduced, besides, new evidence in favor of the traditional interpretation. It was a matter of surprise, therefore, that Heyne in his *Wörterbuch* I (1890), col. 540, quoted our passage as an illustration of the use of *danck* in the sense of 'inclination, intention, volition.' According to Dietz, *Luther-Wörterbuch* I, 394 f., this use of the word is restricted in Luther's works to the set phrases *ohn danck* (*ohn yhren danck* = against their inclination) and *zu danck*; outside of these stereotyped locutions, which are relics of an earlier usage, Luther never employs the singular *danck* in any other sense than that of 'thanks.' In this primarily abstract sense the word could of course not be pluralized; the plural form (usually not, as in MHG., *denke*, but weak: *dancken*) thus remained available, without danger of ambiguity, for the expression of its primitive meaning 'thoughts,' and Luther so uses it occasionally, in place of the derivative *gedancken*. It is apparent that its occurrence in this sense does not, in itself, warrant any inferences as to the singular, the conditions being essentially different. The verb *dencken*, to be sure, sometimes has in Luther's language the force of 'wishing,' 'intending;' but in all such cases Luther construes it with the preposition *nach* ("etlich die nicht darnach denken, kriegen das haus voll kinder" Dietz I, 423), while he ordinarily uses *an*, *über*, *von*, just as we do now. Heyne, however, in paraphrasing "danck dazu haben" by "es gern thun wollen," connects "danck" with "dazu,"—a construction which is without a parallel in Luther's works or anywhere else.

Apart from these linguistic considerations, the meaning which Heyne's interpretation of "danck" gives to the line "und (sie sollen) kein danck dazu haben" ("and they shall not do it willingly") is in itself unsatisfactory: whether we take the "shall" as expressing a demand (or command) or as referring to a divine decree, it is not credible that Luther should have either wished or predicted that his enemies would be unwilling ever to leave his doctrine in peace. For evidence on this point we should turn to his pamphlet *Von heimlichen und gestolen brieffen* (1529), written in reply to an attack from Duke George of Saxony during the same controversy and amid the same threatening situation which, as now seems certain (cf. H. Biltz, *Herrigs Archiv* lxxv, p. 45 ff.), gave rise to our hymn. There we find various pertinent passages, of which the following (Erlangen edition xxxi, pp. 22 and 28) are particularly to the point:

"Endlich ist noch mein unterthänige Bitte an Herzog Georgen und allen seinen Anhang, sie wollten einmal authören, und unsere Lehre mit Frieden lassen . . . *Begehren wir doch nicht mehr, denn Friede und stille zu sein* . . "

And in the prayer at the end:

"Lass der Gottlosen Bosheit ein Ende werden . . . *Wollen sie nicht aufhören, so schaffe, dass sie mussen aufhören* mit ihrem Wüthen und Verfolgen, und bestätige unser Lehre und Thun . . . . Ich weiss, dass du mich vertheidigen wirst, und unser Lehre beschirmen, und sollten die Tyrannen bersten und toll werden."

A peculiar suggestion came, in 1893, from R. Sprenger (*Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, vii, 683 f.), who wanted to take "danck" in the sense of 'Turnierdank, Siegespreis.' The incongruity of this view was pointed out by R. Hildebrand (*ibid.* vii, 787 f.) who had already in the *DWb.* iv (1878), 1, 1942 declared himself in favor of the common interpretation of our line: "wir danken ihnen gar nicht dafür," adding, however, that in this case the meaning 'thanks' had usurped the place of the meaning 'intention, will.' But there does not appear to be any reason for assuming such a substitution. From the time of our earliest records, 'thanks' was the regular meaning of the word; the only exceptions from this rule are, in OHG., the adverbial genitive *thankes* = 'voluntarily,' and in MHG. a few scattered cases of the use of *danc* in the sense of 'thought,' 'inclination,' 'intention,' besides certain fixed prepositional phrases like *âne danc* (Luther's *ohn danck*); the presumption as to "danck" in our passage is

therefore strongly in favor of 'thanks,' and this meaning, moreover, fits the context to perfection. Hildebrand had in mind the fact that the statement "they shall not even receive thanks for it" implies that "they *must* do it, *willingly or unwillingly*;" but his theory as to the antecedents of the phrase would, like Heyne's view, remove this very essential alternative and substitute the certainty, nay, the necessity (!) of unwillingness. It is sufficient, however, that he agrees to the common interpretation of our line as it stands; a fact which was overlooked by Karl Scheffler, who, in the *Zeitschrift des allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins* viii (1893), col. 33 ff., thought it necessary to defend the traditional view (with the modification proposed by him: *danck* = *Lohn*) against both Heyne and Hildebrand.

After Scheffler's article the controversy rested until quite recently, when Paul Pietsch, in the first issue of Kluge's *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, p. 26 ff., made an attempt to revive the earliest of the dissenting interpretations, that of Oskar Jænicke (*danck* = 'thought'). It would not be worth while to discuss this view again, if it were not now advocated by so prominent a scholar as the editor-in-chief of the new standard edition of Luther's works. Pietsch, it seems, was converted to this view long ago by Fedor Bech, who called his attention to certain parallel passages (cf. Pietsch, p. 27) bearing, as he thought, upon the line under discussion. Let us see what they are and what evidence they furnish.

1. "das ich des habe deheinen danc," Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander*, 6480, and similarly 22680. Bech might also have mentioned *Wigalois* 6466 and Burcard Waldis, *Esopus*, 1, 65, 26. These are the only instances recorded in our dictionaries of the use of *danc haben* with the genitive in the sense of 'to think of,' 'to imagine, suppose,' over against the very common occurrence of the phrase, from the OHG. period till long after Luther, as meaning 'to receive thanks, recognition, for' (cf. Luther's poem *Fraw Musica*, line 32: "des [for its song] mus sie [the nightingale] haben jmer danck," and many similar passages). Bech's quotations, therefore, only emphasize the exceptional nature of such cases.

2. "sîne denke da zu legen = *seine Gedanken darauf richten*, *Leben der hl. Elisabeth*, 4458. This is intended to show the use of *dazu* in connection with *dank*; but "da zu" here modifies "legen," not "denke," and is due solely to the use of this verb.

3. "dar hadden des koninges râd danken tô," Magdeburger Schöffenchronik, 301, 18; explained in the glossary as meaning "dabei hatten des Königs Räte Gedanken, waren misstrauisch." I am not able to verify this passage, and therefore cannot say whether "danken" is there construed with "tô," or whether, as the translation seems to imply, "dar tô" is simply an adverb.

Pietsch realized that his theory needed the support of "a Luther passage in which the phrase (*kein danck dazu haben*) was used in exactly the same sense as in the verse in question." Such a passage, he thinks, he has found in the pamphlet above referred to, where on p. 17 Luther says:

"Nu soll mir Herzog George die Freiheit lassen, dass ich ihn heimlich (that is, privately) urtheile, mit Gedanken, Schriften, Reden, wie ichs fur Gott weiss zu verantworten, *und solls keinen Dank dazu haben*; grobelt er aber darnach hinter meinem Wissen und Willen, und lässt mirs abstehlen, und findet alsdenn, das ihn verdreusst, so hab ers ihm, und ein gut Jahr dazu," etc.

Pietsch declares that "keinen dank dazu haben" and "grobelt er" are antithetic; that the first-mentioned phrase, therefore, must express the opposite of *grobeln*, and that Luther must have meant to say:

"und er soll darauf keinen Gedanken verwenden; thut er das letztere aber, indem er hinter meinem Rücken ihnen nachspürt," etc.

Consequently, he argues, we may consider it as *gesichert* that the two lines in our hymn mean:

"Das Wort sollen sie stehen lassen und kein darauf gerichtetes Denken haben, d.h. sie sollen es weder äusserlich noch auch nur innerlich mit ihren Gedanken antasten."

To all appearances Pietsch fails to perceive that his interpretation would make Luther guilty of a flagrant inconsistency. It is hardly credible that Luther should have uttered such a sentiment at or about the very time when he

was writing a pamphlet in defence of freedom of thought and even of speech in private intercourse, a pamphlet in which he reminds his adversary that "Gedanken sind zollfrei," and denounces him for his "Moabitic conceit and arrogance," in forbidding others to think or privately say or write of him anything he did not approve; still less can we believe that he should have stultified himself by expressing such a sentiment in that very pamphlet, of all places—nay, in the same breath with a declaration to the effect that he considers himself responsible for his thoughts to God alone.

An examination of Pietsch's argument reveals several fundamental errors. In the first place there is no reason whatever for assuming that "grobelt er" is in antithesis with that particular phrase "keinen danck dazu haben;" the passage, as a whole, falls logically as well as syntactically into two parts, the point of division being marked by the semicolon after "haben" (Erl. ed.), or rather, in the original text as quoted by Pietsch, by the capital G of "Grobelt;" the *aber* of the second part, therefore, indicates an antithesis between the two parts as units, more particularly between the leading ideas in them, that is, the "Freiheit lassen," and the "grobeln" and "abstehlen;" and this antithesis is perfectly obvious, for such acts as are denoted by the last-mentioned verbs could only serve (and had already served) the purpose of interfering with the *Freiheit* referred to.

Furthermore, in treating *nachspüren* and *Gedanken verwenden auf* as synonymous, Pietsch simply begs the question. In the pamphlet from which the passage is taken, the words *grobeln* and *ergrobeln* occur each four times, and the situation there discussed leaves no doubt as to their meaning. Duke George had pried into Luther's private correspondence by securing, in an underhanded manner, a copy of a letter in which Luther had severely criticized him, and by using every means in his power to secure the original also; and that is what the *grobeln* in the pamphlet invariably refers to: "grobelt, sucht und fodert die Handschrift," p. 10; "nach frembden Briefen grobeln," p. 16; "ergrobeln und erfahren," "heimliche Briefe und Reed ergrobeln," p. 18; "auf dass er nicht abermal Diebe ausschicken musse, die solch mein Gebet heimlich ergrobeln und stehlen," p. 25; etc. This meaning of *grobeln*, which prevailed as late as the seventeenth century (cf. Henisch, as quoted by Heyne, *Wb.* I, 1260: "grübelen, nachforschen, erkundigen,") has in it a distinct suggestion of the primitive sense of "digging, grubbing," as is also evidenced by the use of the preposition *nach* and (in other places) *in*, and by the frequent juxtaposition of *grobeln* and *suchen;* it stands midway between the original meaning and the modern one of "pondering, brooding" as restricted to mental activity; the latter would be wholly out of place in our passage and everywhere else in the pamphlet. Pietsch's conclusion as to the force of "keinen danck dazu haben," would, therefore, be unwarranted, even if this phrase were in antithesis with "grobelt er."

The *s* appended to *soll* is another obstacle in Pietsch's way. He admits that it can only be the genitive *es* dependent upon "danck;" but according to his theory the thing thought of is already indicated by "dazu." "However, such an *überflüssiges s*," he says, "is not uncommon with Luther; the most similar case is: 'das yhrs solchs bitten mit aller zuversicht thutt;' compare also 'Du sollsts mirs thun.'" As a matter of fact, the first of these two quotations shows the common phenomenon of anticipation of the object by means of *es: dass ihr es, dieses Beten* (the aforesaid praying), *mit aller Zuversicht thut;* the words "solchs bitten," are, in effect, merely explanatory of *es*, and can be omitted entirely.

The other quotation is an instance of simple pleonasm, in the repetition of the syncopated enclitic *es;* Luther expressly defends this usage, adding, however, that without syncope the phrase would be a "barbarus Germanismus" ("undeutsches Deutsch," as it has been aptly rendered).

It is obvious that neither of these two passages is at all analogous, in the use of *es*, to "solls keinen danck dazu haben." The other cases of "überflüssiges s" which Pietsch has in mind are doubtless those recorded by him in two footnotes of the Weimar edition (xiv, p. 237, and xv, p. 77); there are six in all, three of them being pleonastic repetitions B: ("wo es mirs fehlt;" "habens sies gelestert;" "es nichts ists;" the last two do not occur in the first editions and are probably corruptions)

while the other three ("er wirts sie" [wird sie]; "verkauff mirs sy;" "kann mans sie") are most likely due to attraction, though they may be pleonastic too (anticipation of the object *sie* in an apocopated enclitic form). Here again, there is not a single parallel to the passage in question; in fact, a pleonasm of the kind that Pietsch assumes is simply impossible: the simultaneous expression of one and the same logical relation ('thought *of* a thing') by both the genitive case and a prepositional phrase would be a syntactical monstrosity. If, then, as Pietsch admits, the enclitic *s* of "solls" is the genitive *es* dependent upon "danck," it follows that the word "dazu" cannot be anything but an adverbial modifier of the predicate, and as such it must mean "in addition thereto, besides, moreover." This conclusion disposes, at the same time, of the only argument which Pietsch advances against the common interpretation of the line in the hymn "und kein danck dazu haben;" he insists that if "dazu" meant "moreover," it would stand either at the beginning or at the end of the phrase, not in the middle. The fact is that the order of words to which he objects occurs not only in his own quotation, but as we shall see, elsewhere, too; in the particular locution under discussion, it seems to have been the rule. It is to be observed, moreover, that Pietsch is curiously inconsistent in this matter; he rejects the common interpretation on the ground that it presupposes an unusual order of words, but he does not hesitate to offer, in its stead, a theory that postulates two striking exceptions: a use of *danck* which is not found anywhere else in Luther's works, and a syntactical construction (*danck zu*) which is absolutely unheard of in German literature.

In dealing with the mass of evidence which favors the traditional view, Pietsch proceeds in a rather arbitrary fashion. Cochlæus' version (1529) of the passage in the pamphlet: "ac ne gratiam quidem eo nomine ullam a me inibit," a strikingly careful rendering (*quidem* = "dazu," *eonomine* = "es") by a man who was thoroughly familiar with Luther's style and diction, would seem to leave no room for doubt as to Luther's meaning; but Pietsch sweeps it aside with the remark that Cochlæus' home was so far from Wittenberg (he was born near Nürnberg, had studied at Cologne, had then lived at Frankfurt and Mainz, and in 1529 was residing at Dresden) that he "could not be considered a reliable interpreter of an expression of Luther's which was evidently not widely used": in other words, he assumes that within a certain radius from Wittenberg the word *danck*, in the phrase under discussion, meant 'thought,' but that everywhere else in Germany it meant 'thanks'! It is interesting to recall, in this connection, the testimony of Dr. Zweylinger (*Nationalzeitung*, August 5, 1883), to the effect that in the Province of Saxony (where Wittenberg is situated) the locution in question is used to this day in the sense disputed by Pietsch: "Datô (dazu, dafür)[1] saste (sollst du) keenen Dank hemm'n (haben)" = "Dafür werde ich dir nicht noch extra eine Lobrede halten." But of this fact Pietsch takes no notice.

It is needless to dwell on this subject. If further evidence is wanted as to the correctness of the traditional interpretation of the line in our hymn, it will be found in a parallel passage which Pietsch has overlooked,—strangely enough, for it is in the very pamphlet from which he derives the supposed corroboration of his theory. On page 11 (Erl. ed.) of that pamphlet, Luther contends that a charge of libel cannot be based upon a private letter, on the principle that "De occultis non judicat Ecclesia, multo minus judicat de eisdem Magistratus," and concludes by saying (p. 12), with reference to the "Hofeschranzen zu Dresen:" "Sie sollen mir heimliche Sachen ungericht lassen, und dess keinen Dank dazu haben." There cannot be any doubt as to either the syntactical structure or the meaning of this passage. "Dank" is unmistakably construed with the genitive, not with *zu*; "dazu" can only be an adverbial modifier in the sense of 'moreover,' and its position shows again the invalidity of Pietsch's objection on this score; and as "dess" refers to "ungericht lassen," "Dank" cannot possibly mean 'thought.'

Now all this must apply as well to the pas-

1 If Zweylinger's interpretation of *datô* is correct, it shows that this word, in taking the place, at the head of the sentence, of the disused genitive dependent upon *Dank*, has also, in a measure, assumed the function of this genitive.

sage quoted by Pietsch and to the disputed line in the hymn, for the three cases are in every respect analogous. The line in the hymn, to be sure, lacks the genitive *des* or *es*, but the reason is obvious: there was not room for another word, nor could an enclitic 's be appended to "und;" and the genitive could be spared, as the sentence was clear enough without it. The objections to Heyne's view (*danck=Wille*) have been stated above; there remains, then, for our "danck" only its ordinary meaning, in whose favor Luther's usage establishes *a priori* the strongest kind of presumption, and which, moreover, makes excellent sense in all three passages: Luther declares that he will not even thank his enemies for complying with his demand, inasmuch as he is merely asserting rights and truths which they will have to recognize sooner or later, willingly or unwillingly (cf. Zweylinger and Maurer, ll. cc.). That is what the early translators of the hymn had in mind when they rendered our lines, freely but the more tersely and pointedly, by

"Verbum hoc adversarii nobis non eriplent
Sed *quantumvis inviti* relinquent" (Sleidanus, 1546)
"Purum sinant verbum Dei
Nolint velintve quique" (Ammon, 1579).
"Nobis furor verbum Dei
Nolit, velit, relinquat" (Cremcovius).

The train of thought and the tone and spirit of our lines as thus interpreted are thoroughly characteristic of Luther. A perfect counterpart of them, furnishing in the explicitness of its wording a welcome commentary on the disputed line in the hymn and on its parallel passages, is to be found in the open letter *An die Herren deutschs Ordens* (1523). In this letter Luther contrasts the true chastity of matrimony with the false one of celibacy, and urges the knights of the Teutonic Order to marry, adding, with reference to the decrees of popes and ecclesiastical councils (Weimar ed. xii, p. 238):

"Und obs uns die Concilia und menschen hynfurt erleubten und zu liessen, so wollen wyr yhr urlaub nicht haben, und umb yhrs zulassens willen nichts widder thun noch lassen. Denn *ich will nicht gnug daran haben*, das Concilia odder kirche (wie sie es deutten) solchs zu lassen oder setzen, *Ich wils yhn auch keynen danck nicht wissen, noch sie drumb grüssen, noch von yhn begeren. Sie sollens und müssens thun*" . . .

And further, p. 239:

"Sie sollen zu schanden werden öffentlich, wie Paulus sagt 2. Timo. 2., *es geschehe willliglich oder unwilliglich*, des und keyn anders, wenn yhr noch zehen mal so viel weren, und eyn iglicher so viel vermöcht, als sie itzt alle sampt vermügen."

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INACCURACIES IN EUGÉNIE GRANDET.

A FEW years ago it was noticed that increased attention was being given to Balzac in this country. At present the enthusiasm for the author is very marked. All evidences go to show that, in the words of a recent essayist, "Balzac is just now in the zenith of his fame in America." In France the centenary celebration held at Tours in May, 1899, and a new illustrated edition of his works, now in course of publication, are some of the indications of a willingness to acknowledge the novelist's supremacy in his own country. Recent French art, too, has been quick to reflect the same feeling.

In 1895, an American edition of *Eugénie Grandet* (ed. Bergeron) was published by Henry Holt & Co., and reviewed briefly in this journal.[1] This edition, though far from perfect, has done much to stimulate the study of Balzac in our college classrooms, and has called forth in the columns of this journal several communications in the way of comment and elucidation.[2] The object here is to discuss some additional points touching the text of Balzac's masterpiece. The inaccuracies to be noted are not all, in themselves, matters of vital importance; they are perhaps inseparable from the peculiar genius and bulky product of the author. But it is thought that they should be of immediate interest to teachers who include Balzac in their courses. The page references are to the Holt edition, and

1. Vol. xi, June, 1896, col. 380.

2. Vol. xii, June, 1897, col. 321; Vol. xiii, Mar. 1898, col. 191; Vol. xiii, May, 1898, col. 320; Vol. xiv, Feb. 1899, col. 128.

the readings in question correspond in all cases to those of the "édition définitive" of Calmann Lévy.

Most noticeably is Balzac inaccurate in his chronology. In his statements regarding the ages of three of his principal characters, M. Grandet, Eugénie and la grande Nanon, he has two sets of incongruous dates; one set for the early expository pages of the story, and another introduced towards the close, when he has evidently become forgetful or careless, and has failed to adjust carefully his facts and figures to his former scheme. In giving the biography of M. Grandet, it is stated on p. 5, ll. 31–32, that at the outbreak of the Revolution, or shortly afterwards, the miser was forty years old; and again, about a page later (p. 7, ll. 3–4,) it is said that in 1806 his age was fifty-seven. These two statements harmonize fairly well. Much later in the book, when the question of Grandet's age is again discussed, we read (p. 192, ll. 10–11): "Grandet commençait alors sa soixante-seizième année." The time referred to here is, as indicated by the context, the spring or early summer of 1820. And a few pages farther on, where the author is dealing with the events of the year 1827, the text runs (p. 201, l. 33-p. 202, l. 3): "Puis, vers la fin de cette année, le bonhomme fut enfin à l'âge de quatre-vingt-deux ans, pris par une paralysie qui fit de rapides progrès." These last two statements also agree, but they fail, by a margin of four years, to harmonize with the earlier reckoning. If Grandet was fifty-seven years old in 1806, his age in 1827 must have been seventy-eight, instead of eighty-two.

Similar inaccuracies of statement are found in the passages which refer to the age of the servant Nanon. She had entered the service of Grandet at the age of twenty-two (p. 21, l. 10, *seq.*), and has been with him for thirty-five years (p. 20, l. 31-p. 21, l. 1) when the action of the story opens in 1819. At this date then she was fifty-seven years old. On page 205, where the circumstances of her marriage are narrated, the age assigned to her is fifty-nine (ll. 17–19: "Quoiqu'elle eût cinquante-neuf ans, elle ne paraissait pas en avoir plus de quarante"). This marriage took place very soon after the miser's death, which had occurred not earlier than the close of 1827. Consequently there must be a discrepancy here of at least six years. Nanon's age at her marriage should be not less than sixty-five. It may be added that Balzac applies the epithet "sexagénaire" to Nanon (p. 21, l. 8) at a time when, according to his reckoning, she was not more than fifty-seven. Further, it is alleged in the course of Nanon's biography, that in the year 1811 she had been in the miser's employ for twenty years. The text reads (p. 22, ll. 10–12): "Lors de la fameuse année 1811, dont la récolte coûta des peines inouïes, après vingt ans de service, Grandet résolut de donner sa vielle montre á Nanon." This statement is wide of the truth by several years; for it has been insisted on the previous page, and is urged again on the following one, that her period of service had covered thirty-five years; and all of this was prior to the beginning of the action of the story in 1819. Hence, in 1811, she must have been with Grandet for about twenty-seven years.

Eugénie's age at the opening of the story is twenty-three. "Elle a vingt-trois ans aujourd'hui, l'enfant," says her father (p. 26, l. 20). This is at the middle of the month of November, 1819. Just after the miser's death and the marriage of Nanon, a reference to the age of the heroine (p. 206, l. 25), puts it at thirty years. This is evidently in the early days of 1828; it cannot be before the close of 1827. Here again Balzac is inexact. At the death of her father Eugénie must have been thirty-one. On page 175, where the time is New Year's day, 1820, Eugénie, in resisting her father's demands for the collection of gold coins which he had given her, calls his attention to the fact that she is of age, and says: "j'ai vingt-deux ans" (l. 16). This is a mere slip; ten pages later (p. 186, l. 25) her right age, twenty-three, is again given. But the reading is retained in the Lévy edition, though it has been corrected in the English version by Miss Wormeley.

Connected with Grandet's death and the references to Eugénie's age, are the questions of the duration of her passion for Charles and the date of his return to France. Charles had left Saumur towards the end of the year 1819. The death of the miser occurred eight

years later, after which Eugénie was left alone to brood over her love and to face the flatteries of her scheming admirers. In the course of a few pages, descriptive of her condition during these early months of 1828, Balzac refers to the period that had intervened, now as seven years, now as eight. On page 207, ll. 21–22, is the sentence: "Depuis sept ans, sa passion avait tout envahi." This should rather be eight years, since from the very next day after the departure of Charles her love had begun to pervade all her thoughts (cf. p. 165, ll. 5–8). And only a page later (p. 208, l. 28) the interval is correctly referred to as eight years. Again on p. 211, ll. 4–5, Eugénie exclaims to Nanon: "Comment, ... il ne m'écrira pas une fois en sept ans!" She had not heard from him for over eight years. In describing, farther on, the events which took place some months later in the same year (1828), Balzac says: "Le drame commencé depuis neuf ans se dénouait" (p. 228, ll. 2–3). As to Charles, the author makes him return to France in June, 1827 (p. 212, l. 30, and p. 214, l. 16). This is a year too soon. His letter to Eugénie, written a month after his arrival at Paris, and received by her at the beginning of the month of August following the death of her father, points to the year 1828. A similar discrepancy occurs in the course of the letter itself, when the writer speaks (p. 220, ll. 22–23) of having been absent seven years ("après sept années d'absence").

In the passages dealing with the interval between the departure of Charles and the tragic first of January following, occur time references which are inaccurate. Charles had arrived at Saumur in the middle of November. His visit there was not a long one, just how long Balzac does not state. But the events of his stay, with the preparations for his voyage to Java, must have consumed at least two or three weeks, so that it is fair to conclude that he left not earlier than the first of December. There could be but a month or less to elapse before New Year's day, 1820. Balzac puts this interval at two months (p. 165, l. 26 and elsewhere). Further, in noting the incidents of a conversation which was taking place, on a Sunday morning just before the close of the year, between Eugénie and her mother, the author says (p. 166, ll. 11–12): "Dans trois jours, l'année 1819 finissait." And on the next page (ll. 4–6), before the same conversation has ended, Eugénie is made to say: "Demain matin, ne devons-nous pas aller lui souhaiter la bonne année dans sa chambre" (referring to her father). There is an evident carelessness in these statements.

In the opening paragraph of the story proper (pp. 24–25), there is an apparent confusion regarding the two fêtes of birthday and saint's day. The time is the middle of November, and it is Eugénie's birthday. The lines in question read (p. 25, l. 9, *seq.*):

"Le matin, M. Grandet, suivant sa coutume pour les jours mémorables de la naissance et de la fête d'Eugénie, était venu la surprendre au lit, et lui avait solennellement offert son présent paternel . . . . . Madame Grandet donnait ordinairement à sa fille une robe d'hiver ou d'été, selon la circonstance. Ces deux robes," etc.

From this it seems clear that there must be a question of two days, and that one of them is in the summer. But the day of Sainte Eugénie is now November 15, and, as far as I have been able to discover, it was not in the summer season at the time of the author's story. This makes it appear that the two days are the same, and that Balzac is faulty in his adjustment of them.

Aside from these questions of days and dates, there are in *Eugénie Grandet* other passages in which the author's reckoning and money calculations are open to suspicion. A detailed study of these matters would carry this discussion too far. It may be suggested only that the statements on page 74, about the amount and value of hay to be raised on an area of land formerly occupied by poplar trees, are blind and unsatisfactory; also that the figures dealing with the liabilities of M. Grandet of Paris, and with the savings of Nanon are not always consistent.

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SOME DERIVED MEANINGS.

I

1. Scotch *tine* 'lose,' ME. *tine* 'trouble, distress,' OE. *tēona* 'injury, suffering, injustice, insult,' *tīenan* 'annoy, irritate, revile,' OS

tiono 'hostility, injustice,' ON. *tjōn* 'loss, injury,' *týna* 'lose, destroy,' *týnask* 'pass away, die, be ruined' are from a base **deu-no-*,**dū-no-*, and should therefore not be compared with Skt. *dunṓti*, Gk. δαίω 'burn,' root **dāu̯o-*.

They belong rather to the root *deu̯o-* 'lack, fail, miss' in Gk. δεύομαι 'lack, want,' δέομαι 'want, need, ask,' Skt. *dōṣa-s* 'fehler, schaden, mangel,' *duṣ-* 'ill-, mis-', *dúṣyati* 'verdirbt, wird schlecht,' etc. For other related words see Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* To these add the following:

2. E. *tire*, OE. *tȳran*, *tēorian* 'fail, fall short; be tired; tire' are from a Germ. base **tūza-*, **teuza-*, (with which compare Skt. *dōṣa-s* 'fehler, schaden, mangel,' etc.) which is congeneric with Goth. *tuz-*, ON., OE. *tor-*, OHG. *zur-*, Gk. δυσ-, etc.

The root *deu-* 'lack, fail, fall short of' is identical with *deu-* 'distant, separated,' and with *deu-* 'press forward, move rapidly onward or away.' We may illustrate the development of the root as follows: Lith. *dovyjù* 'set in rapid motion,' MHG. *zouwe* 'eile,' *zouwic* 'rührig, tätig,' MG. *zūwen* 'sich eilig vorwärts bewegen,' Skt. *duvás* 'hinausstrebend:' *daviyāṁs* 'recht fern,' *dūrás* 'fern': OE, *tēorian* 'fall short of, fail,' primarily 'be distant from,' Skt. *dōṣas* 'fehler, mangel, schaden,' etc.

This gives but one ne of development. Another, which is even more closely connected with the primary meaning, is 'set in motion, drive, pull, draw, lead,' etc. Here we have MHG. *zouwe* 'eile,' *zouwen* 'von statten gehen, gelingen; eilig ziehen, marschieren, eilig sein, eilen, sich beeilen': MDu. *touwen* 'agitare, premere, pressare'; E. *touse*, *tousle*, *tussle*, LG. *tūsen*, OHG. *-zūsen* 'zausen'; ON. *tūta* 'anything projecting,' *tutla* 'pull, pluck;' OE. *topp* 'top,' OHG. *zopf*, NHG. *zupfen*, pre-Germ. base **dubuo-* 'wave, swing, jerk,' with which compare Lat. *dubius* 'wavering'; Skt. *dōlā* 'schaukel;' *dōlāyatē* 'schaukelt, schwankt,' Lat. *duellum*, *bellum* 'war,' OHG. *zwelga* zweig'; OHG. *ziohan* 'ziehen, sich begeben; ziehen, führen, richten,' *zogōn* 'gehen, eilen; ziehen, zerren, reissen, raufen,' Lat. *dūcō*, etc. (Cf. Schade, *Wb.*, Webster's *Dict.*, *Indo-Germ. Roots*, *64*.)

Compare now the following: ON. *tjōn* 'loss, injury,' OE. *tēona* 'injury, suffering; injustice, wrong; insult, contumely; quarrel,' *tēonian* 'irritate; calumniate;' *tienan* 'annoy, irritate; revile, calumniate': *tēorian* 'fail, fall short of; be tired; tire,' Skt. *dōṣa-s* fehler, sünde, schuld, schlechtigkeit, mangel, schaden, nachteil, übelstand,' *dūṣáyati* 'verderben, schlecht machen, verunglimpfen, tadeln, schänden, beschimpfen,' OHG. *-zūsen* 'zausen.'

3. OE. *tiedre* 'weak, frail, having bad health, fleeting, transitory,' *tiedran* 'become weak, be perishable, decay' may be compared with NHG. *zaudern*, and also with OHG. *zota* 'zotte,' MHG. *zoten* 'langsam gehen,' and all referred to the root *deu-* in the above. Here also we may add OHG. *ziotar*, ON *tjōðr* 'tether,' *tjōðra* 'tie, tether,' NHG. prov. *tüdern*. However different in meaning, they are all derivable from a common base **deu-to-*, *du-to-*, etc. Compare the similar change in meaning in NHG. *ziehen*, *zögern*, *zügel*, E. *tug*, OE. *tēag* 'bond, chain,' *tiegan* 'tie,' etc.

To the same root if not to the same stem belong OE. *tūdor* 'progeny, fruit,' *tydran* 'bring forth; breed; cultivate.' Compare OHG. *zuht* 'ziehen, zug: nachkommenschaft'; *zoum* 'zaum': OE. *tēam* 'progeny, race.' So we may compare ON. *tjōðr* 'tether': OE. *tūdor* 'progeny.'

4. OHG. *zūn* 'zaun,' OS. *tūn* 'fence, garden,' ON. *tūn* 'enclosed place, yard,' OE. *tūn* 'enclosed place, yard, garden, farm, town,' *tynan* 'enclose, fence; shut, close,' OIr. *dún* 'town' are from a base *dūno-* 'enclosing, enclosed.' This base I derive from the root *deu-* 'pull, draw, draw together.' Compare Goth. *tiuhan* 'ziehen,' OE. *tēon* 'draw, drag, pull,' *tēag* 'bond, chain, tape; case, casket; *enclosure*, *paddock*,' *tiegan* 'tie, connect,' ON. *taug* 'rope.'

The development in meaning 'pull, twist, fasten, tie, enclose' is quite natural and not uncommon. So: OHG. *liohhan* 'pull, wrestle,' OE. *lūcan* 'pull up, join together, interlace, close, confine,' *loc* 'lock, bolt; anything shut in, prison, stronghold, sheepfold, settlement'; Lith. *veriù* 'open and close,' primarily 'turn,' Skt. *vr̥ṇṓti* 'enclose, surround, cover', *vr̥ti-ṣ* 'fence, hedge': OE. *worþ* 'enclosure, courtyard, farm'; Lat. *vergō* 'bend, turn,'

Skt. *vṛṇákti* 'bend, twist,' *vṛjána-m* 'enclosure, community,' *vrajá-s* 'fence, hurdle, stall' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v.); Lith. *ritù* 'roll, turn,' OE. *wrīþan* 'twist; bind,' *wrǣd* 'band, wreath,' *wrīþels* 'band' (cf. Lidén *Ein Baltisch-Slav. Anlautgesetz*, 4).

Now since we have the meaning 'draw, pull' in *ziehen*, *zausen*, *zupfen*, ON. *tutla*, we are justified in assuming a root *deu-* 'pull, draw.' This would be the natural outgrowth of 'move rapidly.' We might expect, therefore, from MHG. *zouwen* 'eilig ziehen, eilen' a corresponding transitive 'ziehen, zerren,' as in OHG. *zogōn* 'eilen: ziehen, zerren.' The transitive 'draw, bring' we have in Gk. ἐν-δύω, ἐν-δύνω 'bring in, put on, draw on,' as well as the intransitive 'go in, enter,' δύω, δύνω 'put on, draw on; enter,' Lat. *in-duō* 'put on; deck, cover, envelop,' as, *pomis se induit arbos*, Verg. G. 4, 143; *vites se induunt uvis*, Col. 4, 24, 12; *cinis induit urbes*, Val. Fl. 4, 509.

We can compare, therefore, Skt. *duvās* 'hinausstrebend,' MHG. *zouwen* 'eilig ziehen, eilen,' MDu. *touwen* 'agitare, premere, pressare': Gk. ἐν-δύω, ἐν-δύνω 'bring in, put on; go in, enter,' Lat. *induō* 'put on; deck, cover, envelop': OE. *tūn* 'enclosure, yard, town,' *tȳnan* 'enclose, fence; shut, close,' etc. Here also Skt. *dvárati* 'cover, check,' base *dṷe-ro-*.

II.

The IE. root *ĝheu-* occurs in Germ. in the double sense 'gush out, pour' and 'shout, howl.' In all probability the two are identical. The common meaning was 'swell up, burst out' or the like. This would give both 'gush out' and 'shout.' These two meanings are very frequently combined. So Gk. χέω and Lat. *fundō* are used of pouring out or uttering words or sounds.

From the primary meaning 'swell, burst out,' may come the following:

1. Skt. *juhóti* 'pour, offer,' Gk. χέω 'pour, shed, scatter, strew,' pass. 'gush forth, stream, flow, melt,' χύδην 'abundantly; confusedly,' χυδαῖος 'abundant,' κοχυδέω 'flow, stream forth,' Lat. *fundō*, Goth. *giutan* 'pour,' etc.: OHG. *gusi* 'torrent,' ON. *gusa* 'spurt forth,' *gjōsa* 'burst forth, stream out,' *geysa* 'set in violent motion, excite,' *gusta* 'blow, breathe,' *gustr* 'gust, blast,' *gjōsta* 'cold blast': Gk. χῦλός 'juice, moisture,' MHG. *gūl* 'boar, male animal' (cf. author, *PBB*, xxiv, 527), ON. *gul*, *gol* 'gust of wind,' *gūll* 'round swelling, tumor,' *gūlpa* 'swell, blow out,' Dan. *gulpe* 'aufstossen, schlucken,' E. *gulp*: ON. *gufa* 'vapor, smoke,' MHG. *guft* 'boasting, exultation.'

From 'swell, burst forth' may come also:

2. Skt. *hávatē*, ChSl. *zova* 'call,' Goth. *gaunōn* 'mourn,' ON. *geyja* 'howl, bark,' *gauð* 'barking,' *gaul* 'howl, shout,' *gaula* 'howl, shout,' Gk. χώομαι 'be in violent emotion, be angry.'

III.

1. Goth. *sweiban* 'aufhören, ablassen': OHG. *swifton* 'stille sein,' *swiften* 'zum schweigen bringen, beschwichtigen' are supposed to be related to OHG. *swīgēn* 'schweigen,' OE. *swīgian* 'be silent' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *beschwichtigen*). They may be, but there is no good reason for connecting them with Gk. σῑγάω.

The Germ. words evidently start from the meaning 'depart, cease,' and this, as I shall show, is a development of 'swing, sway, swerve, deviate, bend.' So in the following: MHG. *sweim* 'das schweben, schwingen, schweifen,' *sweimen* 'sich schwingen, schweben, schweifen,' *swīmen* 'schwanken, schweben,' OE. *swīma* 'dizziness, swoon,' *ā-swāmian* 'cease,' *swāmian* 'become dark': OHG. *swīnan* 'schwinden, hinschwinden, abnehmen,' MHG. *swīnen* 'abnehmen, dahinschwinden, bewusstlos werden, in ohnmacht fallen.'—OHG. *swīhhōn* 'vagari, schweifen,' *swihhan* 'ermatten, nachlassen,' MHG. *swich* 'fortgang, lauf,' OE. *swīcan* 'wander, depart, cease,' *ge-swicennes* 'cessation, abstention'; *swicn* 'clearance from criminal charge,' Goth. *swikns* 'rein, unschuldig'; OE. *ge-swīcan* 'withdraw, desert, deceive,' *swic* 'deception,' etc. Here 'wander, depart' develops into a variety of meanings.—OE. *swāpan* 'sweep, brandish; rush, dash,' ON. *svipa* 'move rapidly, hasten,' *sveipa* 'sway, swing,' *svipr* 'quick movement; loss, harm,' *svipt* 'loss.'—OHG. *swintan* 'schwinden, vergehen,' OE. *swindan* 'waste away; be torpid.' These pre-suppose a root *sṷī-*, which is also in the following, and with a similar development in meaning.

OHG. *swebēn* 'schweben,' *sweibōn* 'schweben, schweifen,' OE. *swīfan* 'move, sweep,'

swift 'swift,' ON. *svīfa* 'schweben, treiben, sich hinwenden, gehen': Goth. *sweiban* 'aufhören, ablassen,' OHG. *swiftōn* 'stille sein.'—Lith. *svaĩkti* 'schwindelig werden,' *svaiginéti* 'umherschwanken,' ON. *svig* 'bend, curve, circuit,' *sveigja* 'bow, bend': OHG. *swīgēn* 'schweigen,' OE. *swīgian* 'be silent,' etc. (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 192 f, on the base *suĭ-*).

OHG. *swiftōn* and *swīgēn* are, therefore, not directly connected, but each is a derivative of the root *sueu̯o-*, *suĭ-*, and passed independently through the development 'sway, wander, depart, cease, be silent.' It is altogether improbable that this change took place during the IE. unity or even during the Germ. unity. Consequently Gk. *σῑγάω* 'be silent,' if related at all, must have passed through the same change of meaning independently. We may, therefore, make the following parallel comparisons.

OHG. *sweibōn* 'wander': Goth. *sweiban* 'cease': OHG. *swifton* 'be silent'; ON. *sveigja* 'bend': OHG. *swīgēn* ('cease'): 'be silent'; OE. *swīcan* 'wander, depart, cease': Gk. *σῑγάω* 'be silent.'

2. Gk. *σῑγάω*, however, may better be referred to the root *tu̯ī-* 'waste away, dwindle': Gk. *σῖνομαι* 'waste, damage, plunder, hurt,' OE. *þwīnan* 'dwindle, fall away,' *þwītan* 'cut, shave off' (cf. author, *AJP.* xxi, 180).

Some such meaning as 'retire,' 'cease,' 'subside,' 'rest,' etc., we may expect to find as the original of 'be silent.' So the following:

3. Goth. *þahan*, OHG. *dagēn* 'be silent,' Lat. *taceō*, etc., may be derived from the root *tā̆-* 'waste away.' Compare Gk. *τῆκω* 'cause to melt, pine, waste away,' Lat. *tābeō* 'waste away, consume, melt,' ChSl. *tajati* 'sich auflösen, vergehen.'

4. Skt. *dṓṣa-s* 'fehler, mangel,' OE. *tēorian* 'fail; be tired': Dan. *taus* 'still, silent, quiet,' *tyst*, ON. *tjāst* 'silently, quietly,' root *deu-* (v. supra).

5. Skt. *dhānōĺi*, ON. *dȳja* 'shake,' Skt. *dhváṁsati* 'scatter,' *dhvasmá* 'darkening,' OE. *dwīesian* 'become stupid, ON. *dūsa* 'be calm, be still,' Dan. *dysse* 'beschwichtigen,' *dvask* 'indolent, schläfrig, saumselig,' OE. *dwīescan* 'extinguish,' etc.: OE. *dwelian* 'lead astray; wander,' *dol* 'dull, stupid,' OHG. *-twelan* 'steif werden, betäubt werden,' Dan. *dvale* 'deep sleep,' root *dhū̆-*.

6. Skt. *kṣḗti* 'dwell, abide,' *kṣḗma-s* 'wohnlich, ruhig,' Gk. *κτίζω* 'found, settle, establish,' *κτίλος* 'gentle, tame,' Lat. *sileō*, 'remain inactive, rest, be still, be quiet, be silent,' Goth. *ana-silan* 'be still, be silent,' OE. *sālnes* 'silence' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *κτίζω*; Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 791). Here the idea of silence comes from 'settle down, subside, rest,' which is very closely related to 'depart, retire, cease,' though the primary meanings from which the two ideas came are quite different.

The root *k̑þei-* of the above may also be in Lat. *sīdō* 'settle, alight, sink down, sit down,' in which case compare Gk. *κτίζω* < *κτιδ̯ω* (but cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 504 for a different explanation). In any case we may compare the similar development of meaning in Lat. *sīdō* 'settle,' *subsīdō* 'sink, settle, subside, abate,' E. *subside* 'abate, cease to rage, become quiet.'

IV.

1. Late OE. *wīl* 'wile, trick': ON. *vīl* 'bedrängnis, bekümmernis, not, elend': Lat. *vīlis*, 'low, mean, base,' Welsh *gwael* 'vilis,'' *gwaelod* 'fundus, faex' (cf. Fick, *Wb.* II⁴, 259): Lith. *vẽla* 'wire': Skt. *vélā* 'end, border, shore, time, tide': *vēllati* 'swing, sway wave' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v.).

These are all from the common meaning 'roll, twist, turn, bend.' For OE. *wīl* compare Lith. *kreivas* 'turned, crooked': *krivida* 'cheating, deceit'; OHG. *scranchōn* 'sway, stagger,' *screnchan* 'bend, slant: deceive,' *scranc* 'deceit'; OE. *wrencan* 'twist, turn: play tricks, be deceitful,' *wrenc* 'artifice, trick'; OE. *lūtan* 'turn, bend, bow, fall': *lot* 'deceit,' Goth. *lutōn* 'deceive,' and many others. Lat. *vīlis* meant primarily 'bent, bowed, cast down, abject', hence 'low, base.' Skt. *vélā* represents the original signification 'turn, turning-point,' So NHG. *zeile*, *ziel*, *zeit* are from the root *dĭ-* 'turn, whirl' (cf. author, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xiv, 333). The others need no further explanation.

Though we may compare these various words, it does not follow that, even though related, they are from a common IE. base **u̯eilo-*, *u̯oilo-*. It is possible that not one goes

back to such an IE. stem. But it is practically certain that all come from a root *u̯ei-*.

A root *u̯ei-* occurs in Skt. *vā́yati* 'weave, plait,' *vyā́yati* 'wind, wrap up,' ChSl. *viti* 'twist, wind, plait,' Lith. *vejù* 'turn, twist,' Lat. *vieō* 'twist, plait.' The meaning 'plait, weave' is from 'turn, twist.' Identical with this root, therefore, is the root *-u̯ei*, in Skt. *vḗti* 'turn, direct, guide, wield (weapon), drive, pursue, strive after,' Lith. *vejù* 'chase, pursue,' etc. (For other derivatives see Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v. *véti*.) Compare the similar development in the root *u̯erg-*: Lat. *vergō* 'bend, turn, incline,' Skt. *várjati*, *vṛ̀ṇakti* 'turn, twist off; turn aside,' OE. *wrencan* 'twist, turn: play tricks', Skt. *vr̥jiná-s* 'crooked, false, sly': *vrájati* 'wander, go away, go,' OE. *wrecan* 'drive push, expel, avenge,' Goth. *wrikan* 'verfolgen,' etc.

We see, therefore, that OE. *wīl* 'wile' is the figurative use of 'turn, twist,' and that Lith. *vẽla* 'wire' is a literal 'twist'; that ON. *vīl* 'bedrängnis, not, elend' comes from the derived meaning seen in Skt. *vḗti*, Lith. *vejù* 'pursue, chase'; and that Skt. *vḗlā* should likewise be referred to *vḗti*, from which is also derived Skt. *vayúnā* 'grenze, ziel' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*), with which compare Lith. *vijū̃nas* 'eine schlingpflanze.'

The secondary meaning found in ON. *vīl* is seen in several other possible derivatives of the root *u̯ei-*. Here the development in meaning is 'turn, drive, pursue, persecute, afflict' and then 'scold, revile,' pass. 'be afflicted, grieve, mourn,' etc. So the following:

2. Goth. *wainags* 'elend, unglücklich,' OHG. *wēnag* 'elend, gering, klein,' OHG. *weinon* 'weinen, klagen, beklagen,' ON. *veina* 'lament, wail,' OE. *wānian* 'complain, bewail,' *wānung* 'lamentation' (cf. Schade, *Wb.*): Lith. *vainójù* 'schmähe, schelte, schimpfe,' *vainyjù* 'verspotte,' *vaina* 'war,' ChSl. *po-vinǫti* 'subjicere,' Av. *vyānō* 'pursued,' etc., base *u̯oi-no-* 'turn, drive, pursue,' etc. Here also belong Skt. *vénā-s* 'desirous,' that is, 'turning toward, striving after,' *vénati* 'desire, be envious,' and Av. *vaenaiti* 'see,' primarily 'turn toward' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, who rejects this combination). These are more remotely connected with Lith. *vyniójù* 'wickle,' Pol. *winąć* 'wickeln, wedeln,' Lat. *vinea*, *vīnum*, etc.

3. OHG. *weida* 'weide, jagd,' OE. *wāþ* 'wandering, traveling; hunting,' Skt. *vītá-s* 'verfolgt': Lith. *vaitójù* 'wehklage, jammere.'

4. OE. *wīte* 'punishment, torture, misery,' *wītnian* 'punish, torture,' *wītan* 'reproach, blame,' Goth. *fra-weitan* 'rächen,' etc.: Lith. *vaĩdas* 'zank, streit,' *vaidau* 'zwiste, streite': OS. *gi-wītan* 'go,' base *u̯ei-do-*, *u̯oi-do* 'turn, twist, zwisten; torture, punish,' etc.

Goth. *-weitan* is usually referred to the root *u̯eid-* 'see.' But though undoubtedly belonging to the same root, it did not develop from 'see,' but 'see' is an outgrowth of the same primary meaning (cf. author, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xiv, 324).

5. OE. *wāgan* 'afflict; frustrate; deceive' < **waigjan* 'twist, torture; turn aside, frustrate; distort, verdrehen': Skt. *vḗci-ṣ* 'trug, verführung,' Lett. *vīkt* 'sich biegen,' *vīkne* 'ranke,' Lat. *vicia* 'vetch': Skt. *vīcí-ṣ* 'wave,' Lith. *veikus* 'quick,' Lat. *vincō* 'subdue, conquer,' Goth. *weihan* 'fight,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*), base *u̯ei-qo-* 'turn, twist; whirl, be active,' etc.

6. OE. *wālan* 'torment, afflict': ON. *vīl* 'bedrängnis, not, elend,' *vīla* 'complain, lament,' OE. *ā-wēlan* 'roll, roll away; afflict,' *wīl* 'wile,' etc.

7. So also the root *su̯ī-* 'sway' (v. supra) develops in a similar manner: MHG. *swīmen* 'schwanken, schweben,' OE. *ā-swāman* 'wander about, depart: suffer, grieve.' With this compare the following.

8. OHG., OE. *swingan* 'swing, beat,' OE. *swancor* 'pliant, supple; agile, graceful; weak,' *swincan* 'labor, be in pain,' *swencan* 'afflict, torment,' Germ. base *swing-*, *swink-* 'swing, move about, exert oneself, toil, suffer.' These have been connected with ChSl. *sukati*, Lith. *sùkti* 'drehen.' Compare also Skt. *sváñc*, *svā́ñcas* 'sich leicht wendend, gewandt' and *svájate* 'umschlingt, umarmt,' *svajá-s* 'eine art schlange.' Here also the primary meaning is 'turn, wind, twist' (compare NHG. *schlingen*: *umschlingen*: *schlange*), and the double form of the root corresponds exactly to the Germ.: *sueng̑ʰ-*, *sueng̑ʰ-*. Here probably also Lith. *sunkùs* 'heavy,' etc., primarily 'swing, dangle, hang down.' Compare Lith. *svirus* 'schweb-

end, schwankend, baumelnd': *sveriù* 'weigh,' OHG. *swār* 'schwer,' etc.

A similar development in meaning is seen in the root *ter-*, *trĕ-* 'move rapidly, whirl, turn, twist': 'rack, torture, afflict; be afflicted, suffer.'

9. Skt. *tárati* 'go across, get through,' *taralá-s* 'trembling, unsteady,' Lat. *terō* 'rub,' Gk. *τειρίω* 'rub, wear away, afflict, distress'; OHG. *drāen*, drehen,' OE. *þrāwan* 'turn round, revolve; twist, rack,' *þrōwian*, OHG. *druoēn* 'suffer' (cf. author, *PBB*, 24, 532). There can be no reasonable doubt as to the relation of *ter-* 'tremble,' *ter-* 'rub,' and *trē-* 'turn, twist.' Compare Gk. *ῥῖπή* 'swing, rush, whir,' *ῥίπτω* 'throw,' OHG. (*w*)*rīban*, MHG. *rīben* 'turn, rub, dance,' ODu. *wriven* 'rub,' ON. *rifa* 'tear' (cf. author, *Pub. MLA.* xiv, 331).

10. Gk. *τρέπω* 'turn, put to flight, drive,' *ἐν-τρέπω* 'turn about, shame, reprove,' Lat. *trepō*, *trepidus*, etc., OE. *þrafian* 'urge; reprove, correct' (v. *PBB* as above), *þræft* 'quarrel,' ON. *þrefa* 'quarrel,' Lith. *trepti* 'stamp, trample,' Gk. *τραπέω*.

11. Lat. *torqueō* 'turn, whirl, roll, twist; hurl; rack, torture': Lith. *treñkti* 'dröhnend stossen,' Goth. *þreihan* 'drängen,' *þreihsl* 'bedrängnis,' ON. *þyngva*, OHG. *dringan* 'dringen, drängen, drücken,' OE. *þringan* 'press, oppress, afflict,' *þrōh* 'hatred, envy.'

12. OE. *þracu*, *ge-þræc* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrec* 'grievous,' ON. *þjarka* 'zank, hader.' With the latter has been compared Skt. *tárjati* 'droht, schmäht.' Compare also Lat. *tergeō* 'rub,' base *ter-go-* 'rub, press, press upon,' ON. *þrek* 'exertion, strength,' *þrekaðr* 'worn out, tired,' OE. *ge-þracen* 'adorned, prepared.' Compare Lat. *terō* 'rub, thresh, tread upon; polish, furbish,' Gk. *τέρην* 'smooth, soft.'

13. Gk. *τερηδών* 'wood-worm; caries,' Lat. *terĕdō*, Lith. *trendė́ti* 'be worm eaten,' base *terĕ-d-*: Skt. *tṛṇátti*, *tardayati* 'bore into, split, open,' ON. *þrǣta* 'zwist, zank,' *þrǣta* 'zanken,' Lat. *tardus* 'delaying, slow,' *tardō* 'tarry, delay; hinder,' primarily 'wear away, spend, prolong,' as in Gk. *τρίβω*.

14. OE. *þrǣstan* 'twist; press; torture, afflict,' *þrīst* 'bold, brave; shameless'= 'vordringend, vordringlich, obtrusive,' Lat. *trīstis* 'afflicted, bedrängt, sad' (cf. Noreen, *UL.* 232). The base *trī-* of the above is seen in Lat. *trī-vī*, *trī-tus*, *dē-trī-mentum*, *trī-bulum*, Gk. *τρί-βω* 'rub, bruise, thresh, wear away; spend, prolong, delay,' *τριβή* 'rubbing, wearing, spending; delay, putting off,' (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 16), ON. *þrīfa* 'grasp, hold fast, seize,' *þrifla* 'grope about, umhertappen,' *þreifa* 'grope.'

For the secondary meaning in Lat. *tardo* and Gk. *τρίβω* compare Skt. *pratārāyati* 'zieht hin, verlängert,' Lith. *terė́ti* 'halten, festhalten,' Lat. (*tempus*) *terere*.

15. Skt. *taru-s* 'quick,' *tarutī́*; Gk. *τέρυς* 'worn out, jaded,' *τρύω* 'rub, rub off, harass, afflict, distress, vex,' *τρῦος* 'distress,' OE. *þrēan* 'oppress, afflict; punish, chasten; try to compel, threaten; rebuke,' *þrēa*, *þrawu* 'affliction, oppression, severity, rebuke, threat,' OHG. *drouwen* 'drohen'; Lat. *trūdō* 'thrust, push, crowd, drive, press', OE. *þrēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict; rebuke, threaten,' *þrēat* 'crowd, troop; violence, ill-treatment; threat,' *þrēatnian* 'force,' *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' OHG. *bi-driozan* 'bedrücken, verdriessen,' etc., ChSl. *truditi* 'beschweren, quälen,' Lith. *triūdnas* 'afflicted, sad'; OE. *ge-þryl* 'crowding, crowd,' *þrēal* 'correction, rebuke; punishment; threat'; *þrēapian* 'rebuke'; Gk. *τρῦχω* 'rub away, wear out,' ON. *þrūga* 'press,' OHG. *drucchen* 'drücken,' OE. *þryccan* 'press, trample; press forward,' *þrycnes* 'affliction,' *þroht* 'grievous; hardship, affliction' (Germ. *-kk-* in drücken is from pre-Germ. -ghn-); ON. *þrȳsta* 'press, squeeze, thrust,' OE. *þrysman* 'oppress,' *ge-þryscan* 'afflict, depress,' Lith. *triūszkinti* 'crush,' Gk. *τερύσκω* 'wear away,' Skt. *tárusati* 'overcome.'

The development in meaning seen in the above is very common and is found in all periods down to the present time. Wherever we find a word expressing 'violent motion' we may expect to find that it or some word akin to it denotes 'violent emotion,' and where we find 'twist,' we may expect 'torture or 'writhe.' Hence a host of such terms as *agony*, *distress*, *anguish*, *affliction*, *etc.*

16. Skt. *jáyati* 'ersiegt, besiegt,' *jināti* 'überwältigt, unterdrückt,' Gk. *βιάζω* 'overpower, do violence to, wrong,' etc.: Goth. *qainōn*, ON. *kveina*, OE. *cwānian* 'lament,' pre-Germ. **gᵘoi-nā-* 'oppression, affliction,'

OE. *cwīþan* 'lament,' ON. *kvīða* 'be afraid, fear,' base **g$_{\breve{u}}^{u}$ī-to-* 'afflicted; crushed, subdued,' ON. *kveita* 'overpower,' base **g$_{\breve{u}}^{u}$oi-do-* 'force, violence.'

To the same root probably belong Skt. *jināti* 'grow old,' OE. *cwīnan* 'waste away,' etc. These are from a base **g$_{\breve{u}}^{u}$i-n^{a}-* 'overcome, crushed, shrinking.'

17. ChSl. *žĭmą* 'press together,' Gk. *γέμω* 'be loaded, be full,' Lat. *gemō* 'groan; bewail' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*): ON. *kumbl* 'grabhügel,' MHG. *kumber* 'kummer,' pre-Germ. **ĝ$_{o}$mlo-, ĝ$_{o}$mro-* 'pile, load,' and later 'weight, grief.' Wherever 'heaviness' occurs as a developed meaning is naturally found 'sadness, grief.'

18. Gk. *στενός* 'narrow, compressed,' *στένος* 'difficulty, trouble, distress': *στένω* 'groan, sigh,' ON. *stynja*, OE. *stenan* 'groan,' *stunian* 'resound,' Du. *stenen* 'stöhnen,' Skt. *stánati* 'resound, roar,' etc. These are generally referred to an IE. root *sten-* 'resound,' which is supposed to be related to *ten-* 'resound.' In any case 'resound' is a developed meaning. The root *sten-* probably meant primarily 'press together,' whence 'be afflicted, groan,' and finally resound as in Lat. *gemō*. But 'groan' and not 'resound' is the prevailing signification. The explanation here given is an old one, and should be revived.

19. Gk. *ἄγχω* 'press tight, throttle; vex,' Lat. *angō* 'press together, throttle; torment, torture,' *angustiæ* 'narrow place, narrowness; distress,' OHG. *angust* 'angst, besorgnis' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*).

V

E. *swathe*, *swaddle*, O E. *swaþian*, *swæþelian; swæþel*, *sweþel*, OHG. *swedil*, 'bandage' are related to Lith. *sauczìu*, *sausti* 'umhüllen, umgeben,' *sautìmas* 'das umgeben,' base *suo-to-*, *sou-to-* 'wrap, envelop.' This probably came from a root *seu̯o-*, *sou̯o-* 'roll, wind up, wrap.' Compare the root *suo-ɣo-su̯ĭ-* in OHG. *sweifan* in 'drehende bewegung setzen, winden,' *sweif* 'umschwung, umschlingendes band,' ON. *sveipr* 'band,' OE. *swæpels* 'cloak, garment' (v. supra).

As 'whirl, twist, wind' is the original of *swathe*, etc., we may further connect Lith. *siautė́ti* 'rasen, toben, wüten' and OHG. *siodan* 'sieden,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *IF*, x, 160), base *seu̯e-to-* 'swing, sway, roll,' etc.

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A FEW BĒOWULF NOTES.

1. *Geslōh þīn fæder fæhðemæste*, 459.

This line is commonly understood to mean: "thy father fought the greatest fight," or "fought out the greatest feud (or, of feuds)." However, this use of *geslēan* with an object like *fæhð(o)* is not supported by any other instance. It has also been insisted by Trautmann (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, Heft ii, pp. 153f.; cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt*, x, 258) that, apart from the inadmissibility of the vulgate interpretation, the metrical structure of the line is faulty; and that Bēowulf scholar even despairs of finding a plausible emendation, which in most cases is only too readily hit upon. But is there really any obscurity of meaning? What should prevent us from taking *gesloh* in the well established 'perfective' sense of 'got by fighting'? We have here, in fact, substantially the same function of *geslēan*, as in *mærða geslōgon*, Bēow. 2996; *tir geslōgan*, Aeðelst. 3f.; . . *geslōg* . . . *cynerica mǣst*, Wīds. 38f; *hūðe* . . . *geslōh*, Gen. 2149. The parallel use of *gefeohtan*, *gewinnan* as well as of *gefēran*, *gegān*, *geærnan*, *gesiltan*, etc., is so well known as to need nothing more than a passing allusion. That *fæhð* is something not exactly desirable, does not alter the case. Cf. Gen. (B) 301; 660.

Our (literal) translation is accordingly: "thy father brought about (or, brought on his head) by fight the greatest feud"—or, better: "the greatest of feuds," for *fæhðe* is no doubt meant for the genitive plural, just as in 'Crist' 617: (*geþingade þēodbūendum / wið fæder swǣsne*) *fæhþa mǣste*. The following lines tell the origin and circumstances of the feud, which is finally compounded by Hrōðgār: *siððan þā fæhðe fēo þingode*, l. 470. (The definite article in this line is clearly significant; cf. Lichtenheld, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xvi, 340.) It is obvious that Hrōðgār does not mean to relate a great exploit of Ecgþēow's—otherwise his intention would have been carried out very unsuccessfully!—, but in this

whole passage he merely emphasizes the friendly relations existing between the Danes and Gēatas. The same thought is uppermost in the king's mind, when the arrival of Bēowulf is first announced to him (ll. 372 ff.).

The question, whether our line is metrically right or wrong, appears to be still *sub iudice*. Kaluza does not question it any more than l. 262a: *wæs mīn fæder* (see his remark in *Die Metrik des Beowulfliedes*, p. 76; cf. *pone pīn fæder*, l. 2048a; Sievers, *Beitr.* x, 289). At any rate, we are fully justified in not tampering with a passage which in its sense is satisfactory.

Thorpe's and Toller's version: "thy father quelled (in fight) the greatest feud" is, of course, out of the question, since it violates both semasiology and context.

2. *wēan āhsodon* (*-e*), 423; 1206.

The signification of 'nancisci, experiri'; 'endure, experience'; 'erfahren, erdulden' foisted upon the verb *āhsian*, in order to explain these two places (Grein, Heyne, Socin, Harrison-Sharp, Holder, Garnett, Hall, Wyatt, W. Morris, Toller, Sweet, Trautmann) is merely a guess which frequent repetition has not been able to invest with any show of probability. It seems to us that there can be no mistaking the import of the latter instance:

hyne wyrd fornam,
syþðan hē for wlenco wēan āhsode,
fæhðe tō Frȳsum.

The verb *āscian* 'demand, call for, seek for, inquire' suggests at once *sēcan*, both in meaning and construction. We may compare, for example: *sceolde sweordes ecg/ ..... feorh ācsigan*, Andr. 1132 ff., and: *on healfa gehwone hēawan þōhton,/sāwle sēcan*, Bēow. 800f.; *sēcean sāwle hord*, ib. 2422.[1]

The following two passages:

þā ðū færinga feorr gehogodest
sæcce sēcean ofer sealt wæter,
hilde tō Hiorote, ll. 1988 ff.

and:

þæt ys sīo fæhðo ond se fēondscipe,
wæl-nið wera, ðæs ðe ic wēn hafo,
þe ūs sēceað tō Swēona lēoda, ll. 2999 ff.

1 *Past. Care* 171, 24 ff. Þæt is, ðonne ðonne ðara lareowa hieremenn hwæthwugu gæsðlices to him *secað* ond hi *frinað*, ðonne is suiðe micel scand gif he ðonne færð secende hwæt he sellan scyle, ðonne he iowan scolde ðæt him mon to *ascað*.—Cf. *Heliand* 822f. that ic thi so seragmod ...*escon* scolda...,= quærebamus te.

furnish the closest possible parallels to our lines in question.[2] "He had gone to the Frisians for trouble." Whether this phrase had a subaudition of grim humor for the Anglo-Saxon mind, it is hard to determine.

As regards the construction of *sēcan*, it is familiarly known from a classical Alfredian passage: *hū man ūtanbordes wīsdōm ond lāre hieder on lond sōhte*. See Koch II², § 425; Sievers, *Beitr.* xii, 194. A remarkable mistranslation is offered by Socin, who omits the comma after *āhsode*: "(Hygelāc) hatte Unglück im Krieg gegen die Friesen." *wēan* is, of course, parallel with *fæhðe*, just as in Finnsb. 27f. *wēa* appears coupled with *hild: fæla ic wēana gebād,/ heordra hilda.*

It stands to reason that the same interpretation should be claimed for *wēan āhsodon*, in l. 423, whatever construction we place upon the context of that disputed passage.

We find *āhsodon(-e)* given well enough as 'sought" in Thorpe's edition. Still better is Rieger's "auf etwas ausgehn." Earle's rendering of the second passage: "when he for wantonness challenged woe, feud with the Frisians" is better than that of the first: "they had been acquainted with grief."—See also the *N. E. Dict.*, s.v. 'ask.'—It is a pity that Körner's brief, but excellent comment, in *Englische Studien* I, 488, has not made a stronger impression on editors and translators of the poem.

3. *Ðǣr wæs on blōde brim weallende,*
atol ȳða geswing eal gemenged, 847 f.

Earle: "There was the face of the lake surging with blood." All the other translations within reach are practically the same, thus failing to bring out the close syntactical relation of *wæs* with *on blōde*, amounting to the connection of substantive verb + predicative adjectival phrase. In other words, *brim weallende* stands in the same relation to *wæs on blōde*, as *atol ȳða geswing* does to *eal gemenged*.[3] "There was bloody the surging water, the awful billowy flood all (Earle:) turbid."

(a) *gemenged* is used in an absolute sense, as in l. 1593: *þæt wæs ȳð-geblond eal gemenged,*

2 Note also Beow. 338 f.: wen ic *þæt* ge *for wlenco.... Hroðrar sohton*.

3 If we mistake not, this was Professor Zupitza's interpretation. His discussion of *deað-fæge deog* in *Archiv* 84 is not accessible to us.

'confusus,' 'turbatus' (see Grein). *(ge)mengan* is more or less synonymous with *(ge)drēfan*, also *(on)hrēran*. Cf. Boet. Met. v. 7 ff.: *swā oft smylte sǣ sūðerne wind, / grǣge glashlūtre, grimme gedrēfeð, / ponne hīe gemengað micla ȳsta, / onhrērað hronmere.* Further Bēow. 1416 f.: *wæter under stōd / drēorig ond gedrēfed;* Andr. 369f.: *þā gedrēfed wearð, / onhrēred hwælmere;* ib. 393f.: *grund is onhrēred, / dēope gedrēfed;* etc. We believe that this is also the proper meaning of *mengan* in Bēow. 1449: *(se hwīta helm . . .) sē þe mere-grundas mengan scolde, / sēcan sund-gebland*, though it has been rendered, with great unanimity (Grein, Heyne, Socin, Harrison-Sharp, Holder, Sweet [*Ags. R.*], Wyatt, Garnett, Hall, Earle), as 'mingle with, visit'; 'sich worunter mengen, wozu gesellen.' Only in Thorpe and Toller do we find the translation 'mingle together, stir up, disturb.' The analogous application of *(ge)drēfan* and *(on)hrēran* goes, indeed, a long way to prove this to be correct. Instead of citing many examples, which can easily be found with the help of Grein, we call attention only to one passage in 'The Husband's Message,' ll. 19 ff.: *heht nū sylfa þē / lustum lǣran, þæt þū lagu drēfde . . . . . ongin mere sēcan, mǣwes ēþel!*, which should be compared with ll. 40 ff. in the same poem: . . . *and on ȳþa geong āna* (Grein) *sceolde / faran on flotweg, forðsīþes georn, / mengan mereslrēamas.*

(b) For the formula-like nature of *brim weallende*, which forbids a syntactical separation of the two words, compare the following passages:

Andr. 1574: *oð þæt brēost oferstāg brim weallende.*

Bēow. 545 f.: *oþ þæt unc flōd tōdrāf, / wado weallende.*

Andr. 1542 f.: *hrēoh wæs þǣr inne / bēatende brim.*

Panther 7 f.: *brim grymetende, / sealt-ȳþa geswing.*

Exod. 477: *brim berstende blōdegesan hwēop.*

(c) As to the semi-adjectival force of *on blōde*,[4] we would refer to a group of well-known expressions in which the substantive verb (or *weorðan*)+prepositional phrase may be regarded as a periphrasis for a simple verb. For example, *þā wæs on sālum sinces bryttа*, Bēow. 607,=El. 194, etc.; *þā wæs mōdigra mægen on luste*, El. 138; *flōd wæs on luste*, Andr. 1573, etc.; *weorod wæs on wynne*, Bēow. 2014, etc.; *wesað on mōde*, Finnsb. 13; *sōna wæs on sunde* (=swimming), Bēow. 1618; *werod wæs on lyhte*, El. 53, etc.; *Lida bið longe on sīþe*, Gnom. Ex. 104, etc.; *hē on fylle wearð*, Bēow. 1544; *wearð on flēame*, Andr. 183; *bēo ðū on ofeste*, Bēow. 386, etc.

Examples of this kind abound in the Hēliand, for which see Sievers' collection of formulas.

It would thus seem that Cosijn's condemnation of l. 847 as 'onzin' was hardly justified. However ingenious his readjustment of the passage may be, there is some advantage in getting along with the reading of the MS. Bēow. 847 makes as good sense as Exod. 572: *ealle him brimu blōdige þāhton.*

[After finishing this note, we discover that Trautmann (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, Heft ii, pp. 162; 171 f.) has vindicated *on blōde* = 'bloody,' as "good Old English," with reference to *on searwum, on līfe, on sǣlum, on wǣpnum* (*?*).]

4. *æþelinga bearn ealra twelfa*, 3171.

twelfa looks like the genitive plural and is explained as such by Grein (in the *Sprachschatz*, s. v. 'tvelf'), Heyne, Socin, Harrison-Sharp, Holder, Wyatt, and by Thorpe, who translates: " of all the twelve." Now it is not absolutely impossible that the use of a genitive form has been occasioned by attraction to *ealra*. Still it is most likely that *twelfa*, in place of *twelfe*, is merely due to scribal carelessness or indifference, and that *twelfa* really stands for the nominative plural. *ealra* is the partitive genitive pure and simple, denoting "the whole of which a part is taken." *ealra twelfe* = 'twelve of the entire body.' This construction belongs in the same class with *ǣghwæs unrīm, ǣghwæs genōh, manigra sum, fēara sum, alra (tācna) gehwylc, hwæt ealles*, etc. (for example, Bēow. 2624, Wund. d. Schöpf. 94, Bēow. 2091, Bēow. 3061, El. 645, Ps. 119, 3.—Prose examples in Wülfing's *Syntax*, *passim*). Its explanation is to be sought in the great predilection of the Anglo-Saxons for partitive relation with which every

4 Also modern English: aglow, afire, alive, asleep, etc., may be compared.

student of Old English literature is conversant.

A number of precisely analogous instances (*ealra fīfe*, *tēne*, etc.) are collected by Grein, in his *Sprachschatz* i, p. 239, where he also—perhaps unwittingly—corrects *twelfa* of our passage to *twelfe*.

A phrase of similar import, but arising from a different conception is *seofone ætsomne*, Andr. 996, etc. Cf. Sievers, *Anglia* xiii, 3.

5. A comparison of the different editions readily brings to light a good deal of uncertainty, and sometimes inconsistency, in the editors' treatment of MS. spellings.

For example, *fealo*, l. 2757, is kept by Holder (1895) and Wyatt[2], changed to *fela* by Thorpe and Grein, to *feola* by Wülker and Socin[5].

The infinitive forms of the MS.: *hlodon*, l. 2775, *ongyton*, l. 308, appear in the printed texts as follows. Thorpe, Grein: *hladan*, *ongytan;* Holder, Wyatt, Socin: *hladon*, *ongyton;* Wülker: *hladan*, but *ongyton*.

Again, the singular genitives *wintrys*, l. 516, *Heaðoscilfingas*, l. 63, *yrfeweardas*, l. 2453 Wyatt, with his usual fidelity: = MS.; Thorpe: *wintres*, *Heaðoscylfinges*, *yrfeweardes;* Grein: *wintres*, *Heaðoscilfinges* (in his separate edition: *Heaðoscilfingas*), *yrfeweardas;* Holder: *wintrys*, *Heaðoscilfingas*, *yrfeweardes;* Wülker: *wintrys*, *Heaðoscilfinges*, *yrfeweardes;* Socin: *wintres*, *Heaðoscilfingas*, *yrfeweardas*.

The imperatives *wæs*, l. 407, and *spræc*, l. 1171, are retained by Socin, normalized to *wes* and *sprec* by Grein, Wülker, Holder; Thorpe prints *wes*, but *spræc;* Wyatt: *wæs*, but *sprec*.

ābrēot, l. 2930, the preterite of *ābrēotan*, is changed by Grein only to *ābrēat* (in Grein's separate edition: *ābrēot*). Yet Holder, Wyatt, Socin print *dēað* (*dēaþ*), in l. 1278, where the MS. reading *þeod* would rather favor the form *dēop*.

unigmetes, l. 1792, is uniformly replaced by *ungemetes*. But see Sievers, *Angelsächs. Gram.*, § 212, n. 1.

To mention a final illustrative case in point, in l. 70, all the editors read without change *yldo bearn*, four of them, at least, believing in the interpretation "children of the age." There can be no doubt, we think, that "children of men" is the only allowable rendering—the proof of analogy is quite conclusive—,and that *yldo* is an allowable variant for *ylda*. The ending *-o̧* in the genitive plural of masculine and neuter nouns, while not very frequent, is by no means unheard of. A few examples occur in the Durham Ritual: *cynno*, *gimǣro* (Lindelöf, p. 106); some more in the Lindisfarne Gospels: *wæro*, *mynetro*, *gefehto*, *wærcco*, *monno*, etc. (see E. M. Lea, *Anglia* xvi, *passim*); further, in the Epistola Alexandri: *sīðfato*, *lēohtfato*, *earfeðo*, *Mēdo*, also *ondswaro*, Sievers, *Beitr.* ix, 230); in the Bede (cf. Miller i, p. li): *Breotono*, *Norðanhymbro*, *gebeodo*, *ǣlo*, *gewrito*, *tintergo;* also 'Wulfstan' 225, 32: *tintrego*. Cf. also Sievers, *Angelsächs. Gram.*, § 237, n. 4. If then, the editors of these texts do not level the ending to *-a*, it appears to us perfectly proper to retain the *-o* in Béowulf, though the derivation from *yldo* has to be abandoned.

It is easily seen that a fair amount of normalizing is still practised in various editions. No doubt the editor is at liberty to substitute 'regular' forms, if he chooses. But then let it be distinctly understood that it is his policy to do so; and let him state what standard he is following. On the whole, it seems safer to us to err on the side of conservatism, especially as we have to do with a text the antecedents of which are not sufficiently known.

We may try, of course, as has been done, to explain certain variations of spelling from a contamination of different originals. But those are hopelessly beyond our reach. The sole tangible basis for editorial work is the existing MS.

6. *. . . . ac se wonna hrefn*
fūs oferfægum fela reordian,
earne secgan, hū him æt æte spēow,
þenden hē wið wulf wæl rēafode, 3024 ff.

Of this suprisingly bold and brilliant picture we were reminded—the difference of the situation notwithstanding—when we read in the poetical Edda;

. . . hvat þeir á bapmi
bápir sǫgðu
hrafn ey ok ǫrn,
er þeir heim riþu.
(Brot af Sigurðarkviðu, 13.)

5 We quote from all the editions within reach, except the old Heyne and Harrison-Sharp.

Of the numerous occasions on which raven and eagle are introduced in Old English poetry, this is the only one where they hold a conversation. That we find them 'singing' in other places is of little consequence; for the same holds true not only of their companion on the battlefield, the wolf (Exod. 164; El. 27, 112), but likewise of dead objects, like horns, trumpets, swords, coats of mail (cf. for example, Béow. 1423; 1432; 1521; Exod. 159; El. 109; Byrhtn. 284).—In Norse song and saga, on the other hand—as we see from the Eddas—the gift of speech is a common attribute both of ravens and eagles. This may or may not be of significance.

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FRENCH GRAMMAR.

The Essentials of French Grammar by C. H. GRANDGENT. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston: 1900. 12mo, vii, 101 pp.

MR. GRANDGENT'S "Essentials of French Grammar" is practically an enlarged edition of his "Short French Grammar." The wording of many paragraphs is the same as in the older work, the main difference being a fuller explanation of forms and rules, the addition of exercises and the omission of phonetic spelling throughout the grammar. In view of the many additions in Mr. Grandgent's second grammar, it seems unfortunate that he should have selected the title "Essentials." It would appear more proper to call his earlier work the "Essentials of French Grammar." The two titles, as they now stand, will inevitably cause confusion in the minds of teachers who have not examined these grammars.

The excellence of the "Short Grammar" is also a feature of the "Essentials." The same general presentation of the subject-matter is followed, the verb being first considered, whereas the article and the noun are discussed at the very end of the grammar. A brief *résumé* of the leading forms of the article, noun, and adjective precedes the main treatment of the verb, so as to enable the student to translate intelligently the short sentences given in the numerous exercises accompanying the statement of verbs.

It would be useless to discuss the propriety of making such a complete treatment of the French verb precede the simple rules of article, adjective and pronoun agreement. The claim that the verb forms the principal element in a sentence is taken as a reason for this arrangement. But this argument actually proves too much, for if the grammarians believing in it were true to it, they would have to treat first the more common verbs and the more usual rules governing the use of tenses and moods, then the article, noun, adjective, pronoun, and only towards the end of the grammar, the more complex rules of verb syntax with the varying idiomatic uses of verbs. In other words, the treatment of the parts of speech would have to be divided, and this division would bring the author back to a treatment very similar to that of former grammars. It must further be acknowledged that the older arrangement is more logical in that grammatical forms, which have not been explained, do not have to be used in the illustrations.

The preceding reasoning does not imply that the order followed by Mr. Grandgent in the treatment of his subject is undesirable. It should be taken more as a defence of other grammars than as a criticism of Mr. Grandgent's arrangement, an arrangement which he, of course, does not claim to be original with him. It merely proves that the old order is not necessarily illogical nor harmful, and the inevitable conclusion is that the sequence in treatment is not so important as the clear presentation of the subject-matter itself. In this respect, Mr. Grandgent cannot be too highly praised. Infelicities of statement occur occasionally, some teachers may think that they could improve on the wording of an occasional rule, but no grammar is ever absolutely perfect. Teachers who have used this work are free with their praise, and, assuredly, they are the only competent judges.

As a mere reference book this grammar cannot rank as high as some others. Suggestion plays an important rôle. For example, if a certain rule in the treatment of the verb should suggest a rule of pronoun or adjective agreement, this agreement is explained in the

chapters on verbs. This method may prove successful in teaching grammatical rules, but it is fatal in a work for reference. This is not a fault in the grammar; it may even be considered a merit; but attention should be called to the fact that the "Essentials" is not a a reference grammar, and had better not be used as such. A complete index might, to a certain degree, meet this difficulty, but, in this connection, it must be said that Mr. Grandgent's index is practically useless for reference. Under each heading is given a list of paragraphs dealing with some particular grammatical form, and the investigator must look through all these paragraphs to find the matter he wants, to discover perhaps, after his search, that the point he wishes to investigate is not treated at all. This is a decided disadvantage, and should be remedied.

A few special remarks, bearing principally on what has been stated above, may not be inappropriate; p. vi—Might it not be possible to give also a scheme of lessons more in accord with the older treatment of parts of speech? p. 2: 5—Why should not the *u* of *tu* be elided according to this rule? *tu* does not differ in accentuation from *je*. Nor does *qui* differ from *que;* p. 3 (last line but one)—Is "please" a good translation of *donc?* p. 4, l. 1—Read *naïvement;* p. 6, Note 4—Read "less . . . than;" p. 13: 3—*geai* is pronounced "jè," not "jé." p. 14: 6—The pronunciation of the first *e* in *examen* as "é" is frequent, but does not seem to be justified by the best authority; p. 67—It might be well to make some statement about the agreement of the past participles of reflexive verbs, and of past participles used without auxiliary or followed by an infinitive; p. 68 (A)—Rules for the non-agreement of *fait* might be given; p. 68 *c*—This rule is a case of "suggestion;" p. 78, l. 2—Insert "second and" before "third." p. 94, Supplementary Exercises 1—The introduction of *tu* is confusing; p. 149 *a*—It is a pity to introduce the form *porté-je* before the explanation of its formation (given on p. 152); p. 152 *a*—Mention the common formation of a question by the addition of *n'est-ce pas?* to the positive statement; p. 154 *a*, *b*—Two other cases of "suggestion;" p. 160: 2, 3—It would seem better to use the expressions "pronominal phrases" and "adjective phrases" (see p. 161 *b*); p. 168 *a*—Mention the form *si fait;* p. 182—It would be well to distinguish here between *il y a* and *voilà*. This suggestion leads to the question as to whether the English or the French expression should be made the starting-point of a rule. Should the statement be "*il y a* means . . . " or "'there' is rendered by . . . . ?" This is not an inappropriate query in the discussion of Mr. Grandgent's grammar, since he uses both forms of statement, and it is important, because on its answer depends often the classifying of a rule. In this particular case, to take the English phrase "there are" as a starting-point would place *il y a* and *voilà* in the chapters on adverbs. There seems to be a slight inconsistency in the author's manner of meeting this difficulty. Perhaps this inconsistency is inevitable. See, for example, p. 289: 1 (second half) where the rule is not clear because the starting-point is the English phrase. On p. 347 *b* English is again the starting-point; p. 211 *b*—*est-ce que je peux?* should be mentioned; pp. 230, 231—Why omit *défailler*, *échoir*, *oüir* and *seoir?* p. 253—Does *envoyer* come under the heading "verbs of motion?" The idea in *venir*, *aller*, etc., is subjective, whereas in *envoyer*, etc., it is objective; p. 275 *l* (end)—Another case of "suggestion;" p. 285 *a*—The force of this rule cannot be fully grasped by the student, for he is not yet supposed to know what the interrogative pronouns are; p. 301: 270—The old but not unfrequent use of *qui* as interrogative subject referring to an object might be mentioned: p. 312 *a*—An explanation of the construction *c'est* (*un brave homme*) *que* would not be inappropriate; p. 314: 282 *b*—Why is this statement brought in here? p. 320: 2 (end)—The statement "in certain cases" is too indefinite, especially since a fairly accurate and comprehensive ruling can be given; p. 331: 4—The use of *jamais* followed by a noun and meaning "never a" might be explained; p. 337—The heading "peculiarities in Singular" may be confusing unless a corresponding heading be inserted on p. 340; p. 343: 307—Is *trois heures et demie* an appropriate illustration? p. 345 *e*—It might be well to state that in other cases *tout* is invariable; p. 347 *b*—Mention the use of *entier;* p. 352: 314—Explain the use of *que de* before an infinitive; p. 359 *a*—Explain the agreement of *nu* and

feu; p. 371: 329—The appositive use of *de* in such phrases as *un diable d'homme* might be explained and illustrated; p. 372 *b*—The rendering "at (*or* to) the home of" of *chez* is not sufficient, and will inevitably lead, at times, to incorrect translations.

The following points should be treated; the use of *à* to denote a characteristic. The use of *à* after *être*, as in *il est à plaindre* (possibly in § 78 *b*).[1] The formation of adverbs by the addition of *-ment*. The use of *ou . . . ou* and of *soit . . . soit* (or *ou*). The use of *que* to avoid the repetition of such adverbs as *quoique*, *lorsque*, *quand*, etc. An explanation of these and other common points would be expected in a grammar intended to cover two or more years of study.

The foregoing remarks have been made only after a cursory glance through the grammar, not after a use of this work in the class-room, and these criticisms are not offered with any intention of fault-finding; they may not even appeal to the best judgment of teachers, but they indicate, to a certain degree, the weak points of Mr. Grandgent's grammar. They are, however, of very minor importance when contrasted with the general excellence of his work. "The Essentials of French Grammar" will be welcomed by all teachers as a useful help in the study of French, and will appeal with especial force to instructors who prefer the author's order in the treatment of his subject to the method employed in the majority of French grammars published in America.

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MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE.

Die deutsche Litteratur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von DR. RICHARD M. MEYER. (*Das Neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Deutschlands Entwicklung*, Bd. III.) 2te Auflage. Berlin: G. Bondi, 1900. Pp. xxii, 960.

IT is a reproach brought against German literature that criticism has always followed too closely on the heels of creative work, that it has even occasionally attempted to steal a march upon poetry. The analytical and critical tendency in the German mind has no doubt robbed German poetry in the last two centuries of a certain *naïveté* which belongs to it by nature; for the German national temperament, compared, for instance, with that of the Latin peoples, is essentially *naïve*. On the other hand, it may fairly be urged that German literature might never have attained classic dignity at all, had it not been for the active interference of criticism. However this may be, the gulf between the wholly uncritical poetry of the German Middle Ages and the theory-ridden literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is so great that it is sometimes difficult to conceive of both as coming from the same race; in no literature is it so hard to recognize a process of continuous evolution from the earliest beginnings to the present day as in that of Germany; indeed, were it not for the existence of an unbroken *Volkslitteratur* which forms the basis for such an evolution, it would be impossible. In even the least balanced *Flegeljahre* of New High German literature there is, if the expression be permissible, a certain *Zielbewusstsein;* the critic and the theorist seem to be standing constantly in the background, explaining how certain results have been arrived at and marking the lines on which the literature of the future must develop. To appreciate the present volume, this prerogative, which German criticism, back to the times of Opitz and Gottsched, has so presistently assumed, must be borne in mind; Professor Meyer does not merely write history; he also takes an active share in the literary evolution of the moment.

Whether this quality of *Zielbewusstsein* is to be regarded as an evil or not, it at least materially lightens the task of the literary historian, and especially the historian of recent and contemporary literature. German literature in the nineteenth century has not been one whit less confused or confusing than that of any other European people, but the mere fact that the Germans have had clearer ideas than other nations as to what their literature was doing, and whither it was tending, has made the task of writing the history of that literature easier. The path which the modern historian of German literature must tread is pretty well marked

[1] Here is an illustration of deficiency in the Index. The paragraph dealing with the passive rendering of an active infinitive is not given under the heading "infinitive;" The proper reference is placed under "*faire*" and "*laisser;*" fortunately it is the first given under these headings.

out for him; and there are certain broad movements which mark clearly where one chapter ought to end and another begin. In one respect, however, Professor Meyer has refused to profit by these natural advantages; he has preferred to divide his book artificially into ten chapters, each chapter being devoted to a decade. But he has himself obviously felt the limitations of this method, for he often groups together writers who show marked affinities in spite of the fact that their work belongs to different decades. We find, for instance, Gottfried Keller, Theodor Fontane and Fritz Reuter discussed in Chapter v (1840-50), although all belong, as a matter of strict chronology, to the second half of the century; and such examples might be multiplied. The division into decades can, after all, only be regarded as a preliminary to something better. Professor Meyer has not, it is satisfactory to see, allowed himself to be too much hampered by it, and it has at least the redeeming feature of keeping before the reader the synchronism of literary events. The student who approaches modern German literature on more organic principles is too apt to overlook the inevitable overlapping of literary movements. A more serious charge that must be brought against the work is that it is not, as its title would imply, so much a History of German Literature in the Nineteenth Century, as a History of Contemporary German Literature, with an introduction on the literature of the early Nineteenth Century; the first two decades of the century receive eighty-nine pages, the last two one hundred and eighty-seven. For this, Professor Meyer's excuse is

"dass wir für die Epoche bis zu Goethes Tod Darstellungen haben, die mit vollem Recht längst in den nationalen Besitz übergegangen sind, während für die neuere Zeit viel weniger brauchbare Vorarbeiten vorlagen, als für andere Gebiete."

But such a reason can hardly be accepted as valid. The phrase "bis zu Goethes Tod," which occurs on the title of so many histories of German literature, is in almost every case an excuse for not doing the literature of the first third of the century justice, for regarding it merely by the reflected light of Goethe's glory; I can think of no work—certainly not Julian Schmidt's—in which an honest attempt is made to see in it the beginning of a new era. The contemporary critics of German literature from 1800 to 1830 had, it may seem paradoxical to say it, clearer ideas of the value and significance of that literature than the critics of the next generation who, one and all, allowed themselves to be blinded by the re-discovery of Goethe's greatness. Even so great a critic as Dr. Georg Brandes, lecturing in Copenhagen in 1874, could only see the goal of the German literary movement of the beginning of the century in the Revolution of 1848. This was, however, a great point gained, for the academic standpoint had hitherto been to consider that literature as something purely *Epigonenhaftes*. But it seems to me that we must go still further before justice is done to the literature of these decades; we must bring into prominence the elements in it which differentiate it from the literature of the eighteenth century; we must see in it the first important stage in that conflict between Hegelian collectivism, on the one hand, and individualism on the other, which gives the European literature of the entire nineteenth century its distinctive coloring. Only from such a standpoint can we, it seems to me, realize the enormous significance of German Romanticism for the development of European literature. I do not know whether Professor Meyer is in sympathy with such a point of view, but he is too acute and stimulating a critic, too warmly in sympathy with modern ideas, not to help us materially in revising our ideas on this subject. For this reason it is to be regretted that he did not begin his history in earnest with the year 1798, the birth-year of the Romantic School, instead of waiting until Goethe was dead.

Although the first twenty or thirty years of the literature of the century are thus treated in a somewhat *stiefmütterlich* fashion, the perspective and proportions of the rest of the volume are good. The authors whom Dr. Meyer brings into the foreground are no longer the mediocre novelists and poets who, in the belief that they were keeping alive the classical traditions, only succeeded in being *hausbacken*, authors whom it used to be fashionable to read--in England at least--as typical specimens of German literature in the nineteenth cen-

tury. The literary movement which drew its inspiration from Munich in the sixties and seventies must, I fear, be held responsible for the contemptuous shrug with which the educated Englishman still tells you that Germany has only produced one writer of eminence since Goethe. The views which Dr. Meyer expresses, and the criticism which he gives us, have a distinctly cosmopolitan flavor; it is the kind of criticism which can be offered to a French or English reader with some hope of its being convincing; the point of view is, in essentials, at least, rarely merely German. This is to me the importance of this work as compared with older books covering a similar field.

To turn to a few details. The pages on Grillparzer are finely conceived and full of fresh ideas; it is pleasing to find Professor Meyer writing so warmly of Grillparzer's *Libussa*, which has long enough been passed over cursorily as a mere "book-drama." One looks, by the way, in vain for another *Libussa* in the book, a play that should have had some notice in a history of the nineteenth century, Brentano's masterpiece, *Die Gründung Prags*. That Gottfried Keller is "der grösste Schöpfergeist" in German literature since Goethe is, apart from the danger of superlatives, surely not a very happy characterization; the kind of greatness which Keller possessed was not, I think, pre-eminently creative greatness. No one can wish to underrate Keller's magnificent epic genius, but, after all, he had his limitations. It may seem heresy to say it, but there are pages in Keller—and not only in *Martin Salander*—where the punctilious German *Beamter*, with his love for the exact and the petty, is more in evidence than the creative poet. Hebbel and Ludwig are well characterized and contrasted; Meyer emphasizes excellently the peculiar rôle which Hebbel played as an innovator in the development of the German drama, a rôle which has brought him, within the last few years, into extraordinary prominence. The warm enthusiasm for Germany's greatest poetess, Annette Droste-Hülshoff—an enthusiasm which Professor Meyer had already expressed in an excellent essay in his volume of *Deutsche Charaktere*,[1] —is as welcome as the condemnation of the *Mirza Schaffy* order of lyric which predominated in the fifties and sixties. In his criticism of Heine, on the other hand, there is a singular lack of freshness. The most serious flaw in the matter of proportion seems to me the space given to Theodor Fontane. I am afraid Dr. Meyer has here allowed the fascination of one of the most charming personalities in modern literature to interfere with his purely critical judgment; it becomes a matter of personal taste and not of literary history, when Professor Meyer devotes to Fontane twenty-eight pages, and to Spielhagen, a much more important factor in the evolution of the modern novel, only five. That time has lain heavily on Spielhagen's work is unfortunately true, but it ought not to be forgotten that there was a generation of critics, before the brothers Hart, who had quite as high an opinion of *Problematische Naturen* as we to-day have of *Effi Briest*. I doubt very much if the next generation will read Fontane with as much patience as the present generation still reads its Spielhagen. No one will grudge the space given to Anzengruber, Sudermann, and Hauptmann; although here, too, a word might be said on the subject of due proportion. The pages on Hauptmann contain, moreover, some of the best and most illuminating criticism in the book. Wildenbruch is, on the whole, justly estimated, but it offends one's sense of fair play to find that judgment based on *Wilhelm*, one of Wildenbruch's weakest pieces. In the later chapters, I fail occasionally to follow Dr. Meyer in his somewhat strongly expressed likes and dislikes. Why, to take one example, is Helene Böhlau praised so warmly and Gabriele Reuter so heartily condemned? In the verse of one of the newest of the new poets, Stefan George, to find "einen Abglanz homerischer Kunst" savours too much of impressionist journalism. A writer like Ferdinand von Saar, who, with the exception of Heyse, at his best, seems to me the greatest living master of the short story, might have had more space allotted to him; and indeed, the contemporary Austrian writers are all unduly overshadowed by their North German colleagues. I am inclined to think that there is at the present moment more promise for

1 Berlin: E. Hofman, 1897.

the future of German poetry in Vienna than in Berlin.

Professor Meyer's History of Modern German Literature is thus essentially a personal book, a book from an individual standpoint; one might even describe it as the expression in criticism of the literary creed of the last twenty years in Germany. The newest Young Germany has become what it is because it has appreciated the greatness in Grillparzer and Hebbel, in Heine and Droste-Hülshoff, in Keller and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. Dr. Meyer's book is thus in itself as much a *mémoire pour servir* as the literature of the last twenty years which it discusses; but it is an indifferent tribute to a work of criticism to say that it is only a document for the use of the future historian; and this work is certainly more. One can conceive of a history of German literature in the nineteenth century being written from a different standpoint, of a book in which light and shade are distributed differently, and here and there more justly, but I doubt if it will ever be possible to re-enthrone the gods who are here deposed, or in the main essentials to arrange otherwise the hierarchy of German literature since Goethe's death. Meyer deserves the credit of having given us the first History of German Literature in the Nineteenth Century which, notwithstanding its excessive detail, is written from a cosmopolitan point of view.

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FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Anleitung zum Studium der Französischen Philologie für Studierende, Lehrer und Lehrerinnen, von DR. EDUARD KOSCHWITZ, Professor an der Universität Marburg. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. 8vo, vii and 183 pp.

IT is a pleasure to find that Prof. Koschwitz's eminently practical *Anleitung zum Studium der Französischen Philologie*, Marburg, 1897, has already reached its second edition. It is just such a guide as every American, as well as every German, student needs both for his work at home and for a trip abroad for purposes of study.

This second edition has been increased in size by the addition of some forty-five pages of reading-matter and an index. The work has not been rewritten, but additional paragraphs have been inserted on: Französische Schriften über Deutschland; Reisen in die Provinz; Ferienkurse zu Nancy und Grenoble; and Annahme von Lehrerstellen. At the same time numerous paragraphs already appearing in the first edition have been remodeled, either in whole or in part, and the many bibliographical references have been brought up to date as regards new works which have appeared in the last few years, while at the end there have been appended several opinions of the first edition which were published in some of the leading scholarly journals.

Of interest to American scholars will be the newly added references to Dr. Hugo P. Thieme's bibliography of French literature during the nineteenth century.[1] In glancing over the Index one is surprised not to find the name of M. Paul Meyer, although that of his *confrère*, M. Gaston Paris, appears conspicuously. A few unimportant paragraphs are found to have been omitted, but extensive additions are to be noted in the lists of students' boarding-houses given for Paris, and also for certain Swiss towns much frequented by German students.

The change in type noticeable in the second edition appears to have been for the better in the matter of clearness, but it is a subject for regret that the headings given in the Table of Contents were not repeated in the body of the work. The only misprints noted were 1855 for 1885 on page 112, and *Glédat* for *Clédat* on page 113.

This little manual is designed to serve as a guide, both for those who wish to fit themselves for the practical work of the classroom in teaching Modern French, and for those who desire to take up the serious study of the French language and literature in preparation for positions in the faculties of the German universities. In it Prof. Koschwitz has once more given proof of his grasp upon the prac-

1 See pp. 140 and 144.

tical as well as the theoretical side of his profession as a modern language teacher.

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THE SACHSENSPIEGEL.

Die Reimvorreden des Sachsenspiegels. VON GUSTAV ROETHE. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band II, No. 8. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1899. 4to, pp. 110.

THE modest title of Roethe's treatise hardly suggests its rich contents. The discussion of the rhymed preface to the *Sachsenspiegel* forms only the introductory part of an investigation into questions of far-reaching importance. It concerns a field in which comparatively little has been accomplished so far: the Middle Low German period. However simple the explanation for this apparent neglect may be—in the main it rests upon certain utilitarian considerations, the interrelation between university work and the secondary school programme—from a purely scientific point of view this disregard for a literature however inferior but none the less pertinent for questions of literary influences and linguistic development is very much to be regretted. What little there has been done is due, in the main, to the activity of the *Verein für Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, and it is a hopeful sign that another academic teacher has turned his attention to this subject.

What Homeyer, the jurist, had been unable to decide upon, Roethe establishes beyond a doubt: the two parts of the rhymed preface (vv. 1–96, and 97–230) are the work of two authors, differing in personality and in their technique. The rhymed couplets (Part II) only can be attributed to Eike von Repgow. These couplets thus offer the starting point for a most thorough investigation into the language of the author.

Eike was a Low German; his *Sachsenspiegel* recorded the laws as evolved among his countrymen. It would have been but natural to employ the dialect of his native land if the vernacular had at that time developed a literary language; but this condition was lacking. To become the founder of a new literary language Eike did not possess the requisite creative genius; his mind was that of the reasoning jurist, content with committing the statutes to writing, but stopping short of the other difficult problem, that of the literary use of a purely Low German language.

Eike's work with its peculiarly mixed speech offers the same problem that has been a *crux* to the interpreters of the *Hildebrandslied*, of Veldeke and Wizlav—to mention only these typical cases. The *Sachsenspiegel* might have been written down in Low German and lost its original habitus during the long process of copying and reworking into a southern idiom; it might have been first committed to writing in High German and found acceptance among Low Germans only in a Saxon garb. Neither of these suppositions leads to satisfactory results. There is a third possibility: the author divested his language of local peculiarities and approached it to the neighboring High (Middle) German dialect, avoiding what might have been unintelligible to his countrymen. And this procedure was no innovation on the part of Eike; it was an evolution starting with the earliest Low German authors and leaving its imprint on the literary productions up to about 1300. They all show the same characteristics—a tempered language that is neither Low nor High German. When with the beginning of the fourteenth century the Saxon dialect is gradually raised to a poetical language, it shows till its final decline, with the introduction of the reformation, the traces of its former bondage.

A full enumeration of the arguments brought forward by Roethe cannot be attempted here. I must content myself with this brief *exposé* of the keynote of his contention. That the whole array of proofs and assumptions will stand the test of further research nobody will claim; the personal equation is discernible here and there.

The scantiness of the available reliable text material—the *Sachsenspiegel* edition itself leaves much to be wished for—and our meagre sources of the cultural conditions of that

period in the North perhaps put some arguments in the wrong place, or at least leave some theories open to further discussion. Thus, for instance, Roethe's belief that the imitation of High German, and the consequent absence of specifically Low German forms, was an unconscious process, that it more or less forced itself on the Low German writers, is not fully substantiated. Similarly, it seems that the later period—the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—was ushered in by a more conscious effort on the part of northern poets. If the people had at that time reached a higher educational level, and took sufficient interest in official transactions to necessitate the substitution of the mother tongue for the learned Latin, the mere inertia that gradually introduces the vernacular into literary use hardly explains the change of conditions, even if coupled with the fact that literary productiveness in the South was on the wane. Be that as it may—so far only theory against theory!—these objections do not touch the main issue. Roethe has certainly succeeded in formulating the problem and pointing the way that is to lead the editor of Middle Low German texts, and the historian of mediæval North German literature, out of baffling perplexities. I do not hesitate to call Roethe's work the most important contribution to Germanics within the last years. Attention might, in this connection, be called also to Carl Kraus, *Heinrich von Veldeke und die mittelhochdeutsche Dichtersprache*, Halle, 1899, and Wrede, *Die Heimat der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, *Z.f.d.A.* xliii, p. 333, and ibid. *Anzeiger*, p. 387.

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SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied. J. T. T. Brown. Bonn: 1900 (*Bonner Beiträge*).

All students of the two Scottish national epics have been perplexed by certain difficulties connected with the authorship and integrity of the texts, which editors have never satisfactorily cleared up. The present work is an attempt to explain these anomalies by the help of a somewhat startling theory.

First, as to the facts.

The *Wallace* has been preserved to us in a unique MS. bearing the colophon: "Explicit vita .... Willielmi Wallace militis per me Johannem Ramsay anno domini 1488." As Ramsay was the scribe of the MS. of the *Bruce* which is included in the same volume and subscribed "raptim scriptus per me Johannem Ramsay," and also presumed to be that of the Cambridge *Bruce*, subscribed "per manum J. de R., capellani"; and as these three MSS. are said to be in the same handwriting, it has always been supposed that Ramsay was simply a copyist. The authorship of the *Bruce* was known; that of the *Wallace* was assigned by ancient tradition (apparently never questioned till now) to Blind Harry, or Henry the Minstrel, though no mention of the author's name occurs in the book itself.

That there was such a person as Blind Harry living in the reign of James IV, there is no doubt. There are entries of small gifts to him from the royal treasury, and he is mentioned among dead poets by Dunbar (*circ.* 1508). John Maior says that he was blind from his birth, that in the time of his (Maior's) infancy he fashioned[1] (*cudit*) a book of the deeds of Wallace, *carmine vulgari*, and that he earned his food and clothing by reciting stories—*historiarum recitatione* — before noblemen. From these facts it is clear that Harry was one of the wandering minstrels, at once poet and beggar; and this has been the invariable tradition. The "stories" which Maior says he recited are supposed to have been portions of the *Wallace*.

Straight as this story seems, there are difficulties in the way. It is hard to think that a wandering beggar who could not write, could compose and hold in memory a continuous epic of nearly 12,000 lines. It is still harder to understand how a man blind from his birth should have such clear impressions of natural objects, and such minute knowledge of Lowland topography, both east and west. Even stranger than this is his familiarity with books, such as Chaucer and the romance writers. He even implies a knowledge of Latin by asserting that he drew much of his material

1 Mr. Brown's translation. *Cudit*, however, means "printed," from which it would seem that Maior thought the edition of Myllar and Chepman, 1508, to have been the original form.

from an (unknown) Latin chronicle by Master John Blair. That a wandering beggar, born blind, and living in Scotland in the fifteenth century should attain a familiar knowledge of poetry, romance, and Latin books, would be little less than a miracle; and if he really accomplished it, it is hardly conceivable that he should nowhere in his book refer to himself or his blindness in either justifiable pride or apology.

With regard to the *Bruce*, the case is different.

John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the second half of the fourteenth century, is a very substantial person mentioned in a multitude of records, which also fix the year of his death as 1395. The rubric to the *Bruce* declares it to be his composition, and this is confirmed by Wyntoun, a younger contemporary, who cites long passages from it. The work is preserved in two MSS., one, as previously stated, written by John Ramsay, and one by "J. de R. Capellanus."

But difficulties arise here also. Is it likely that the language of Barbour, an Aberdeen man, would not be distinguishable from the dialect of Lothian a hundred years later? Could Barbour, who lived in the next generation, and who, as he tells us, had obtained information from men who had borne a part in the events he narrates, have made such a strange error as confounding King Robert with his grandfather, Bruce the Competitor—not to speak of other slips and confusions? Then again, there are the long extracts preserved by Wyntoun, which differ considerably (and usually for the better) from the *Bruce* MSS. All these things seem to point to a recasting of the original text by a later hand.[2]

Mr. Brown's contention is that the *Wallace*, as we have it, is not the composition of Blind Harry, but the work of John Ramsay, hitherto regarded as only the copyist; and that the same Ramsay revised, embellished, and to some extent re-worded, the original text of the *Bruce*. One point on which he justly lays stress is the eulogy of the Ramsay family, rather violently brought into the texts of both the *Bruce* and *Wallace*. But his attempt to prove that Ramsay was at least a versifier on the strength of a fragment of a little moral poem found embedded among some (printed) statutes of James III, and (as Mr. Brown supposes) inserted there by Ramsay, it amounts to just nothing; and I think he could have made a stronger point of the fact that whereas both MSS. of the *Bruce* are said to be *written* by John Ramsay, or J. de R., the *Wallace* is subscribed: "the life of William Wallace, by me, John Ramsay."

If this Ramsay was such a considerable poet, why is he not mentioned by somebody, and why does not his contemporary, Dunbar, include him among his "makaris?" One answer to the latter query might be that Dunbar mentions only dead poets, and Ramsay may have been alive; but Mr. Brown thinks that he does mention him under the title of "Sir John the Ross." He supposes that Ramsay may have held the office of Ross Herald, and was called "Sir John the Ross," as an honorary title, or to distinguish him from the other John Ramsays, who were pretty numerous. The household books of James IV, Mr. Brown tells us, prove that there was a Sir John the Ross at Court, but he brings no evidence to show that his name was Ramsay. This if admitted, would perhaps explain the "J. de R." affixed to the Cambridge *Bruce* (1487), but it would fail to explain why in the *Wallace* (1488), and the Edinburgh *Bruce* (1489), he calls himself simply John Ramsay. Another difficulty lies in the fact that J. de R. of C text calls himself "chaplain," and John Ramsay of the E text says that he wrote "at command of the vicar," showing that if the two were one person, he was an ecclesiastic, and as such could not have held the military office of herald.

Throwing aside this quite unsubstantial speculation, I must admit that a somewhat plausible case has been made out for Ramsay. But there are still serious difficulties in the way.

In the first place, if Ramsay was ambitious of literary honors, and had written an important poem which was certain to be widely read, why does he nowhere in that poem mention

[2] Mr. Brown's argument, drawn from the similarity of parts of the *Bruce* to passages in Froissart, (which Barbour could not have seen) does not strike me as very forcible. Froissart travelled in Scotland in 1363 collecting material for his Chronicles, and he may well have conversed with the very persons from whom Barbour had his information.

himself as the author? Unless indeed the colophon, "written by me," was intended as an announcement of authorship.

If Ramsay was the author of so considerable a poem, which went into print about 1508, and was reprinted twice in the sixteenth century, why does nobody speak of him as a poet, and why, at least from the time of Bellenden in the next generation, has the *Wallace* always been attributed to Blind Harry?

If Ramsay composed the *Wallace*, and enlarged, re-wrote, and modernized the *Bruce* to suit his taste, as he was (by the hypothesis) also the scribe of the Cambridge *Bruce*, the vocabularies and spelling should be identical. A slight and hasty examination shows that this is not the case. For instance:

B uses *ane* before both vowels and consonants; W before vowels only. The scribe of B has a predilection for the initial *ȝ*, sixty-one words in the glossary beginning with that letter, to only eight in W.

Manteme (maintain), *bot and* (and also), *cowyne* (fraud), *owth* (above, beyond), *outta* (overtake), *angyr* (misery), *ynkerly* (constantly), *abaid* (tarrying), *apparaill* (apparatus), *out of daw* (slain), *schiltrum* (phalanx), *thusgat* (in this manner), common in B, are not found in W.

W has *fewtir* (socket for a spear) and *pissane* (neck armour, camail) not in B. *Lowdyane* (Lothian) in B is *Lowthiane* in W.

Chenzies, *oist* (*oyst*, *oost*), *maiss* (*mayss*), *pusoune*, *forouten* (*for-owtyne*) in B, are *chenys*, *ost*, *makis*, *poyson*, *with-owtyne* in W.

The impressions produced on my mind by previous reading of the *Bruce* and *Wallace* have been:

First. That the *Wallace* is not the production of a wandering beggar, blind from birth, but of a man of reading and considerable literary skill, in possession of his eyesight.

Second. That the *Bruce* has been extensively tampered with by somebody between Wyntoun's time and the writing of the Cambridge MS.

These impressions are confirmed by Mr. Brown's researches.

On the other hand, I cannot see that he has adduced any *proof* that Ramsay was the author of the *Wallace* and the re-caster of the *Bruce*, though both suppositions are possible.

I quite agree with Mr. Brown that "J de R. capellanus" of the Cambridge *Bruce* (and another poem) is not, as Prof. Skeat supposes, another way of writing "Johannes Ramsay;" but I entirely dissent from his conjecture that Ramsay used the former signature to signify "John, Ross Herald." I strongly suspect that the assumption (by Prof. Skeat and others) that the handwriting of the two MSS. is identical, has been too hasty, and that the J. de R. of the Cambridge MS. is a different person from the Johannes Ramsay of the Edinburgh *Bruce* and *Wallace*.[3] That Dunbar's "Sir John the Ross" may refer to the Ross Herald (whoever he was) seems to me a plausible conjecture. I also fully agree with his views about the supposititious *Brut*.

Mr. Brown deserves the thanks of students of the early Scottish literature for his careful examination of this highly interesting subject, which I trust will receive further investigation at the hands of some competent scholar.

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PROSODY.

Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory. Edited by Edward W. Scripture, Ph. D., Director of the Psychological Laboratory. Vol. VII. New Haven: 1899. 8vo, 108 pp.

The larger part of this issue is occupied with Dr. Scripture's article, "Researches in Experimental Phonetics" (First Series, 101 pp.); the remainder with his paper entitled "Observations on Rhythmic Action." Of these the first is the only one we shall notice particularly.

According to Dr. Scripture, these studies were begun in October, 1897. The scope of such researches in general would include not only speech sounds as material for language, but also their changes resulting from different mental conditions, such as fatigue, emotion, and the like; it would also include the study of rhythm in speech, with its application in poetry and music. The present study is an attempt to use laboratory methods for the

3 Prof. Skeat himself admits that the text of the two MSS. varies so much that they seem to have been copied from different sources. Certainly this looks as if they were by different scribes.

purpose of settling the controversy in regard to the quantitative character of English verse. The general field seems to the author so rich and so unexplored that there is unlimited gain for any one wishing to enter it, and he announces that to those wishing to use the same methods every possible facility will be afforded by the Yale laboratory.

The scope of the article may be estimated from the headings of its subdivisions:

I. Apparatus for studying speech sounds.

1. Making gramophone plates.

2. Transcribing gramophone records.

II. The diphthong *ai* found in the words I, *eye*, *die*, *fly*, *thy*.

This study was based upon a recital of the nursery rime of *Cock Robin*.. The vowels in each of the above words are successively considered under the heads of (1) beginning, (2) pitch, (3) formation, (4) amplitude, (5) ending, (6) relation between curve and color; these are followed by general observations on *ai*.

III. Study of the words "*Who'll be the parson?*"

IV. The nature of vowels.

Under the latter head are successively treated (1) Willis's theory, (2) Helmholtz's theory, (3) comparison of the two theories, (4) the noise theory, (5) observations on the nature of spoken sounds, (6) mechanical action in producing vowels.

V. The mouth-tone in vowels.

VI. The cord-tone in vowels.

Subdivisions under this head are: (1) the pitch-function, (2) the amplitude function, (3) sequence of word-tones.

VII. Verse-analysis of the first stanza of *Cock Robin*.

Under the last head the author's summary is as follows:

"These researches were begun in order to settle the controversy in regard to the quantitative character of English verse. A nursery rhyme was selected as being verse in the judgment of all classes of people for many ages. When compared with some of what many of us now consider to be the best verse, it shows various defects, but these delects are typical of the usual deviations from our present standards, and are, moreover, not defects according to other standards. It is also a fact that our notions of verse are largely derived from the rhymes heard in childhood. . . .

The elements in speech whose rhythmical arrangement is the essential of verse as contrasted with prose are: 1, quality; 2, duration or length; 3, pitch; and 4, intensity. The element of quality consists in the nature of the sound as a complex of tones and noises producing a definite effect as a speech-sound. Length, pitch, and intensity are properties of the speech-sound that can be varied without destroying its specific nature; that is, without changing the quality. These four elements can be varied independently.

It seems to be sufficiently well settled that, in addition to variations of quality, that is, of the speech-sounds, the essential change in Greek verse was one of pitch. I have observed a similar characteristic in Japanese verse. Probably no better way of getting an idea of the nature of Greek verse could be found than that of listening to typical Japanese verse. I have also found another form of pitch-verse in a kind of poetical dictionary used by the Turks for learning Persian.

Latin verse was essentially a time-verse, the chief distinction among the syllables being that of length in addition to the change in speech-sounds.

English verse is usually considered to be an intensity-verse, or a verse of loud and soft syllables. The four tables show quite evidently that English verse is also a pitch-verse and a time-verse.

It may be said that in all probability changes of length and intensity went along with the changes of pitch in Greek verse but that they were of minor importance. Perhaps, also, changes of pitch and intensity likewise accompanied the long and short syllables in Latin verse. But I do not think that for English verse we can fully accept the analogous statement that, although the changes in pitch and length may be present, they are quite subordinate to the changes in intensity. It would, I believe, be more nearly correct to say that English verse is composed of strong or weak, or emphatic and unemphatic syllables, and that strength can be produced by length, pitch, or intensity.

The usual scansion of this stanza in strong and weak syllables would give

— — ⏑ — ⏑
— ⏑ ⏑ — —
— — — ⏑ — —
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

The three elements: length, pitch, and intensity, are all used to produce strength. Thus the forcible vowel *u* in Line 1 is long and moderately high and loud.

The strength of a syllable may be kept the same by increasing one of the factors as another one decreases. The vowel *o* in *Robin* in Line 1 is strong on account of its length and intensity, although its pitch is low. A syllable

necessarily short may be made as strong as a longer one by making it louder or higher; or a syllable necessarily of small intensity may be strengthened by lengthening it or raising its pitch. Thus, the short *i* of *With* in Line 3 is strong on account of its high pitch and large amplitude; and the weak *æ* of *arrow* in Line 3 is strong on account of its high pitch and its length. This might be called the *principle of substitution.*

An increase in the loudness, length, or pitch of a syllable renders it stronger—other things being equal. Using the symbol f to indicate dependence, we may put $m = f(x, y, z)$, where m is the measure of strength and x, y, and z are the measures of intensity, length, and pitch respectively. This might be called the fundamental *principle of strength.*

The study of this and other specimens of verse has made it quite clear that the usual concept of the nature of a poetical foot is erroneous in at least one respect. *Lines* in verse are generally distinct units, separated by pauses and having definite limits. A single line, however, is not made up of smaller units that can be marked off from each other. It would be quite erroneous to divide the first stanza of *Cock Robin* into feet as follow:

Who killed|Cock Rob|in?
I, said the|sparrow,
With my bow|and ar|row
I killed|Cock R•b|in.

No such divisions occur in the actually spoken sounds, and no dividing points can be assigned in the tracing.

The correct concept of the English poetical line seems to be that of a certain quantity of speech-sound distributed so as to produce an effect equivalent to that of a certain number of points of emphasis at definite intervals. The proper scansion of the above stanza would be:

Who killed Cock Robin?
I, said the sparrow,
With my bow and arrow
I killed Cock Robin.

The location of a point of emphasis is determined by the strength of the neighboring sounds. It is like the centroid of a system of forces, or the center of gravity of a body, in being the point at which we can consider all the forces to be concentrated and yet have the same effect. The point of emphasis may lie even in some weak sound or in a mute consonant, if the distribution of the neighboring sounds produces an effect equivalent to a strong sound occurring at that point. Thus the first point of emphasis in the third line lies somewhere in the group of sounds *mybow*, probably between *y* and *o*.

With this view of the nature of English verse all the stanzas of *Cock Robin* can be readily and naturally scanned as composed of two-beat or two-point lines.

It is not denied that much English verse shows the influence of quantitative classical models, but such an influence is evidently not present in *Cock Robin.*"

It is evident that a wide perspective is opened up by these initial studies, and that students of English verse will do well to heed their significance. The results will of course vary with the mode of recitation, so that the personal equation can by no means be eliminated at the outset; and the same will probably be true in some measure of the interpretation of the tracings.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Molière's Les Précieuses Ridicules, by WALTER DALLUM TOY. Heath's Modern Language Series. Boston (Boards).

Molière's Les Précieuses Ridicules, by C. FONTAINE, B.L., L.D. Wm. R. Jenkins. New York (paper).

Les Précieuses Ridicules is especially serviceable for class use. To begin with, it is short (forty pages) and the narrative is lively while the comedy has a threefold historic interest in that (1) it is the great classic forerunner of French farce comedy; (2) it marks Molière's successful début in Paris; (3) it is a record (albeit in ridicule, and for this it is not the less valuable) of a curious phase of French literature not easily brought to the notice of the undergraduate in any other form.

Mr. Toy has apparently understood the unusual significance of the piece and accordingly divides his excellent introduction (ten pp.) into I, Molière; II, La Société Précieuse; III, Date and reception of the comedy; IV, Bibliographical note; V, Molière's preface.

Under these four sections the editor gives the historical setting of the play in brief and entertaining form.

His notes (ten pp.) are mainly historic, although they contain some suggestive linguistic points. They include the celebrated Carte de Tendre, in itself an amusing and instructive

commentary on precious methods and affections.

Mr. Fontaine's edition, if we rightly understand him, is intended to reach a younger class of students. This we conclude from the large amount of translation contained in the notes (fifteen pp.), and consists frequently of an English so simple that the distorted exageration of the Précieuse phrasing seems often lost to the detriment of the humor of the piece. Otherwise his notes are well adapted to be of literary value to instructor and class. Mr. Fontaine has, however, chosen to disregard the historical setting of the piece which I deem so important. He includes Voltaire's "Notice sur les Précieuses Ridicules" and Molière's own dubious preface without comment however.

He has but two pages of introductory matter that is his own—and that rather informal—containing the following statement which is surely misleading to undergraduates, to say the least: "Mascarille is the *faithful image* (the italics are mine) of the young courtiers that filled the court of Louis XIV."

The statement seems to me unrelieved by anything in the context, yet I hardly think Mr. Fontaine would seriously maintain that the rowdy Mascarille (dressed for a buffoon part, originally even to the wearing of a mask—by the author himself—and still an extravagant drôle in the modified latter-day performances of the Comédie Française) could be the *faithful image* of any sane man save through grossest caricature.

Assuming this second edition to be adapted for younger students, we can readily understand the omission of Mascarille's famous, line "Je vais vous montrer une furieuse pluie," with the indicated gesture which is indeed hopelessly vulgar for any age. Yet Mr. Fontaine must have sacrificed unwillingly so valuable an historical side-light.

Both editions would be decidely more serviceable for the addition of a vocabulary. This convenience has been, I believe, frequently advocated in these pages but seldom with more justice than now. The "Précieuses" abounds in words distorted from their natural to special Précieuse meanings, some words and phrases having been coined expressly for the Société, and used exclusively by them. These meanings are subtle and difficult for any but a specialist to reach. Mr. Fontaine has aimed at this in his notes in a greater degree than Mr. Toy.

Both books are well printed and are attractive in form and size.

John Davis Batchelder,

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—The "International Correspondence" has now, in the four years of its existence, made great progress in England, France and Germany, and, to some extent, in the United States. Mr. W. T. Stead, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, in London, has offered one hundred prizes, consisting of books in the languages foreign to the recipients, to be awarded to those students who have made the greatest proficiency in this part of their modern language study. Thirty of these go to each of the European countries most engaged in the correspondence; England, France and Germany, and ten come to the United States. If each teacher, in school or college where the International Correspondence has been introduced, will send to our committee the name of the student considered "the most deserving as regards continuance in regular, careful correspondence, and general character" as soon as possible, we shall be glad to give such student an opportunity to compete for one of the ten American prizes.

The teacher should, in each case, state the reasons on which he bases his conclusion, and send also *two* specimens of letters written by the student in the foreign language, without direct assistance of his instructor.

The competition will close February 1st, 1901, but may be extended two weeks.

Also, will all teachers who have introduced the International Correspondence into their classes, whether they desire to compete for the prizes or not, send their address, with the full name of their institutions, to the chairman of this committee, and state how long the International Correspondence has been introduced, and the number of students now engaged in it. An early report upon this subject is earnestly requested.

EDWARD H. MAGILL,

Chairman of the International Correspondence Committee of the Mod. Lang. Asso'n of America.

Swarthmore College, Pa.

OLD FRENCH LITERATURE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

DEAR SIRS:—*The Round*[1] *Table before Wace*, is a monograph including pages 182-205 of the *Harvard Studies*. The author aims to show that Wace is speaking the truth in the *Roman de Brut* (vv. 9998-9) where the poet refers his account of King Arthur's Round Table to Celtic tradition. In view of the silence of Welsh literature and Geoffrey of Monmouth's omission of any reference, Wace's statement has been rejected by a number of scholars as unreliable.

To vindicate the Norman poet—the first writer to mention the Round Table—and also to support the view of a Celtic origin, the author turns to the *Brut* of Layamon. He argues, from the peculiarly barbarian color of Layamon's Round Table story, unusual with the poet, who rather takes pains to tone down coarse detail elsewhere, that it must represent a native Welsh tale familiar to Layamon by reason of his close contact with Wales.

writers. From such accounts as the *Story of*

1 Reprinted from Vol. VII of *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*. Published under the direction of the Modern Language Departments of Harvard University. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900.

As evidence, further, that Layamon did not invent the episode of the Round Table, which he added to Wace, and the incidental quarrels over precedence at feasts, a number of examples are cited from ancient Irish saga *Mac Datho's Pig* and *The Feast of Bricriu* marked resemblance is shown with Layamon's tale sufficient to admit this latter into the circle of primitive Welsh story.

The author recognizes the objection that, although the Round Table is a Pan-Celtic institution, as he maintains from the Irish sources just given and from the Greek historian Posidonius as well, its connection with Arthur may have been late and first made in Armorica. His reply is the difficulty of supposing a Round Table without an Arthur to give the tradition fixity. Some hero must have presided and the Celts had but one. The treatise is concise, not to say brief, containing very full notes and references and, as an exposition of proof is well ordered.

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BRIEF MENTION.

THE educational reform movement in Germany has scored some important points in the past year. Last May a meeting at Berlin, of philologists and others connected with or interested in higher instruction, adopted and submitted to the government the following resolutions: first, that all graduates of *Mittelschulen* with nine years' courses (*Gymnasien*, *Realgymnasien*, and *Ober-Realschulen*) should be on a footing of equality with regard to the pursuit of higher scientific and professional studies, notably those of medicine and law, for which at present a *Gymnasium* preparation or its equivalent (with prescribed Greek) is required; and second, that the *Mittelschulen* in question should be reorganized so as to offer, in the first three years, a uniform course of study without Latin, thus

enabling the student to postpone the choice between the different courses, that is, the different institutions, until the end of the third year. Something like this arrangement has long been felt by many to be the only possible solution of the problem of higher education; and the curriculum of the so-called *Reformgymnasien*, in which the study of Greek is not begun until the sixth year, instead of in the fourth, marks an important step in that direction. The *Konferenz zur Schulreform*, to which the above-mentioned resolutions were communicated, endorsed the first of the two, but was not ready to agree to the second. Now, however, Emperor William has followed up his previous utterances on the subject with an edict (dated November 20th, and published in the *Reichs-Anzeiger*), in which he indicates the lines along which the reform is to be carried out in Prussia. The most noteworthy points in it are the following: The *Gymnasium*, the *Realgymnasium*, and the *Ober-Realschule* are to be regarded as "in der Erziehung zur allgemeinen Geistesbildung *gleichwertig*"; the rights of the two institutions last mentioned are, therefore, to be extended; the equality of the three kinds of schools being granted, there is to be, on the other hand, no objection to the emphasizing of the peculiar character of each, as for instance by the extension of the time allotted to Latin in the *Gymnasium* and the *Realgymnasium*; the instruction in Greek is to avoid all "unnütze Formalien," and to aim solely at the appreciation of the literature and of the relation between ancient and modern culture; in the fourth, fifth and sixth years of the *Gymnasium* course the student is to have the choice between Greek and English; wherever local conditions make special attention to English in a *Gymnasium* desirable, this study is to be prescribed, from the seventh year to the end of the course, in the place of French, which will then become an elective; the final examination (*Abiturientenexamen*) is to be abolished as soon as possible; and the experiment with curricula like those of the *Reformgymnasien* of Frankfurt and Altona, which has so far proven successful, is to be continued on a larger scale.

It will not be long now until the departments of medicine and law in the German universities will be opened to the graduates of the *Realgymnasien* and *Ober-Realschulen;* and there is but little to be said against such a measure. The *Abiturientenexamen* will not be missed; it has been pedagogically a failure, if not a positive detriment. But the shortening of the course in Greek, without a proportionate increase in the number of the recitations devoted to it, would be a most serious loss to the cause of classical studies; it is to be hoped that the wording of the edict, which is not very clear on this point, does not, as interpreted above, represent the Emperor's actual intentions.

In *The Golden Book of Venice*,[1] which is entitled *A historical romance of the sixteenth century*, we have in reality a series of pictures, excellently drawn, of the life of Venice at the end of the sixteenth century. The admirable artistic appreciation of Venetian colour and magnificence, shown by the author, especially in the gorgeous descriptions of church and state festivals, is the chief recommendation of the work, and, by comparison with this attraction the interest of the story becomes slight. In addition to the artistic merit, however, the representation of the episodes in the history of the republic, which are embraced by the story, is exceedingly true and vivid: especially is this the case with regard to the crisis of the years 1606–7, when Venice lay under the interdict of Paul V. The figure of Fra Paolo Sarpi, of the order of the "Servi di Maria," both as youthful orator and leading diplomatist of Venice, is exceptionally striking and attractive.

1 By Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull (New York, The Century Co., 1900).

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, February, 1901.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUN IN THE POEMA DEL CID.[1]

The personal pronouns in Old Spanish have not been neglected by investigators in the field of Romance philology. Within the last few decades there have appeared in the columns of the *Romania*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, *Il Propugnatore*, etc., valuable contributions treating specially of the personal pronouns or touching upon them incidentally in connection with other matter. Of articles on the *Poema del Cid* relating more or less to the subject of this paper it is only necessary to refer to those of Cornu, Baist, Restori, Nyrop, Cuervo, Gessner, in the journals above mentioned.

In the preparation of this article it has been the purpose of the author to set forth in tabulated form the personal pronouns actually occurring in the *Poema del Cid*, giving also the combinations in which they appear, and to illustrate what seem to be the chief peculiarities of their usage in the *Poema*. The statistics are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, and where the latter is the case it has been so stated.

It is needless to say that it would be exceedingly difficult to present anything original on a subject which for many years has found contributors among the foremost Romance scholars of the century. Consequently, there is little, if anything, in this article which cannot be found scattered in the large manuals of Romance philology and in the various journals devoted to this subject. But, while this paper presents nothing new, it is original in so far that it is the subject of independent work in the first place. Most of the material has been gathered from notes taken while reading the *Poema*. The writer is personally responsible for the illustrative examples, excepting one or two taken from Gessner's article.[2] The text employed is that of Menéndez Pidal, (Madrid, 1898) which is the most reliable.

In the following instances I have ventured to disagree with some of my authorities. I prefer to state the details here rather than later:

Dand nos, line 273.

Lidforss considers the first *n* an error by the copyist: "*Dand*, que con la venia de otros críticos creo error de pluma, lo mismo que *sabent*, *rogand*, *hedand*, etc.[3]

Cornu assumes *dand nos* as the second stage in the transformation of *dadnos* to *dandos*, viz: *dad nos* > *dandnos* > *dandos*, the second *n* disappearing by dissimilation. He assumes a similar development for *rienda*: *retina* > *redena* > *rendna* > *rienda*, and for *candado: catenatus* > *cadenado* > *candnado* > *candado*.

While I do not presume to dispute an authority like Cornu, it seems, however, that this explanation, which is based only on hypothesis, is not the simplest one, at least not in the case of *dand nos*. Unless *dand* is a purely clerical error, which I am not inclined to believe, I would suggest that the copyist has written *dand*, and, not understanding the force of *n* as a part of the pronoun, has given to the latter its proper form *nos*. But nothing can be affirmed with certainty on this point since the spelling in cases of this kind is not fixed. Cf. *dandos*, 3468, *dadnos*, 2562, *mandad nolos*, 2364, etc.

Ge- in lines 3676, 3679, 3681.

Ge- is found combined with the definite article in 3676: *falsso gela guarnizon*, repeated in 3679 and 3681.

Ge- may be explained in these lines as the dative (*illi* > *ge* > *se*), as it is elsewhere, but a preferable interpretation seems to me to make it the reflexive, direct object of *falsso*,

1 I have consulted, in the preparation of this article, besides the general works of Diez, Meyer-Lübke, Gröber (*Grundriss*), the grammars of Knapp, Sauer, and Förster, also the following special treatises: Araujo, *Gramática del Poema del Cid*, Madrid, 1897; Kürbs, *Untersuchung der Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten des Poema del Cid*, Frankfort a.M., 1893; Keller, *Historische Formenlehre der Spanischen Sprache*, Murrhardt, 1894; Cornu, and Baist, various articles in *Romania*, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*; Gessner, *Das spanische Personalpronomen*, *Z. f. Rom. Phil.*, xvii, 1–54; Mugica, *Supresión de la vocal enclitica de los pronombres en el Poema del Cid*, *Z. f. Rom. Phil.*, xviii,540–545; Cuervo, *Los casos enclíticos y proclíticos del pronombre de tercera persona en castellano*, *Romania*, xxv, 95–113.

2 Cf. Note 1.

3 *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, p. 111.

with *guarnizon* as subject of the clause. It is then assumed that the copyist has erroneously written *g* instead of *s*. Such a mistake could easily happen, the sounds of these two consonants being so much alike, as shown by the subsequent development of *ge* to *se*. Nor is it difficult to find other examples of confusion between *g* and *s* both in the *Poema* as well as in other Old Spanish texts. Cf. *eglesia*, 367, *ecclegia*, 2241, *eclegia*, 2449: *gelo* for *selo* (= *sibi illud*), 768: *Sabet, el otro non gelo oso esperar*, that is, 'he dared not await it (the blow) for himself'.[4]

A. FIRST PERSON.

SING. NOM. yo, 74; hyo, 2086.
OBL. me, 9, 76; -m, 157, 963; m-, 3665; -n, 1277, 3391.
PREP. a mi, 240, de mi, 205, por mi, 504, pora mi, 249.
comigo, 1045, 1258, 1606.
PLUR. NOM. nos, 138.
OBL. nos, 129, 667, 831.
PREP. a nos, 1498.
connusco, 388.

B. SECOND PERSON.

SING. NOM. tu, 361, 3332.
OBL. te, 335, 338; -t, 353, 3343, 3344, 3333; -d, 3322, 3365.
PREP. a ti, 8, 362, en ti, 357, por ti, 3320.
contigo, 349.
PLUR. NOM. uos, 47, vos, 194.
OBL. uos, 44, 73, 108; -os, 986, 1401, 2027, 3215.
PREP. a uos, 256, de uos, 503.
con uusco, 75, 231,

C. THIRD PERSON.

Masculine.

SING. NOM. el, 67, 78; ele, 1896, 2938; elle, 1353, 1398, 2812.
OBL. le, 64, 636, 712, 713; lo, 16, 629, 745; -l, 750, 751, 761, 1032, l-, 62, 975; ge, (Dat.) 26, 163.
PREP. al, 245, a el, 1362; con el, 305; del, 23, sobrel, 1053.
PLUR. NOM. ellos, 415, 544, 2745.
OBL. Dat. les, 36, 165; los, 154, 2403; ge-, 511, 1363.
Acc. los, 2, 588, 720; les, 66.
PREP. con ellos, 293, dellos, 111, 622, entrellos, 595.

Feminine.

SING. NOM. ella, 328.
OBL. la, 12, 179, 423, 690; -l, 38; l, 914.
PREP. a ella, 254, con ella, 691, della, 495, en ela, 1241.
sobrella, 183, 1203.
PLUR. NOM. ellas, 1609, 2737.
OBL. Dat. les, 1382, 2570; las, 1083.
Acc. las, 86, 117, 255, 276.
PREP. a ellas, 2738, antellas, 1747, con ellas, 1610, 2620, dellas, 257, por ellas, 1485.

Neuter.

SING. NOM. lo, 635.
OBL. lo, 42, 82, 636; llo, 3367.
PREP. a lo, 157, en ello, 1941, dello, 386, por ello, 2641.

Reflexive Forms.

1. me, 156.
2. te, 3324; -t, 3333.
3. se, 354, 405, 436; -s, 69, 154, 200; por si, 2259; consigo, 67.
ge, 3676, 3679, 3681, Acc.; 768, Dat.
4. nos, 146, 280.
5. uos, 317, 2792.
6. se, 105, 134, 381; sse, 403.

Remarks.

1. *-migo*, *-tigo*, *-sigo*, *nusco*, *uusco* are remnants of the Latin *mecum*, *tecum*, *secum*, *nobiscum*, *vobiscum*. Their etymology having been forgotten, they were subsequently written with *con* as one word.

2. *ge*, in *gelo*, *gela*, *gelos*, *gelas*, represents an intermediate stage in the development of the Latin *illi*, *illis* to the modern *se*. *Illi*, *illis* > *lle-*, *lles-* > *ge-*, *je-*, *ges-*, *jes-*, finally *ge* for both singular and plural by assimilation of *s*; *ge* being pronounced like Ptg. *che* the transition to *se* then became easy. On *ge*, reflexive, see above.

3. Conjunctive *os* for *vos* occurs four times in the *Poema* (See paradigm above). When *os* follows the Imperative the final letter of the verb is retained, whereas in Modern Spanish this final letter is dropped. *-os* is used with the infinitive in one of the four instances referred to: *leuaros*, 1401.

4. The Leonese forms *ele*, *elle*, m.s., occurs five times, *llo*, n.s., once.

4 Cf. Gessner, p. —; Araujo, pp. 143-4 and foot-notes.

5. Conjunctive *me*, *te*, *le*, *la*, *lo*, *se* are frequently joined to the preceding word, less often to the following, and the final vowel of the pronoun is elided: curia*m*, 3664, metiste*l*, 3334, dio*l*, 353, no*l*, 25, ferida*l*, 38, metio*l*, 711, tornos, 49, vedada *l*an 62, *l*anda, 778, comidios, 507. Elision does not take place, of course, if the verb ends in a consonant: plaz*me*, 180.[5]

6. The regular form of the acc. m.s. 3. is *lo*, but *le* is used quite frequently, likewise *l-*, *-l*.

Los occurs as dat. m. plur. 3., instead of *les* which is the regular form, cf. ll. 154, 2403.

Les as acc. m. plur. is used at least twice, cf. ll. 66, 1417.

Las for *les* as dat. f. plur. is used at least once, cf. l. 1083.

7. Metathesis occurs when a conjunctive form is joined to the Imperative: *dandos* < *dadnos*, 3468 (Cf. also *dand nos*, 273): *dezildes* < *dezidles*, 384; *contalda* < *contadla*, 181; *daldo* < *dadlo*, 823; *yndos* < *ydnos*, 833.

8. Assimilation may be observed in the following instances: *d* to *l* in *prendedlas* > *prendellas*, 2136; *r* to *l* in *acogerlo* > *acogello*, 883; *auerlas* > *auellas*, 887; *verdarlo* > *vedallo*, 2967; *s* to *l* in *mandad nos los* > *mandad nolos*, 2364; *r* to *s* in *adobarse* > *adobasse*, 1700; *m* to *n* before *s* in *sim salue* > *sin salue* 3391; before *l* in *Que me las* > *quenlas*, 1277.

9. The prepositions *a*, *de*, *entre*, *sobre*, *ante* coalesce with the pronouns which they govern: *al* < *a el*, 245; *della* < *de ella*, 495; *del* < *de el*, 23; *entrellos* < *entre ellos*, 595; *sobrella* < *sobre ella*, 1203; *antellas* < *ante ellas*, 1747.

10. The language of the *Poema* allows greater freedom in the position of the object pronoun than the Modern Spanish.

a. The pronoun often follows the verb in cases where modern usage would prefer it to precede.

Don Rachel e Vidas a myo Çid besaron le las manos. 159.

El Çid a doña Ximena yua la abraçar;
Doña Ximena al Çid la manol va besar. 368–369.

A Mynaya Albarfanez matar on le el cauallo. 744.

Quiero uos dezir del que en buen ora nasco e çinxo espada. 899.

Quando los fallo, por cuenta fizo los nonbrar. 1264.

E aduxiessen le a Bauieca; poco auie quel ganara. 1573.

Su mugier e sus fijas subiolas al alcaçar. 1644.

Myo Çid al rrey Bucar cayol en alcaz. 2408.

Martin Antolinez e Diego Gonçalez firieron se delas lanças. 3646.

b. When other words come between the object and predicate the pronominal object may precede or follow the verb.

Rrachel a myo Çid la manol ba besar. 174.

A myo Çid, el que en buen ora nasco,
Dentro a Valençia lieuan le el mandado. 1560–1.

Aquelos atamores a uos los pondran delant e veredes quanles son. 1666.

Este casamiento otorgo uos le yo. 3418.

c. Owing to the tendency of the object pronoun to follow its verb, the object of the separable tenses, the indicative future and conditional, often comes between the infinitive and the auxiliary. This occurs in the following lines of the *Poema*:

21, 76, 80, 84, 92, 117, 133, 161, 197, 198, 229, 251, 272, 280, 390, 528, 586, 667, 690, 947, 966, 987, 1035, 1046, 1250, 1259, 1423, 1438, 1447, 1487, 1523, 1641, 1668, 1688, 1690, 1768, 1808, 1820, 1908, 1945, 1946, 2045, 2330, 2366, 2410, 2411, 2545, 2546, 2563, 2564, 2568, 2575, 2627, 2663, 2733, 2992, 3030, 3141, 3168, 3223, 3359, 3411, 3450, 3451.

d. The pronoun object of an infinitive depending upon another verb is generally joined to the govrning verb, which it either precedes (α) or follows (β). This applies also to reflexive verbs (γ). In a few instances the pronoun comes after the infinitive (δ).

α. *Tornos a sonrisar; legan le todos, la manol ban besar.* 298.

Alos iudios le dexeste prender; do dizen monte Caluarie. 347.

Corrio la sangre por el astil ayuso, las manos se ouo de vntar. 354.

Mas el castielo non lo quiero hermar. 533.

E fizieron dos azes de peones mezclados, quilos podrie contar? 699.

De todo myo rreyno los que lo quisieren far. 891.

Quenlas dexe sacar. 1277.

[5] For full statistics on the elision of the final vowel of enclitic pronouns, see Mugica, l.c.

Virtos del Campeador a nos vienen buscar. 1498.
Essora les conpieçan a dar los yfantes de Carrion. 2735.
et passim.

β. *E el a las niñas torno las acatar.* 371.
Saliolos rreçebir con esta su mesnada. 487.
Çiento moros e çiento moras quiero las quitar. 534.
Quierol enbiar en don .XXX. canallos. 816.
El canallo corriendo, nalo abraçar sin falla. 920.
Mandolos ferir myo Çid, el que en buen ora nasco. 1004.
Plogo al Criador e ouieron los de arrancar. 1721.
et passim.

γ. *Mañana era e pienssan se de armar.* 1135.
Mager les pesa, ouieron se adar e a arancar. 1145.
De pies de caullo los ques pudieron escapar. 1151.
Non osan fueras exir nin con el se aiuntar. 1171.
Quando vio myo Çid las gentes iuntadas, compeços de pagar. 1201.
Luego toman armas e tomanse a deportar. 1514.
et passim.

δ. The object pronoun follows the infinitive.

a. When the governing verb is reflexive:
Nos detardan de adobasse essas yentes christianas. 1700.
Nos fartan de catarle quantos ha en la cort. 3495.

b. When the governing verb is to be supplied:
Tanta cuerda de tienda y veriedes quebrar,
Arancar se las estacas e acostar se atodas partes los tendales. 1141–2.
Mando nos los cuerpos ondrada mientre seruir e uestir
E guarnir uos de todas armas como uos dixieredes aqui. 1871–2.
Querer uos ye ver e dar uos su amor. 1945.
Veriedes quebrar tantas cuerdas e arrancar se las estacas,
E acostar se los tendales, con huebras eran tantas. 2400–1.

c. When the infinitive precedes the governing verb:
Enbiar uos quiero a Castiella con mandado. 813.
Sobre aquesto todo, dezir uos quiero, Minaya. 890.
Si me vinieredes buscar, fallar me podredes. 1071.
Quando Dios prestar nos quiere, nos bien gelo gradescamos. 1298.
Hyr se quiere a Valençia, a myo Çid el de Biuar. 1416.
Dezir uos quiero nueuas de alent partes del mar. 1620.
Fasta do lo fallassemos buscar lo yremos nos. 1951.
E a don Fernandode a don Diego aguardar los mando. 2168.
Priuado canalga, a rreçebir los sale. 2886.
Ebayr le cuydan a myo Çid el Campeador. 3011.
et passim.

d. Note also the following:
Veriedes armar se moros, apriessa entrar en az. 697.
Aqui veriedes quexar se yfantes de Carrion. 3207.

11. The use of *tu* and *vos*.

Tu is used

a. In addressing the Deity:
Grado ati, Señor padre, que estas en alto. 8.
Tu eres rrey de los rreyes. 361.

b. Toward persons of inferior rank, toward relatives and intimate friends:
E verdad dizen en esto, tu, Muño Gustioz. 2955.
Oheres, myo sobrino, tu, Felez Munoz? 2618.

c. Sometimes in anger as a mark of disrespect:
Verte as con el Çid. 2410.
Tulo otorgaras a guisa de traydor. 3350.

Vos is more formal and is used toward persons to whom respect is shown:
Non uos osariemos abrir. 44.
Uos sodes el myo diestro braço. 753.

In addressing the Virgin both forms are used, cf. lines 218 and 221. Confusion between *tu* and *vos* may be noticed in *mientra que visquieredes bien se fara lo to.* 409.

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A VOLKSLIED AS SOURCE OF TWO OF WILHELM MÜLLER'S SONGS.

Some time ago (*Jour. Germ. Phil.*, vol. iii, p. 39) I called attention to a stanza of Müller's *Thränen und Rosen*, which was copied from a stanza of similar appearance in the Volkslied *Abrede*, printed in J. G. Meinert's *Alte teutsche Volkslieder in der Mundart des Kuhländchens*, Wien und Hamburg, 1817, p. 227. At that time I had never seen the book in question, but since, through the generous courtesy of Prof. Julius Goebel, of Stanford University, I have come into possession of it, and find that not alone the single stanza in Meinert's collection has been used by Müller, but that the entire song of which it is part has been adopted by him, and indeed with such rare economy of material, that the first four stanzas of it have become in his *Thränen und Rosen* (Ged. v. W. M. 1868, 1, p. 138) nine stanzas, while its last five stanzas have become the seven stanzas of Müller's *Abrede* (p. 81)—the poet thus retaining in one of his songs the very title of the Volkslied, that nothing might be lost. For convenience of comparison, the Volkslied is printed below on the left and Müller's songs on the right, side by side.

Meinert (p. 227.)	Müller (p. 81.)
	„Die Fiedel ruft zum Tanze,
	Meine Tänz'rin sollst du sein;
Ich hor dich ni verlôsse,	Ich kann nicht von dir lassen,
Dos ful mir ju ni ai,	Esfällt mir gar nicht ein."—
	„Mein Zorn—der ist verschwunden,
	Mein Tanzkleid ist bereit;
Ock seille de Lait' ni weisse	Doch wenn's ein Nachbar sähe,
Vo ounser Liv' on Tra'i.	Es brächt' mir Schmach und Leid."—
(p. 228.)	
Onn giest du ai de Schenke,	So geh voraus zur Schenke,
Su triet ni voenne vir,	Und steh nicht vorn am Thor;
Triet ai dan heindesten Weinkel,	Tritt in den tiefsten Winkel,
Fir g'wiess! ich zih dich avir.	Gewiss, ich hol' dich vor.
Onn wenn ich dich war schwenke,	Und schwenk' ich dich im Tanze,
Su siech du mich ni ô;	So zieh mir ein Gesicht;
Do wa'n de Lait' gedenke,	Dann denken alle Leute,
De sayn anander grom.	Die tanzte lieber nicht!
Onn red' ich meit a'r anden,	Und red' ich mit den andern,
Do krenk du dich ock ni;	Das mach' dir keine Pein;
Ich rede meit a'r anden,	Ich rede mit den andern
Ich denk' allaen ouff dich.	Und denk' auf dich allein.
	(p. 82.)
Onn wiest du welle haem gien,	Und willst du gehn nach Hause,
Su woet ock ni ouff mich:	So warte nicht auf mich;
Gie fuett dos schmole Staigle,	Geh fort nur auf dem Steige—
Fir g'wiess! ich kuomm' dir anôch.	Gewiss, ich treffe dich."

And from the first four stanzas of the same song in Meinert, Müller made his nine stanzas in *Thränen und Rosen*, the first seven of which are a mere expansion of the Volkslied, the last two containing an added thought of the poet's, whose sentimentality accords but ill with the simplicity of the foregoing.

Meinert (p. 227.)

A Knavle gung spozire
Ai's Ruosegoetelai;
Dos Goetle woer geziret
Meit schiener Blumerai.

Ar thot a Resle brache,
Zoum Fanster stis ar's nai:
Thust schlouffen ober wache
Hatzollerlivste main?

De Thire wued derschlousse,
Dos Knavlain aigelōn;
Ar fond sai Livle waene,
Seint Naechte waent se schon.

Wos ziht ar aus dar Tosche?
A saidnes Ticherlain:
Niem hien, niem hien Hatzlivste!
Onn traig dain' Aegerlain.

Müller (p. 138.)

Ein Knäblein ging spaziren
Wol um die Abendstund'
In einem Rosengarten,
Da blühten Blümlein bunt.

Er ging wol auf und nieder
Vor eines Gärtners Haus,
Da lag ein Mägdlein schöne
Zum Fensterlein heraus.

Ein Röslein thät er brechen,
Warf' s in das Fensterlein:
„Thust schlafen oder wachen,
Herzallerliebste mein?"—

(p. 139.)

„Ich habe nicht geschlafen,
Ich habe nicht gewacht,
Ich habe nur geträumet,
An dich hab' ich gedacht."—

„Du hast ja auch geweinet,
Dein Aeuglein sind so nass;
Eine Thrän' fiel aus dem Fenster,
Da wuchs eine Ros' im Gras."—

„Und ist eine Ros' gewachsen,
So wuchs sie nur für dich;
Und wenn ich hab' geweinet,
So weint' ich nur um mich."

Was zog er aus der Tasche?
Ein seidnes Tüchelein:
„Nimm hin, Herzallerliebste,
Wisch ab dein' Aeugelein!"

The idea that roses grow from tears, contained in Müller's fifth stanza, does not come from the song of Meinert's, but undoubtedly from the *Wunderhorn: Der Herr am Oelberg*, I, page 285 (for discussion of this cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* iii, 49). This second song of Müller's is especially interesting in that it amplifies its model, giving us (except, perhaps, for the two last stanzas of his song, which I have not quoted) what we may regard as his "restoration" of the Volkslied, that is, as it was before it was condensed and sung threadbare—*zersungen*. It is quite in line with the Volkslied usage, as shown in numerous *Gesprächsliedern*, where spirited dialogue is employed, for both sides to come to expression, instead of but the one, as in the version which Meinert printed. Another point of extreme interest by way of further comparison of the two songs is that Müller purified his material in moulding it, as he did in his *Die Sage vom Frankenberger See bei Aachen*. In the Volkslied, as commonly, the lover is admitted to the bed-chamber of his mistress—a fact omitted in Müller's song. The song of Müller loses, however, by the addition of two stanzas as much as does, for like reason, Eichendorff's *Zerbrochenes Ringelein*.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH ALEXANDRINE.

In an article in the eleventh volume of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* (pp. 305 ff.) R. Thurneysen endeavors to derive the French ten-syllabled verse from the Latin rhythmical hexameter. His theory, however, has been opposed by G. Paris, *Romania*, xvii, p. 318, and Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre* (*Grundriss*), p. 16, on account of the artificiality and improbability of his proof. This criticism seems to me also at least partly justified, especially by the fact that the types of the hexameter which show the greatest resemblance to the decasyllable are precisely the rarest in rhythmical hexameter verse.

I had often noted a marked resemblance between the hexameter and the alexandrine. But it was not clear to me how I should set to work to prove a direct connection. Thurneysen's article suggested a point of departure.

Stengel praises Thurneysen's effort, "die Umwandlung der Versformen durch die Veränderungen der Sprachformen zu erklären," but adds:

"Kürzungen, wie sie im Innern der Verse nach Th. vorgenommen sein müssten, konnten ohne Zerstörung der auf der festen Silbenzahl beruhenden Versmelodie nur am Reihen- und Versschluss eintreten."

I confess my inability to appreciate this argument, since it is by no means necessary that the musical phrase should correspond exactly, note for syllable, with the verse, but in any case I hope to show that in the transition from hexameter to alexandrine such contractions play no very important rôle.

G. Paris raises a more general objection to Thurneysen's theory in his well-known view that Romance verses are direct continuations of popular Latin forms. But we can neither affirm nor deny that the hexameter was popular in a wider sense. Who knows whether it was not so in that "rustic" literature of which we have so few remains? Indications that it was are brought together by Thurneysen, one of the most important of which I find in his proof that the epic fragment of the *Vita S. Faronis* is preserved in this form. In my opinion it is unnecessary to raise this general question in the derivation of a particular Romance verse. Rhythmical Latin and Romance poetry lie before us in contact; it is natural to assume a reciprocal influence, which has also been proved in more than one instance (cf. Stengel, *l. c.*, pp. 21 ff.). It is enough, for a rhythmical Latin measure to become the prototype of a Romance verse, that the former be used in the ecclesiastical literature of the early Middle Ages, for was not the church during this period the centre of the mental life of the people, and was not its poetical literature largely, if not created by the people, at least destined for them?[1] What more natural, then, than that, as Thurneysen maintains,

"Romanische Epiker gebrauchten zuerst das Latein, die feierlichste, erhabenste Sprache ihrer Zeit, die der Kirche, der geistlichen Poesie, die offizielle und einzige Schriftsprache"?

But the possibility that the rhythmical hexameter may have served as the model of a Romance verse, has been sufficiently demonstrated by Thurneysen, though his attempt to derive the decasyllable from it did not meet with the approval of scholars. I shall now try to show the probability of the hexameter having served as the prototype of the alexandrine.

I have used, for the rhythmical hexameter, besides the article of Thurneysen, the following collections and investigations of W. Meyer (on which Thurneysen also bases his work):

I. *Radewins Gedicht über Theophilus*, Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. Klasse der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1873, p. 49 ff.

II. *Der Ludus de Antichristo und Bemerkungen über die lateinischen Rhythmen des xii. Jh.*, *ibid.*, 1882, p. 1 ff.

III. *Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rhythmischen Dichtung*, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayer. Akademie, I. kl., xvii. Bd., II. Abt., 1884, p. 267 ff.

And for the alexandrine I have considered only the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, the oldest poem extant in this measure, in the third edition of Koschwitz, Leipzig, 1895.

1 Cf. Augustine's Psalm *contra partem Donati* and what he himself writes about it. Quoted by W. Meyer, *Anfang u. Ursprung d. lat. u. griech. rhythmischen Dichtung*, p. 284.

Thurneysen has shown that the following types exist in the rhythmical hexameter[2]:

FIRST HEMISTICH:

A I: X X — ⏑ — ⏑ — inde pugillo suo.
A II: X X X — ⏑ — extremos ad brumæ.
A III: X X — ⏑ — bella consurgunt.
A IV: X X X — ⏑ — — haec Christus fundamina.
A V: X X — ⏑ — — in cuius nomine.
A VI: X X — ⏑ — ⏑ — — sub regibus Liguriæ.

SECOND HEMISTICH:

B I: X — X X — ⏑ — — ⏑ — quoniam deum nemo quærebat.
B II: X X X — ⏑ — — ⏑ — divitias datas a summo.
B III: X X — ⏑ — — ⏑ — patres habere dinoscor.
B IV: (accent on fourth syllable from end) ⏑ — ⏑ — præbere laudes.

By combining A III and B III he gets a verse which closely corresponds to the decasyllable. But he does not mention that this verse occurs but five times among 665 hexameters examined in his article and the half-verse A III but twelve times.

Let us turn now to the alexandrine. Four types are distinguished in Old French according to cæsura and ending:

A. Masculine cæsura and masculine ending:

Il la prist par le poign desoz un olivier.

B. Masculine cæsura and feminine ending:

Volentiers le laissast, mais que muër nen oset.

C. Feminine cæsura and masculine ending:

Emperere, dist ele, ja nel puis jo trover.

D. Feminine cæsura and feminine ending:

Emperere, dist ele, ne me tenez a fole.

It will be seen that of the types of the first half-verse in the hexameter A I, A II, A IV and A V correspond in dimensions with the alexandrine hemistich, and that the combination A II plus B III corresponds exactly to type D of the alexandrine with feminine cæsura. I submit that my theory is not open to the charge of artificiality and improbability when I can state that in the total number of hexameters examined the type A II occurs 494, A IV 114 times, and that the combination A II plus B III occurs 432 times out of 655, a proportion of nearly two-thirds.

In inner structure, too, the correspondence is striking. The number of accents in the hexameter half-verse is 2–3, as in the normal alexandrine. As in the latter we have as fixed seats of the accent the last stressed syllable in each hemistich. That in the second half-verse of the hexameter we have an additional constant accent on the fifth syllable from the end is a characteristic bequeathed from the metrical form of the verse, which, however, must naturally disappear with the loss of the atonic penultimate. As in the case of the alexandrine, the place of the other accents is "free," though, of course, it is easy to compute the number of types according to rhythmic elements, as follows:

HEXAMETER.

A I: (a) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ —
(b) — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
A II: (a) ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
(b) — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(c) ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
A III: (a) ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(b) — ⏑ — ⏑ —
A IV: (a) — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
(b) ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
(c) ⏑ — — — ⏑ — —
A V: (a) ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
(b) — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
A VI: (a) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
(b) — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
B I: (a) ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(b) — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(c) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
B II: (a) — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(b) ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(c) ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(d) — — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
B III: (a) ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(b) — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
B IV:[3] ⏑ — ⏑ —

[2] ⏑ = tonic syllable, — atonic, X syllable which may or may not have the accent. A VI is the only type which does not also exist in the metrical hexameter (read according to word-accent); Thurneysen calls it simply "Neuer Typus." Thurneysen's examples are taken from the first book of the *Aeneid*; I have substituted specimens of the genuine rhythmical hexameter.

[3] As will be evident, it is unnecessary to consider the various forms of this type, for the double reason that the penultimate trochee is rare, and that the types with this difference would coincide with the others by the loss of the dactyl.

ALEXANDRINE:

3+3: (a) — — ⏑ — — ⏑
(a¹) — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(a²) — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
(b) ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑
(b¹) ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
(b²) ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

2+2+2: (a) — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
(a¹) — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
(a²) — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

2+4: (a) — ⏑ — — — ⏑
(a¹) — ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
(a²) — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — —

4+2: (a) — — — ⏑ — ⏑
(a¹) — — — ⏑ — ⏑ —
(a²) — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
(b) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑
(b¹) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ —
(b²) ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

It is evident on comparison that of these types 2+2+2 a¹) = A I b), 2+2+2 a²) = A VI b), 4+2 b¹) = A I a), 4+2 b2) = A VI a), and that by reduction of the dactyl in the *Versschluss* 4+2 b¹) = B III a) and 2+2+2 a¹) = B III b).

Yet it would be rash to assume that the alexandrine must have derived from these closely resembling types alone. Rather must we take for granted for the earliest period a number of types varying slightly in syllable-number as in the position of the so-called free accents, types which gradually, under the influence of music and of that tendency to systematization which is exemplified throughout the history of French versification, became simplified to the four of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* and eventually to the two types of to-day. It is on the assumption of this early fluctuation that I include in my list of types of the alexandrine hemistichs of eight syllables. The alexandrine of to-day, indeed, fluctuates between 12–13, that of the Old French period between 12–14, the archaic alexandrine, I assume, between 12–16 syllables. But this is not a mere assumption. I submit the following proofs:

1. In the alexandrines of the *Voyage*, in the two important places at the end of each hemistich we have remnants of dactylic ending. I refer to ll. 99, 125, 199, 210, 268, 273, 373, 377, 537, 672, 699, 823, to such words as *milie*, *virgenes*, *Arabie*, *Sirie*, *imagenes*, *angele*, *martirie*. Convincing for me is the fact that these dactyls are preserved only at the ends of hemistichs and that in five-sixths of the cases they occur at the end of the first hemistich. Compare A IV, and A VI. Of course the atonic penultimate no longer counts as a syllable in even these oldest alexandrines, but it must have counted in older times, unless we are to admit that the alexandrine of the *Voyage* has no development behind it. Rather must we agree with Thurneysen when he says:

"Es ist durchaus nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die streng nach der Silbenzahl geregelten Typen des 11. Jh. nur den Abschluss der Entwicklung darstellen."

2. My second proof I find in Italy. The old Sicilian poet Cielo d'Alcamo has left some verses in an old form of the alexandrine, in which two atonic syllables regularly precede the cæsura:

Rosa fresca aulentisima, c'apar' in ver la state
Le donne ti disiano pulzelle, maritate;
Trami deste focora, se teste a bolontate.[4]

The cæsura in the alexandrine is syntactically and rhythmically sharply defined: so, also, is that of the rhythmical hexameter. The position of the cæsura varies, it is true, in the latter, from the fifth to the eighth syllable (average sixth). This variation does not, however, constitute different verses, any more than the penthemimeral and hephthemimeral cæsura of the metrical hexameter. A remnant of this variation and of the consequent inequality of hemistichs is still found in the Old French alexandrine, where, beside 6–6 and 7–7, we have the combinations 6–7 and 7–6. A I and A VI have, indeed, the proper alexandrine cæsura and may have helped on the tendency to symmetry which is manifested in the final form. But it must also be remembered that imitation would be of the verse as a whole, and that such a line as

Bella consurgunt poli præsentis sub fine

— ⏑ — — ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

might easily develop into

— ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ ‖ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ,

4 Monaci, *Crestomazia*, I, p. 106. According to M. the *contrasto* of Cielo D'Alcamo was composed between 1231 and 1250.

a regular alexandrine type. Such a phenomenon would be analogous to the so-called lyric cæsura and still more to the weak or obliterated cæsura (cf. Stengel, *l.c.*, p. 51 ff.).

There are, including archaic forms, 324 possible types of the regular (classical) alexandrine, most of which are found in the *Voyage de Charlemagne*. There are 252 possible types of the rhythmical hexameter (if we elucidate B IV). No other Latin verse corresponds in this way with the alexandrine.

In conclusion I may be permitted to say that my theory is in accord with the criteria established by scholars for the derivation of Romance measures from Latin models. Diez (*Altroman. Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 126) declares that the imitation must have taken place while the *lingua rustica* was still extant, that the models must have been very popular and that dimensions must correspond. More recently, Beckers, Meyer, Stengel, Thurneysen have shown the necessity of considering as an important factor in the development of Romance verses the changes in language forms. Chronologically, the hexameter is satisfactory, its remains belonging mostly to the seventh and eighth centuries, though extending back to the middle of the third (Commodianus). The correspondence of dimensions I have shown, the slight variations in which are readily explained on the basis of changes in language. There remains the criterion of *Volkstümlichkeit*. This I have tried to show is not a necessary one, but even if it be so regarded, we cannot, in the absence of evidence, reject the hexameter by its authority.

If my hypothesis be accepted, the derivation from the hexameter seems otherwise most natural. The epic verse of Rome was bequeathed with its language to the Romance nations and, in France at least, its continuity is unbroken to the present day. We avoid the absurdity of seeking the origin of a heroic measure in lyric poetry[6]; avoid also the unsatisfactory supposition of more or less conscious invention[7] and we can agree with Hermann Usener in the fine conclusion to his *Altgriechischer Versbau*:

"Forms are not created, but on the contrary they arise and grow. The creative artist does not produce them: he ennobles and transforms what tradition brings him."

APPENDIX.

It is with some hesitation that I attempt here a reconstruction of the fragment preserved in the *Vita Sancti Faronis*, after so many scholars of infinitely more knowledge and ability than myself have tried their hand at it. But it seems to me that these verses may conceal not decasyllables, but alexandrines; at all events they seem to turn readily into the latter:

De Loðier est li chanz, ki fut li reis Francor,
Ki alat osteier encontre gent Saisson.
Quant griefment aeenist as massages Saissons
Se nen i fust Farons de la gent Borgoignon.
. . . . . .
Quant vienent mes Saisson en la terre Francor
O Farons eret princes . . . . . .
Par deu enort trespassent parmi citeð Meldor
Que ne seient ocis par icel rei Francor.

My indebtedness to previous reconstructions, especially to that of Suchier (cf. *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, xviii, p. 175 ff.) is evident. My changes and additions need no commentary, except perhaps the construction *trespassent parmi*, for which I refer to *Brut*, f. 80 (quoted by Lacurne de St.-Palaye, *Dictionnaire*, art. trespasser); "Parmi la sale trespasserent." If, as Thurneysen shows, the form of these verses as we have them is that of the rhythmical hexameter, and if the original form was, as I have tried to indicate, the alexandrine, two points are proved:

1. That Hildegarius regarded the rhythmical hexameter as the Latin counterpart of the alexandrine.

2. That the alexandrine appears as an immediate contemporary of the rhythmical hexameter, and older, so far as can be determined, than the decasyllable, of which it cannot, therefore, be taken as a secondary expansion.

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5 Über den Ursprung der romanischen Versmasse.

6 L. Gautier's theory of the asclepiad, *Épopées françaises*[2], i, p. 310. Shared by Bartsch, *Revue critique*, 1866, p. 52 ff., and Tobler, *Versbau*[3], p. 97, note.

7 Diez, *Altr. Sprachd.*, pp. 129, 130. Supported by ten Brink, *Coniectanea in historiam rei metricæ francogallicæ*, p. 33; Thurneysen, *l.c.*, p. 305; Stengel, *l.c.*, p. 21.

NOTES ON TRANSVERSE ALLITERATION.

In his article on "Transverse Alliteration in Teutonic Poetry" in the last number of *The Journal of Germanic Philology* (Vol. iii, No. 2), Professor Emerson shows not only by precept, but also by example, the dangers of introducing the mathematics of probabilities into philological studies. He exposes Frucht's error clearly enough, but in doing so it seems to me that he falls into much more serious errors himself.

The question is whether, in alliterative lines of the form *abab* or *baab*, the *b*-alliteration was introduced by accident or by design. Frucht has argued that such alliteration is found in Teutonic poetry much less often than it would be likely to occur if it were left to mere chance. His contention is that as there are 18 consonants and (for the purposes of alliteration) one vowel-initial, the chance of transverse alliteration is 1 : 19.

Emerson points out that some kinds of alliteration are antecedently more probable than others. For alliterative purposes there are at least 25 possible initials, 7 vowels and 18 consonants; and any vowel may alliterate with any other. The fact is obvious enough, but Emerson draws a surprising conclusion from it. It should, of course, be regarded as strengthening Frucht's argument. This will be clear if we consider a less complex problem of a similar nature. With an ordinary pair of dice, the chance of throwing a doublet in a single throw is 1 : 6, and in a long succession of throws it is probable that doublets will be be thrown about one-sixth of the time. But suppose the dice are made with sixes on two faces instead of only one: a simple calculation will show that the chance of throwing doublets is then increased from 1 : 6 to 2 : 9, and it is perfectly clear that the more changes of this sort are made in the dice, the more frequently may we expect to throw doublets in a long series of throws. So in the problem of transverse alliteration: if we assume that vowels occur as initial letters with a frequency indicated by the ratio 7 : 25, and that each consonant's ratio is 1 : 25, it may easily be shown that the chance of alliteration is not less than 1 : 19, as Emerson assumes, but much greater. There will be 625 possible ways of pairing the 25 initials, and of these 18 will give consonant alliteration, and 49 vowel alliteration. The chance of occurrence of one or the other will therefore be 67 : 625, or 1 : 9 33/100. In other words, Frucht's error resulted in his understating his case, and Emerson's exposure of it strengthens the argument.

Emerson pursues another line of argument which, he thinks, leads Frucht's reasoning into a *reductio ad absurdum*. He has studied all the lines in *Beowulf* of the types *axay* and *xaay*, and noted the relative frequency of certain consonants in the positions *x* and *y*.

"In the 104 lines in which *m* stands in place of *x*, *s* is found in the position of *y* 29 times, or in the ratio of 1 : 4. In the 42 lines in which *st* is in the place of *x*, *s* is in position of *y* 5 times, giving a ratio of 1 : 8. In the first 500 lines of *Beowulf*, *s* occurs as the initial of the fourth stressed syllable 93 times, or about once in five times. These examples might be multiplied at pleasure. They are not exceptional in any sense, and are utterly at variance with the ratio of accidental occurrence set up by Frucht."

Emerson's inference, as I understand it, is, in the first place, that Frucht's ratio of 1 : 19 is not exact, and in the second place, that the same sort of reasoning would lead us to suppose that the poet or poets of *Beowulf* had a special fondness for using initial *s* in lines in which initial *m* also occurred, which is absurd. This part of the argument is not distinctly stated, but as Emerson calls it a *reductio ad absurdum*, I think this must be what he means.

The first part of the argument is of no importance, for, as I have already indicated, it is far from being essential to Frucht's argument that the ratio of 1 : 19 should be exact. The second part, as I understand it, is inapplicable because it introduces an entirely different kind of reasoning. Let us again consider the matter of the dice. If I throw two dice 600 times in succession, the chances are that I shall throw doublets about 100 times; but if in fact I get doublets 125 times, would anybody say that the dice were conclusively proved to be "loaded?" On the other hand, if I get doublets considerably less than 100 times, would not anybody be fairly satisfied that the dice were *not* loaded for doublets? It is clear that the argument must not be expected to

work both ways. It will be worth while, also, to reflect that in cases of this sort we must consider the antecedent probability of the state of things about which we are speculating. If, for example, I have obtained my dice from a backgammon board in a gentleman's house, I think I might throw doublets 150 times without suspecting treachery; but if I have found them in a gambling dive, it would take only a very slight excess above the probable 100 to make me suspicious.

So in the matter in hand: if Frucht finds that transverse alliteration occurs very much less frequently than would be probable if it were left to mere chance, is it not perfectly clear that the dice are *not* loaded? But on the other hand, what possible conclusion can we deduce from the suggestion that initial *s* occurs oftener in lines which elsewhere have an initial *m* than chance would lead us to expect? This is a case in which we can conceive of no reason for believing that the dice *are* loaded, and we shall therefore regard the phenomenon as a freak of fortune, until we find that the disproportion in the figures is quite overwhelming. As it is, there is in the figures that Emerson gives nothing that seems particularly surprising to one familiar with the statistics of runs of luck.

But before we can arrive at any just conclusion about the whole matter, there are other considerations to be weighed. Let us imagine some critic of the future considering whether the two riming lines in *The Tempest* were introduced by accident or by design. It might be possible, by an elaborate tabulation of final sounds, to determine just how often mere chance should bring about a rime in blank verse, if the poet paid absolutely no attention to it. Suppose, for the sake of illustration, that in a play of the length of *The Tempest*, rime might be expected to occur, under such circumstances, about ten times. It would then be perfectly clear, I think, that Shakespere was not, in general, seeking rime; but would it not still be absurd to say that where he did use rime he used it unintentionally?

Now it seems to me that Frucht is clearly right in arguing that our Old English poets did not, in general, seek transverse alliteration. But this is a very different thing from saying that where they did use it they did so by inadvertence. Frucht's figures seem to me to show conclusively that they, in general, avoided it, just as any writer of modern blank verse consciously avoids rime; but it seems almost equally clear, from the fact that transverse alliteration does, nevertheless, occur pretty frequently, that they thought it useful as an occasional ornament of their verse, just as Shakespere, even in his later plays, liked the sound of an occasional rime. I feel slightly strengthened in this opinion by the fact stated by Emerson, that transverse alliteration occurs much oftener in the form *abab* than in the form *baab*. If the phenomenon were due to mere chance, I can see no reason why one form should be commoner than the other. If, on the other hand, it was generally avoided, but was sometimes purposely admitted, then it might easily happen that one form, being more agreeable to the ear, would occur more frequently than the others. Here, however, a certain caution must be observed. Transverse alliteration of the form *abab* can occur only in lines of the form *axay;* and *baab*, in like manner, presupposes *xaay*. Now do the assertions quoted by Emerson mean only that *abab* is absolutely more common than *baab*, or that the former is more frequent in proportion to the *axay* lines? This would certainly be a legitimate subject for computation.

The whole discussion shows not that the mathematical theory of probabilities is inapplicable to investigations of this sort, but that its use is fraught with many perils. Even technical treatises on the subject not infrequently contain serious blunders, for the investigator who can find his way through the complicated mathematical processes that the subject necessitates is still in danger of erring through failure to take into consideration some all-important factor of antecedent probability. I do not, of course, flatter myself that Mr. Emerson will find even my own arguments impregnable; but neither do I think that the dangers of the method ought to discourage a courageous student from attempting it.

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THE FOLK-LORE ELEMENTS IN HAUPTMANN'S "DIE VERSUNKENE GLOCKE."

I.

EVER since Hauptmann's great fairy-play appeared, have the critics been busy hunting up sources and pointing out parallels. But they confined themselves almost entirely to works of literature, from Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* down to Halm's *Griseldis* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Where literary models were lacking, the critics were content to say that Hauptmann drew upon the folk-lore of his own Silesian mountains. Some, indeed, claimed that the supernatural beings were partly creations of the poet's own imagination, partly taken from Classical mythology or suggested by Arnold Böcklin's wonderful pictures. In the following I shall try to show how much of Hauptmann's play goes back to popular traditions. Perhaps we shall find that the poet is far more indebted to German folk-lore than to all the works of literature pointed out by the critics.

Even the superficial reader must be struck with the astonishing amount of fairy-lore found in the play. I refer here not so much to the principal characters like Rautendelein, the *Nickelmann*, the *Schrat*, as to the numerous references and allusions to popular traditions and superstitions of every kind. Indeed, one of the main reasons why the play proved almost a failure on the American stage is the fact that to the average American audience fairy-lore in such quantity is unintelligible and bewildering. Mr. Meltzer, in the introduction to his translation of the play, very justly remarks that some knowledge of German folk-lore is a pre-requisite for the correct understanding of the play. He supposes that Hauptmann himself must have carefully studied Grimm's German Mythology.

How did Hauptmann come by this thorough knowledge of German folk-lore? Is Mr. Meltzer's surmise correct, or did the poet get his folk-lore from the peasants of Silesia, or did he draw upon his own imagination? Schlenther, in his book on Hauptmann (p. 188 ff.) tells us what preparations the poet made for his *Florian Geyer*. He not only studied the history of the man but also the historical *milieu*. He visited the country where the chief events in Geyer's life took place. He made himself so familiar with the language of the sixteenth century that a scholar like Max Herrmann of Berlin, a specialist in German sixteenth century literature, can find little fault with style and vocabulary.[1] The same method, I believe, Hauptmann employed in preparing his fairy-play. To get the *milieu* for his sprites he made a systematic study of folk-lore, German folk-lore in particular. An inexhaustive mine of German folk-lore is furnished by the works of the two Grimms, and to these works Hauptmann must have turned first of all, especially to Jacob Grimm's German Mythology, and to the *Kindermärchen*. There are other rich store-houses of German folk-lore with which the poet must have familiarized himself. He may, of course, also have utilized personal recollections of popular tales and traditions heard in Silesia and elsewhere.

The poet must not be expected to use his material as a scholar would. As long as the inner truth is not violated, his sovereign imagination may disregard what the scholars call facts. An analysis of the folk-lore elements in *Die Versunkene Glocke* will show that Hauptmann did not always follow the traditions as he found them, but modified and combined them to suit his purpose.

1. DIE ALTE WITTICHEN.

Where did Hauptmann get the character of the *Buschgrossmutter?* Is *die alte Wittichen* in the main a creation of his own imagination? The name *Buschgrossmutter* Hauptmann found in Grimm's Mythology (*D. M.*4, p. 400). It denotes, in the region of the river Saale, a female wood-sprite exercising authority over the *Moosfräulein*. Simrock (*D. M.*3, p. 423) calls the *Buschgrossmutter* the queen of the wood-sprites and compares her with Berchta. *Die Wittichen* occupies a very similar position in the play: she rules over the *Holzmännerchen* and *Holzweiberchen*—the latter strictly correspond to the *Moosfräulein*—she is respected and feared even by the *Nickelmann* and the *Schrat*, bat and squirrel listen to her command. *Die Wittichen* has snow-white, loose

1 Schlenther, *G. Hauptmann*, p. 267. *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, 1896, I, 7, 15. Cf. also M. Osborn, *Ibid.*, II, 1, 35.

hair and ugly features. Her appearance is that of all the mysterious old women living in the forest. The *Buschmutter* in Silesia is an ugly old woman with disheveled hair and torn clothes supporting herself with a crutch.[2] The *Buschweibchen* in Bohemia has snow-white loose hair and uses a *Knotenstock*.[3] The *Buschweibchen* in Austria[4] is a *steinaltes tiefgebücktes Mütterchen* with long snow-white hair. Though in the play the use of a crutch is not expressly mentioned, we may infer it from the phrase: *Kommt gehumpelt* (sc. *die Wittichen*, act I). On the stage of the *Deutsche Theater* at Berlin, Wittichen always appears with a crutch.

Die Wittichen also partakes of the character of the *Waldfrau*, the lonely old woman living in the forest, an object of suspicion to ordinary human beings. In the *Waldfrau* the human side is more prominent than in the *Buschmutter* or the *Buschweibchen*. The opening lines of one of Grimm's *Märchen* (*K. M.*, No. 179) picture to us the typical *Waldfrau*:

"Es war einmal ein steinaltes mütterchen, das lebte mit einer herde gänse in einer einöde zwischen bergen und hatte da ein kleines haus. die einöde war von einem grossen wald umgeben und jeden morgen nahm die alte ihre krücke und wackelte in den wald. das mütterchen sammelte gras für seine gänse, brach sich das wilde obst ab . . . und trug alles auf seinem rücken heim. man hätte meinen sollen, die schwere last müsste sie zu boden drücken, aber sie brachte sie immer glücklich nach hause. . . . die leute begegneten ihr nicht gern und nahmen lieber einen umweg, und wenn ein vater mit seinem knaben an ihr vorüberging, so sprach er leise zu ihm 'nimm dich in acht vor der alten, . . . es ist eine hexe.'"

There is a striking similarity between this scene and the one in the first act where *die Wittichen* enters almost succumbing to the load on her back. The landscape is much the same; instead of the brook in Grimm's tale we have a well. The geese seem to be a feature of the home of *die Wittichen*, too; for Rautendelein calls a gander to aid her in driving away the bee. Is it a mere accident that the geese in Grimm's tale cry *wulle, wulle*, the cry with which Rautendelein calls the gander, and that, only a few lines further on, Grimm uses the word *trulle* which Rautendelein jestingly applies to herself in the opening scene? Even if one is not ready to admit a direct connection between the two scenes, he must admit that the poet has put before us a genuine *Märchenscene*. The *Waldfrau* in the tale just quoted, and in other tales, is, in the eyes of the world, a witch. *Die Wittichen*, too, is considered a witch. The barber (act I) counts up all the mischief she might do to the people in the valley, if provoked. It is the sort of thing told of witches: they cause the cows to give blood instead of milk,[5] they inflict all sorts of diseases upon men and animals,[6] they twist the hair of children and grown people into elf locks,[7] they have the "evil eye,"[8] against which the barber protects himself with the sign of the cross.[9] The barber calls *die Wittichen* names that are generally given to witches: "verfluchte Katze," "verdammtes Wetteraas;" the schoolmaster calls her "Donneraas." The cat is not only the companion of the witches, but also the animal whose form they often assume.[10] *Die Wittichen* herself has a cat (act I). The names *Wetteraas* and *Donneraas*, which Hauptmann probably got from Grimm (*D. M.*,[4] p. 254), primarily refer to cats. The barber compares *die Wittichen* with a toad, an animal which is often thought to be a witch in transformation.[11] *Die Wittichen*, according to the barber, has red eyes; witches are generally known by their red eyes.[12] Like the *Waldfrau* or *weise Frau*, *die Wittichen* possesses the power to grant wishes, which she exercises in the last act. She appears to be gruff, but in reality is kind, just as the *Waldfrau* in the fairy-tale often seems hostile at first, but turns out to be the friend of the simple-hearted.

2 Peter, *Volkstümliches aus Oestreichisch Schlesien*. Troppau 1865, I, 17.

3 Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* I, 86.

4 Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oestreich*, Wien 1859, p. 242.

5 Grabinski, *Die Sagen, der Aberglaube*, etc., *in Schlesien*, Schweidnitz 1886, p. 38; Peter, *Volkstüml. aus Oestr. Schl.* II, 253; Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 897; Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, § 389.

6 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] pp. 898, 920; Wuttke, §§ 389–396.

7 Wuttke, §§ 220, 523.

8 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 920; Wuttke, § 214.

9 Wuttke, §§ 411, 418.

10 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 254; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 539; Kohler, *Volksbrauch im Voigtland*, p. 174; Simrock, *D. M.*,[3] p. 459.

11 Rochholz, *Schweizersagen des Aargaus*, 2, 188.

12 Wuttke, § 213; Rochholz, *Schweizersagen* I, p. 82.

We see that the character of *die Wittichen* is, even in minute details, based upon German folk-lore; Hauptmann has combined different traditions about the *Buschgrossmutter* or *Buschweibchen*, the *Waldfrau* and the witches. Like her prototypes, she is both supernatural and human. She is a mysterious person. But she has something not found in German folk-lore: she has the true religion, that harmony of faith and intelligence, that inner peace which few can possess and which Heinrich in vain strives to obtain. In her heart God and Nature are one. She stands, as Schlenther justly remarks,[13] above the heathen gods as well as above the Christianity of the people in the valley. She is, figuratively speaking, the priestess of the *Sonnenmutter*.

2. THE NICKELMANN.

Where did Hauptmann find the material for his *Nickelmann?* Adolf Hauffen[14] maintains that

"Hauptmann's sinnbildlich aufzufassende . . . gestalten sind in der entzückenden ausführung der einzelheiten freieste erfindung des dichters, im grossen ganzen hingegen zweifellos angeregt durch die farbenfreudigen, lebenstrotzenden, humorvollen schöpfungen Böcklins und durch antike mythen."

This he thinks to be especially true of the *Waldschrat* and the *Nickelmann*. The latter reminds him of Nereus and his daughters, and has, he claims, no special connection with Silesian or other German traditions about the *Wassermann*.

The water-sprite is called the *Nickelmann* in different parts of Germany;[15] the name also occurs in a ballad.[16] Hauptmann's description of the *Nickelmann* is as follows:

"ein Wassergreis, Schilf im Haar, triefend von Nässe, lang ausschnaufend wie ein Seehund. Er zwinkert mit den Augen, bis er sich an das Tageslicht gewöhnt hat."

In the fifth act the *Schrat* calls him 'Froschkönig,' 'Wasserpatscher,' 'Grünbauch.' From the phrase "und kraute dir den Bart" in the same act we must conclude that Nickelmann has a beard. In German popular traditions the water-sprites appear in various forms, but there are many traditions which give to the *Wassermann* practically the same attributes as Hauptmann. Grimm[17] states that the *Wassermann* is generally old and long-bearded; in Saxony[18] and other parts of Northern Germany[19] he is thought of as an old man. With Hauptmann he is "ein tausendjähr'ger." In Lower Austria the *Wassermann* was thought to wear reeds instead of hair,[20] in Andersen's fairy-tales[21] we also find a *Wassermann* with reeds in his hair. Nixies are often thought to wear a wreath of reeds, the *Bartschnixe* in Silesia appeared with such a headgear at a dance.[22] Water is supposed to be constantly dripping from the *Wassermann's* hair.[23] The same is told about the nixies.[24] Hauptmann's water-sprite puffs like a seal and winks his eyes until used to the daylight. These traits, so far as I am aware, are not found in German traditions. They were doubtless suggested by Böcklin's paintings. The names *Froschkönig* and *Wasserpatscher* Hauptmann got from Grimm's tale *Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich*, where both occur.[25] *Grünbauch* is a fitting epithet, as the *Wassermann* is sometimes represented with a green body,[26] or at least dressed in green.[27] Hauptmann nowhere implies that the *Nickelmann* is either of gigantic stature or of diminutive size. Both types occur in German tradition, but the third type, of ordinary human stature, is perhaps the most common.[28]

The *Nickelmann* is visible only down to his waist. This trait is found in several traditions. In some parts of Austria the *Wassermann* is

13 *G. Hauptmann*, p. 263.

14 *Zur Kunde vom Wassermann, Forschungen zur neueren Litteraturgeschichte. Festgabe für Richard Heinzel.*

15 Grimm, *D. M.*[4] p. 404.

16 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Schlesische Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1842, No. 1, note.

17 *D. M.*,[4] p. 406.

18 Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, I, 147.

19 Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sg.*, No. 105.

20 Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche in Oestreich*, p. 164.

21 *Sämmtliche Märchen*, p. 719: *Die Glockentiefe.*

22 Goedsche, *Schlesischer Sagen-, Historien- und Legendenschatz*, Meissen 1840, p. 88. Cf. also Witzschel, *Thüringer Sagen*, I, 236.

23 Vernaleken, *ibid.*, p. 203.

24 Witzschel, *ibid.*, I, 279.

25 Cf. also Henkel in *Zschr. f. d. deutsch. Unterricht*, xiii, 256.

26 Vernaleken, *ibid.*, p. 162.

27 Reuper, *Schlesische Sagen und Märchen*, Wien, 1881, p. 40; Vernaleken, *ibid.*, p. 164.

28 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 49; Kuhn und Schwartz, *ibid.*, No. 197, 5; Golther, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 146.

thought to stand in the water up to his waist.[29] Kuhn[30] tells of a *Wasserschmied* who hammers and forges standing in the water up to his belt; a nixie in the Saale is visible only as far as her waist.[31] None of the legends just quoted imply that the body of the water-sprite ended in a fish-tail; to assume this in the case of the *Nickelmann* is perfectly gratuitous. There are a few German traditions attributing to the water-sprite a fish-tail,[32] but in the large majority of cases these sprites are represented with human extremities.[33]

The character of the *Nickelmann*, too, finds its counterpart in the *Wassermann* of popular traditions. Nickelmann is deeply in love with Rautendelein. The *Wassermann* of popular tradition also appears as a lover, and though he makes no sentimental appeals to his loved one, he is just as eager to possess her as the *Nickelmann*. He will sometimes assume the form of a handsome young man, dance with one of the lasses of the village, and then take her down into his watery abode.[34] The best example of his love-making is found in the ballad called *Des Wassermann's Braut* or *Das schöne Hannele*.[35] Here the *Wassermann* appears as suitor of a maiden who finally follows him down into the water to be his wife.[36] The character of the *Wassermann* in popular tradition is not without a trait of great cruelty.[37] Nickelmann shows the cruelty of his race when he threatens to punish Hornig (act 3): "den Kopf dreh ich ihm ab." In a popular tale the *Wassermann* says to a fisherman who offended him: "so drehe ich dir den Hals um."[38] Witzschel relates a Thuringian legend,[39] in which the *Wassermann* wants to wrench off the neck of a woman who attended his own wife in child-birth. Nickelmann also threatens to bite off Heinrich's throat (act III). This may have been suggested by the fact that the *Wassermann* is sometimes represented as having long, sharp teeth.[40] The philosophy and wisdom of the *Nickelmann* are not taken directly from popular tradition, but they resemble in a certain degree the gift of prophecy often attributed to water-sprites.[41] The words of warning addressed to Rautendelein at the end of the first act and the ominous lines directed against sleeping Heinrich (Act V) show him to be a prophet who knows the future. Critics generally agree that the character of the *Nickelmann* is inconsistent. This inconsistency, I believe, is due to some extent to the varying character of the *Wassermann* in popular tradition; and it is this tradition which furnished Hauptmann with the material for his *Nickelmann*. But it is a difficult task to make a consistent poetic character out of a sprite, the product of primitive imagination, who in different legends shows traits of great amorousness, excessive cruelty and supernatural wisdom. Even sentimentality, though of a different kind from that of the *Nickelmann*, is not foreign to the *Wassermann* of popular tradition. Grimm[42] relates the beautiful legend of Neck, the Swedish water-sprite, who mourns and weeps at the thought that there is no salvation for him.

A few minor points may be added to show how closely Hauptmann followed German traditions. Rautendelein offers *Nickelmann* a black cock (Act I). Grimm reports that the *Nickelmann* in the Bode received an annual gift of a black cock.[43] The *Nickelmann* has daughters; the *Wassermann* in popular traditions is often accompanied by his grown-up daughters.[44] The *Nickelmann* speaks of his youngest daughter as "grünhaarig" (Act IV); water-sprites, male and female, are often said to have green hair.[45] *Nickelmann* has a splendid hall under the water, like so many

29 Vernaleken, p. 164.

30 *Westfaelische Sagen*, I, 47.

31 Witzschel, I, 239. Cf. Simrock, *D. M.*3, p. 429.

32 Kuhn und Schwartz, No. 197, I; Vernaleken, *ibid.*, p. 164; Schambach-Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen*, p. 66.

33 Golther, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 147; Weinhold, *Beitr. zur Nixenkunde*, *Zschr. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, v, p. 122.

34 Grimm, *D. S.*, No, 51.

35 Hoffmann v. Fallersleben, *Schlesische Volkslieder*, No. 1; Erk-Böhme, *Dtsch. Liederhort*, I, p. 1, ff.

36 Cf. also Goethe, *Die Fischerin*.

37 Grimm, *D. M.*,4 p. 409; Simrock, *D. M*3., p. 429.

38 Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sg.*, No. 197, 2.

39 *Thüringer Sg.*, I, 202; Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 49.

40 Kuhn und Schwartz, No. 197, 1.

41 Golther, *Germ. Myth.* p. 149; Grimm, *D. M.*,4 III, p. 142.

42 *D. M.*,4 p. 408.

43 *D. M.*,4 III, p. 143; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sg.*, No. 197, 1.

44 Witzschel, *Thüringer Sg.*, II, 80; Grisse, *Sg. d. K.s Sachsen*, I, 147, 279; Ziehnert, *Sachsens Volkssagen*, p. 402.

45 Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 147; Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche*, p. 162; Grisse, *ibid.*, II, 100.

water-sprites[46]. He has power over the water[47] (Act IV). The *Nickelmann* is, in short, a thoroughly German water-sprite; Hauffen's view in regard to his origin is untenable.

3. THE WALDSCHRAT.

Is the *Waldschrat* a German sprite, or is he an antique satyr? The name *Schrat* is thoroughly German, whatever its origin may be.[48] It may be applied to almost any sort of demoniac being.[49] The compound *Waldschrat* Hauptmann got from Grimm,[50] who cites the Latin equivalents *pilosus*, *satyrus*, found in glosses and elsewhere. Such glosses, however, do not prove that the German *Waldschrat* in every way resembled the classical satyr.[51] Hauptmann's *Waldschrat* is *bocksbeinig*, *ziegenbärtig*, *gehörnt* (Act I), *stark von Lenden* (Act V); he is characterized by extreme sensuality and an irrepressible desire to do mischief of every sort. Do we find such a sprite in German folk-lore? German wood-sprites are generally thought to have their bodies all covered with hair,[52] and to be of great physical strength.[53] We also find sprites with feet shaped like those of the goat,[54] but nowhere in German folk-lore do we meet with a sprite having horns, legs and a beard like a goat. These characteristics are reserved for the devil. Mannhardt, who ransacked the whole of Europe to get evidence for his theory regarding the worship of demons of vegetation, does not give a single instance of a German sprite shaped like Hauptmann's *Waldschrat;* nor does Grimm, or any collection of German folk-lore, mention such a sprite, so far as I am aware. Mannhardt has much to say about demons in the shape of a goat found in Germanic Europe, but they are theriomorphic deities and not beings half man, half goat.[55] Hauffen's statement is, therefore, correct: Hauptmann's *Waldschrat* is not drawn from German traditions, but is a true satyr or faun. The *Waldschrat's* sensuality is distinctly that of the satyr. German wood-sprites, though more or less given to love affairs with human beings,[56] do not show such exuberant animal spirits. The *Waldschrat* dances or tries to dance with Rautendelein and the elves, just as the satyr dances with the nymphs; both live in the mountains.[57]

Bartels has pointed out that Goethe's *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel* had influence upon Hauptmann's *Waldschrat*. There can be no doubt that the mad words with which the *Waldschrat* interrupts the dance of the fairies (Act I), are directly traceable to ll. 31–37 of Goethe's *Satyros* (Weimar ed. xvi, p. 77 ff.) The flies which *die Wittichen* threatens to send after him are also found in Goethe's poem (l. 97), where Satyros complains of the "Unzahl verfluchter Mücken." Like Goethe's Satyros (l. 76 ff.) the *Waldschrat* delights in drinking the milk of the goats directly from the udder[58] (Act I). These traits are not found in German traditions, though German forest-sprites sometimes appear as goat-herds or cow-herds.[59] The *Waldschrat's* mischievousness is also characteristic of the satyr or faun. Preller (*l.c.*) compares the tricks of Faunus to those of Rübezahl. The faun causes the echo and other mysterious noises of the forest. Hauptmann's *Waldschrat* cries out *echohaft* (Act I). Before he appears on the scene, his cry *holdrioho* is heard, just as Goethe's Satyros announces himself with a series of yells.

46 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 52; Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 147; Wuttke, § 54; Vernaleken, *l. c.*, pp. 133, 162.

47 Cf. Panzer, *Beitr. z. dtsch. Myth.* I, 276.

48 Cf. Grimm, *D. W.*, s. v. *Schrat;* Weinhold, *Die Riesen des germanischen Mythus*, p. 268.

49 Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 126.

50 *D. M.*,[4] p. 396; cf. also Mannhardt, *W. und F. Kulte* I, 114.

51 Cf. Mannhardt, *ibid.* I, 114.

52 Grimm, *D. M.*[4] pp. 397, 400; Rochholz, *Schweizersagen*, I, 319; Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 153.

53 Mannhardt, *W. und F. Kulte* II, 149.

54 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 372, n. 3; Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, pp. 103, 105, 123; Mannhardt, *l.c.* II, 152; Stober, *Sg. des Elsasses*, p. 4.

55 *W. und F. Kulte*, II, Chap. III, §§ 10 and 12.

56 Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 154.

57 As for the satyr and faun, cf. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*,[2] Berlin, 1865, p. 335; Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, Göttingen, 1857, II, p. 656, and III, p. 50; Mannhardt, *W. und F. Kulte*, II, pp. 114, 131, 138.

58 This is also told of the Russian forest-spirit, *Ljeschie*, who closely resembles the Classical satyr, cf. Mannhardt, *ibid.*, I, p. 140, and of the *Skratz* among the Island-Swedes along the coast of Russia, cf. Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, Berlin, 1855, p. 53. Elves and goblins generally like milk: Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, p. 52; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sg.*, No. 322; Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 1036.

59 Mannhardt, *W. und F. Kulte*, II, p. 149; Rochholz, *Schweizersagen*, I, p. 319.

The *Waldschrat*, according to *die Wittichen* (Act I), leads travelers astray. That is characteristic of forest-sprites generally,[60] but it is significant that Grimm, on the same page where he speaks of the *Waldschrat* (*D. M.*,[4] p. 397), relates the Moravian legend of the *Seehirte:*

"ein schadenfroher geist, der in gestalt eines hirten, die peitsche in der hand, reisende in einen moorbruch verlockt."

As the word *Reisender* is often applied to a *Handwerksbursche*, we have here doubtless the origin of the words of *die Wittichen:*

"an Handwerksburscha ei 's Moor verfiern,
doas a muss Hoals und Bene verliern."

In the same passage *die Wittichen* reproaches the *Waldschrat* with upsetting a load of glass to vex some poor mountaineer. Just such a story is told of Rübezahl.[61]

Other German traits of the *Waldschrat* are referred to by Rautendelein when she tauntingly says to him: "Jage du deine Moosweiblein." The *Waldschrat* appears here in the rôle of the Wild Huntsman. It is a widely spread tradition that the *Moosweibchen* are pursued and killed by the Wild Huntsman.[62] This tradition Hauptmann has quite arbitrarily connected with his *Waldschrat*. What the rest of Rautendelein's taunt signifies is not clear. Though popular traditions mention female wood-sprites with children,[63] no mention is made of a *Frau Schrat*, nor is such a prolific marriage on record in German folk-lore, so far as I am aware. Hauptmann probably drew upon his imagination to illustrate the sensual nature of his wood-sprite. The idea may possibly have been suggested by the German tradition attributing to female wood-sprites very long breasts, the symbol of fertility.[64] Mannhardt[65] mentions a satyr-shaped mountain-spirit in Scotland, who has 12,000 wives and children.

The *Waldschrat* furthermore detests bread baked with caraway-seed (Act I), a trait common to German sprites.[66] He wants to stamp into the ground *Masslieb und Vergissnichtmein*, the flowers of true love;[67] the elves on the other hand do not wish even to touch these flowers with their feet (Act I). The *Waldschrat* asks Rautendelein to follow him into the bushes:

"dort ist 'ne Weide, alt und ausgehöhlt,
die Hahnkrat nie gehört und Wasserrauschen:
dort will ich dir das Wunderpfeiflein schneiden,
danach sie alle tanzen."

This seems like a reference to the *syrinx*, the pipe of Pan and the satyrs, but it is not a Classical allusion. Grimm (*D. M.*,[4] p. 1039) relates the following Russian superstition:

"um eine wunderbare pfeife zu erlangen, die alle leute tanzen mache, müsse man im dunkeln wald die grüne weide aufsuchen, welche niemals wasser rauschen noch den hahn krähen hörte."

The *Schrat's* words are almost literally taken from this passage. As it is spring during the first act,—cf. Rautendelein's words "es riecht nach Frühling"—the allusion to *Pfeiflein schneiden* is very appropriate. It is a general practice of German boys to go out in spring and make whistles out of willow-bark, repeating, at the same time, all sorts of charms.[68] The other meaning of *Pfeiflein* in this passage is fairly common during the sixteenth century.[69]

The *Waldschrat* pulls out a short pipe and lights it with a match. This grotesque scene is apt to strike one as very original; Hauptmann, however, follows German traditions. A goblin with pipe in mouth is by no means unknown to German folk-lore. The ever active imagination of a people to whom the old traditions are sacred, seizes upon every new invention and throws around it the poetic halo of superstition. A good example is furnished by the railways, around which sprang up about the middle of the nineteenth century many curious traditions and superstitions.

60 Mannhardt, *W. und F. Kulte*, i, 129, 139; ii, 114.

61 Klose, *Führer durch die Sagen und Märchenwelt des Riesengebirges*, Schweidnitz, 1887, p. 118.

62 Grimm, *D. S.*, Nos. 47, 48; Mannhardt, *ibid.* i, 82; Wuttke, § 16; Panzer, *Beitr.* ii, 69.

63 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 400; Wuttke, § 52; Mannhardt, *ibid.* i, 88 and ii, 147.

64 Mannhardt, *ibid.*, i, 147 n.; Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 153.

65 *ibid.*, ii, 153.

66 Grimm, *D. M.*[4] 3, 141; Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, i, 48; Perger, *Deutsche Pflanzensagen*, p. 201.

67 Perger, *ibid.*, pp. 131, 171; M. v. Strantz, *Die Blumen in Sage und Geschichte*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 224, 345.

68 Peter, *Volkstümliches aus Österr.-Schlesien*, i, p. 148 f., gives several such charms in the Silesian dialect.

69 Grimm, *D. W.* s. v. pfeife; Val. Schumann *Nachtbüchlein*, ed. Bolte, ind. s. v. pfeyffe.

Among the Austrian peasants who had heard and seen so much of the terrible effects of the Prussian needle-guns during the war of 1866, a legend was current about Bismarck selling his soul to the devil in return for the secret of this new gun, a genuine folk-lore narrative. In the same way have pipe and tobacco entered into popular traditions, ever since tobacco came to be generally used in Germany. In Grimm's fairy-tale *Das blaue Licht* we read of a soldier lighting his pipe with a blue flame supposed to be a will-o'-the-wisp.[70] In a soldier we may find smoking natural, even though he belong to the magic world of Grimm's fairy-tales, but to read of a spectre entering a room, sitting down at the table, pulling out a short pipe and beginning to smoke is decidedly queer.[71] A similar story is told by Rochholz[72] of a goblin, the spirit of the former proprietor of the house. It is just as queer, though easily explained by natural phenomena, to read of certain mountain-peaks in Switzerland where the *Berggeist* may be seen smoking tobacco;[73] but the idea of a *Wassermann* in Southern Bohemia leaving his pool, pipe in mouth,[74] is as grotesque as Hauptmann's scene. The devil, too, gets mixed up with tobacco: in a story told by Müllenhoff[75] he comes to grief while trying to get a pinch of snuff. Dwarfs smoke sometimes.[76] Will-o'-the-wisps are used to light the pipes.[77] We see that Hauptmann's smoking sprite has had numerous predecessors in German folk-lore.[78]

In the fourth act the *Waldschrat* asks Rautendelein for the wheel of the wagon that had once carried the bell, to roll it down the mountain. It is an allusion to the old custom *Rädertreiben* practised in some parts of Germany even at the present day.[79]

70 *K.-M.* iii, p. 196.

71 Grimm, *D. S.* No. 272.

72 *Naturmythen*, p, 186.

73 Rochholz, *ibid.*, p. 186.

74 Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche*, p. 177. According to a Danish legend a female wood-sprite may be seen in the forest smoking tobacco: Mannhardt, *ibid.* i, 125.

75 *Sagen aus Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 276.

76 Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, p. 187; Alpenburg, *Mythen and Sagen Tirols*, pp. 104, 168.

77 Rochholz, *Schweizersagen* ii, 70; cf. Hebel's Alemannic poem *Geisterbesuch auf dem Feldberg*.

78 Cf. also Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen*, p. xvi.

79 Panzer, *Beitr.* 1, 212: Jahn, *Die deutschen Opfergebräuche*, index s. v. *Rad*.

Though Hauptmann's *Schrat* is in the main an antique satyr, he has, as we have seen, an admixture of German blood. But the two elements are so well blended that there is no inconsistency in his character.

4. RAUTENDELEIN.

Rautendelein's nature is not so clearly defined as that of either the *Nickelmann* or the *Schrat;* it is made up of different elements. She is called by the poet "ein elbisches Wesen." That means that she is not a human being, but partakes of the superhuman character of elfish beings. There is no figure in German folk-lore exactly corresponding. She calls herself "Waldfräulein," the *Schrat* calls her "Nixlein" (Act I). Heinrich addresses her as "windleichter Elfengeist"[80] (Act IV). She dances with the elves, as if she were one of them, but she remains when the others scatter in all directions; the *Schrat* may not treat her as he treats the elves, she is evidently more than a mere fairy.

As for the name Rautendelein, it was not, as has been claimed,[81] invented by Hauptmann. It is taken from the Silesian version of the well-known ballad *Schön Ulrich und Roth-Ännchen* or *Schön-Ännchen;* the title of that version is *Schön Ulrich und Rautendelein.*[82]

In the opening scene Rautendelein is sitting upon the edge of the well combing her golden hair with a golden comb and singing. The picture she presents reminds us at once of the *Loreley*; but it is characteristic of nixies in general. The nixie at Magdeburg may be seen sitting on the bank of the river combing her golden hair.[83] Müllenhoff tells of a maiden who rises from the pond every Whitsuntide and, seated upon a rock, combs her golden hair and sings.[84] The *Unstrutnixe* is pleased when the smooth surface of the water reflects her image.[85] Rochholz[86] speaks of a maiden who combs her fair hair with a golden comb and looks at her reflection in the water, just as Rautendelein does. Golden hair is a gen-

80 *Windleichter geist*, cf. *D. M.*,4 p. 396.

81 Worner, *G. Hauptmann*, p. 78.

82 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Schlesische Volkslieder*, No. 12.

83 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 57.

84 *Sagen und Märchen aus Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 109.

85 Witzschel, *Thüringer Sagen* i, 279.

86 *Schweizersagen*, i, 240.

eral attribute of nixies,[87] and they like a golden comb.[88]

Rautendelein calls the *Nickelmann* "Herr Oheim" (Act I). This term may be taken in the general sense of an older relative, or else as being merely a form of address expressing both respect and a certain intimacy.[89] We see that Rautendelein has much in common with the female water-sprites of German folk-lore.[90] On the other hand Rautendelein tells Heinrich that she was found by the *Buschgrossmutter* in the woods (Act II), that the forest and the mountains are her home, that the wind is her element. She is, therefore, primarily, a sprite of the forest or of the air.[91] But as female forest-sprites in German traditions are generally very ugly creatures,[92] the poet was compelled to find other characteristics for Rautendelein; he turned to the nixies, the most beautiful female sprites in German folk-lore.[93] Rautendelein's unknown origin and the way in which she is picked up from moss and lichen remind us of the traditions about a mysterious child found on a bush along the road[95] or in the fields. Rochholz[95] relates:

"Sommers findet man in blühenden Kleefeldern manchmal ein feinlockiges engelschönes Kind auf schneeweissen Windeln bloss daliegen."

The child in these traditions personifies the spirit of vegetation. The child of a *Waldweib* is sometimes found in the forest.[96]

Rautendelein does not know what tears are. Her first tear marks the change from the pure nature-sprite to a being endowed with human emotions. We need not be troubled by Hauptmann's inconsistency in making the little fairy at the beginning of the first act shed tears (also at the beginning of the fifth act). The idea that sprites do not shed tears is by no means general in German folk-lore,[97] though according to popular belief, witches cannot weep.[98] It may have been suggested by Fouqué's *Undine*, or by Andersen's tale *Die kleine Seejungfrau*.[99]

The *Nickelmann* offers to place Rautendelein's tear in a rose-colored shell, an allusion to the well-known belief that pearls are tears.[100] The *Unstrutnixe* collects the tears of a mourning mother and puts them as pearls into a golden shell.[101]

The beautiful stanzas in the fifth act which express Rautendelein's despair at being married with the *Nickelmann* show the influence of two Silesian ballads: *Die schöne Hannele*, referred to above, and its variant, *Die unglückliche Braut*.[102] The subject of the two ballads is the unfortunate union between the *Wassermann* or *Nickelmann* and a human maiden. The details of the two ballads are different from those in Rautendelein's song, but the *Grundstimmung* is the same; the despair at having to follow the *Wassermann*. The former ballad, *Schön Hannele*, throws light upon the obscure stanza dealing with the three apples. After *Hannele* has lived with the *Wassermann* for seven years, she hears the sound of the bell and asks permission to go to church just once. In the church she meets her parents and goes home with them to dinner:

> "Und da sie den ersten Bissen ass, – – –
> Fiel ihr ein Apfel auf den Schoss,
> Der schönen Hannele."

for her return, just as the *Elbjungfer* promises The apple is the signal of the *Wassermann*

87 Witzschel, *ibid.*, i, 287; Golther, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 146.

88 Grimm, *K.-M.*, No. 181.

89 cf. *D. W.* s. v. *Oheim*.

90 This renders invalid Schütze's objection to the character of Rautendelein (*Americ. German.* iii, p. 88). Rautendelein is not an elf of light, her nature is composite as is that of many elves in mythology and folk-lore. In fact, it is often impossible to determine the native element of elves. Cf. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, i, pp. 1035, 1036; Golther *Germ. Myth.*, pp. 126, 135, 153.

91 "Die Waldelbe sind aufs engste mit den Windelben verknüpft." Golther, *ibid.*, p. 153; Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 129.

92 Grimm, *D. M.*,4 p. 400; Golther, p. 153; for an exception cf. Mannhardt, i, p. 88. Sometimes these sprites have beautiful flowing hair: Grimm, *D. S.* No. 50.

93 Golther, p. 146.

94 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 14.

95 *Schweizersagen*, i, 273.

96 Grimm, *D. M.*,4 p. 400.

97 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 50; *D. M.*,4 p. 408.

98 Wuttke, § 213.

99 We know that Hauptmann, as a boy, wrote fairy-tales in Andersen's style: Schlenther, *G. Hauptmann*, pp. 13, 21.

100 Grimm, *D. M.*,4 p. 253; Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche*, p. 197. Cf. Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, Act II, sc. 7.

101 Witzschel, i, 280.

102 Hoffmann v. Fallersleben, *Schles. Volkslieder*, Nos. 1 and 3.

to send a plate with an apple to the surface of the water as a message of good fortune.[103] The apple is also the symbol of love and marriage.[104] The three apples in the fourth stanza are, therefore, the expression of the *Nickelmann's* love and the signal to come down to him. The white apple makes Rautendelein grow pale; the golden apple gives her riches, such riches as she spurned when the *Nickelmann* offered them at the end of Act I; the red apple signifies her death: to live with the *Nickelmann* after living with Heinrich is equivalent to death. *Rosenrot*, in popular poetry, is sometimes a color symbolical of death, as in the love-song:

"Jetzt leg ich mich nieder
Auf Heu und auf Moos,
Da fallen drei Röselein
Mir in den Schoss.
Und diese drei Röselein
Sind rosenrot;
Jetzt weiss ich nicht, lebt mein Schatz,
Oder ist er tot."[105]

It is interesting to see how the poet follows popular traditions even in little details. Rautendelein has red shoes (Act IV), and red is the color of shoes in fairy-tales. In the story of the *Machandelbaum*[106] the bird brings the girl red shoes. There is a popular ballad in which the bride wears "red, red shoes,"[107] also a nursery rhyme in which the child takes pride in her red shoes.[108] Rautendelein puts fire-flies in her hair as an ornament, a trait characteristic of fairies; *Frau Venus*, in Simrock's *Amelungenlied* (ii, p. 316), wears fire-flies in her locks; in fairy-tales the fire-flies serve as lanterns.[109]

We see that Rautendelein's elfish nature is thoroughly German; the poet has used material found in German traditions.

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103 Grimm, *D. M.*,4 p. 410; *D. S.*, No. 60.

104 Grimm, *D. W.*, ii, 122: *K.-M.*, No. 17; Erk-Böhme, i, p. 26; *Wunderhorn*, Berlin, 1846, iii, 27: v, 319.

105 Wuttke, *Sächsische Volkskunde*, Dresden 1900, p. 243. The song begins *Jetz geh ich zum Brünnele* and is found in different versions in many parts of Germany. Cf. Erk-Böhme, Nos. 203 ff.

106 Grimm, *K.-M.*, No. 47.

107 *Wunderhorn*, Berlin, 1846, ii, p. 14.

108 Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch*, No. 476.

109 Grimm, *K.-M.* No. 186; Andersen, *Der Reisekamerad;* Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream, Act III sc., 1.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

A New Study of the Sonnets of Shakespeare by PARKE GODWIN. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: The Kickerbocker Press. 1900. 8vo, 306 pp.

SHAKESPEARE'S *Sonnets* like Shakespeare's epitaph, have had a sort of hypnotic effect on the men of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the one preventing the curious from disinterring the dust and bones of the mortal Shakespeare, the other alluring the savants to resuscitate the dead passions of the immortal poet. Nowadays it is not so much the newness of the theory respecting the *Sonnets* that attracts readers, as the intense interest awakened by the announcement of another victim to this hypnotic influence. And now the latest is Mr. Parke Godwin.

Mr. Godwin feelingly quotes Mr. Saintsbury in saying,

"no vainer fancies this side of madness ever entered the human mind, than certain expositions of the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare."

Therefore, despite this warning from one of the sanest critics of to-day, it is almost pathetic to watch Mr. Godwin searching for "a sort of guide in the interpretation of the Sonnets generally." Finally he finds his guide, and

"either by design or accident," this "was the central sonnet of the series as a whole. Dividing 154 by 2 we get 77, which is, strange to say, the number of this sonnet. By whom the original numbering was done we do not know, but it is certainly not an extravagance to suppose that the writer himself may have purposely affixed this 77 to a sonnet which he considered in some degree explanatory."

It is to be regretted that Ignatius Donnelly could not have lived to read these lines! Before passing into this vast edifice of mystery it is worth while to linger in the introductory vestibule and note its construction. The Introduction, subdivided into two parts, seeks to give first, a brief history of the *Sonnets*, and secondly, an outline of former expositions of the *Sonnets*. It is hardly necessary or worth the reader's while to tarry long in this part of the structure. It is too brief to be truly valuable, and too carelessly constructed to edify the lover of good literary style. But a real fault, one frequently indulged in by so-called racy, popular critics, men who by trade are

journalists, and whose journalistic slipshod manner delights in a gaudy display of witty cleverness and exaggerated bombast, is to be found here, and should not pass muster without a word of censure. Inaccuracy is rampant. It is a wrathful Sansloy pricking along the plain of sonnet-land.

On the opening page of this Introduction it reads:

"A late historian of English literature tells us that at one time in the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was an outbreak of sonnet-writing, which for mass and beauty has never been paralleled. It was a form of verse which, having long held sway in Italy, passed through France into England, where it became a fashion. Introduced by Wyatt and Surrey about the year 1550, it was taken up by a great many others, and among them by Thomas Watson, whom Spenser calls 'the noblest swain that ever piped upon an oaten quill,' then by Spenser himself, the foremost poet of his age, and finally by Sir Philip Sidney, who, as scholar and soldier, enjoyed a universal popularity."

A footnote to this citation refers the reader to Saintsbury's *History of English Literature*, page 79 (which should read page 97). This careless use of Mr. Saintsbury's criticism should not be allowed. Long before 1550, Wyatt and Surrey introduced the sonnet. Most of Wyatt's love poems were probably written between 1525 and 1537. Wyatt died in 1542, and Surrey was beheaded in 1547. Further, the sonnet did not thus find its way into England through France. And further, Spenser did not precede, but followed Sidney with his sonnet-cycle. Later on another careless statement throws the reader's time-view out of perspective: "like these (sonnets) of Spenser, Sidney, Drummond, Constable, etc., which were contemporaneous." Drummond belongs to the post-Shaksperean group of poets, and his sonnets, though Elizabethan in fashion, are not contemporaneous with those of Spenser and Sidney. The proper historical place for Drummond's sonnets may best be presented in Mr. Schelling's words,

"Although the sonnet continued a popular form during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth and that of her successor, excepting the work of William Drummond, a scholarly poet, who lived much in the past, and series like William Browne's *Cœlia* and *Visions*, the writing of sonnet sequence went out of the literary fashion with the close of the former reign."

Not only does Drummond look strange shouldering his way in between Sidney and Constable, but what will readers think when Browning is praised for his sonnets that "carry their meaning on their face." To avoid any misrepresentation I quote: "like those of Bowles, Keats, Wordsworth, and Mr. and Mrs. Browning."

Beside the pathetic this brief history of the Sonnet may be said to have its humorous side too:

"I shall not discuss these various wranglings further than to say that, in my guess, which is as good as another's, Mr. Tommy Thorpe, having read a deal in the early sonnets about begetting a 'son,' and also in the later sonnets about one Mr. Will—a pun on the author's name—and desiring at the same time to be quaint and funny for himself, put the two together in order to tell us how the exclusive author ("the onlie begetter") was no other than W. H. (Will Himself), or the veritable Master William Shakespeare."

This is doubly funny if the author thinks he is the first guesser. The Germans were before him.

The next section, upon the "authenticity and correctness" of the *Sonnets*, is also open to criticism. The author makes a wrong impression when he states,

"They were in circulation privately, according to Meres, for nearly twenty years during his lifetime, and much discussed among his friends."

They were first alluded to by Meres in 1598, and they were first published in 1609. After this date one would hardly speak of them as privately circulated. And later the author says: "Within twenty years after his decease . . . . they were republished." In 1640, twenty-four years after his decease, they were reprinted with eight sonnets omitted and the order of sequence wholly changed. Again he says: "they were published seven years before he died, and attracted a great deal of attention because of his growing fame as a playright." This is hardly warranted by the facts of the case. When Benson, in 1640, issued this altered form of the *Sonnets* he prefixed an address "to the reader," which in

forms us to-day that the *Sonnets* on their first publication were "less popular than the plays." If one considered the numerous editions of Sidney's or Spenser's works within a short lapse of time, one would hardly count the thirty-one years that intervened between the first publication of these *Sonnets* and their second altered publication as evidence of popularity. It is not exact to say "they were much discussed among his friends" and "attracted a great deal of attention." This exaggerated tone is really corrected by the writer himself in another place:

"To this brief history of the *Sonnets* it is perhaps well to add that they never acquired the popularity of Shakespeare's plays, or of his other poems: for while the *Venus and Adonis* and the *Lucrece* passed rapidly through several editions, the *Sonnets* were not republished until 1640—thirty-one years after the poet's death."

Because this same Quarto

"abounds in typographical and other errors which might easily have escaped the eyes of a proof-reader, but not those of the writer himself,"

Mr. Godwin believes that Shakespeare had nothing to do with its publication. All agree with this. What are we to think of the errors of this book? Here are a few specimen lines: "in Sonnet 48 (it should read 46), *their* is put for *thy* no less than four times." Again, "in Sonnet 144, the second line repeats the close of the first line," which should read, the beginning of the second line, etc. And two pages further on it states, "the (sic) most of them, in existence in 1597, when Meres alludes to them," which should read in 1598. Again he affirms that the second edition "omitted seven of the best sonnets," instead of eight. All these are slight mistakes, they, however, detract from the value of the work, and render questionable the "eccentric interpretation in which the editor indulges" later on.

I pass now to the second chapter of the Introduction. This treats of former expositions of the *Sonnets*. The author severely censures the varied views advanced by his predecessors in this domain of Shakespearean criticism. Three modes of exposition are classified briefly, fantastic, allegorical, and amatory. This last classification of the *Sonnets* the writer regards as the "most misleading and pernicious;" namely, that expressing the poet's unbounded love and admiration for a young friend. The writer is wrong in supposing that Barnfield addressed his sonnets to a lady. His young Ganymede was no poetic illusion, but a friend in the flesh, whose personal charms are celebrated in the most orthodox sonnet language. The critic in hand refuses to entertain the idea that either the Earl of Pembroke or the Earl of Southampton could be the young friend of Seakespeare.

"Had the combatants paid any attention to the requirements of chronology, they would have seen that they were both barking up the wrong tree; for if we suppose the *Sonnets* to have been written during the period I have fixed—that is, between 1582 and 1592—as Southampton was born in 1573, and Pembroke in 1580, they were neither of them of any age to attract the notice of the poet."

It all depends on the "if we suppose." "Your If is the only peace-maker; much virtue in If."

Passing from this Introduction of fifty pages to the main body of the work, which has been subdivided into two parts: Part First, "A New Study of the Sonnets," and Part Second, "The Original Sonnets as Newly Arranged," one cannot but carry the impression of gross inaccuracy and superficialness such as I have called to the reader's attention in the survey of this Introduction. In this part of the work falls the writer's most serious task. He disclaims having a theory and he must prove at the same time that the sonnets arrange themselves of themselves, at least so far as to satisfy the judgment of the reader. The divisions that formed themselves in this spontaneous way may be arranged as follows:

I. A central or explanatory sonnet.

II. A few sonnets that cannot be gathered into a fold with any of the others, and stand out as so many Independents: nine in all.

III. A group forming a somewhat continuous poem, which is commonly said to be a persuasion to a young man of genius and promise to get married, but which has, as I take it, an entirely different object.

IV. A series of Love Poems, descriptive (*a*) of an early and ardent attachment, (*b*) of a separation from the beloved, (*c*) of the pains

and pleasures of absence, and (*d*) of a young poet's first impressions, under these circumstances, of the great world.

V. Another group of Love Poems, but of another kind, depicting the origin, progress, and end of an irregular amatory relation, and which may be called "The Episode of the Dark Lady."

VI. And finally, a group relating to the poet's communion with a Higher or Tenth Muse as he calls it, meaning the personified Spirit or Genius of Poetry in its highest conception. This group reveals (*a*) the youthful aspirations of the poet, (*b*) his efforts to realize them, (*c*) the obstacle he encounters, and (*d*) his ultimate success and trinmph over all difficulties.

Of these divisions the first that requires attention is No. III. Because the young friend is advised to marry, and the word "marriage" does not enforce the obligation, the writer disfavors the marital theory. I suppose all the wooings of *Love's Labor's Lost* are lost upon him for the same reason. Poetry sometimes expresses one thing in words of another. "Husband and wife," "the prospective bride and blessing of the lad" do not have to appear in black and white to convey an idea of their existence in the mind of the poet. True the language is often figurative, but the probable solution offered by Mr. Godwin renders this language absurd. He believes that the poet means the spiritual process of creation, or the exercise of his faculties in verse-writing or poetry. To secure such an interpretation resort is made to most far-fetched readings; for example, in the closing couplet of Sonnet 7, the word "son" is believed to mean "some product of his genius:"

> "So thou, thyself outgoing in thy noon,
> Unlook'd on diest, unless thou get a son."

There is a great deal of beating about the bush to secure these very strange, or figurative if the word seems better, readings. Even former critics are misdealt with. In discussing Sonnet 25, Professor Dowden is only partly quoted and therefore made to appear in a false light. "His ode was not a complaint against adverse fortune, as Professor Dowden strangely remarks, but just the reverse," etc. What the Professor did say in full was this:

> "In this sonnet Shakspere makes his first complaint against Fortune, against his low condition. He is about to undertake a journey on some needful business of his own (XXVI. XXVII.), and rejoices to think that at least in one place he has a fixed abode, in his friend's heart (I. 14).

He turns his complaint into rejoicing. Professor Dowden was not far out of the way.

Certain of these sonnets the writer believes were addressed to Anne Hathaway.

> "Interpreting these three sonnets as addressed by a rustic lover to his rustic sweetheart, may we not conclude from the little we know of the poet's real life, and not from guesses in the void, that if they related to any person in particular it must have been to Anne Hathaway, then or soon to become his wife?'

This is a curious process by which to arrive at a "must have been."

So one might follow the writer through all the "divisions" and finally through his rearrangement of the sonnets, finding numerous points of interest and numerous points for further criticisms. If one grant that the *Sonnets* are figurative at the outset, he will readily fall in line with this arrangement or any possible arrangements. It may be the advent of Higher Criticism into the region of the sonnet. I think the orthodox view, however, will continue to be held by those who have labored not only with the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare, but also with the sonnets of his many contemporaries.

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GOTHIC LANGUAGE.

Kurze Einführung in das Studium des Gotischen von Wilhelm Gliese, Oberlehrer an der Sophienschule zu Berlin. Heidelberg: 1900.

This introduction to the study of Gothic is, as the preface states, an attempt to lead the student by a shorter road than usual to the goal. It is an inductive method much on the order of Zupitza's *Einführung in das Mittelhochdeutsche;* it takes up and interprets a passage selected from the gospel of Mark and in this incidental manner gradually acquaints the student with the main points of Gothic grammar. It does not claim to be exhaustive, but advises the student after finishing the

book to continue his studies with the grammars of Braune or Streitberg, upon which indeed it is based. It aims as much as possible to take the place of the teacher, and is therefore especially designed for self-instruction.

The book begins with a short account of Wulfila and the Gothic monuments. Then follows a chapter upon accentuation, which is an excellent idea, as the Gothic grammars do not, as a rule, treat of this, and the learner is often at sea as to the pronunciation of words. His examples are well chosen, with the exception of *framáþjan*, which is not, as the author supposes, compounded with *fra*, but a derivative of the adjective *framaþs*.

The chapter upon the first and second sound-shifting will be of use to the beginner, as neither Braune nor Streitberg treats of this.

In the section upon pronunciation we miss the mention of the twofold character of *ggw*, only the nasal quality being given. The assertion, page 82, that *dd* in *daddjan* is to be pronounced like English sonant *th*, because between vowels, is unfounded. That the *d* of the preposition *du* is unshifted (page 52) is improbable, as such exceptions do not, to my knowledge, occur (see Bugge, *Beitr.* xii, 420). *Ostrogotha* is not directly connected with O. H. G. *ôs-tar* 'ostwärts,' as Gliese, p. 67, asserts, but with Sanskrit *usra* 'shining' (see Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, p. 7). The book contains further a number of misstatements of a more serious character. Thus *waurkjan* is said not to be a weak verb simply because it does not exhibit the thematic vowel in the preterite. Inaptly put, to say theleast, is the remark, p. 91: 'Das anlautende *h* vor *l*, *r* und *n* fällt im Deutschen aus, was seiner geringen Artikulation im Got. zuzuschreiben ist'; it makes it appear as if OHG. were a direct decendants of Gothic. Similiarly, on p. 37, in tracing the development of OHG. *quëman* we are told: 'das *o* in nhd. *kommen* ensteht aus dem *i* in *qiman* durch Einfluss des in *q* liegenden *u*'. The author has evidently forgotten that the *i* of *qiman* is a special Gothic development. He also seems unaware that the *i* in OHG. *liggen* 'to lie' is due to the original *i* of the suffix as seen in OS. *liggian*, since he remarks, p. 49, that we should expect *lëgen* instead of NHG. *liegen*. Worse still is the mistake, when he asserts, p. 60, that the *t* of Goth. *sitan* is shifted to 'Doppelspirans' (!) in OHG. *sizzen* (NHG. *sitzen*), 'weil es nach Vokal steht' (!). Where Gliese obtained the OHG. forms of *müssen* mentioned on p. 25: ahd. *mūzza*, *muoza*, *mōza*, I have failed to discover. In citing the OHG. and MHG. forms of *ihnen* he writes: 'ahd. mhd. *in*, *im*,' as if *in* were the older form.

There are a number of misprints in the book. Besides those corrected by the author I have noted the following: p. 50, l. 13, *Gasaihvrands* for *Gasaihvands;* p. 60, l. 8, *ahz.* for *ahd.;* p. 73, l. 2 from below, *gaiggag* for *gaigagg;* p. 79, l. 16, *airþa* for *airþai* (dat.). Hardly misprints are the mistakes in the writing of the names of prominent Germanists; thus p. 4 Heyne appears as Heine, p. 5 Wilmanns with one *n*, and Kauffmann with one *f*.

The dictatorial manner which the author assumes is rather unpleasant. He begins with the optatives *man lese*, *man merke*, etc., but soon abandons these for the more decided imperative; even that, however, is not strong enough for him, and he twice resorts to the infinitive *Einprägen!*

In spite of the errors which the book contains, it may nevertheless be used with profit by any earnest student who has not the advantage of personal instruction.

Daniel B. Shumway.

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SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare's Life and Work, being an abridgment, chiefly for the use of students, of A Life of William Shakespeare, by Sidney Lee. London: Smith, Elder and Co.; New York: Macmillan Co. 1900. i-xiv, 1-232. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Lee has here given a succinct statement of the duly attested facts in the career of Shakespeare together with a full record, as far as known, of the dates and historical environments of each of the dramatist's works. Though much smaller than the original *Life*, the abridgment omits nothing essential and is as good a piece of work architecturally as its prototype. Exclusive of Appendix the una-

bridged edition contains twenty-one chapters, the student's edition nineteen; the original four chapters on the *Sonnets* are replaced by two, though but little is omitted. With these exceptions the Student's Edition retains the same chapter and paragraph headings, and the Index at the back shows hardly the change of a word. Wider research has not induced the author to modify any of the views formerly enounced, though I notice the negligible change of date for Elizabeth's death from March 26, 1693, to March 24, and the misprint *imued* for *imbued* (p. 46, l. 25).

On p. 94 it seems to be a purely gratuitous insinuation, in view of the lack of evidence either way, that the Shakespeares perpetrated a deliberate lie to secure the coat of arms:

"This allegation [that a former armorial coat had been obtained in 1568] is not noticed in the records of the college, and may be a formal fiction designed by John Shakespeare and his son to recommend their claim to the notice of the heralds in 1596."

The anecdote of Shakespeare, Burbage, William the Conqueror, and "a lady in the audience" is necessarily so emasculated in the telling (p. 139) as to suggest the propriety of omitting it entirely, at least from the Student's Edition.

I hope soon to endeavor to show that Shakespeare commentators have hitherto greatly understated the number and apparent aimlessness of the differences between the Shakesperian Folios, especially between the First Folio and the Second. Mr. Lee affirms (p. 173) that

"The Second Folio was reprinted from the First; a few corrections were made in the text, but most of the changes were arbitrary and needless."

Needless they may have been, but not arbitrary, the syntax of the First Folio being to that of the Second as spoken speech is to written.

In the Appendix (p. 205) Franz's *Shakespeare-Grammatik* should be mentioned beside Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*.

As in the larger edition, so here the author eschews merely æsthetic criticism, thus rendering the change of title somewhat misleading; but the facts are stated so clearly, the deductions are based on such sane considerations drawn from so wide a field of investigation and presented in so pleasing a style that the book must meet with a hearty welcome in our colleges and universities. I venture to say that even a cursory reading of this little volume by a student just entering upon the serious study of Shakespeare will give him a better idea of the problems that confront Shakespeare scholarship as well as of the attitude and method necessary for their solution than the reading of any other single volume of equal compass. It will at least impress the salutary lesson that patient and protracted investigation hath its victories no less renowned and certainly more abiding than those of brilliant conjecture and specious generalization.

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THE MEDIÆVAL EPIC.

Zu den Kunstformen des mittelalterlichen Epos (*Hartmann's "Iwein," Das Nibelungenlied, Boccaccio's "Filostrato" und Chaucer's "Troylus und Cryseyde."* Von Rudolph Fischer. Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, IX. Wien u. Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1899. xviii + 370 pp.

Professor Fischer's work is an attempt to gain criteria for the study of the epic by separating it, in a somewhat anatomical manner, into divisions and subdivisions. These are grouped under various categories, and deductions are drawn from the preponderance of now one and then another category. The author demonstrates his method by application to Hartmann's *Iwein*, and the results thus gained are made use of in the examination of the other poems under consideration. *Iwein* is divided into three parts, not taking into account the prologue (thirty lines) and the epilogue (seven lines). In the first part (ll. 31–2445) the hero sets out on his search for adventure and glory, and finds love. In the second part (ll. 2446–5563) he loses his lady, towards whom he has outwardly broken faith in his desire for adventure, and as an unknown knight regains her respect. In the third part (ll. 5564-8159), after further glorious adventures, he succeeds in bringing about a complete reconciliation. These three main parts con-

stitute, according to Fischer, practically independent stories which are connected only by the circumstance that the chief characters are identical in all.

Each of these divisions has an initial impulse, *ein erregendes Moment*, which starts the action. In the first part it is the tale of Kalogreant concerning his adventure with King Ascalon; in the second it is the admonition of Gawein; in the third, the strife of the two sisters. The remainder of each part, with the exception of the first, is then divided into a number of distinct sections (*Abschnitte*). The second part has four of these, the third part has two.

The smallest sub-divisions into which the author divides the poem are called 'pictures' (*Bilder*), which might be considered as corresponding to the scenes of a drama. Of these there are seventy-nine in the poem. By way of illustration, it may be stated that the first 'picture' extends from l. 31 to l. 85, the second from l. 86 to l. 878, the third from l. 879 to l. 944. Two portions, ll. 2971-3028 and 7015-7074, are left out of consideration as being inorganic interpolations. The 'pictures' vary in length from fifteen lines to seven hundred and ninety-three lines, and it is evident that other critics might subdivide some of the longer ones, and amalgamate some of the shorter ones. But even accepting the author's grouping, his conclusions are not always warranted.

The poem is further divided as to contents into two elementary parts: I, psychological, which is identical with the first of the divisions mentioned above; and II, fabulistic, corresponding to the other two parts of the former division. The psychological part is represented as being devoted mainly to inner, the fabulistic to outward action.

The 'pictures' are classified, according to their contents, as dramatic, presenting only a single action, and epic, presenting a situation or a series of events. The dramatic 'pictures' are supposed to possess a greater value than the epic, and the preponderance of pictures belonging to the one or the other category is used as a test of literary merit. There are in *Iwein* fifty-one dramatic 'pictures' and twenty-eight epic 'pictures.' They are further subdivided into 'pure' and 'impure,' signifying that they are entirely epic or dramatic, or mixed, in that they contain elements of both categories. The several main divisions of the poem are then contrasted with regard to their relative amounts of the various kinds of 'pictures,' pure epic, pure dramatic, impure epic, impure dramatic, predominatingly epic, predominatingly dramatic. The 'pictures' are also classified as regards their length into short, medium and long, and various conclusions are drawn from the comparative number of these in the several parts.

After the discussion of the 'pictures' in their various phases the author passes to the discussion of the dramatic forms (*dramatische Formen*). The dramatic element is divided into the two main categories of lyric (monologue) and dramatic (dialogue and address), dialogue being characterized as *volldramatisch*, address as *halbdramatisch*. Dialogue is further divided into 'duologue' and 'polylogue,' and all these subdivisions are treated as to number, length, and frequency in the several parts of the story. For example, part I is called *monolog-freundlich*, while II is said to be *monolog-feindlich*.

The chapter on *Figuren-Technik* is devoted to the examination of the scope and function of the various persons that appear in the poem. These are divided into two groups, main and secondary. The four main characters are the *Heldenpaar*, Iwein and Laudine, and the *Vertrautenpaar*, Gawein and Lunette. The remaining persons constitute the secondary characters. Comparisons are made as to the relative amounts of monologue, address, dialogue, duologue and polylogue that fall to the share of each of these groups of characters. For example, the *Heldenpaar* have numerically a slightly larger number of lines than the *Vertrautenpaar*. The former, however, appear twice as often, hence it is argued

"Die dramatische Bewegung der Helden ist also erregter, die der Vertrauten ruhiger. Der Wirkungskreis der Helden ist eben ein weiterer, der der Vertrauten ein engerer."

Similar contrasts are established as to Iwein and Laudine, Gawein and Lunette. One averages twenty-two lines to a scene (*Auftritt*), the other twenty-seven, hence "greater vi-

vacity" and "greater tranquility" are respectively predicated of them.

After these and similar comparisons, made on the basis of the whole poem, the two parts, psychological and fabulistic, are examined as to the number of characters appearing in each, the relative frequency of the main and secondary characters, the length of passages, monologue, dialogue and so forth. Duologue is divided into categories: that which takes place between two main characters, between a main and a secondary character, and between two secondary characters. The two parts are also contrasted as to the frequency and length of the several kinds of dialogue.

An exhaustive resumé of the part devoted to *Iwein* is given at the close.

It will be in order now to examine some of the author's statements in detail. The work is based almost entirely on numbers and numerical relations, and yet the deductions drawn from them are often forced. Of the total number of lines on the poem, part first contains 30%, part second 38%, part third 32%, on which ratios the author, page 4, makes the following observation:

"Anfang und Ende sind also relativ knapp gehalten gegenüber der breit ausladenden Mitte, d. h. der Dichter versteht es, seinen Leser rasch in die Handlung zu verwickeln und, nachdem er ihn dann nach stark erregtem Interesse lange am behaglicher ausgeführten Mitteltheil festgehalten, wieder rasch aus der Handlung vor Erlahmung des Interesses herauszuholen."

On the next page reference is made to "die oben festgestellte Kürze dieses ersten Compositionstheiles des Gedichtes," and further on the three parts are again characterized: "erst die rasche Einführung, dann die breite Durchführung, endlich die knappere Ausführung." The above ratios of 30, 38, 32 do not, of course, justify these characterizations.

Again, on page 8, the average length of the 'pictures' is given as 103 lines. In casting about for a standard, the author arbitrarily fixes upon a measure of length for the purpose of grouping the pictures as short, medium and long. Those up to 20 lines in length are called short, those from 20 to 100 medium, and over 100 lines, long. The length of the 'pictures' ranges from 15 lines to 793, with an average of 103. By the author's classification one of 21 lines is classed as medium, and one of 101 lines, less than the average length, is classed as long. According to this division there are 6 short, 48 medium, and 25 long. Numerous conclusions are drawn from these figures (p. 8 seqq.), conclusions that are at once found to be mistaken as soon as another norm is taken for the classification as short, medium, long. For example, if we should call those having up to 50 lines short, those from 51 to 100 medium, and over 100, long, we should get the following figures: 26 short, 28 medium, 25 long, as against 6, 48, 25, respectively, in the author's division. Again, page 26, in treating the heading "address," the division is made into short, up to 20 lines, medium, 21–30, long, 31–150, while dialogue is classed as short, up to 20 lines, medium, 21–100, and long, 101–400. In the discussion of the 'pictures' in the *Nibelungen*, page 94, the division is short, up to 20 lines, medium, 21–50, and long, 51–130, the average length being 38 lines. The arbitrariness of such divisions invalidates the deductions drawn from them. Nor do the conclusions on page 9 as to the relative number of the various 'pictures,' short, medium, and long, in Parts I and II hold, if the norm of 50–100 proposed above be substituted for that of 20–100, a classification certainly more legitimate than the one used by the author.

Similarly, the division of the poem into three parts, as well as the division into 'pictures', may be challenged. Thus in that one extending from l. 86 to l. 878, lines 259–802, where Kalogreant tells his story, clearly constitute a separate division, which in turn could be divided at ll. 397, 542, 599, 762. Again the division at l. 966 seems forced; and so in numerous other instances.

The section on the epic and dramatic elements is not convincing. While there are portions which can be classed as dramatic, and others which may be called epic, there are a large number of 'pictures' the classification of which is extremely doubtful, so much so that properly no statistics could be based upon it.

The conclusions drawn from the figures are just as fanciful as those previously mentioned: a ratio of 1⅛:1 serves as a basis for the statement: "Das dramatische Element über

wiegt und es sichert dadurch dem ganzen eine grosse Lebhaftigkeit" (p. 15).

The division into main and secondary characters is also more or less arbitrary. Other critics might distinguish two, three, five or six main characters instead of four, and in that case the whole structure so elaborately built up by the author would collapse.

By the aid of the method applied to *Iwein*, the author seeks to throw some light on the genesis of the *Nibelungenlied*. In order to gain a parallel to *Iwein*, the investigation of the *Nibelungen* is restricted to the first ten books, 1082 strophes of Lachmann's edition. This is divided into two parts, H, "Siegfried's Hochzeit," and T, "Siegfried's Tod." Each of these is further divided into sections, which, on examination, are found to correspond to Lachmann's 'books,' with the exception that Bk. iv, of Lachmann is resolved into two divisions, and Bks. vi and vii yield three of Fischer's.

The arbitray nature of the author's categories is again exemplified in this part. In *Iwein* he takes no account of the fact that Hartmann's poem is not an original piece of work, while in the *Nibelungen* all the deductions are drawn from contrasts between the work of the *Umdichter* and that of the *Dichter*, in other words, between the text of MS. A and that portion of the same which Lachmann pronounced genuine. Fischer's faith in this division is so great that he speaks of "die beiden Versionen" (p. 108), as if they existed as separate texts.

Recently Braune has shown that the "Plusstrophen" of MS. B are in reality omissions of the MS. from which A descends. As these strophes occur for the most part in the portion treated by Fischer, they might have changed his ratios, had they been taken into account, especially as many of the ratios are so close that no safe conclusion could properly be drawn from them. For example, on page 104 ratios of 1:1.56 and 1:1.60 are compared: "Der Unterschied ist nur gering, aber er spricht zu Gunsten von S.[1]" On page 105 the author says of ratios of 1:1.67 and 1:1.60, "der Unterschied ist zwar klein, aber charakteristisch." Numerous similar instances could be cited.

The treatment of *Filostrato* and *Troylus und Cryseyde* is so similar to that of *Iwein* and the *Nibelungen* that it is unnecessary to enter into details.

The whole method of judging by volume and mass seems of questionable value. While apparently concrete and objective, the basis for most of the processes is in reality subjective and even arbitrary. To characterize certain sections as epic, dramatic, predominatingly epic, predominatingly dramatic, simply by the comparative number of lines of the given type, does not commend itself as a sound method of literary criticism.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANGLO-SAXON DANIEL 320–325.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—One of the most interesting of the corrupt passages in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Daniel* is that beginning with line 320 and ending with line 325. According to Grein-Wülker reading, it runs as follows:

"and seo mænigeo mære wære
had to hebbanne swa heofonsteorran
bebugað bradne hwyrft oð þæt brim faroþæs,
sæwaroða sand geond sealtne wæg
in eare gryndeð, þæt his unrim a
in wintra worn wurðan sceolde."

The chief difficulty with this reading is that the clause "*oð þæt brim faroþæs, sæwaroða sand,*" is not co-ordinate with the clause "*heofonsteorran bebugaþ bradne hwyrft,*" as it evidently should be to bring out the meaning of the original[1]: "Quibus locutus es, pollicens quod multiplicares semen eorum sicut stellas coeli, et sicut arenam quae est in littore maris[2]." To obviate this difficulty, Cosijn proposes to read, in line 322, "*þe bugað bradne hwyrft oðde brimfaroþæs*[3]." This gets rid of a certain awkwardness in the construction, and is, at the same time, true to the

1 For the sake of convenience, the Vulgate text is here regarded as the original, though as Hofer points out—*Anglia* xii, 169—the text actually used was probably an earlier Latin translation of the Septuagint.

2 *Daniel*, iii, 36 (Vulgate).

3 Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, xx, 111.

original. The Bosworth-Toller translation of "*heofonsteorran bebugað bradne hwyrft*," as "the stars of heaven encompass a spacious circle (the earth[4]),'' is misleading. *Hwyrft* obviously refers to the heavens (that which goes about, revolves around, the earth); and *bugað* should have the force of 'fill' ('dwell in,' 'occupy'). 'The stars which fill the spacious circle of the heavens,' would thus be a better rendering. Cosijn's reading, therefore, ought certainly to be adopted.

For similar reasons, should we not read, in line 324, "*þe in eare gryndeð*" instead of "*in eare gryndeð*"? In the corresponding line in *Azarias*, we possibly have the *þe* preserved in *yþe*—plainly a corruption, since there is no warrant for it in the original. A *þe* standing absolutely alone in this way is, of course, not unusual: see, for example, *Gen.* 365, 627; *Crist* 353, 483; *Guth.* 587. As to *his uurim a*, the text of *Azarirs, swa unrime* (referring back to *heofonsteorran* as the most conspicuous noun indicating number preceding) is, on the whole, to be preferred; but, since *his uurim a* yields a fairly satisfactory sense, a change is perhaps unwarranted.

Very sincerely yours,

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AN ARITHMETICAL PROBLEM IN VALDÉS'S JOSÉ.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—I have recently noted a surprising arithmetical miscalculation in the *José* of Valdés, occurring in the third chapter, in the account of the settling of the bill between 'la señá Isabel' and José. The figures, found on pages 30 and 31 of the text edited by F. J. A. Davidson, Boston, 1900, are as follows: José has delivered to Isabel "El domingo, 307 libras - - - el lunes, 1040, - - - el martes, 2200, - - - el jueves, 235, - - - hoy, 1140." That is, a total of 4922 lbs. The prices for the various days were "El domingo - - á real; el lunes á tres cuartillos; el martes [á medio real, p. 30] - - el jueves á real y medio, y hoy á real." Isabel proposes, on the pretext that the account is hard to cast on this arrangement, but really, as other passages show beyond reasonable doubt, to cheat José out of a few extra duros, that she pay for the whole at the rate of 7 cuartos (that is, 28 maravedis, or $^{28}/_{34}$ real); the whole price which she then offers being then 4053 $^{7}/_{17}$ reales. But according to the rates for each day, as given above, she would have had to pay, Sunday, 307 r.; Monday, 780 r.; Tuesday, 1100 r.; Thursday, 352½ r.; and the day in question 1140 r.; that is, in all, only 3679½ r.. That is, she loses, by her own proposition, 373 r., 31 mar. Yet Valdés most certainly represents her as gaining by the transaction: "Terminó al fin la señá Isabel; aprobó José su proprio *despojo*", and Prof. Davidson explicitly states in his note that "She cheats him out of a little more than 4 *maravedis* on the pound" (p. 182, note 1 to page 31). The mistake on the part of the editor is probably due to the calculation that the average of the prices for the several days, as given above, is 32.3 maravedís, whereas her offer is for only 28 mar.; the error being in the neglect of the fact that no such average may be taken as base of comparison, since the amount sold varied on the several days.

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4 See under *hwyrft*.

ARCADIA.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The definiteness of certain descriptions of place in Sidney's *Arcadia* is in contrast with the general character of the descriptions in that artificial romance. There is a charming individuality in the little stream in which the ladies bathe, as it is described in Bk. ii, Chap. ii; and there are still more striking traits of reality in the description of Kalander's house in Bk. i, Chap. 2, to which I wish particularly to call attention. The description of the house is as follows:

"The house itselfe was built of faire and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of finenesse as an honourable representing of a firme statelinesse. The lights, doores and staires, rather directed to the use of the guest than to the eye of the Artificer; . . . . . each place handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomenesse; . . . . . all more lasting than beautifull, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingnesse made the eie believe it was exceedingly beautifull."

The varied and mingled beauties of the gardens are then described.

Mr. Philip Sidney in his recent Memoirs of the Sidney Family suggests that one of his two country homes was in Sir Philip's mind when he wrote this. The description of Penshurst, the Sidneys' country home, in Jonson's Epistle addressed to it, seems to make it clear that Penshurst was in fact the original of Kalander's house.

> "Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show
> Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
> Of polished pillars or a roof of gold:
> Thou hast no lantern, whereof tales are told;
> Or stair or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
> And these grudged at, are reverenced the while."

And again:

> "Thy walls be of the country stone."

The surroundings of the house, too, as described by Jonson, especially the orchard, agree closely enough with those which Sidney represents about the house of Kalander. For so 'homely' a residence Penshurst had remarkable fortune, to be praised by three such poets as Sidney, Jonson, and Waller.

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ZURÜCKE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—In Mr. A. B. Nichols's edition of the *Jungfrau von Orleans* the following note to line 1125 is found: "*zurücke*. In MHG. the adverb ended in *-e*; this is still seen in *lange*, *ferne*, *gerne*, *stille*, and is still used by the poets in other cases." The above statement of fact is true as far as it goes, but would it not be well to tell the whole truth? The inference which one might justly draw from the above note would be that *zurücke* is to be placed in the same category with *lange*, *ferne*, etc., and that the ending *-e* of *zurücke* had the same origin as the *-e* of the adverbs *lange*, *ferne*, etc. It may perhaps not be considered necessary that an undergraduate should know that *-e* in *lange*, *ferne*, etc., stands for the OHG. adverb-forming suffix *-o*, as found in *lango*, *ferno*, etc., and that *zurücke* is really a prepositional phrase, which in OHG. had the form *zi rucke;* but in its present form the note is at the best misleading.

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A NEW RABELAIS EDITION.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—Mr. L. Rosenthal, the well-known antiquarian of Munich, claims the honor of an exceedingly interesting discovery for French literature; namely, a copy of the fifth book of Rabelais's story of *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, in an edition published in 1549, during the lifetime of the author. In order to appreciate the importance of this text, we must remember that the oldest edition we have depended upon so far is dated 1564, eleven years after Rabelais's death. We had besides a few chapters of one printed in 1562. The prevailing opinion was, up to the present, that the author, thinking to be prudent, did not actually publish this fifth book of his work himself, because of the very sharp attacks on the society of the time which are contained in it. The complete disappearance of the supposed edition of 1549 would be testimony to the great vigor shown by the church and state authorities of the sixteenth century. It may well be that Mr. Rosenthal possesses the only copy that escaped censure and fire.

However that may be, the new edition at hand dissipates all doubt as to the authenticity of the last part of the immortal *chef-d'œuvre* of Rabelais—authenticity which has been so strongly doubted by scholars of the highest standing.[1] Those who did not take this extreme position were nevertheless unanimous in admitting that we did not know the book in its original form. Thus, for them also, the recently announced discovery is of momentous importance, since it will allow a positive line of demarcation to be drawn between the Rabelaisian text and the interpolations and changes due to unscrupulous editors.

So far only the size of the book discovered has been made known to the public. Mr. Rosenthal gives it as a 16mo, containing sixty-four pages of twenty-one lines each. Yet even this very little bit of news suffices to show that the edition of 1564 was, as is generally admitted, overloaded with spurious material.

In the edition of Burgaud des Marets et Rathery, for instance, the fifth book covers over two hundred pages of rather small print. Although a considerable portion of many of

1 The last time by Brunetière: *Questions de Critique*, 1897, pp. 2–22.

these pages is taken up by notes, the edition is still much longer than the sixty-four pages of original text can possibly justify.

The value of the find under notice will appear all the more important if we recall the fact that this fifth book was referred to, where opinions of Rabelais were quoted, comparatively more frequently than any other part of *Gargantua et Pantagruel*. Here are to be found the famous descriptions of *l'Isle sonnante*, of the *Archiduché des Chats fourrés*, of the *Pays des Lanternois*, of the *Oracle de la dive bouteille*, etc.

The following is the exact title of the 1549 edition:

Le cinquiesme
livre
des faicts et
dictz du noble Pan
tagruel;
Auquelz sont comprins,
les grans Abus, & d'esordonêe
Vie de, Plusieurs Es-
tatz, de ce mõ
de.
Composez par M. Francoys
Rabelays Docteur, en Medeci
ne & Abstracteur de quite Essen
ce
Imprime en Lan Mil cinc
cens Quarante neuf.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

Bryn-Mawr College.

OBITUARY.

VEIT VALENTIN.

ON the twentieth of December, 1900, Professor Veit Valentin, the President of the *Akademische Gesamt-Ausschuss* of the *Freie Deutsche Hochstift* at Frankfurt am Main, and a member of the executive council of the *Goethe-Gesellschaft*, was stricken down by acute congestion of the brain, which led to his death on the twenty-fourth, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He had been suffering with severe headaches for more than a year, and a trip to Vienna, where he attended the unveiling of the Goethe monument, brought on the fatal crisis.

He was a native of Frankfurt and came of highly gifted stock. His uncle, the poet and critic Georg Friedrich Daumer, early aroused in him an ardent love of poetry and that keen appreciation of æsthetic form which became the salient characteristic of his writings. As a student of theology and philosophy at Göttingen, he showed his devotion to scientific ideals, uninfluenced by the thought of a *Brotstudium*, by occupying himself chiefly with the Semitic languages and the related Coptic; the fruit of his work in this field was a treatise on *Die Bildung des koptischen Nomens*, 1866. Going thence to Berlin, he became a pupil of Eduard Gerhard, and devoted himself to the study of archæology and the fine arts generally, for which he was by nature peculiarly fitted, and in which he soon displayed exceptional ability. During the next two decades, as *Oberlehrer* in what is now the municipal *Realgymnasium* of Frankfurt, he found leisure to write a number of critical and æsthetic essays, among which his contribution to Dohme's *Kunst und Künstler* on the German painters of the first half of the nineteenth century (Cornelius, Overbeck, Veit, Schnorr, Führich) is perhaps the most widely known; they showed an unusual breadth of scholarship, a philosophical turn of mind, and marked originality of conception and treatment. From the time when he became connected with the *Hochstift*, he confined himself almost entirely to the study of Goethe; besides numerous articles, he published, in 1894, a volume on *Goethe's Faustdichtung in ihrer künstlerischen Einheit dargestellt*. The new theory concerning Homunculus and Helena which he advanced in this book, excited particular attention; he supported it further by an elaborate and ingenious argument in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. xvi, and defended it in two articles in the MOD. LANG. NOTES, Vol. xiii, Nos. 7 and 8, and Vol. xv, Nos. 7 and 8. The second of these two was the last article from his pen published during his lifetime. A comprehensive treatise on *Die Klassische Walpurgisnacht in Goethe's Faust* was ready for the printer at the time of his death, and will appear in the near future; a book on æsthetics, on which he had been working for a number of years, remains unfinished. In pedagogical circles he will be remembered as the editor of a series of school texts with excellent introductions; the *Goetheforschung* loses by his untimely death an ardent admirer and an enthusiastic student and expounder of his great fellow-townsman.

HUGO K. SCHILLING.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, March, 1901.

THE FOLK-LORE ELEMENTS IN HAUPTMANN'S "DIE VERSUNKENE GLOCKE."

II.

LET us now take up different scenes and expressions, in the order in which they occur in the play, and analyze them. Many points will become clearer in the light of German popular traditions.

In the opening scene of the first act Rautendelein tells the bee that the *Buschgrossmutter* hates it—"weil du mit Wachs der Kirche Opferkerzen versorgst." In the *Böhmerwald* the bees are considered sacred "weil sie das Wachs zu den Kirchenkerzen sammeln."[1] *Die Wittichen*, as we know from her conversation with the parson, despises the narrowness of the established church and everything else connected with it. This scene bears a striking resemblance to a scene in the first act of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, where Sakuntala is annoyed by an impertinent bee.[2]

Dass dich's blau Feuer, the curse which the *Nickelmann* uses, and later *die Wittichen*, is taken from the language of the sixteenth century. It occurs repeatedly in *Florian Geyer* (Berlin, 1896): "Dass dir's blau Feuer," p. 207; "potz Blau," p. 24; "kotz Blau," pp. 49, 70, 184; "Blau," p. 66. The last phrase is also used by the *Schrat* (Act I). Cf. Grimm, *K.-M.* III, p. 196; *D. W.* s. v. *blau*.

The *Schrat* recognizes the fairy in the red butterfly. Fairies and elves often appear in the form of butterflies.[3]

The legend from which the drama has taken its name is so well known that it needs only passing notice. Few legends are so common and so wide-spread as that of the lost bell. The bell disappears either in the ground or in a lake, and is heard ringing from time to time.[4] Müllenhoff[5] tells a legend in which the wagon carrying the bell breaks down, whereupon the bell disappears in the ground. Bartsch[6] tells of a teamster who, while hauling a bell over a mountain, is seized by the devil and hurled into a lake with wagon and bell. The two stories may well have suggested the *Schrat's* account of the disappearance of the bell. It is also well known that giants and dwarfs, the representatives of the old pagan religion, hate and fear the sound of the bell, the messenger of the new religion.[7]

The scene where *die Wittichen* feeds her little wood-sprites with new-baked bread and milk is doubtless taken from Grimm. On the same page on which Grimm mentions the *Buschgrossmutter* and her *Moosfräulein* (*D. M.*[4], p. 400) he relates that the *Waldweibchen* like to appear when people are baking bread, and ask for a loaf. On the following page (p. 401, n.) Grimm tells of a woman who treated the goblins to milk: "die meisterin stellte den unterirdischen eine milch hin, über die sie gleich wölfen *herfielen* und alles bis zur nagelprobe auslöffelten." Putting these two accounts together we get the basis of Hauptmann's quaint and mysterious scene. The phrase *herfallen* Hauptmann has retained in the stage-directions.

The barber vows to shave *Rübezahl's* beard, if the voice he heard is not Heinrich's voice. It is an allusion to a popular tradition of the Giant Mountains; that difficult task was actually performed one time by a barber.[8]

The elves that dance in the moonlight are

1 Blaas, *Die Biene in der deutschen Volkssitte*, p. 2.

2 Translated into German by Ernst Meier, Hildburghausen, 1867, pp. 23, 28.

3 Grimm, *D. W.*, s. v. *Schmetterling;* Simrock, *D. M.*,[3] pp. 456, 513.

4 A few references will suffice. Goedsche, *Schles. Sagen-Historien- und Legendenschatz*, p. 88; Klose, *Führer durch d. Sgn.- und Märchenwelt des Riesengebirges*, p. 60; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sgn.*, p. 477; Kuhn, *Märkische Sgn.*, No. 88, 90; Schambach-Müller, *Niedersächs. Sgn.*, pp. 56–57. Cf. Sartori's exhaustive article *Glockensagen und Glockenaberglaube* in *Zschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, VII, 113 ff.; VIII, 29 ff.

5 *Sgn. aus Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 118.

6 *Mecklenb. Sgn.* I, 378.

7 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] pp. 380, 459; Weinhold, *Die Riesen des germ. Mythus*, p. 267; Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 58; Thiele, *Danmarks Volkesagn*, Kopenhagen, 1843, II, 248.

8 Klose, *ibid.*, p. 128; *Rübezahl und der Barbier.*

spirits of the water. Their home is the waterfall, the lake, *Frau Holles Blumenmoor.*[9] Rautendelein joins them; her nature is, as we have seen, related to that of water-elves. She takes pride in showing the elves that she is like them in many ways.

The first point in the second act requiring notice is the experience of the *Hochsteinbauer*, who at night sees a naked woman riding on a boar. He throws a stone at the spectre, but is promptly punished for his daring deed. Female spectres riding on swine are well known in German folk-lore.[10] Witches may be seen naked in the grain-fields and other places.[11] They ride on swine.[12] We may also think of the *Korndämon*, whose appearance is here taken as an evil portent. It is always dangerous to annoy spectres in any way. A peasant strikes one of the dogs of *Fru Gode* with his whip, the next day his head is swollen.[13] Another strikes at the wild hunt, as it passes by; his arm is paralyzed.[14] Whoever fails to get out of a spectre's way is afflicted with physical ailments.[15]

Towards the end of the second act Rautendelein, sitting at Heinrich's bed-side, cracks a hazel-nut to prove that Heinrich is not dreaming. The scene is somewhat forced and farfetched. But the poet was doubtless thinking of the symbolic meaning of the hazel-nut. In German traditions it is the symbol of spring and life.[16] *In die Haseln gehen* meant 'to visit one's sweetheart.'[17] In some parts of Germany it is customary for young people at a wedding-feast to throw hazel-nuts at one another.[18]

In the charm which Rautendelein pronounces upon sleeping Heinrich, the poet employs the unusual phrase "wünschlicher Gedanken Stärke." The whole phrase goes back to Grimm. In the fairy-tale *Die Nelke* (*K.-M.*, No. 76) the following lines occur: "Du sollst einen Sohn haben mit wünschlichen Gedanken, denn was er sich wünscht auf der Welt, das wird er erhalten." We have here the best definition of the unusual phrase; *wünschliche Gedanken* are wishes that become realities as soon as they are thought. Grimm's story makes that perfectly evident.

> "Schätze, verwunschene, wollen zum Licht,
> unten in Tiefen leuchten sie nicht."

These lines refer to the belief that buried treasures tend gradually to rise to the surface. As soon as they reach the surface, a flame or a light appears. This is called *der schatz sonnt sich, der schatz blüht.*[19] Such treasures are often guarded by barking dogs with eyes of fire.[20] But the dogs disappear before the man who combines courage with the knowledge of the proper incantations. Rautendelein's incantation must have a symbolic meaning. I take *Schätze* to refer to the treasures hidden in Heinrich's breast, his great ideas and talents, which as yet cannot rise to the surface on account of the barking dogs that guard them, that is, Heinrich's surroundings, the conventions of society, the precepts of dogmatic Christianity. But they must disappear before Rautendelein's knowledge and courage.

> "Aber wir dienen froh und bereit,
> weil uns beherschet, der uns befreit."

Wir refers pre-eminently to Rautendelein, but also to other sprites. "He who delivers us will rule us, and we shall serve him gladly." It is Heinrich who will deliver her from the curse of mere elfish existence, and in return she will serve him. The present tense is used instead of the future, for even now, by his mere presence, he delivers her and rules over her.[21] The same thought is brought out more clearly in Rautendelein's words addressed to the *Waldschrat* (Act III):

> "Denn unterm Fluche, ob ihr's gleich nicht wisst,
> seid ihr und wir und alles, was da ist."

9 Cf. Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 4.

10 Birlinger, *Volkstümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 113.

11 *D. M.*,[4] p. 911; Wuttke, §§ 215, 415; Panzer, *Beitr.* II, 167.

12 Hertz, *Dtsch. Sgn. im Elsass*, Stuttgart, 1872, p. 57; cf. Goethe's *Walpurgisnacht.*

13 Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sgn.*, p. 3.

14 Meier, *Schwäb. Sgn.*, p. 138.

15 Rochholz, *Schweizersgn.* I, 107; Panzer, *Beitr.* II, 67; Vernaleken, *Alpensagen*, p. 88.

16 Perger, *Dtsche Pflanzensgn.*, p. 242; Böhme, *Deutsches Kinderlied*, pp. 193, 195, n.

17 Perger, *ibid.*, p. 242; Grimm, *D. W.*, *s. v. hasel.*

18 Wuttke, § 336; cf. also Mannhardt, *W.-und F.-Kulte*, I, 184, and especially *Zschr. f. dtsch. Mythol.*, III, 95 ff.

19 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 810; Panzer, *Beitr.* I, 294.

20 Panzer, *ibid.* I, 288, 289; II, 526; Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 13; Peter, *Volkstümliches aus Oestr. Schlesien*, II, 83, where it is a *feuriger Pudel;* Grimm, *K.-M.*, No. 33; Rochholz, *Schweizersgn.* I, 251.

21 Cf also Schlenther, *G. Hauptmann*, p. 259.

The idea that the world of sprites is cursed and needs deliverance, just as the human race must be delivered from the curse of sin, is again taken from popular traditions.[22]

In the third act the *Nickelmann* complains to the *Schrat* about Heinrich's doings: "er macht ihr Schappel, Ring und Spängelein." The *Schappel* worn by the peasant-women of Silesia is, according to Proschko[23] "eine hohe, mit Gold- und Silberdraht bekrönte Haube."

The *Schrat's* oath "Potz Hahn und Hollenzopf,"[24] seems to be Hauptmann's invention, at least I have not found it anywhere else.

The scene at the beginning of Act IV, to which, as Schlenther justly remarks,[25] Hauptmann failed to impart real life, shows us the dwarfs engaged in their special work as smiths. The scene in general reminds us of Wayland or Siegfried.

Through Rautendelein Heinrich has now gained full control over the world of sprites, just as human heroes in German traditions, after conquering the chief of the elves, obtain full power over the elves.[26]

The phrase "so alt als wie der Westerwald" is doubtless taken from Grimm.[27]

Rautendelein calls upon her "kleines Volk" to come out of the ground, to play and to dance. *Kleines Volk* is a term often applied to elves and dwarfs.[28] Music and dance are their favorite pastime.[29] In Laurin's mountain the dwarfs play on the fiddle,[30] they have beautiful underground halls.[31] Vernaleken[32] mentions an underground hall, illuminated by a thousand candles, like the one into which Rautendelein wishes to take Heinrich.

The scene of the phantom children with a pitcher full of their mother's tears is taken, as Bartels has pointed out,[33] from a well known popular tale.[34] A parallel tale is found in Müllenhoff's *Sagen und Märchen aus Schleswig-Holstein* (p. 144): A poor widow is constantly crying over the death of her only child; finally the child appears to her in a white garment:

"da sah sie, wie das kind sich fortwährend bückte, um die tränen, die ihr aus den augen fielen, in sein händchen zu sammeln, die es dann, sie traurig anblickend, zum munde führte und aufküsste."

This version may have suggested the words of the parson in Act III: "wo eure Kinder nur immer ihrer Mutter Tränen trinken," though at this time Martha and the children are still living. The phrase, which Bartels repeatedly calls *scheusslich*,[35] occurs elsewhere in German literature. Gerstenberg in *Ariadne auf Naxos* (*Eine Cantate*, 1767) makes Ariadne break out into the following lamentation:

"O lass mich noch ein Mal zu deinen Füssen sinken,
O meine Mutter!—In den Staub gebeugt,
Noch ein Mal reuig, deine Thränen trinken!"

A similar phrase in a somewhat different connection is used by Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach in her novel *Bozena* (p. 21): "Ich fresse Galle und saufe Thränen."

At the beginning of the fifth act the third fairy relates how she called a beetle carrying a lantern. The idea is found in a nursery rime cited by Erk-Böhme:[36] *Das Johanniskäferchen*.—When *die Wittichen* comes out of her hut early in the morning, she looks around for a will-o'-the-wisp to use it as a light. The will-o'-the-wisp is generally thought of as having human form.[37] *Die Wittichen* calls one to assist her, just as Mephistopheles in the *Walpurgisnacht* requests a will-o'-the-wisp to accompany him in the darkness.[38] As *die Wittichen* receives no response, she pulls out a *Karfunkelstein* to light up. The *Karfunkel* often serves as a light in popular traditions.[39] Laurin's subterranean hall is illuminated with a *Karfunkel*.

The scene with the three cups of wine may

22 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] pp. 408, 428; *Irische Elfenmärchen*, Leipzig, 1826, p. 201.

23 *Geschichte und Sage aus Schlesien*, Wien 1879, p. 28.

24 Cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, xv, 355.

25 *G. Hauptmann*, p. 266.

26 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 375.

27 *K.-M.*, No. 39, 3; cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, xv, 355.

28 Grimm, *D. S.*, No. 31.

29 Simrock, *D. M.*,[3] 409; Grimm, *K.-M.*, No. 182; Goethe's *Hochzeitlied*.

30 Simrock, *ibid.*, p. 457.

31 *D. M.*,[4] p. 376; Golther, p. 136.

32 *Mythen und Bräuche*, p. 211.

33 *G. Hauptmann*, p. 128.

34 Grimm, *D. M.*,[4] p. 777, *Wunderhorn*, iv, 95.

35 *G. Hauptmann*, pp. 217, 228.

36 *Dtsch. Liederhort*, No. 1853.

37 Mogk in *Paul's Grundriss*, I, 1012; cf. Hebel's poem referred to above.

38 Cf. also Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sgn.*, p. 425.

39 Börner, *Sagen des Orlagaues*, p. 53.

again be traced to Grimm's fairy-tales. In *Der Räuberbräutigam*,[40] the following lines occur:

"Die Räuber brachten eine Jungfrau mitgeschleppt. . . . Sie gaben ihr Wein zu trinken, drei Gläser voll, ein Glas weissen, ein Glas roten, und ein Glas gelben, davon zersprang ihr das Herz."

Unfortunately Grimm's tale throws no light upon the somewhat obscure symbolism of the three draughts of wine. Three cups or three draughts are a common motif in popular poetry.[41]

Rautendelein at first refuses to go to Heinrich, for, she says,

"Wir tanzen drunten Ringelreihn.
Ein lust'ger Tanz—und ist mein Fuss auch schwer,
bald, wenn ich tanze, brennt er mich nicht mehr."

Why should her feet burn? Sadness and despair have no such effect. May it not be a reminiscence, conscious or unconscious, of Andersen's tale *Die Kleine Seejungfrau*, which has been referred to repeatedly? While on earth the little mermaid had to suffer constant pain in her feet: "es kühlte ihre brennenden Füsse, im kalten Seewasser zu stehen."[42]

The influence of popular poetry upon language and subject-matter is marked. Several parallels have been pointed out above but there are also direct borrowings. In Act I, Heinrich says to Rautendelein: "Bleibe bei mir! bleib und geh nicht fort!" It is the refrain of a popular song: "O bleib bei mir und geh nicht fort."[43]—The *Waldschrat's* mocking announcement of the guests that are to visit *die Wittichen* (Act II) is an adaptation of a well-known nursery rime: "Was trägt die Gans auf ihrem Schnabel."[44]—The little song Rautendelein is singing in Act III is the beginning of a popular ballad entitled *Die Käferhochzeit.* Hoffmann von Fallersleben[45] gives the following version:

"Es sass ein Käfer auf'm Bäumel, summ, summ,
Der hat ein goldnes Hemdel."

There are other passages which, though not directly borrowed, seem to have been suggested by popular poetry. Rautendelein's musings about her origin (Act I) correspond to the old lines:

"Ich komme, ich weiss nicht woher,
Ich gehe, ich weiss nicht wohin,
Mich wundert, dass ich so fröhlich bin."

The same thought is expressed by Goethe's Satyros:

l. 155 "Woher ich komm', kann ich nicht sagen,
Wohin ich geh', müsst ihr nicht fragen."
l. 161 "Meine Mutter hab' ich nie gekannt,
Hat niemand mir mein'n Vater genannt."—

The naïve pleasure Rautendelein takes in her own beauty (Act I: "*bin doch ein schönes goldhaariges Waldfräulein*"), is characteristic of popular poetry. The bird in Grimm's tale of the *Machandelbaum*[46] similarly says of himself: "wat vör 'n schöön Vagel bin ick."

Frau Magda in her boundless love for Heinrich wishes to go in search of the fountain of youth, if she could only find it (Act II.) Though this idea is very old and very general, it is interesting to note that there is a Silesian popular song about the fountain of youth:[47]

"Und in dem Schneegebirge
Da fliesst ein Brünnlein kalt,
Und wer daraus thut trinken,
Der wird ja nimmer alt."—

Rautendelein's "braune Gliederlein" (Act IV) seems to be taken from popular poetry. It is possible to think of her as a brown fairy,[48] but it seems more likely that the poet thought of phrases like "brauns maidlein,"[49] "brauns mägdelein,"[50] "schwarz-braunes Mädlein."[51]

In Act V the *Waldschrat* calls the *Nickelmann* out of his well: "und läge neben dir . . . der Wasserjungfern schönste und kraute dir den Bart." The sweetheart playing with the hair of her lover is a situation often met with in ballads and popular traditions. The situation is sometimes described in a way which to-day seems anything but æsthetic.[52]

In the same act Rautendelein sings plaintively:

"Heinrich, du lieblicher Buhle mein,
du sitzest auf meinem Brünnelein."

40 *K.-M.*, No. 40.

41 Cf. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Schles. Volkslieder*, No. 2, *Anm.*; Grimm, *K.-M.*, No. 60 (v. i, p. 317, Göttingen 1857).

42 *Sämmtliche Märchen*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 156,

43 Henkel, *Zschr. f. d. dtsch. Unterricht*, xiii, 245, n. 1.

44 *Wunderhorn*, 1846, iii, 410, and elsewhere.

45 *Schles. Volkslieder*, No. 42.

46 *K.-M.*, No. 47.

47 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, No. 151: *Der Jungbrunne.*

48 Cf. "braunes Elbchen" (Act I); *D. M.*, p. 368.

49 Uhland, *Volkslieder*, p. 68.

50 *Ibid.* pp. 221, 247.

51 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, No. 171.

52 Simrock, *Deutsche Volkslieder*, p. 22; Erk-Böhme, *Dtsch. Liederhort*, I, p. 120, Nos. 41, 42, 46; Grimm, *K.-M.*, Nos. 91, 92; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Nordd. Sgn.*, No. 186.

Compare with that lines like the following:

"Reit sachte, o lieber Herre mein,
Du reitest mir über mein Gräbelein."[53]

Towards the end of the act Rautendelein says: "zu eng ist mein kleid." Similar remarks are made in popular ballads about maidens who find themselves in the same predicament as Rautendelein.[54]

The language of the drama, especially in the fifth act, shows many traces of popular poetry. The frequent use of diminutives is characteristic of that poetry. Hauptmann uses the following diminutives, many of which are very common in popular songs and ballads: Act I: *Wachsmacherlein, Sonnenvögelchen, Bienchen, Waldvöglein, Silberküglein, Zwillingsbrüstlein, Schrätlein, Nixlein, Wunderpfeiflein, Kindlein, Kirchlein, Stänglein, Fallerlein, Moosblümchen, Elbchen, Erdgeisterlein, Wanderwölkchen, Stämmchen, Blütenbäumchen, Rosablättlein, Blättlein, Silberfädelein, Tröpflein, Muschelchen, Hälmchen, Wässerlein.* Act II: *Blümchen, Stücklein, Beinchen, Weilchen, Kinderbettchen, Bläschen, Restchen, Süppchen, Fädchen, Knötchen, Häuflein.* Act III: *Würfelbecherlein, Spängelein, Wängelein, Pärlein, Beutelchen, Meisterlein, Menschlein, Hündchen, Gräslein.* Act IV: *Pflänzlein, Gliederlein, Miederlein, Instrumentlein, Glühwürmchen, Hemdchen, Krüglein, Köpfchen.* Act V: *Stimmchen, Laternchen, Knäblein, Krönlein, Mägdlein, Silberfischlein, Dingchen, Weibchen, Menschenkindlein, Brünnelein, Lämpchen, Vöglein, Liebchen.*—The repetition of a word is also very common in popular poetry. Act V, "schön schönes Rautendelein;" "ade, ade;"[55] "im Mai, im Mai;"[56] "Mir ist so weh, so weh."[57]

What part do the gods of German, or rather Scandinavian, mythology play in the "Sunken Bell?" The supernatural figures in the play seem to believe in the old gods. *Die Wittichen* converses in a most familiar way with Thor (Act I); Rautendelein compares her beauty with that of Freya (Act I), later (Act IV) she speaks of Freya's famous necklace; the *Nickelmann* describes Thor's doings in sonorous verse (Act I). Rautendelein calls Heinrich *Balder, Sonnenheld*, and tells him how she has taken a pledge from all living beings not to injure him, as Frigg, Balder's mother, does in the old Norse myth (Act IV). At the beginning of the fifth act all nature is mourning over Balder's death.

It will be seen on closer inspection that the Germanic gods do not enter into the play very seriously. They are mentioned here and there, but they exert no influence, directly or indirectly. We should be sorry to miss the *Nickelmann's* beautiful lines about Thor,[58] but the poet might have omitted all the other references to Scandinavian gods without doing his drama any real harm.

Does Heinrich actually believe in the Pagan gods? In the long discourse with the parson, he gives expression to his innermost thoughts and aspirations. What Heinrich says about the *Urmutter Sonne* comes from the very depth of his heart. There is no mention of a Germanic god in this passage. A few lines before, Heinrich points out to the parson the blossoming tree upon which god Freyr descended. The mention of the Pagan god does not shock the parson in the least, as we should expect. It is evidently a mere rhetorical turn, a symbolic expression not intended to show Heinrich's actual belief in Freyr. Heinrich's oath, *bei Hahn und Schwan und Pferdekopf*, seems to the parson peculiar, but he accepts Heinrich's explanation of it. This explanation does not show a trace of Germanic Paganism, though the weather-cock and horse's head doubtless go back to Pagan ideas; it leads us directly to Heinrich's great ideal—the Sun.

Heinrich nowhere appears as an enemy of Christ. He quotes the Bible freely, in his fever (Act I) he thinks himself tortured and crucified like Christ, he meets the parson half way (Act III), for he admits that the love of

53 Wunderhorn, IV, p. 98.

54 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, No. 4, stanza 4; Simrock, *Deutsche Volkslieder*, No. 54.

55 *Wunderhorn*, IV, p. 353, often used.

56 Uhland, *Volkslieder*, I, pp. 58, 117.

57 Cf. Arndt, *Märchen*, I, 289.

58 How thoroughly the poet entered into the spirit of German popular traditions may be seen by comparing this passage with the following belief found in Appenzell: "Wenn es nur ein wenig stark donnert, so glaubt man, dass es nur ein Jauchzen zur Belebung der ganzen Pflanzenwelt sei." Vernaleken, *Alpensagen*, p. 410, No. 151. This popular saying is a beautiful commentary on Hauptmann's lines, though I should not for a moment claim any direct connection. Hauptmann's lines are based on Grimm, *D. M.*4, pp. 139, 147.

the Highest has fully restored him. He is glad that the parson has cast aside *die mörderischen Stricke der Bestallung* to seek God. But Heinrich is an irreconcilable enemy of the established Christian church, of the church officially represented by the parson, the church that has sway over the minds of the people in the valley, that stifles free thought and high aspirations, the church that claims to have the only true knowledge of God. Heinrich's God is greater than the parson's God, his religion goes beyond Christ's religion, it is the fulfilment, as it were, of Christ's religion: the power of the Sun will deliver even Jesus Christ from the cross and restore to him youth and joy. It is a new religion of love and joy, higher and better than the Christian religion of sacrifice, atonement, and suffering. In this Heinrich is typical, perhaps of the poet himself, certainly of many noble-minded men who, dissatisfied with historical Christianity, look for a higher form of religion, a religion that will embody much of historical Christianity, but will go beyond it. Heinrich's new religion is essentially pantheistic.—Neither is *die Wittichen* hostile to Christ or to God, she is hostile to the representatives of the established Christian church, to their narrow fanatical interpretation of the world and, most of all, of *inse Herrgott* (Act I). The last phrase proves that *die Wittichen* believes in God, but like Heinrich, in a different way from the parson.

She, too, considers the Sun as the symbol of the highest power and truth. Her conversation with Thor at her first appearance is merely ornamental. And ornamental is the whole Scandinavian mythology in the play. It is true, in places it serves to strengthen the atmosphere of mystery pervading the play, but the real *Stimmung* in the play Hauptmann owes not to occasional references to Scandinavian gods, not even to the free adaptation of the myth of Balder, but to the admirable use he makes of popular tradition.—In the beginning of Act V, the fairies mourn the death of Balder. It is symbolic of Heinrich's sudden departure from the mountains and the world of spirits. The parallel between Heinrich and Balder is clearly drawn in this beautiful scene. Rautendelein, too, calls Heinrich (Act IV) *Du Balder! Sonnenheld!* and he doubtingly replies *Bin ich wie Balder?* But even this passage cannot be taken as a proof that Heinrich actually believes in the Germanic gods. Heinrich is, or wishes to be, the representative of the Sun, just as Balder is the god of light. It is figurative language. The poet might have said Apollo, if the setting of the play had permitted it. The opening scene of the fifth act is, however, very effective in producing *Stimmung*.—The sun with its profound symbolism reminds us of Wieland's *Hymne auf die Sonne*. Wieland represents the Sun as *die Seele der Erde, Mutter der Schönheit, Verweser der Gottheit*.[59]

Hauptmann calls his play *ein deutsches Märchendrama*. Our discussion has shown us how literally true that is. The poet has succeeded in conjuring up all the charm of the German fairy-world. He has utilized popular traditions even in minute details; he has created very few, if any, new scenes or figures, but he has with consummate skill woven his threads into a harmonious whole, imparting to it his own spirit. In a few instances only has he failed to produce living fairy-scenes and characters. We cannot fully accept Bartels' assertion (*G. Hauptmann*, p. 220): "ein product frei und ursprünglich schaffender phantasie ist die 'Versunkene Glocke' auf keinen Fall." Whatever Hauptmann's indebtedness to German folklore may be, there are nowhere characters just like Rautendelein, like *die Wittichen*, like the *Nickelmann*, with all his inconsistency. Even the *Waldschrat* is, after all, different from his Classical prototype. As to literary parallels, Bartels makes the sweeping statement (*ibid.*, p. 218):

"Im übrigen ist das stück litterarisch aus einer fülle von anregungen, mögen sie nun bewusst oder unbewusst sein, abzuleiten, ja, man kann fast behaupten, dass es ein gewebe aus lauter fremden motiven ist, die Hauptmann mehr oder minder mit dem stempel seines geistes versehen hat."

He then mentions a number of works to which he thinks Hauptmann is consciously or unconsciously indebted. In several cases, however, he fails to give any proofs.

There can be no doubt that Hauptmann's play shows the influence of Goethe's *Satyros*

59 Cf. Seuffert, *Euphorion*, v. 80.

and *Faust*,[60] its symbolism strongly reminds us of some of Ibsen's plays, as indicated by Bartels, the fairies dancing in the woods and the boiling kettle at once suggest Shakespeare, but no modern dramatist can produce such scenes on the stage without reminding his audience of Shakespeare. I fail to see any connection between Raimund's fairy-plays and the *Versunkene Glocke*, except that in both cases the *dramatis personæ* consist of men and fairies. Hauptmann does not show a trace of that Romantic irony which characterizes Tieck's fairy-plays, and from which Raimund is not free. But Hauptmann uses one motif which is very old, and has been used again and again in works of literature: the Tannhäuser motif. The idea underlying the legend of Tannhäuser is, to quote Böhme, this:

"der irdische jüngling, in die umarmung der elfenmaid verstrickt, entreisst sich ihr nur mit dem tode im herzen."[61]

Heinrich's longing for home, his qualms of conscience, his sudden departure from the mountains, and his return—all go back to the old Tannhäuser ballad. In one version of the ballad Venus says to Tannhäuser:

"ich han so vil der edlen zwerg,
helt die müssen dienen dir
mit stechen, singen, seitenspil."[62]

Almost the same inducements Rautendelein holds out to Heinrich. And just as in the old ballad,[63] Tannhäuser says to *Frau Venus:* "Ihr seid ein Teufelinne," so Heinrich calls Rautendelein *elbische Vettel.* The ballad even contains the suggestion that Tannhäuser spurns the hand of one of Venus's maidens, because he has another woman in mind (*Dtsch. Liederhort*, I, 42). The similarity between our play and Fouqué's *Undine* rests chiefly upon the use of this motif. Undine's character, as we have seen, may have given the poet some suggestions for Rautendelein, but I cannot see that, as Bartels thinks, the *Nickelmann* is descended from *Ohm Kühleborn;* as they are both spirits of the water, there must necessarily be some resemblance. The *Nickelmann's* beautiful lines about the human race are certainly not borrowed from Fouqué's *Undine*. Grillparzer's *Melusina*, to which Mr. Schütze ascribes so much influence on Hauptmann's play,[64] has no connection with the play except that it also makes use of this motif; that explains all the similarities. Hauptmann's scene is laid in the Giant Mountains.[65] The scenery in *Melusina* shows a certain resemblance which seems to be entirely accidental; it lacks one of the most important points, the hut (cf. the passage from Grimm's tales quoted above).

Besides the Tannhäuser legend with its variants,[66] there are numerous popular traditions in which elfish beings, male and female, enter into intimate relations with human beings. The end is almost invariably an unhappy one for both sides.[67]

It cannot be denied that the poet may have received suggestions from literary works besides those referred to, but they are not of great importance. Hauptmann's symbolism goes back in some degree to Ibsen, but on the whole there is no doubt that the poet is far more indebted to German folk-lore than to all the works of literature combined.

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60 Cf. Henkel, *Zschr. f. d. dtsch. Unterricht, XIII*, 258.
61 Erk-Böhme, *Dtsch. Liederhort*, I, 51.
62 Grässe, *Der Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, Dresden, 1861, p. 33.
63 Erk-Böhme, *ibid.*, No. 17a,
64 *Americ. German.* III, 68 ff.
65 Cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES, xv, 353.
66 Cf. Grässe, *D. Tannhäuser und Ewige Jude*, p. 9.
67 Cf. Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen*, p. xcvii, 4.

SPEECH CURVES.

I

IN a field of investigation so little explored as that of the curves of speech it is necessary to have combined efforts of many workers in order to properly handle the material obtained. It is particularly desirable that those trained in observations of the sounds of speech, and familiar with their history, should co-operate with those using experimental methods. Curves of speech, when carefully and correctly obtained, contain far more information than any one worker can abstract from them. In recognition of this fact a number of the curves traced off at Yale University will be published in the MOD. LANG. NOTES, with such statements concerning the manner of obtaining them, and the methods of measurement, as will make them available for investigation by any one who is willing to study them.

The laboratory at Yale University is also willing to supply curves directly to investigators. Each investigator will receive a definite portion of a record with its translation. This portion will not be given to any one else, and the publication of it will be postponed to a definite date to permit the investigator to complete his work and publish the result with the curve.

"Rip Van Winkle's Toast," by Joseph Jefferson, is ready; the publication will occur on October 1, 1901. "A Speech on Forefather's Day," by Chauncey Depew, will be ready in a few weeks. This will be followed by "Die Lorelei" and "Der Fichterbaum" by William L. Elterich a "Talk on Money" by George Graham, and other records of prose, verse, song and instrumental music. French, Spanish, Italian, Japanese and other records will be added during the coming summer.

The machine in the Yale laboratory will be placed at the disposal of investigators for tracing off any desired gramophone plates. Three absolutely unused copies of any plate from the gramophone (or zonophone) list must be received at the laboratory. The tracing will be done whenever the machine is at liberty, and the results will be forwarded to the investigator. The Yale laboratory will sustain the quite considerable expense of caring for the tracing, reserving in compensation certain rights of publication.

Duplicates of the entire tracing machine itself will be furnished at the actual expenditure for labor and materials. In its present form the cost will amount to about $250; with the addition of jewelled bearings for all the pivots this will be increased by $100 or $150. A complete description of the machine, with detailed drawings will soon be published; this will render its duplication possible in any fine machine-shop but the cost will be much greater owing to the special training needed for its construction.

Similar arrangements may be made for tracings from the French celluloid phonograph of Lioret (18 rue Thibaud, Paris). The tracing machine for these cylinders is now in process of construction on a grant from the Elizabeth Thompson Science Fund; the great difficulties already encountered indicate that it will not be finished before summer.

The interpretation of the speech curves procedes in the following way:

The words spoken by the gramophone plate are noted on paper with an indication of the relative lengths of the pauses. The pauses are classed as short, medium and long.

The first vibrations on the record are taken as representing the first word on the plate. The first long straight line on the record is taken as the first pause. Then the successive sounds between the beginning and the first pause are assigned to the successive groups of vibrations. The method is followed for succeeding groups of sounds between pauses. Considerable help is obtained by a familiarity with the peculiarities of speech curves.

The curves reproduced in this issue of the NOTES are traced from a gramophone plate containing the *Sad Story of the Death and the Burial of Poor Cock Robin*, by William F. Hooley. The sound curve on this plate was first traced off with not very great enlargement; these curves are known as *Cock Robin, Series I.* Some of the results have been published in *Stud. Yale Psych Lab.*, vii.

A development of the original apparatus made it possible to obtain greater enlargement, and the same plate was again traced off; the results are known as *Cock Robin, Series II.* The first published selection from this series is that given in this issue; it has been designated as *Cock Robin, Series II, Block I.* The selection includes *saw him* from *Who saw him die?; bow* from *With my bow and arrow; shroud* from *Who'll make his shroud?; sparrow* from *I, said the sparrow;* and *draw your* from the introduction *Now, children, draw your little chairs nearer.*

The curves given on pages 78, 79 belong to one block. The line reads across the two pages from left to right; thus, the sounds *aw im* of *saw him* read along the first line from left to right across Block I_A and then across Block I_B. The sound *ow* of *bow* begins with the second line of the Block I_A, reads over the second line of Block I_B, and then over the third line of Block I_A, ending in the third line of Block I_B.

The speech curves would naturally run along horizontal lines. The slow fluctuations seen in the records are due to irregularities in feeding the gramophone plate sidewise.

They in no way affect the accuracy of the records; in making measurements, however, the ruler should always be horizontal.

To interpret the details of a sound the grouping of the vibrations is first noticed. In a series of groups of the same general form each group may usually be considered as arising from one puff of the vocal cords. The minor vibrations arise from the vibrations of the resonating cavities and from the overtones of the cords.

Many of the main features of the speech curves can be obtained by inspection without measurement; very much more can be obtained by simple measurements.

Long distances may be measured by millimeter scales; the tenths of a millimeter may be estimated by the eye. Finer measurements may be made with a scale graduated in tenths of a millimeter;[1] the work is done with a watchmaker's eyeglass, or under a magnifying glass. The calculations are all done by books of tables.[2] The investigator should become familiar with various books containing extensive multiplication tables, tables of reciprocals, etc. A Chinese abacus is also very convenient in adding.

The speech curves are frequently of such a nature that the period of the cord tone may be found by measuring the distance between two like points in two successive groups of vibrations.

The distance in millimeters is translated into time according to the equation beneath each block. Thus, the distance between the two high points in the last vibration in the fourth line on Block I^A is 3.2 mm; at 1 mm for 0.0016^s (use Zimmermann's table for 16), this gives a period of 0.01536^s for the cord vibrations at that instant. A period of 0.01536^s is the same as a frequency of $\frac{1}{0.01536}$ (use Barlow) or 65.1. For all the curves except that of *draw your* the relation is $1\text{ mm} = 0.0016^s$; for this curve it is $1\text{ mm} = 0.0007^s$.

1 The Société Genevoise makes a "petite echelle en argentan divisé d'un coté en dixiemès de millimetres" for 20 francs. It can be readily imported through the Kny-Scheerer Co., 225 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

2 Crelle, *Rechentafeln*, Berlin, 1857; *Calculating Tables*, First English Edition, New York, 1888.

Zimmermann, *Rechentafeln*, Berlin, 1891.

Barlow, *Tables of Squares, Cubes, Square Roots, Cube Roots, Reciprocals of all integer numbers up to 10,000*. Reprint Edition, London and New York, 1897.

The periods of the smaller, or resonance vibrations can frequently be obtained by direct measurement. This occurs most readily when these vibrations are of a simple form.

The problem of finding all the tones in the speech sounds is one of unsurmounted difficulty. Approximations can be made by use of the Fourier analysis, the instructions for performing which will be given on a future occasion. Some new methods of analysis are being developed. The importance of studying the complete set of tones and their continual change is made evident by the fact that speech is not merely a succession of tones for the larynx (or a voice melody), but is at each moment a more or less harmonized complexity of tones from the larynx and the pharyngeal and buccal cavities. Each tone in the harmony changes from instant to instant; its changes are determined not only by its preceding course, but also by relations to other preceding and coincident tones. An observation on the relation of change between the cord tone and the lower resonance tone in the diphthong *ai* has been stated in *Stud. Yale Psych. Lab.*, vii, 57.

The following account is intended to show how some of the facts contained in a speech curve may be extracted from it. The curve at first sight is no more intelligible than a line of Chinese ideographs. The knowledge of the speech sounds to which a certain portion of a curve belongs gives the purpose of the curve but affords little information concerning its character. A careful study of the sound by the ear reveals some of the grosser characters of the sound, but cannot indicate any of the finer details that lie before the eye in the complexities of the curve. The meaning of these details—the very essentials of the speech sound—is not apparent at first observation; only by patient and persistent unraveling of the tangled curve is an inkling of it obtained.

saw him. The words are run together in speech on the gramophone so that the result is rather *sâim* than *saw him*, the *h* not being heard, and the two vowels being run together like a diphthong. The record shows no traces of the *s*. The first vibrations of the curve differ from the rest, and show changing relations between the resonance (or mouth) tone and the cord tone; they indicate that the cords have begun to vibrate while the mouth

is still changing from the *s* position to the *å* position. After this the grouping of the vibrations in threes indicates a cord tone with a resonance (or mouth) tone a duodecime higher; this general relation is maintained throughout the diphthong. That still other resonance tones are present is indicated by the subordinate modifications of the small vibrations. The sound *å* increases slowly in intensity, but diminishes again as it changes into *i* (beginning of Block I_3). The *i* is quite strong but falls quickly as the sound changes to *m*. The *m* vibrations slowly fade away. The relations between *å* and *i* in this diphthong somewhat resemble those between *a* and *i* in *ai* discussed in *Stud. Yale Psych. Lab.* vii; they differ in the fall of amplitude at the end of *å* before the *i* begins, whereby the separation of the elements of the double sound is slightly marked.

The following table shows the way in which the course of the cord tone in reference to pitch is calculated. It illustrates several important principles used in computing and interpreting results.

A. Period in millimeters.	B. Period in seconds.	C. Frequency.		A. Period in millimeters.	B. Period in seconds.	C. Frequency
3.8	0.0061	167		4.8	0.0077	130
3.8	61	167		5.0	80	125
3.9	62	161		5.1	82	122
4.0	64	156		5.0	80	125
4.0	64	156		5.1	82	122
2.6				5.2	83	120
4.2	67	149		5.1	82	122
4.2	67	149		4.7	75	133
4.1	66	152		4.6	74	135
4.0	64	156		4.7	75	133
4.2	67	149		4.8	77	130
4.3	69	145		4.7	75	133
4.3	69	145		4.4	70	143
4.2	67	149		4.5	72	139
4.3	69	145		4.5	72	139
4.3	69	145		4.5	72	139
4.3	69	145		4.7	75	133
4.1	66	152		4.5	72	139
4.2	67	149		4.7	75	133
4.3	69	145		4.5	72	139
4.5	72	139		4.6	74	135
4.5	72	139		4.4	70	143
4.5	72	139		4.6	74	135

The figures in column A give the distances in millimeters from apex to apex of the strongest vibrations in the successive groups. The measurements were made by an assistant who did not know the nature of the problem investigated. It is very important to note the following:

1. The determination of the exact point to be called the apex may be indefinite to the extent of one or two tenths of a millimeter, owing (*a*) to the roundness of the apex, (*b*) to the fact that the apex is sometimes slightly displaced by interfering resonance tones.

2. The general character of muscular action would indicate that the changes in the voice proceed with some regularity; this would indicate that the unusual figure 2.6 for the sixth period does not give the proper period at that point but shows something else.

Using Zimmermann's table for 16, the figures in column A are turned into time as shown in column B. These are the lengths of successive periods in the cord tone. Using a table of reciprocals (Barlow or Zimmermann) these are turned into the frequencies in column C.

The curve of frequency is now to be plotted. This is best done by supposing the speech curve to be laid off along the horizontal or *X* axis, so that the first vibration is at zero. Above zero the proper number of millimeters is counted upward to indicate the frequency of the cord tone at the start; this is obtained by taking the reciprocal of the duration of the first complete group of minor vibrations arising from a puff from the chords. Thus, if the duration of the first group is 0.12^{s}, the frequency will be 83; if 10^{mm} have been assigned to each 100 of frequency, the dot will be placed at 8.3^{mm} above the *X* axis. Above the point on the *X* axis at which the second group of vibrations would begin if the curve were laid upon it, the frequency of the cord tone at this moment is indicated by a dot at the proper height; this is obtained by taking the reciprocal of the duration of the second complete group of minor vibrations arising from a puff from the cords. In this manner a series of dots is obtained, indicating the frequency of the cord tone at a succession of movements.

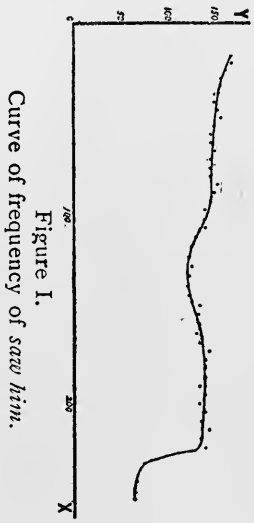

Figure I.
Curve of frequency of *saw him*.

It will be found that few sounds have a constant frequency throughout their duration. The voice is constantly sliding up and down; just these movements give character to the sounds themselves. A number of curves of frequency for *ai* in *I*, *die*, *thy*, etc., have been determined (*Stud. Yale Psych. Lab.* vii) but otherwise nothing in this line seems to have been done. The sliding of the cord tone in speech was observed by Aristoxenus.

In the diagram of frequency the successive dots might be connected by straight lines. We probably come nearer to the true curve of frequency (see 1 and 2 above) by drawing a smooth curve that evenly distributes the dots on either side. This may be done with the free hand, by means of draughtman's curves or by a flexible rubber rule; the more general reasons for this procedure may be found in works on the methods of science.[3]

Such curves of pitch plotted through a whole discourse would replace by accurate data the interesting but sketchy attempts made by the unaided ear at noting the melody of speech.

The curious interruption of the regular course of figures in the table by 2.6 arises from the fact that the series of the strongest vibrations used to mark off the groups is replaced at this point by a series arising from one of the weaker vibrations. In the first part of the curve there is some vibration of a changing character that causes a change in the moment of strongest vibration. The unusual figure indicates this latter fact and not any sudden break in the cord tone. A similar occurrence may be seen in the *o* of *bow* at the beginning of line 2 Block I_B and in *aw* of *draw* as indicated below.

At the start (the "glide" from *s* to *ă*) the smaller vibrations show a period of 0.0032^s or a frequency of 313. This resonance tone quickly changes to one of 0.0024^s period, or 417 frequency. It remains at this figure throughout most of its course but becomes 0.0028^s or 357, toward the end of *ă* (end of left hand block). During the *i* it is 0.0032^s.

bow. The word in this case was melodious and prolonged; it might even be said to be "mellifluous." The record shows the curve of *ow*. It begins with three faint vibrations that presumably occur as the mouth begins to open. Thereafter the vibrations follow in groups of 4 with a length of 5.5 mm. decreasing slowly to 4.8 mm. at the edge of Block I_A, this indicates a cord tone of rising pitch. The resonance tone remains practically constant at 1.5$^{mm.}$ per vibration, or a period of 0.0024^s and a frequency of 417.

The amplitude rises steadily to a degree that indicates considerable loudness; it then falls rather suddenly (end of second line in Block I_A). The vibrations beyond this point show so many peculiarities that their difficulties can best be attacked by working backward from a later point where the grouping is more regular. About one-third of the distance from the left in the second line on Block I_B the vibrations fall into groups having two main crests with two subordinate crests. This entire group presumably arises from one cord vibration. This conclusion is drawn because further on to its right the group gradually changes to two main crests only, a typical form for a cord tone accompanied by a resonance tone nearly an octave higher. This condition of a cord tone with an octave resonance tone is modified in the first part by

3 Jevons, *Principles of Science*, Chap. xxii.

higher tones that do not form an exact harmonic interval with either of the other tones; these give rise to the minor fluctuations in the first half of the curve in Block I_B. These higher tones are of changing pitch as can be seen by the steadily changing form.

The puffs of air from the cords are not generally of the even nature found in sinusoid vibrations; they rather resemble more or less sharp explosions. In this sound they are not so sharply explosive as in *au* of *shroud* or *æ* of *sparrow*, yet the puff has its greatest intensity in the first part of the interval of time it occupies. Starting from the strong vibrations (middle of line 2, Block I_B), we mark off backward the alternate higher vibrations as the points of maximum for each cord puff. We thus have the vibrations in pairs; the period of the chord tone at any moment will be given by the distance between two such marked vibrations. As we go towards the left, we see that each of the vibrations of the pair shows a tendency to split up into two minor vibrations; this indicates the presence of higher resonance tones. Measurements of the periods of the cord tone show that it steadily rises in pitch from the end of Block I_A to the middle of Block I_B. They also will show that the alternate (or resonance) vibration keeps very closely at the middle of the cord period; though in the first portion it is generally a little behind the middle point. This indicates a resonance tone in general an octave higher than the cord tone, but a little lower in the first portion. The details can be brought out by measurements.

A third maximum is found in the latter portion of *bow* (third line Block I_A). It may be suggested that perhaps this vowel sound is to be considered as a tripthong. Careful listening to the gramophone plate enables the ear to hear two maxima clearly and the third faintly.

shroud. The dipthong *au* begins in the middle of line 4 on Block I_A. It is preceded by a series of vibrations whose interpretation is not quite clear. The *d* begins on line 5 at the left edge of Block I_B. The cord vibrations can be detected in the curve for the *d;* they become marked toward the end of this line, indicating the opening of the mouth after the closed *d* position.

sparrow. The *æ* of *sparrow* begins in the middle of the sixth line on Block I_A; it ends in *r* just beyond the middle of the same line in Block I_B. The *o* extends over the remainder of this line and the whole of the next. This *o* is quite different from that in *bow* above. The vowel is a crescendo-diminuendo sound; its amplitude rises slowly to a maxium and then falls to zero. The vowel-sound in *bow* has three maxima; the fall from the maxium is in two cases very sudden. In general the curve of the *o* of *sparrow* differs greatly from that of the *o* of *bow*, although there is some resemblance of the former to the middle portion of the latter.

draw your. The last five lines of Block I give the curve for the sounds *å̊iu* of the words *drå̊iur* expressed in print by *draw your.* The recording surface was run at about three times the speed used for the previous curves, its equation being $1^{mm.}=0.0007^{s}$. This speed is more favorable for the details of vibrations of greater amplitude but less favorable for those of less amplitude. The analysis of the curve may be approached in the following way: The vibrations in the latter portion of the eighth line of Block I_B are evidently to be grouped in threes. There is present here a cord tone with a resonance tone a duodecime above it. The last group on this line has a length of 10.2^{mm}, indicating a cord period of 0.00714^{s}, or, compressing the figure to ten-thousandths of a second, 0.0071^{s}. This gives a cord tone at this point with a frequency of 143, or d^{o}, that is, *D* of the base cleff. Measuring backward we find that the preceding group is a little longer than this one; in fact each group is found to be a little longer than the following one. The cord tone is thus shown to be rising in pitch.

The three small vibrations that make up the last group on line 8 are nearly equal in length although the last one appears to be cut off somewhat by the following stronger vibration of the next group. The preceding group shows nothing of the cutting off. The next

preceding group shows that the three small vibrations do not quite fill out the interval between the apexes of two strong vibrations selected to mark off the groups. This becomes still more evident in the further preceding groups. This condition seems to indicate that the small vibrations composing a group retain a constant period while the length of the group is changing. In confirmation of this we finally find four small vibrations instead of those in the early part of the vowel. The period of the small vibrations is approximately 0.0028^{s}, giving a frequency of 357 or about f^{1} of the treble cleff. This is a very clear illustration of the fact that the resonance tones of vowels are independent of the cord tone in regard to pitch, and are not overtones of it as commonly supposed.

That there are still other resonance tones is indicated by minor deformations of the curve, but further information concerning them is not obtainable at present.

Proceeding onward, we find that the cord tone continues to rise. At the middle of line 9, Block I_A, the length of a group is 9.0^{mm}, giving a period of 0.0063^{s} or a frequency of 159; at the middle of Block I_B the length is 8.0^{mm}, the period 0.0056^{s} and the frequency 179. The tone now rises more slowly. At the middle of line 10, Block I_A, the length is 7.5^{mm}, the period 0.0053^{s}, and the frequency 189. Beyond this point the tone remains nearly constant.

In the meantime the resonance vibrations have been undergoing a change. Instead of one resonance tone, two begin to show themselves distinctly. The most powerful one appears as a fairly strong vibration at 50^{mm} (0.0035^{s}) after each strongest vibration in the group. Although the group shortens, this vibration remains at a nearly constant distance from the beginning, necessarily, however, approaching even closer to the vibration at the end. This "strong secondary" vibration has been observed in many cases of *a* in *ai* (*Stud. Yale Psych. Lab.*, 1889, vii, 23). In those cases it remained at a constant distance from the beginning of the group till the group became so short that it coalesced with the strongest vibration of the following group. Here the fate is different. Instead of remaining at an absolutely constant distance behind the preceding strongest vibration of the group, it gradually, but not greatly, lessens the distance till, as the cord tone becomes stationary in pitch, it ultimately occupies the middle of the group as the octave of the cord tone. But another change has taken place that is of a puzzling nature; this strong secondary gradually becomes stronger than the other vibrations in the group. This can be readily seen by checking off the strongest vibrations in line 9 as boundaries of groups beginning at the left; in the earlier portion on Block I_B it will be found that one vibration has become stronger than the ones that must be checked off as boundaries of groups.

The cord tone remains constant with a period of about 0.0053^{s} throughout line 10. The resonance tone at an octave above also remains unchanged. The other resonance tones that produce the small marked inflections in line 9 and line 10 gradually dies away (middle of line 10, Block I_B), leaving the vibrations grouped in pairs at the end of line 10.

In line 11 the vowel somewhat suddenly decreases in amplitude. It is followed by the weak vibrations of the weak (but not very short!) *i* that precedes *u* in *your*.

Line 12 shows the latter portion of *your*; the curve is not completed.

Probably enough has been said to show the manner in which the analysis of speech curves proceeds. It is to be hoped that other workers may take up these curves and give them interpretations and measurements; it is desirable that results obtained should be brought to the notice of MOD. LANG. NOTES. The results of work at Yale will be summarized in these NOTES.

E. W. SCRIPTURE.

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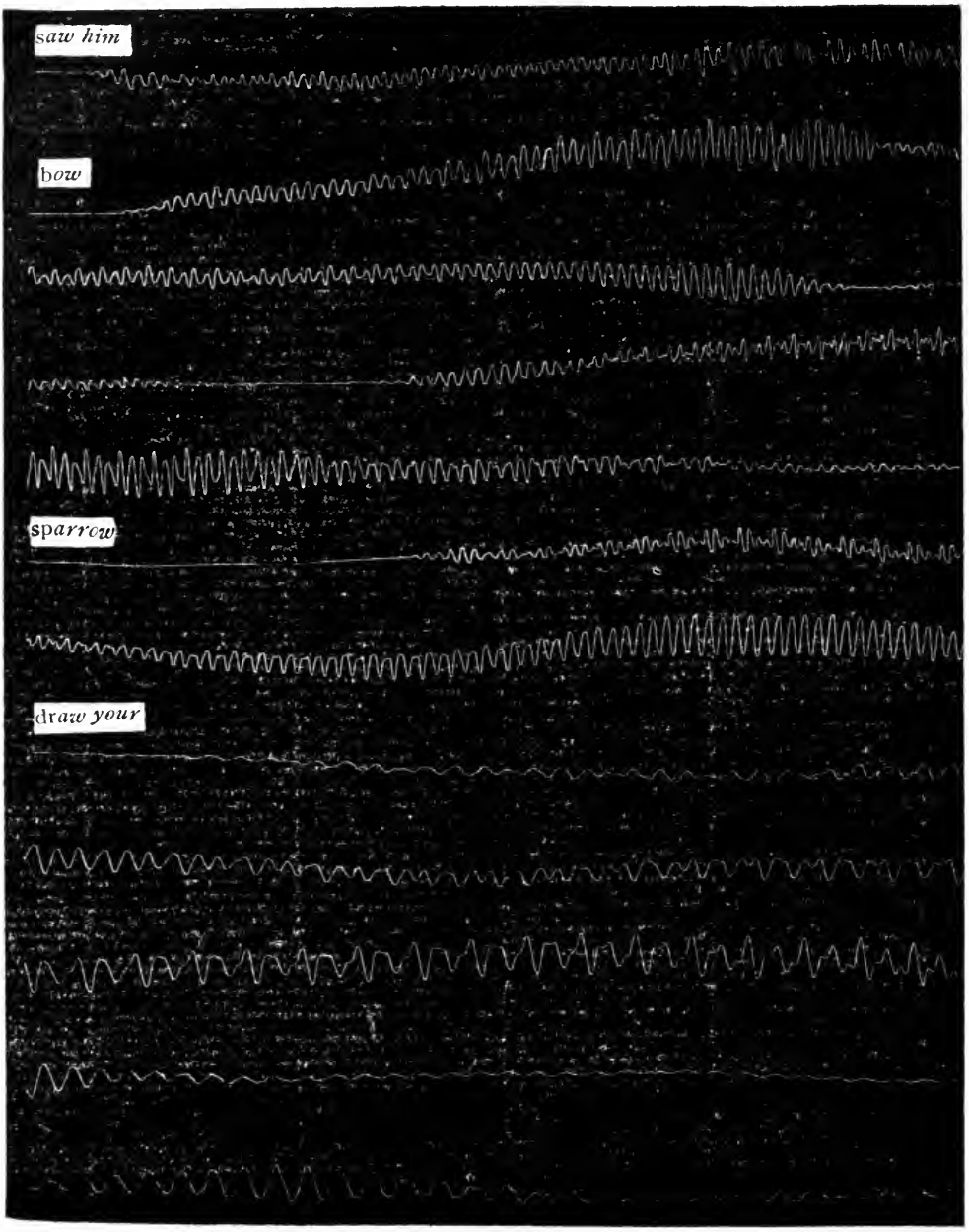

Cock Robin, Series II, Block I[A].

1[mm]=0.0016[s].
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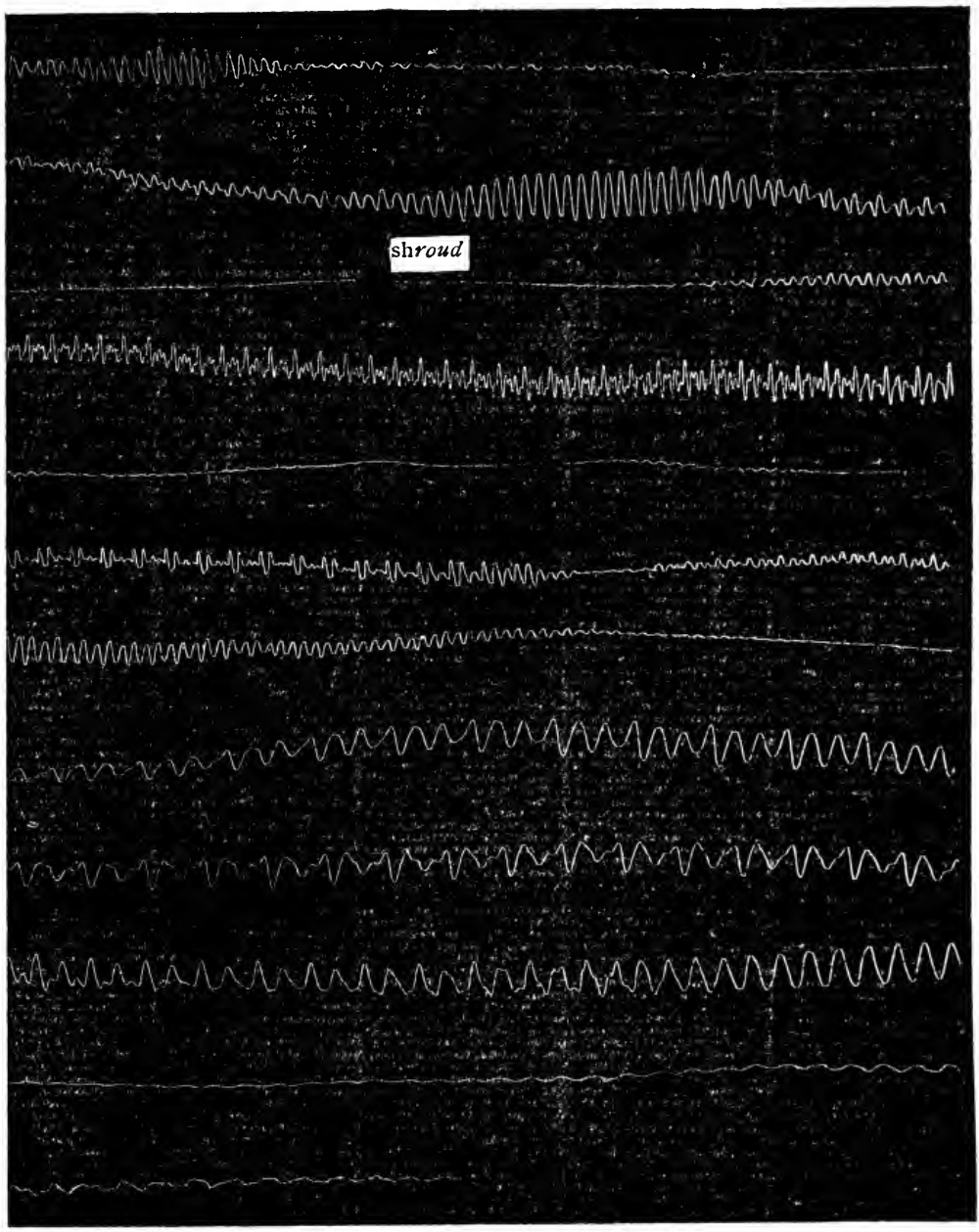

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$1^{mm}=0.0016^s$.
$1^{mm}=0.0007^s$.

THE REFORM OF FRENCH ORTHOGRAPHY.

THE question of the reform of French orthography is now settled—at least for some time. The edict of July was intended to be enforced October 15, 1900. But M. Leygues, the Minister of Public Instruction, informed of the attitude of the Academy, did not send any circulars last Fall demanding that the teachers should conform to the new system of spelling; so no changes occurred in the classrooms.

In the meantime the Academy heard and accepted the report of M. Hanotaux, a report which was not published but sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction. On a favorable report of Mr. Belot, M. Leygues has now decided that the "tolérances" allowed by the Academy should be the only ones to be put in practice.

Le Journal, a few days later (December 28, 1900) published the text of the *Rapport Hanotaux*.

M. Hanotaux mentions and praises the good intention of the Conseil Supérieur and of the Commission that wrote the edict of July. They aimed at being tolerant, without impairing the purity of the French language (*sans porter atteinte à la pureté de la langue*). The impression of the Academy, however, is that some of the reforms proposed, actually did "impair the purity of the language."

The commission chosen by the Academy is in full sympathy with the idea of selecting the passages of dictations in examination in a more rational way, that is, without a number of useless catch questions for the candidates; in short, to prefer a text which will bring out a general and practical knowledge of the written language, to one having in view a familiarity with subtleties and inextricable difficulties.

One or two passages of the report will show the spirit in which the various points of the project of reforms were treated.

"La commission de l'Académie reconnaît qu'il y a, dans la liste qui lui a été communiquée, un grand nombre de cas où les difficultés grammaticales peuvent être simplifiées. Sur certains points, même, elle serait plus hardie que le Conseil supérieur. Elle préférerait, par exemple, que le mot *témoin* fût invariable dans les phrases comme: *témoin les victoires que vous avez remportées*, et *je vous prends à témoin*. Elle admettrait que les participes passés invariables *approuvé*, *attendu*, *ci-inclus*, *ci-joint*, *excepté*, *non compris*, *y compris*, *ôté*, *passé*, *supposé*, *vu*, *étant donné*, le soient dans tous les cas; et elle ne s'oppose pas à ce qu'on puisse dire: *envoyer une lettre franc de port*.

Pour ce qui concerne le GENRE DES MOTS (p. 4), *aigle*, *amour*, *orgue*, *délices*, *automne*, *enfant*, *gens*, *orge*, *œuvre*, *hymne*, *Pâques*, *période*, votre commission reconnaît qu'il existe, même dans l'usage, une certaine incertitude; elle conseille de se conformer aux habitudes de la langue parlée. Celle-ci n'admettrait pas facilement telles façons de dire que semble autoriser le projet de réformes; par exemple: *les fous amours de Cléopâtre; les aigles romains*, au lieu des *aigles romaines; arriver à la plus haute période de sa puissance* pour *au plus haut période*. Les expressions le *gros œuvre* (terme d'architecture) et le *grand' œuvre* (en alchimie) présentent le caractère de mots composés; il faut donc les maintenir dans leur forme actuelle; il est aussi difficile de dire *la grosse œuvre* ou la *grande œuvre* que la *grande mère* au lieu de la *grand' mère*.

Pour tout ce qui concerne le chapitre des NOMS COMPOSÉS (p. 5, 6, 7 et 8), les réformes que l'on propose aboutissent à des résultats tout aussi compliqués que les règles actuelles. En une matière déjà très embrouillée, on ajoute une confusion nouvelle à la confusion ancienne. Par exemple, l'arrêté demande qu'on continue à écrire en deux mots un *garde forestier*, des *gardes forestiers*, tandis qu'il admet un *gardepêche*, des *gardepêches;* un *coffrefort*, des *coffreforts;* d'après la réforme, on dira des *chefs d'œuvre*, mais on pourra dire des *cheflieux;* il est nécessaire d'écrire des *tête-à-tête*, mais on permet des *pêlemêles;* on paraît autoriser l'emploi, au pluriel, du mot *priedieux*. On énumère dix cas différents de mots composés, et on établit, pour chacun de ces cas, des règles nouvelles; mais on reconnaît que ces règles comportent un certain nombre d'exceptions. Ne serait-il pas plus simple de s'en référer à l'usage actuel, qui a, du moins, l'avantage d'être connu?

Votre commission ne fait pas d'objection au principe général de la suppression du trait d'union; elle admet que certains mots composés, dont les diverses parties, séparées originairement, sont maintenant agglutinées, comme *grandmère*, *grandmesse*, *grandroute*, soient considérés comme des mots unifiés. En un mot, elle demande qu'on suive l'usage quand il s'est prononcé ou quand il tend à s'affirmer; mais elle ne voit aucun avantage à surcharger la grammaire des subtilités et des distinctions nouvelles énumérées dans ce chapitre."

As to the past participle, the Academy

wishes to keep the rule with *avoir*, and insists on two reasons for it:

1. The suppression of the rule would result in making archaic, by one fell blow, all poetry written up to the present; only a limited number of cultivated people would be able, after a few years, to enjoy thoroughly verses like these:

> Tu nègliges mes pleurs, cours et te précipite
> Au devant de la mort que les dieux m'ont préditE.

The Academy does not feel equal to such sacrifice.

2. The difficulty attributed to the rule is for the most part a prejudice; as a matter of fact it is so simple that children can readily learn it without difficulty.

However the report adds:

"En ce qui concerne les cas où le participe passé est suivi, soit d'un infinitif: *les fruits que je me suis laissé* (ou *laissés*) *prendre; la femme que j'ai entendu* (ou *entendue*) *chanter*, ou d'un participe présent ou passé: *les sauvages qu'on a trouvé* (ou *trouvés*) *errant* (ou *errants*) *dans les forêts;* ou bien dans les cas où le participe passé est précédé d'une expression collective: *la foule d'hommes que j'ai vue* (ou *vus*); ou bien encore, dans les cas où le participe est précédé du mot *en* partitif: *des anthropophages, nous en avons vu* (ou *vus*) *en Amérique.*

Dans tous les cas, votre commission est disposée à laisser toute liberté aux écrivains."

As may be seen, and as was to be expected, the French Academy has proved conservative. There is hardly anything left of the edict of July; and the little there is actually left, is very half-heartedly approved of.

As the main points specified by the Academy in its report are those I criticized in my article of the December number of Mod. Lang. Notes, any further mention of them may be dispensed with.

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"LEARN" AND "TEACH."

Some interesting information about the use of the word "learn" for "teach" may be gleaned from a quarrel that arose on this question in the year 1698. In Jeremy Collier's famous *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, published in London that year, he used the following language in ridiculing the diction of Congreve's *Mourning Bride*:—

"But there is no jesting, for the Lady is very bad. She won't be held up by any Means, but Crys out,

. . . . *lower yet, down, down:*

One would think she was learning a Spaniel to *Sett*" (pp. 33, 34).

Congreve published a little book in reply to Collier the same year, 1698, called *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations, &c.* That the passage above had caught his eye, we see from his remarks upon it, as follows:—

"*One would think* (says Mr. *Collier*) *she was learning a Spaniel to set.*

Learning a Spaniel to set! *Delectus verborum est Origo eloquentiæ*, is an Aphorism of *Julius Cæsar*, and Mr. *Collier* makes it plain. This poor Man does not so much as understand even his own Dog-language, when he says *learning*, I suppose he means *teaching a Spaniel to set*, a dainty Critick, indeed!" (p. 28).

The next step in the controversy appeared in Collier's *Defence of the Short View*, dated 1699, but really published in 1698; he comments on a number of Congreve's strictures, but for some reason makes no particular defense of his own use of the word "learn"; he simply remarks:

"He Cavils at two other little words, which I think may pass: But I shall say nothing in their behalf. To defend such Trifles, would be almost as idle, as to object against them" (p. 91).

But Congreve's expression, "dog-language," had evidently rankled in Collier's mind; for, two pages farther on, he quotes from Congreve, "*The ignoble Curs that Yelp to fill the Cry, And spend their Mouths in barking Tyranny.*" Of this and another expression, he says, "A Common Hunt could not have done it better! This, as Mr. *Congreve* has it, is *Dog-Language* with a witness."

But although Collier did not care to go more particularly into this question of good usage, another individual in the dramatic controversy took up the cudgels. In this same year, 1698,

there appeared an anonymous little book, called *A Letter to Mr. Congreve on his Pretended Amendments, &c.* On page 20 of this exceedingly bitter attack upon the stage, we find the following:

"You quarrel at Mr. *Collier's* Phrase of *learning a Spaniel to Set;* which shews, that you are yet to *learn* the compass of our English Tongue, or that you are resolved to be a Wrangling, right or wrong. Say you, *I suppose, he means,* teaching *a Spaniel to Set.* But why so? What necessity is there for changing the Word, only to put as good a one in the place? For, is Mr. *Congreve* yet to be told, that *to learn,* is often used Actively, for *to teach?* Does he not remember it to be so used in the *Psalter? O* learn *me true Understanding!* I chuse to refer you to that Ejaculation, because it may be a proper one for you, to use in your Devotions."

The above controversy seems to me an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the history of the word "learn."

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GERMANIC GRAMMAR.

Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte. Zweites Buch. Herausgegeben von Ferdinand Dieter. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1900.

This volume, which gives the *Formenlehre,* is a continuation of the *Lautlehre,* which appeared in 1898. The book is the combined work of R. Bethge (Urgerm., Goth., O.N.), F. Dieter (OE.), W. Schlüter (OS.), F. Hartmann (OHG.). In some points it necessarily covers the same ground as Streitberg's *Urgerm. Gram.,* but deals not so much with the relation of the Germ. dialects to other IE. languages as with their relation to each other. It is not intended to supplant the grammars of the various dialects, but to serve as "ergänzung zu den grammatischen einzeldarstellungen":

"Wird er [der studierende] zu jenen greifen, wenn er sich mit dem einen oder dem andern dialekt des näheren vertraut machen will, so mag dieses [lehrbuch] zur erweiterung seines blickes und vertiefung seines verständnisses beitragen, indem es ihm die altgermanischen dialekte als zweige vorführt, die demselben stamm entsprossen sind."

The object thus set is commendable, and the manner in which it is accomplished praiseworthy. For the matter is well arranged, the statements brief yet clear, and the whole admirably *übersichtlich.* Here and there, to be sure, explanations are given which, to say the least, are doubtful. But that is to be expected of any book, and does not detract from its general value and usefulness. In some places more space might well have been given for more thorough discussion of the matter.

I note the following points in which a different explanation, a change of statement, or an addition may or should be made:

§ 181, c. It is not altogether certain that Skt. *ṛṇṓmi* 'errege,' Gk. *ὄρνῡμι* are formed with a suffix *-neu-*. They are perhaps rather from a base *ereu-* with nasal infix, and related to Lat. *ruō*, Gk. *ὀρούω* 'stürme los,' Skt. *árvā* 'runner,' etc. (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 483). So also Lat. *strūō*, Goth. *straujan*: Skt. *stṛṇṓti*, and others.—§ 183, b. Goth. *weiha* does not necessarily represent a pre-Germ. **μeikō*, but may simply be a restoration of the normal type. This is certainly often the case in Goth. To ON. *vega* 'kämpfen, töten' add OE. *wegan* 'kill,' *ge-wegan* 'fight,' OHG. *wīgant, ubar-wihit,* MHG. *wehen* 'kämpfen.' See also other examples of the restoration of the normal type, *Germ. Studies* II, 13 f. An example of this is probably Goth. *qiman,* OHG. *queman.* In this case as in others the normal type may have originated in the inf., which was formed independently from the verb-stem. So certainly also Goth. *sitan* produced *sita,* whereas, in the other dialects, **sitjō* produced **sitjan* (cf. Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gram.* 286).—§ 186, c. Goth. *waldan* 'walten' is a very doubtful example for the suffix *-dho-* in view of the pret. ON. *olla.* On the other hand Goth. *haldan* is beyond question from a *-to-* suffix, as is plain from OHG. *halthan,* OSw. *halla.*

§ 196. 'Die sog. reduplicierten perfekta ohne reduplikation' are explained according to the old theory as coming from earlier reduplicated perfects. So ON., OE. *hēt* are supposed to be from Germ. **héhait* on the assumption that intervocalic *h* fell out at an early period. But OE. *heht* shows rather that the stem vowel fell out first. Moreover **hehait*

> **hehāt* > **he(h)at* could not give OE. *hēt* but rather **hēot*. Compare OE. *bēot* 'promise; vow; boast' < **be(h)ᵛ̈at*; *þēon* < **þīhan*, etc. Germ. **héhait* > ON. *hēt* is equally improbable.

The objections raised against the explanation given by Brugmann, *IF.* VI, 89ff., and by myself, *Germ. Studies* II, 27 ff., are, as far as my explanation is concerned, based on a total misconception. To waste no time, let me briefly state my present view, which will not differ materially from that given by me in the article referred to.

I divide these verbs into five classes represented by Goth. (1) *skaidan*, (2) *stautan*, (3) *haldan*, (4) *lētan*, (5) *hwōpan*. The first three classes correspond to the first three series of ablauting verbs. The fourth class also has in it forms that properly belong to the first ablaut-series. The fifth class is composite, and in N. and W. Germ. follows one of the other classes.

In Goth. these verbs had a reduplicated perfect. In the other dialects there are a few remnants of the same formation. But instead of them we usually find a pret. without reduplication. This goes back to an imperfect or aorist. Thus we have for the ablaut of class (2) *au; eu* (*u*); *au*, in which *au* is from *əu* or *ou*, and *eu* from *ēu* or *eu*. So ON. *hlaupa; hljōp*, *hljōpum* (*hlupum*); *hlaupinn*.

All that was necessary to establish this type was the occurrence side by side of two formations; one with Germ. *au*, the other with *eu*. If the *eu*- formation was prominent, it naturally developed into a regular verb of the second ablaut-series. If, however, the *au*- formation was the stronger, then the pret. was either a reduplicated perf. or an imperfect of the normal type, that is, from *hlaupan* would be formed **hehlaup* or **hleup*.

The side by side occurrence of the *au*- (*əu* or *ou*) and *eu*- types is proved by the following: OE. *ā-hnēapan*, *-hnēop* 'pluck': Goth. *dishniupan*, *-hnaup* 'tear'; OE. **on-rēadan*, *on-rēod*: *rēodan*, ON. *rjōða*, Gk. ἐρεύθω 'redden'; OE. **hēafan*, *hēof*: *hēofan*, Goth. *hiufan* 'lament,' Skt. *cṓpati* 'bewegt sich;' OE. *hēawan*, *hēow* 'hew, cut,' ChSl. *kovati* 'hauen': Lat. *cūdō* 'strike, beat,' Skt. *cṓdati* 'treibt an' < **qeudeti;* ON. *būa*, *bjō* 'dwell': Skt. *bhávati* 'arise, become.' In this way arose the ablaut *au*, *eu*, *au*, which is quite well preserved in N. and W. Germ.

Similarly from Germ. *haldan* came a reduplicated perf., as in Goth. *haihald*, and an imperfect **held*, which gave the pret. in the other dialects. The double formation *haldan*: **heldan* necessary to form this type is beyond question. So as follows:

ON. *halda*, *hell* < **helþ*, *helt*: Gk. κέλομαι; OSw. *halpa*, ON. *hjalp* < **help:* OE. *helpan;* Gk. πάλλω 'shake,' ON. *falla*, *fell* 'fall': Lat. *pellō;* OHG. *walzan:* ON. *velta;* OHG. *wallan:* ON. *vella;* OHG. *walkan:* Lith. *vél-ti* 'walken'; OHG. *waltan:* Lith. *veldu;* OHG. *scaltan: sceltan;* OHG. *spaltan:* OE. *speld* 'splinter'; Goth. imv. *us-stagg:* OE. *stingan;* OSw. *varþa:* ON. *verða* 'werden'; ON. *ganga*, *gekk* < **ging*, *gingom:* Lith. *żengiù* 'schreite,' and perhaps also OHG. *gingēn* 'wonach verlangen'; OS. *blandan:* Lith. *blendžiu̇̃s*, etc.

Here we have the ablaut *a*, *e* (*i*), *a*, which is retained in ON. In WG. this was modified by the other classes. In OHG. the five classes were reduced to two,—no. 5 being modeled after 2, and nos. 1, 3, 4 falling together.

As to the Germ. ablaut *ai*, *ē* (< *ēi*), *ai* in class 1, I consider that proved and not invented *ad hoc*, as any one must see who attentively reads the articles referred to above.

For class 4, Goth. *lētan*, it is certainly admissible to assume a Germ. ablaut *ǣ*, *ē*, *ǣ* if we allow the ablaut *ē*(*i*): *ēi*. But even if this ablaut were not allowed, it can be shown that synonymous stems of the type *lēdo-* and *lēido-* occur. And where they are found in one language, it would be strange indeed if they did not supplement each other. For many examples see Hirt, *Idg. Ablaut*, 70 ff.

In the fifth class also there is evidence for the ablaut *ō*: *ē* (< *ēi*) which is presupposed by ON. *blōta*: *blētt*(*om*), though the original ablaut has, in the other dialects, been obliterated through regular phonetic change and by analogy.

In evidence of the ablaut *ō*: *ēi* compare the following: OE. *spōwan* 'succeed,' OHG. *spuot* 'success': ChSl. *spějǫ* 'succeed,' Lith. *spėju* 'musse, raum haben,' Skt. *sphāyate* 'wird

feist'; OE. *glōwan* 'glow,' *glōm* 'gloom': Lith. *žlėjà* 'dämmerung,' *žlėjůti* 'dämmern'; OE. *blōwan* 'bloom,' OHG. *bluojan* 'blühen': *blājan* 'blähen, blasen.'

In these five classes, therefore, the pret. was formed with *eu*, *e*, *ē*. In ON. these were kept distinct. In the other dialects they were somewhat confused. In what way I have explained in my article *The Redup. Verbs in Germ.*, to which I refer for a more extended discussion of this subject.

The establishment of verbal types is considered below in connection with the strong verbs.

§ 205. The discussion of participles is not altogether satisfactory. One might infer from it that the IE. mother-tongue had a fully developed verbal system, with a full set of participles, of which Germ. had inherited some and lost others. The fact of the case is, participles are simply specialized adjectives, and those suffixes which most frequently form verbal adjectives are naturally most often found as participle suffixes. That is, in this specialized use they became productive. It is, therefore, begging the question to say that Goth. *bērusjōs* 'eltern' and *weitwōps* 'zeuge' are remnants of a perf. act. part. This, to be sure, is the usual explanation. But the fact that the suffixes in these words formed participles in other languages is no proof that they were ever productive enough in Germ. to form participles. We are also not warranted in saying that the medio-passive part. in *meno-* is 'erloschen' in Germ. With equal right we might say that the part. suf. *-ono-*, *-eno-*, so common in Germ., had died out in Gk., since it does not occur in the Gk. verbal system, though common enough in other functions. But the real explanation is that it did not gain a footing as a participle. It is, therefore, simply preposterous to think of the various suffixes forming participles in the different IE. languages as the direct inheritance of IE. part. suffixes. It is not at all probable that the author intended to convey any such meaning. But to prevent any one from making such an inference, a statement should begin the section calling attention to the common origin of verbal adjectives and participles.

§ 214. The strong verb receives the usual treatment. Here again the learner is apt to get wrong views. He will perhaps imagine that the wonderful regularity of the Germ. strong verb faithfully represents the IE. archetype. This, however, is far from being the case. The very regularity is *prima facie* evidence that we have in the six ablaut-classes (to omit the so-called reduplicating verbs) types which have spread far beyond their original boundaries. In other words, the multiformity of earlier times gave way to a few well-established types. In these types ablaut became a distinctive tense-mark, and therefore tended to remove other tense-signs. We speak, therefore, of ablauting verbs in Germ. in a sense in which we could not use that term in Gk., where a richly developed tense-system has made ablaut of less importance than in Germ.

Into these ablaut-classes, then, were crowded verbs which primarily had no ablaut, or at least not as it occurred in the verbal system. That is, these ablaut-classes became types according to which the verbs coinciding in one or more forms were conjugated. Hence a verb readily fell from one ablaut-series to another as soon as any change occurred which made it externally like the other. A notable example of this is the Germ. verb **þīhō* < **þinhō* < pre-Germ. **téŋqō*. This in OE. has forms belonging to three ablaut-series: pret. plur. *þungon*, part. *þungen* (third series); pret. sing. *þāh*, plur. *þigon*, part. *þigen* (first series); pres. inf. *þēon*, pret. sing. *þeah*, plur. *þugon*, part. *þogen* (second series). Only those forms belonging to the third series are phonetically descended from the pre-Germ. forms. All the other forms are the result of the carrying out of types which this verb, through regular phonetic change, came to resemble. So the forms of the first ablaut-series followed the original OE. **þīhan*, as in Goth. *þeihan*. But when this form regularly became *þēon*, and thus fell in line with the second series, it brought in its train the other forms of that series.

In a work of this kind it would not be out of place to point out cases of 'entgleisung,' which is not always done. It would be possible, indeed, for a single verb stem to appear in

Germ. in five different ablaut-series. Thus a base *seu̯eko-* might produce *séuko-* > Germ. **seuhan* (second series); *su̯éko-* > Germ. **swehan* (fifth series); *su̯ókо-* (or *su̯okó-*) > Germ. **swahan* (or **swagan*) (sixth series); and, with nasal infix, *su̯énko-* > Germ. **swīhan* (first series); by the side of which might appear *su̯enkó-* > Germ. **swingan* (third series). Moreover, the same stem might have in Germ. the forms **swēhan*, **swōhan*, **swangan*, and, thus falling among the so-called reduplicating verbs, give three more types, to say nothing of the various weak verbs that might be derived from it.

§ 220. Goth. *bliggwan* should not be given under the third series. It is only graphically like *siggwan*. It does not contain a nasal and is, therefore, unlike any verb of the third series.—§ 236. ON. *hrīna* 'schreien; berühren' should be entered as two distinct verbs: one connected with ON. *hreimr* 'geschrei,' *hrīka* 'knirschen,' Gk. *κρίζω*, etc. (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 194); the other with OE., OS. *hrīnan* 'touch,' Skt. *çrīṇāti* 'mengt, mischt, kocht,' *çrāyati* 'kocht,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v.).—§ 287. OHG. **zwehhan*, from which *gizuochana* 'tristis,' is probably related to OE. *tūcian* 'ill-treat,' Lith. *daužiù* 'stosse.'—Anm. 2. Neither OHG. **klënan* 'kleben' nor **lëchan* 'leck werden' belongs, "ihrer stammbildung nach," to the fourth class. The former has gone over from the first series to the fifth, the *ë* representing an original *i*. Compare ON. *klīna* 'smear,' wk. verb, OE. *clām* 'mud, paste,' etc. In **lëchan* we have an inchoative to ON. *leka* 'leck sein.'

§ 303. Under the *i̯ē-* suffix should be explained its further spread in WG., especially in *u-* stems and in the pres. part.—§ 305, 5. Goth. *-(n)assus* is not enough to explain OHG. *-nussi*, *-nissi*, *-nissa*, *-nassī*, etc. These can not all be reduced to *-at-tu* <*-ad-tu-*, nor is it necessary to do so. Beside the suffix *-ad-* occur in Germ. *-ud-* and *-id-*, which combined with *-tu-* or *-ti-* or some other suffix with initial *-t-* would produce the forms that occur. —§ 310. ON. *þrō*, OE. *þrūh* 'kiste, sarg' can hardly be called root-nouns. I derive them from the root *tu̯er-*, Lith. *tvérti* 'fassen, zäunen,' etc., and compare with Gk. *ταρπός* 'basket,' *θάρπος* 'chest' <**tu̯rq̑u̯o-*, Lith. *tvarka* 'haltung, ordnung, fassung,' OHG. *drūh* 'compes, pedica, fessel' < **tu̯r̥-q̑u̯(i)-*, MHG. *driuhen* 'fangen, fesseln,' etc. (cf. *AJP.* xx, 265).—In general it may be said that the "Stammbildung der Nomina" should be more fully treated. Strange to say, no mention is made of accent.

But to take no more space—the book will prove serviceable and meet with a welcome among all interested in Germanic philology.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

La Tulipe Noire by ALEXANDRE DUMAS, edited by Prof. E. S. LEWIS. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1900.

ON opening *La Tulipe Noire*, edited by Prof. Lewis, teachers who have lately been reading his careful reviews in MOD. LANG. NOTES, expected a book which would establish a higher standard for future annotators. They must have been somewhat disappointed.

His grammatical notes are by far too numerous and would dishearten any student. It would be very interesting to know the number of scholars who look up those references on their own account and of teachers who oblige their pupils to do so.

His way of referring back to dictionaries for the translation of idioms is another discouraging feature. After the student has been repeatedly disappointed in his attempts to be enlightened by the notes, he considers it a waste of time to read them and directly opens his dictionary.

Besides, it will be seen by the following list that the proof was read with a certain amount of carelessness:

Page 5, line 18, *que* should be *qui;* p. 13, l. 13, *nn*, *un;* p. 15, l. 11, *veritable*, *véritable;* p. 25, l. 7, *dele* the dash; p. 32, l. 25, *au-delà*, *au delà* (cf. p. 91, l. 22, and p. 237, l. 17); p. 36, l. 2, *detente*, *détente;* p. 40, l. 22, *tressaillera*, *tressaillira;* p. 40, l. 27, *ban*, *van;* p. 65, l. 10, *eut*, *eût;* p. 79, l. 26, *dele* the comma after *et;* p. 79, l. 31, *le*, *la;* p. 81, l. 4, *qui*, *que;* p. 81, l. 15, *c'etait*, *c'était;* p. 82, l. 20, supply a dash at the beginning of the line; p. 86, ll. 15 and 29, *résolûment*, *résolument* (cf. Bevier, *Gr.* § 120,

b.); p. 91, l. 2, *cleménce*, *clémence;* p. 99, l. 24, *je* is omitted after *que;* p. 102, l. 21, supply a comma after *que* and *dele* the one after *Cornélius;* p. 104, l. 7, supply a question mark; p. 104, l. 31, *manqné*, *manqué;* p. 105, l. 2, *notre*, *votre*. The proof that it cannot be *notre* is seen on p. 107, l. 25, where Cornelius says; "Cet homme peut devenir *votre* mari"; p. 105, l. 11, *seul*, *seule;* p. 107, l. 1, *bon homme*, *bonhomme;* p. 107, l. 13, *presageait*, *présageait;* p. 111, l. 27, *mau vaise*, *mauvaise;* p. 117, l. 20, *prissonnier*, *prisonnier;* p. 117, l. 21, *contre-poids*, *contrepoids;* p. 123, l. 9, replace ! by ?; p. 138, l. 8, *au dessus de*, *au-dessus de;* p. 139, l. 9, *dele* the dash; p. 142, l. 24, *dele et;* p. 144, l. 28, supply a question mark; p. 144, l. 29, *fais*, *faisais;* p. 145, l. 11, *amez*, *aimez;* p. 156, l. 11, *s'entr' ouv- riraient*, *s'entr' ou-vriraient;* p. 159, l. 24, *côte*, *côté;* p. 160, l. 18, *dele* the question mark; p. 162, l. 29, *commence a*, *commence à;* p. 171, l. 19, supply *de* after *pot;* p. 181, l. 4, *cacho*, *cachot;* p. 185, l. 4, *des-cendit* ought to be *de-scendit* according to etymology, but the former seems to be the most desirable for the sake of pronunciation (see dictionaries); p. 208, l. 8, *criminal*, *criminel;* p. 210, l. 16, *ignorant*, *ignorait;* p. 214, l. 7, *abime*, *abîme;* p. 222, l. 29, *dele* the question mark; p. 223, l. 30, *aujourd'-hui*, *aujour-d'hui;* p. 228, ll. 19 and 20, *réglement*, *règlement* (cf. p. 222, ll. 2 and 4, where we read: *règlement* and *Dict. de l'Académie Française*, 1852); p. 233, l. 14, *epaules*, *épaules;* p. 239, l. 14, *vouz*, *vous;* p. 240, l. 11, *dele* the comma after *voûte;* p. 247, l. 13, *proclaimera*, *proclamera;* p. 247, l. 15, supply a comma after *lui;* p. 287, note p. 17. 17. b, *precaution*, *précaution;* p. 289, note 32, 1, *negligeant*, *négligeant;* p. 301, note 39, 14, *republicains*, *républicains;* p. 303, note 43.7, *dele here;* p. 304, note 45, 16. b. *abreviation*, *abbreviation;* p. 306, note 51.3, *éxécuté*, *exécuté*, p. 304, note 55.10, *dans le*, *dans la;* p. 326, note 122.22: in the last sentence, supply *faire* between *vous* and *suivre;* p. 331, note 163.27, *Saint Preux*, *Saint-Preux;* p. 344, note 210, 21, *arretât*, *arrêtât;* p. 352, bottom of the page, and p. 363, at the top, *Être suprème*, *Être suprême;* p. 358, in the note on *Julie*, read *Jean-Jacques* and *bosquet* instead of *Jean Jacques* and *bouquet;* p. 373, the present of the indicative of *absoudre* is *j'absous*, not *j'absouds;* p. 378, the second person plural of the present of the indicative of *envoyer* is *envoyez;* p. 380, in the sentence: "also its compound *émouvoir* with however no accent on the past participle," supply *circumflex* between *no* and *accent;* p. 382, the present of the indicative of *résoudre* is: *je résous*, *tu résous*, *il résout*, and the imperative: *résous* and not: *je résouds*, etc.; p. 384, read *viendrais* (conditional of *venir*). Not initially, *la Haye* is written with a small *l* except in a few passages: p. 95, ll. 23 and 25; p. p. 204, l. 9; p. 216, l. 20. *Bible* is spelled with a capital everywhere, except p. 213, l. 13. *Caieu* is written with *i* except on page 30, l. 21, where the spelling is *cayeux*. P. 22, l. 28, the plural *joies* looks strange.

The following notes are open to criticism:

Page 272: the note on page 5, l. 25 a, seems to be unsatisfactory. The editor was misled by the exclamation point. The passage can easily be explained in this way: *quoique distrait que c'est miracle = quoique distrait (à un tel point) que c'est un miracle.*

Page 286, note 17.6: the statement about the old plural forms: *ans* and *ens* is incomplete. If the student remembers it, he will be puzzled by the spelling of *cents* on p. 115, l. 29, and p. 239, l. 21, and of *dents* on p. 149, l. 26. It should be noticed that the few modern writers who stick to that obsolete rule, do not apply it in monosyllabic words except in *gens*. Cf. *La Revue des Deux-Mondes*, *passim*.

Darmesteter says in his *Cours de Grammaire Générale:* "Il convient de rappeler que de nos jours la *Revue des Deux-Mondes* par un caprice d'archaïsme qui ne va pas sans un peu de pédantisme, a conservé l'ancien pluriel des noms en *-ant*, *-ent* en faisant tomber le *t* devant l's."

The editor ought to have modernized Dumas' text for the benefit of American students all the more because the very works in which this old rule is applied when they appear in *La Revue des Deux-Mondes*, have the modern spelling when they come out in book shape. It is simply a hobby of a magazine.

The editor should have also modernized the spelling of the words in which the last edition of the Dictionary of the French Academy

(1878) rightly replaces the acute accent by the grave, or have explained that he did not wish to make any change in the text of A. Dumas. If so, why did he not keep the hyphen after *très?* The student ought to have been warned that such words as *piége*, p. 29, l. 12; p. 92, l. 25; p. 138, l. 4; p. 226, l. 6;—*manége*, p. 112, l. 24; p. 140, l. 29;—*cortége*, p, 244, l. 12; p. 247, l. 9; p. 248, ll. 15 and 17;—*siége*, p. 248, l. 19; —*complétement*, p. 32, l. 1; p. 41, l. 15; p. 45, l. 25; p. 58, l. 11; p. 72, l. 31:—*privilége*, p. 147, l. 17, are now written with a grave accent so as to harmonize spelling and pronunciation. Notice the modern spelling in *complètement*, p. 74, l. 2.

P. 318: the note on p. 93.30 could have been shortened and this statement: "The French sentence would be more satisfactory if *ils* was dropped and if the comma was placed before *pigeons* instead of after it" might have been added. Cf. *La Tulipe Noire*, edited by C. Fontaine, p. 91, l. 18, and the example of Bevier, *Gr.* § 191, a (Heath and Co.).

P. 322: the end of the note on p. 105.14 seems to be misleading. The reader may infer that a French verb can be used twice in the same clause.

P. 330, note p. 152.9: here the editor makes too general a statement which disagrees with the facts. There are many examples in the very best writers where *amours* although meaning *love* is masculine. Cf. Clédat, *Grammaire raisonnée de la Langue Française*, p. 108.

Moreover, we have an example in this very text: *amours* is feminine on p. 133, l. 23: "la jeune fille ou la tulipe, ses deux amours *brisées*"; but is masculine on p. 165, l. 4, where, speaking again of Rosa and the flower, Dumas wrote: "peut-être en ce moment, mes deux amours se caressent-*ils* sous le regard de Dieu."

P, 332, note p. 166.10: the meaning is not ambiguous. The first translation is the only possible one.

P. 342, note p 242.1: *Les deux Teniers* is not an exception and the rules referred to in the different grammars do not apply to this case for the very good reason that the name is *Teniers* in the singular and not *Tenier*.

P. 343, note 243.28: the meaning of this passage would be plainer if we were told that it is an allusion to the eleventh stanza of the song: *Les Bohémiens* by Béranger:

> Voir c'est avoir. Allons courir.
> Vie errante
> Est chose enivrante.
> Voir c'est avoir. Allons courir;
> Car tout voir, c'est tout conquérir.

P. 319, note 94.28: the editor refers to the Alphabetical List where nothing is found about *Le corbeau du savetier romain.*

A person adorning himself with what does not belong to him is sometimes in French referred to as *la corneille de la fable* or *la corneille d'Esope*. Cf. the word *corneille* in Littré.

The word *savetier* is more troublesome. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that Dumas, having a slight recollection that among the characters of Phædrus' fables there are a raven and a cobbler, took upon himself to allude to a fable which does not really exist and made "la corneille de la fable" "le corbeau du savetier romain." If he had wished to allude to Phædrus as a *savetier*, "sutor fabularum," he would have used the adjective *latin* instead of *romain*. A last criticism is that the pronunciation of the numerous foreign proper words ought to have been given.

The introduction is a redeeming feature: it is not too long and is to the point.

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I am grateful for the thoroughness with which Mr. François has reviewed my edition of *La Tulipe Noire*, and the corrections that appeal to me will be made at the first opportunity that shall present itself. Misprints can easily be overlooked, and can be overlooked even in the correction of such misprints, as, for example, in the above list: p. 25, l. 7, is wrong, as there is no dash to be omitted in this line; p. 32, l. 25, should read p. 32, l. 15; p. 237, l. 17, is also wrong; p. 289 should read p. 298.

I shall consider the above review under two heads, dealing, first, with the general criticism contained in Mr. François' second and third

paragraphs, and, secondly, with his various emendations.

If any student has been in the habit of seeking in the notes out-and-out translations of passages, and has been induced, by my notes, to "directly open his dictionary," I consider that I have attained one of the ends I had in view. I do not translate idioms, but refer to dictionaries, I give grammatical notes and explanations, so as to induce the student to think for himself and to depend on the notes not as a means to remove every obstacle, but as a help. To quote from my preface:

"Difficulties should not be wholly removed from the pupil's path, but he may legitimately be assisted in overcoming these difficulties, and this is the object of the accompanying notes. If a student intelligently understands a passage, he need not refer to the notes; if he meets some obscure expression, he will find assistance in the notes, though it will generally be such assistance as will require thought and study on his part. He will thus be compelled to think for himself, and will thereby derive that discipline which should result from the study of a foreign tongue, and he will, furthermore, obtain a better and more satisfactory appreciation of the language itself."

These notes were prepared for teachers who believe them desirable at a certain stage of language study. That they have appealed to many, is evidenced by various letters of approval recently received. Such editing is needed, and I only hope that other teachers will be induced to undertake it. They can readily improve on my own work.

I am not defending my own edition of *La Tulipe Noire*, but do claim that this sort of annotation is useful, and appeals to many teachers, especially to those who are preparing men for our colleges. These students need a firm foundation on which to build the superstructure added during the three or four college years. I grant that such an edition would fall flat in classes taught by the natural method. Mr. François should have done more than merely state that "the grammatical notes are by far too numerous." He should have said that grammatical notes are useless, that a list of subjunctives is uncalled for, that it is energy wasted to call attention to every irregular verb in the text, that the explanation of literary and historical allusions is not needed in beginning classes, and that an alphabetical list of grammatical notes represents so much time and paper wasted. These parts stand or fall together, as they represent a certain system of annotation, and Mr. François should have condemned them all, and have thus placed himself squarely in the ranks of teachers who want few notes and mainly notes giving more or less literal translations of all difficult or awkward passages. He would find himself in excellent company, and texts, edited as he would have them edited, are needed, if only from the fact that many good teachers approve of them.

I shall consider now a few of the most important special points.

Mr. François would have me change Dumas' spelling, so as to agree with the latest edition of the dictionary of the French Academy. This might be done, but to my mind, would be unwise, except for spellings that are decidedly incorrect, or were so at the time when Dumas wrote. Nor do I think it wise to change the punctuation and phraseology, as Mr. François suggests, except in distinct cases of misprint. How would Mr. François divide *descendit?* Some choice must be made. As to the spelling of "harquebus" (p. 309), I place the authority of the Century Dictionary against that of Webster. On p. 105, l. 2, I do not see any special reason for changing Dumas' *notre* to *votre* before *dot*, as this *dot* consisted of the prize to be awarded van Baerle's black tulip, and I cannot follow Mr. François in his subsequent reasoning, for *votre*, on p. 107, l. 25, could not be *notre*, since M. Jacob cannot well be the husband of both Cornelius and Rosa. P. 272: *quoique distrait, que c'est miracle!* means "though absent-minded (how wonderful!)," the meaning being that the fact of van Baerle's absent-mindedness during these stirring times was strange. I cannot admit Mr. François' explanation, and I believe *que c'est miracle!* to be a parenthetical clause. P. 286: It might be well to insert the word "polysyllabic" before "words" in my note. P. 318: Mr. François' explanation is not sufficient for the case in hand: he shows how Dumas' wording could be improved, but does not explain the sentence actually used. P. 322: "To supply a verb" (the term used in

my note) is an expression commonly employed to indicate the insertion of what might be called an "imaginary" verb. P. 330: The uncertain gender in these examples is doubtless owing to Dumas' carelessness; the question is whether a change should be made to conform to the usual rule. P. 332: Dumas' meaning is somewhat confused. The first rendering I give may be the better grammatically, but the second appeals more to my sense of chivalry. P. 342: This is an error on my part. This word is spelled correctly in the list of allusions, on p. 364, except for the fact that I must correct both Mr. François and myself by placing and acute accent over the first *e* of *Teniers*. The grammatical reference I give might still apply here, but the result would be the same whether the rule were followed or not, owing to the final *s* in the singular. P. 319: This note was inserted when I was still hoping to find a satisfactory explanation of Dumas' allusion. Even now I entertain this hope, though I am well nigh convinced that Dumas has confused two or more stories or fables.

I again thank Mr. François for calling attention to changes which he thinks should be made in my text. I hope other teachers will do as much. These suggestions will be thankfully received, and will be followed whenever they are shown to be for the best. We must all depend on such help from our fellow teachers, especially where there is so much detail, and consequently so many opportunities for misprints and even misstatements.

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GERMAN GRAMMAR.

The Elements of German, by H. C. BIERWIRTH, Ph. D. Henry Holt & Co., New York: 1900. 8vo, viii + 277 pp.

IN every feature this new German Grammar bears the stamp of thorough scholarship and of pedagogical skill. It is a work for which teachers of Grammar can have only words of hearty commendation. The author has given us a book for beginners in which a correct guiding principle has been consistently adhered to. At every step he has carefully studied and sought to anticipate the actual difficulties which confront the average English-speaking person at the beginning of his study of German. The task, a difficult one at best, of suppressing minor details and presenting only those facts which are fundamental and essential, has been, on the whole, well done, although the author might with advantage have gone further.

The book is divided into three parts: grammar, word-lists, and exercises. The grammar is not only a fresh and original presentation of the subject, but an eminently practical one as well. The definitions are models of clearness and precision, and are illustrated by a wealth of simple and carefully selected examples. The liberal use of full-faced type in paradigms and examples will facilitate both study and reference. A distinct advantage, too, is gained by a number of departures from tradition in the order of the various subjects and in the relative space devoted to each.

The chapter on pronunciation is exceedingly brief and on a few points fails in clearness. The statement in § 3, "*fz* = *f* and *z*, sounded like *ss* in *hiss*, and therefore more commonly represented by *ss* than by *sz*," is hazy. Guttural *ch* is described, §25, in a manner inaccurate and little calculated to aid in gaining an idea of the correct way to make the sound.— It must be a slip of the pen when the author says, §44, that bilabial *w* is made with the lower lip touching the upper lip.

Nouns are divided into four classes, the terms strong and weak being discarded. In other respects, however, Dr. Bierwirth does not depart from the usual classification. No space is devoted to gender, doubtless on account of the uselessness to a beginner of most of the rules relating to this subject.

Nouns are followed by pronouns, an arrangement that certainly seems advantageous. The principal reason for it is that certain pronominal adjectives, for example, *dieser*, *jener*, etc., furnish a better model of strong inflection than does the definite article. A general discussion of strong and weak endings precedes the possessive pronouns. It is clear and precise, and being printed in columns presents the subject with great vividness. Exception may be taken only to the misuse of the word

"ending" in § 130, where it is applied to the uninflected forms of *ein*, *kein*, and the possessives. The possessives, always difficult for the beginner and seldom clearly presented by our grammars, are handled very cleverly by Dr. Bierwirth. He makes a clear distinction between the possessive as adjective and as pronoun, gives full paradigms of the possessive with following noun, and employs the device of parallel columns to exhibit the differences between the three substantive forms. Relative pronouns have in this book their only logical position; namely, after the interrogatives. A summary of all the various kinds of pronouns in tabular form, § 205, ought to prove helpful to the student.

Parallel columns again find effective use in exhibiting adjective inflection. But it is difficult to see why four "types" are distinguished instead of three. Type IV, so far as *inflection* is concerned, does not differ in any respect from Type I. Another inaccuracy is noticed in the application of the term "suffix" to the ending *-ens* in *bestens*, *erstens*, etc., §263.

The arrangement of verb paradigms is that which is unquestionably the soundest from the practical or pedagogical point of view. All the simple forms, including imperative, infinitive and participles, are given before the compound forms. The modal auxiliaries receive unusually careful and explicit treatment. They are preceded by some helpful paragraphs on the difficulties arising from the anomalies in the English modals. In his discussion of strong verbs the author wisely cuts loose entirely from the historical basis and aims to give only what the beginner needs. Strangely enough, in view of this practical policy, no alphabetical list of strong verbs is given.

Syntax is disposed of in remarkably brief space (16 pages). Particular attention is given only to those matters in which the German idiom differs most decidedly from the English, the subjunctive being the only subject to receive extended discussion.

A relatively large space is devoted to the order of words. Here every detail receives attention, and every rule is fully illustrated by well-chosen examples. Great clearness and vividness are secured by arranging the rules for normal and inverted order, together with the examples, in parallel columns, with subject and verb always printed in full-faced type.

The principal distinguishing feature of the book is, however, to be found in the second part, which consists of lists of the most common words. In fact, these lists, which were Dr. Bierwirth's starting-point, are in a certain sense the centre of the whole work, for the author endeavors at every point to give greatest prominence to that which is most usual. In the preparation of the lists, Dr. Bierwirth first made a careful selection of material from texts commonly read in the earlier stages of our German courses. He then went through the mass of material, and "registered the number of times every word, and every significant construction or idiom connected with it occurred."

It is difficult to see what place such word-lists can assume in elementary instruction. The author makes no claim for them, as he has not yet tested them. If he makes a test, as we have a right to expect, publication of the results will certainly be awaited with interest.

Following these lists are a number of "stem-groups." Of the value of these there can be no question. The study of relationships can hardly begin too early. Indeed, more or less of such grouping will be done unconsciously and blindly by every student. Bierwirth is to be commended for this excellent application of the principles of association along a line heretofore neglected by our grammars. Every word in these groups is accompanied by its English translation, while with most of the groups one English cognate is printed in small capitals. This is, however, neglected for the groups *fangen*, *greifen*, *kommen*, *lassen*, *Mitte*.

The exercises, like the grammar, are based on the word-lists. They aim to familiarize the student with what is most common, and hence with what is most important and practical for him. For the attainment of this purpose they certainly offer abundant and varied material. Not only are the individual exercises exceedingly long, although few in number, but the proportion of space occupied by the exercises to the total bulk of the book is unusually great. They contain, to be sure, many sen-

tences of the conventional type, but that can scarcely be regarded as a blemish. It is doubtful whether sentences intended to illustrate and emphasize grammatical rules can be made anything more than probable. At the same time there are scattered through these exercises many bits of dialogue and of description which contain information concerning various phases of German life, and which the well-informed teacher can make very interesting.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

TRANSVERSE ALLITERATION AGAIN.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—It had naturally occurred to me, in connection with my article on "Transverse Alliteration" in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, that my conclusions might not be accepted by all. I had hardly anticipated, however, any great difficulty in understanding the position of my critic, and am therefore much puzzled by Professor Lewis's article in the last issue of MOD. LANG. NOTES. According to his first paragraph I have exposed Frucht's error "clearly enough"; according to the third, I have strengthened his argument. In the next to the last paragraph a position is assumed for Frucht for which there is no authority, and finally I infer that Professor Lewis agrees with the opinion regarding transverse alliteration which I expressed at the end of my paper, though quite at variance with that of Frucht. These inconsistencies I am utterly unable to reconcile on the basis of serious criticism, though I trust this will not prejudice the serious treatment which I shall attempt to give his article. If Professor Lewis agrees with Horn and Frucht I cannot reconcile certain statements that he makes. If with Lachmann, Rieger, and Vetter, we do not differ, than neither of us need waste time on comparatively insignificant details.

The two points in Professor Lewis's article which seem to require it may be answered at once. He accuses me of showing, "by example the dangers of introducing the mathematics of probabilities into philological studies," and then tries to prove that Frucht's original ratio of accidental occurrence of initials in the alliterative line is far too small, the true ratio being 1 : 9 33/100.

In this, I may say at once, he takes no account of certain elements, pointed out in my original article, which vitiate any such results as truly as they did those of Frucht. These are the different number of words beginning with each initial in the language as a whole, and naturally in the vocabulary of the poet. Nor does Professor Lewis make any attempt to dispose of these facts.

But Professor Lewis's argument for a new ratio shows a far more fundamental error. The ratio of Frucht rests upon the assumption that the poet composed his line, up to the fourth stressed sylable at least, with regard to meaning of words and context as we should expect, and without regard to mere chance in respect to initials. He states no such assumption, it is true, but only on this basis can his use of mathematics be understood. Professor Lewis assumes that mere chance accounts for the initials of all of the four stressed syllables of the alliterative line, for only on this assumption can his ratio be obtained. Now this assumption rests upon the more fundamental one that meaning and context had nothing whatever to do with the choice of words, for only when such considerations are entirely elminated can mere chance have full scope. It is needless to say that the poet has usually been granted some choice of the two alliterative words necessary to each line, and is believed to have chosen one with some reference to the other. There is no evidence that Frucht ever dreamed of such an absurd assumption, though he was still in error in arguing that mere chance could intervene at the fourth stressed syllable when it did not affect the choice of words in the greater part of the line. Yet on the basis of this entirely new assumption, wholly without foundation in fact or in the discussion hitherto, Professor Lewis

accuses me of neglecting absolutely necessary factors in the investigation.

For all practical purposes we may deny at once the fundamental assumption on which the doctrine of probabilities is applied to the problem. That all things are equally possible can not be true of alliteration, since number of words beginning with each initial, and especially choice of words as to meaning and context insuperably stand in the way. It was, indeed, only because the reasoning of Frucht had been adopted by such an accurate scholar as Sievers, that it seemed worth while to treat it seriously and expose its fallacy in various ways. On this account alone I undertook to show the *reductio ad absurdum* by examining the initial of the fourth stressed syllable in other cases than the one in dispute. If chance, as Frucht assumed, affected the fourth syllable in the alliterative line, it must have affected the same syllable in every other line, and an examination of the inevitable results of this assumption is not "inapplicable because it introduces an entirely different kind of reasoning." Indeed, Professor Lewis shows that he does not consider it inapplicable, by arguing later against my statistics as merely showing "runs of luck." The evident inconsistency of the two positions may be passed over, but it remains with Professor Lewis to prove his assertion regarding the latter. The examples were selected at random and in sufficient numbers to satisfy myself, and Professor Lewis's assertion, unsupported by facts, does not disturb me. When he presents such facts it will be time enough to ask that he establish his position regarding the applicability of the theory of probabilities to such a problem, by proving that mere chance accounts for the initials of words in poetry or any other form of speech. Before that is done references to the throwing of dice are of no value, unless serving to illustrate the frequently fatal recourse to the argument from analogy.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.
Western Reserve University.

PETSCHAFT.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In his book "The Practical Study of Languages," p. 110, Sweet says of this word and of "Hornung": "To the present day I cannot remember having met with either of them in any Modern German book, still less of ever having heard them in conversation." This is an extraordinary statement. "Petschaft" occurs in Heine's "Reisebilder," a very popular text. See Heine's Werke, Hamburg, 1867, Vol. i, p. 26. As to its being used in the spoken language, I can testify that it is in common use in my home, Vilsen in the province of Hanover.[1]

H. C. G. BRANDT.
Hamilton College.

LYCIDAS 113 ff.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—A parallel to Milton's invective against the clergy occurs in Bale's characterization of John Capgrave (*Script. Illus.*, p. 582, translated):

"It was his wont to thunder against the wanton and arbitrary acts of prelates who enlargened the borders of their garments beyond measure, catching at the favor of the ignorant herd; not shepherds, but hirelings, who leave the sheep to the wolves, caring only for the milk and fleece; robbers of their country and evil workers, to whom truth is a burden, justice a thing to scorn, and cruelty a delight."

ALBERT S. COOK.
Yale University.

OBITUARY.

FITZEDWARD HALL, C.E., M.A., D.C.L., L.L.D.

FITZEDWARD HALL was born at Troy, N. Y., March 21, 1825, and died at Marlesford, England, February 1, 1901. He attended schools at Troy, Walpole, N. H., and Poughkeepsie, and took his first degree in 1842 at the Rensselaer Polytechnic. Joining the Harvard class of 1846, he had for associates Geo. F. Hoar, C. E. Norton, F. J. Child, Charles Short, G. M. Lane, and W. T. Harris. A

1 Also in Thuringia. H. K. S.

family exigency, by which he missed commencement but not graduation, took him to India, where he determined to convert an embarrassing delay into intellectual profit, and applied his marked tastes and aptitudes to the study of the native languages. After some teaching and newspaper-writing in Calcutta, he was, in 1850, appointed to a Professorship in the Government College at Benares, and afterwards filled different Inspectorships of Public Instruction. During the Sepoy Rebellion, he had some trying experiences in military service, but proved fully equal to them. In 1860, Oxford made him D. C. L. He had then written fluently in the several local tongues, as well as copiously in English; he had prepared not only school-books but editions of Sanskrit and Hindi authors and commentaries that still command the deference of Orientalists; he had translated from the languages and into them, and from one to another of them; he had collected rare manuscripts, which, with early issues of his books, he subsequently presented to Harvard; he had deciphered inscriptions, discovered lost literature, and lectured on Indian philosophy and civilization. In English, his interest and his extended reading had begun while he was a boy; at Harvard, he was quick at locating selections from English literature, had published translations from Modern Languages, including Romaic, and had made some progress in collecting notes on English usage; in India he published his Lauder's *Ane Compendious and Breve Tractate, etc.*, and his *Sir David Lyndesay's Works*. In 1862, he became resident professor of Sanskrit and Indian Jurisprudence in King's College, London, and Librarian of the East India Office; and, from 1854 to his death, he served as Examiner in the subjects of his special studies to the Civil Service Commissioner, having meanwhile removed to the Suffolk village of Marlesford, whence came the books and articles by which he is distinctively known to students of English and to some general readers. In 1895, he was made LLD. by his Alma Mater.

The list of Dr. Hall's books is not long; of such work by one man, of his kind and its kind, the list could not be long; it is, however, almost without parallel in the material and the personality it represents—the exhaustive service of a devotee without a rival in his life or a successor at his death. *Recent Exemplifications of False Philology* appeared in 1872; *Modern English*, in 1873, *On English Adjectives in-Able, with Especial Reference to Reliable*, in 1877; *Doctor Indoctus*, in 1880; *A Letter to the Editor of The Nation relative to Certain Slanders of the New York Evening Post*, in 1881; *Two Trifles:* I *A Rejoinder;* II *Scientist, with a Preamble*, in 1895. His literary activity, however, is very poorly indicated by this enumeration; he was all his life a correspondent of literary periodicals; and his special letters on questions of English philology, published in the *Academy*, *Nineteenth Century*, *Spectator*, *Statesman*, *Nation*, *Dial*, *American Journal of Philology*, MOD. LANG. NOTES, and elsewhere, would make several volumes. More recently, the growing demands of *The New English Dictionary* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, not to speak of his advancing years, necessarily reduced his direct and personal utterances; and he gratuitously diverted to those great undertakings the labors and the stores of which he recognized them as worthy; no doubt, too, he realized the privilege of thus permanently presenting to the world what he could not then hope otherwise to make so widely accessible. His contributions to these lexicons were from the first incomparable. Dr. Murray is reported to have said that, when needed information or authority could nowhere else be obtained, it was certain to be offered by Dr. Hall; and Dr. Hall's special collection of unrecorded peculiarties in the Suffolk dialect greatly exceed those previously recorded. Possibly, the shades of some American lexicographers are now lamenting the opportunities they lost in the flesh.

Dr. Hall's books are reports of English expression, discussions of English usage under the principles of linguistic life and growth, and exposures of imposture in English philology—these several aspects being based upon an extent of reading, an absorption of characteristics, an observation of facts, a comprehensiveness of memory, an untiring method of registration and verification, and a readi-

ness of application, that are without precedent in the prosecution of grammatical and lexical detail. Dr. Hall's unanswerable correction of pretentious error, while in reality only incidental, so far as individuals were concerned, was too frequently perverted into his main purpose; and he was called captious and unpatriotic, if not absolutely vindictive, by those who knew nothing of his laborious work in establishing grounds for exact criticism in English, too many professed Anglicists being included in the number. Dr. Hall was one of the kindliest of men; but he had too high a reverence for his charge to affect toleration for the dangerous influences of plausible presumption. To say that he had read everything in English of the last five hundred years would be absolutely an exaggeration, but not so relatively to the ordinary fashion of estimates; and the margin by which he fell short of such complete achievement is utterly insignificant by the side of that vast excess by which he surpassed what any one man might be expected to do in a lifetime much freer than his from other exactions. A glance at Dr. Hall's statistics of usage almost begets despair of submitting evidence on any linguistic point worthy of notice in the light of his conception of necessary proof.

Dr. Hall had all the aggressive confidence of modesty adequately equipped; no man was more generous in extending the results of his researches to those who sought his aid; and no man was called on to suffer more and more undeservedly from ignorant or malicious misrepresentation. His principles were misinterpreted; his reservations and exclusions were ignored; his applications were perverted; in particular, his long residence abroad was turned to his reproach, and his discriminating remonstrances against some tendencies of his country's speech were alleged as constructive renegadism. Dr. Hall was always a loyal American, and after forty-six years' absence, died an American citizen. He always, by the first personal pronoun, identified himself with America and Americans, and measured even his social relations to Englishmen; his rebukes to his fellow-countrymen were accompanied with confessions of his own constant fear of defection from the British standards which he accepted; no man could have resented more strongly the English habit of attributing to "Americanism" what were instances of revival or of dialect; nor could any man recognize more clearly the propriety and the dignity of proper and dignified local peculiarties of expression. Dr. Hall's own vocabulary was as extensive as his reading; and his aptness in its use, particularly in quaint phraseology and in archaistic terms, always individualized, and always assessed at their true merit, the objects to which they were applied. His wit and humor should not be left out of account; and the comparisons with which he sometimes illuminated his designations were veritable impalements in the effigy of ridicule.

Of the several influences by which linguistic expression is variously held to be governed, Dr. Hall's support was, in general, given to "consentient" and "advertent" usage as the accepted guide; but, so far from discrediting the claims of "expedience," he expressly denies that the competent will ever conform their thoughts to the conventional types of the day: on the other hand, he warns the incompetent against the perils of independence; and he lays down certain canons for those who must venture on revivals or originalities. In other words, Dr. Hall is the apostle of freedom by precedent, with the responsibility for perilous licenses placed upon the adventurous. With mere logic or with mere formulated grammaticism, Dr. Hall, as an expounder, had no patience whatever; and he freely confessed to having prejudices of his own, by which many warrantable locations were deliberately avoided by him. Accordingly, Dr. Hall's purpose was not at all to direct writers and speakers to the one and only mode of expression under any given circumstances—an absurdity alien to his acute powers of reasoning—but altogether to warn self-constituted teachers and their credulous disciples against elevating their own habits and prepossessions into real rules of speech. This reciprocity of affirmative and negative functions is the only sure ground of mastery in any language—first, the establishment of certain unquestionable terms, meanings, and arrangements, as veritably attesting the genius of that language, and then

the wide range of correlative precedent, available or unavaible as the user may create its special justification. In this sphere of English philology, the philosophical grammarians and the historical grammarians, the logicians and the rhetoricians, are alike out of account; and Dr. Hall's work has not even, to any important extent, the need of their reinforcement for any purpose that he undertakes. He was not, to be sure, a technical grammarian; and there are accordingly some points that might have been enhanced in practical pedagogic cogency; but Dr. Hall's special services would probably have been obstructed by such a check on his spontaneity or even by the consciousness of its pertinence.

Dr. Hall's attitude towards authority in English usage is never left in doubt; he cites writers admittedly representing approved usage as adequate for his purpose, but with no desire of asserting their example as law; and he declines to be called the advocate of any word whose claims for respectful consideration he simply feels bound to vindicate. He expresses his creed in saying that

"it is not the proper province of him who interests himself in philology, to do much more than assemble facts, and discuss them in the light of sound principles. Of all dogmatism, where a position is not rigidly demonstrated, the sole appraisement consonant to justice is that it should count nothing." "It is the fluent, perspicuous and fearless English which is dictated by an enlightened and yet chastened sense of native freedom, and not the titubant, perplexed, nerveless, and hidebound English of half-educated, scruple-mongering, provincial pedantry, that a rational love of our mother-tongue would see inculcated and diffused."

Dr. Hall himself was a supreme authority with the authorities; and no man, unless he was hopelessly fatuous or finally desperate, attacked his exhibits or his conclusions more than once; and an examination of successive editions of some popular text books will demonstrate either the difference before and after Dr. Hall's treatment or the incurable obtuseness of some complacent sponsors for unreality. Earle and Whitney were not too great to utilize his services and scholarship; but it must be confessed that a certain "cynosure for an admiring coterie, in which he ruled as umpire and oracle" remained to the last, so far as public confession went, serenely pachydermatous. Nor can it be denied that, at best, those who profited by his researches have too often ignored or scanted their obligations, or that those who combatted his conclusions have frequently failed to note his painstaking guardedness and scrupulous exactness in defining the scope of his special criticisms. Dr. Hall was the last man to vest himself with infallibility; yet, such was his apparently predestined superiority, that cavilling or contemptuous reference to his conclusions invariably recoiled upon his antagonists. Some of these must have suffered grievously in their enforced compromise between public conscience and private consciousness: all of them should have realized that, in view of the instability of language and its capricious relation to the will of man, even real inconsistencies and obscurities in different discussions, written at long intervals, sometimes in haste and generally to meet particular exigencies, in the midst of progressive investigations, especially when no duplicates were kept and no copyist employed, do not invalidate the claims of a man whose obvious purpose is truth. Dr. Hall recognized no "oil of inerrancy" except that compounded of "reason, logicalness, circumspection and subtilty;" and he would have scorned the honors, as he would have loathed the emoluments, of oracularity professedly warranted by turning over just so many pages of just so many authors.

Dr. Hall's diction and style have been harshly criticised by those who, feeling his retaliations, affected an unconcerned incapacity to understand his meaning. His diction was indeed anything but commonplace, and its terrors to impostors in language was the greater because they did not at once fully realize the classification to which they were summarily relegated: his style was artificial and self-conscious, and at times somewhat labored and over-weighted; but no one can discredit either the adequacy or the advantages of his restored and readjusted phraseology.

Teaching has many aspects; and, as Dr. Hall in his time has for English practically exhausted at least one of these, it should be a tempting privilege to follow the example of his fine spirit and employ the records of his

mission under the opportunities still open to true lovers of their mother-tongue and licensed curates of its transmission. In his own fellow-countrymen, indifference to this charge would imply not only base ingratitude to the champion of their institutions and their capacities, but the deepest insensibility to a heritage of achievement and inspiration worthy of their highest powers and warmest devotion. They honored him too late and too little in his life; let them at least salute his death with the benison of a cumulative immortality.

CASKIE HARRISON.

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BRIEF MENTION.

A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century (by Henry A. Beers, New York, H. Holt & Co., 1899) can hardly be expected to possess much unity. The Romantic movement in England was not, strictly speaking, a movement at all, but rather the varied and spontaneous manifestation of a reaction from Augustan classicism. The rather loose form in which Professor Beers casts his book, consisting as it does of independent lectures, is doubtless the best form, although it sometimes involves repetition and a backward movement. For such a history Heine's definition of romanticism as a reproduction of the life and thought of the Middle Ages is manifestly too narrow; accordingly the term is broadened till it connotes the qualities characteristic of the Mediæval spirit irrespective of time or place.

Professor Beers is interesting, always; and the merit is no slight one in dealing with writers, many of whom have ceased to interest any but the historical critic. An introductory lecture on the pseudo-classical Augustans brings out more forcibly the service rendered by the imitators of Spenser in bringing back color and music into English verse. The interrelation of landscape gardening and the first mild nature-poetry of Thomson, Shenstone, and Dyer is developed in a chapter entitled "The Landscape Poets." "The Miltonic Group," Collins, Gray, Mason, and the Wartons seized on the romantic element in Milton's early poems. *Il Penseroso* appealed to their love of low spirits, which found its most perfect expression in Gray's *Elegy*.

But the more strictly Mediæval revival began with the publication of Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. "The Gothic Revival" was initiated by the architectural diversions of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, and by his crude romantic novel, *The Castle of Otronto*, the forerunner to Mrs. Radcliffe's more skillful work.

The chapter on "Percy and the Ballads," is an excellent popular treatment of the nature of the ballads, of the manner of their collection, and of their influence upon poetic style. MacPherson and Chatterton each receive a chapter; the controversy over the genuineness of "Ossian" is summarized, the genesis of the Rowley poems is explained. The volume closes with a chapter on "The German Tributary." The influence of the *Sturm und Drang* period of German romanticism upon Scott's early work is shown to have been healthy enough in its way, despite the melodramatic extravagance to which it led such a writer as "Monk" Lewis. The interdependence of English and German writers is admirably brought out in a short sketch of the German romantic movement. When English poets were too feeble to give much impetus to the new movement, Germany's greatest poet was arousing an enthusiasm for Shakespeare that must soon react upon the England of the new century.

Professor Beers excludes William Blake from his review because that poet's writings were without effect upon his contemporaries; Cowper and Burns do not fall under his definition of romanticism. Several slips may be noted: the London fire did not occur in 1664; "unbeknown" is hardly in reputable use. A companion study of English romanticism in the nineteenth century, which Professor Beers hopes soon to publish, will need no introduction to those who have enjoyed this very readable and suggestive book.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, April, 1901.

*HELENA AND HOMUNCULUS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF VEIT VALENTIN'S HYPOTHESIS AND ITS LAST DEFENSE.**

I.

VEIT VALENTIN'S last article on "Die Antezedentien der Helena in Goethes Faust" in MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, 1900, nos. 7 and 8, fails to attain the end for which it was written. Charges are denied, but they may be resubstantiated; countercharges are made, but they may be refuted; long arrays of quotations from the paralipomena and other important testimonials are marshalled, but some of the most essential ones may be shown to have been misconstrued or misinterpreted; in spite of all efforts the Homunculus-Helena hypothesis remains, as will be seen, as untenable as before.

This review will not extend to every detail of Valentin's article but confine itself to the following points. First it will be shown that Valentin in spite of his direct or implied denials actually launched his hypothesis without due knowledge of the chronology of the *Helena* and of the place which Goethe had assigned to the scene in Hades in all paralipomena which give a sketch of it. Then a few of the cases in which Valentin has misstated the views of his opponent will be taken up. Thereupon attention will be called to the fact that he totally confounds the relative positions of the sketch of 1816 and of the fragment of 1800. Finally the revivification of Helena and the dramatic purpose of Homunculus will be re-analyzed so as to prove with mathematical certainty the impossibility of the Homunculus-Helena theory.

My Charges of 1899.

My first charge was that Valentin had failed to observe that the schemes of June, Nov. and Dec., 1826, paralip. 123,2, 99, and 123,1, are later than the practical completion of the *Helena*.[1] The sentence in his last article (col. 390), which has only a raison d'être inasmuch as it denies this, and which at the same time does not directly deny it, reads as follows:

"Für jeden, der Augen hat und lesen kann, ist es offenkundig, dass das Helenadrama abgeschlossen war, als Goethe sich dazu wendete, die 'Antezedentien' des Helenadramas auszuführen . . . und damit das dichterisch zu gestalten, was er in der 'Ankündigung' zum Helenadrama zum Verständniss dieser Episode hatte mitteilen wollen."

Whatever the force of this denial may be, the correctness of my charge results from the following passage in Valentin's *Goethes Faustdichtung in ihrer künstlerischen Einheit dargestellt*, in which he first advanced his theory in 1894, pp. 153 f.:

"Ursprünglich [that is, in the sketch of 1816] sollte dies [that is, Helena's appearance with a real body] durch die Zauberkraft eines Ringes bewirkt werden, mit dessen Abstreifen der Zauber aufhören sollte und die Körperlichkeit wieder verloren ginge. Dann [that is, in the schemes of June, Nov. and Dec., 1826] sollte die Neuverkörperung nur innerhalb eines bestimmten Bezirkes [that is, Sparta] Geltung haben, so dass mit dem Heraustreten aus diesem Bezirke die Verkörperung wieder aufgehört hätte: in beiden Fällen war die Verkörperung direktes Ergebnis eines äusseren Zaubermittels."

By recognizing in the schemes of June, Nov. and Dec., 1826, an older plan according to which Helena would have lost corporeal existence by dint of crossing the boundary of Sparta, Valentin here, consciously or unconsciously, puts the completion of the actual drama considerably later than Dec. 17, 1826, the date of the last of the schemes, while in reality even the *Mundum* was finished half a

* This article was written before the news of Prof. Veit Valentin's death reached the author. ED.

1 In consideration of the importance of the time of the completion of the Helena drama I give a few of the entries in Goethe's diary for 1826 according to Pniower's *Goethes Faust, Zeugnisse und Excurse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte:* May 11: "Späterhin suchte ich die Helena abzuschliessen;" May 22: "Ich beschäftigte mich mit dem Abschluss;" June 6: "Helena abgeschlossen;" June 8: "Völliger Abschluss der Helena. Vorbereitung des Mundums;" June 9: "John fing an die zweyte Hälfte der Helena zu mundiren;" June 10: "John endigt das Mundum der Helena;" June 12: "Helena im Zug durchgelesen. Das Einzelne revidirt;" June 13: "Ueberlegung noch einiger wirksamer Chöre zur Helena;" June 24: "Völliger Abschluss der Helena, durch Umschreiben einiger Bogen."

year before. As further evidence of the same error, I add a passage from MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiii, 1898, col. 440, where Valentin restated his hypothesis:

"Die Verkörperlichung der Helena findet nicht mehr statt durch einen magischen Ring, auch nicht durch den Aufenthalt an einem bestimmten Orte [that is, Sparta], was an Stelle des Zwanges durch den Ring getreten war, sondern durch eine geistige Kraft, die nun ihrerseits an Stelle des äusserlichen Motives des Aufenthalts an einem bestimmten Orte tritt . . . Sie [that is, die geistige Kraft] zeigt sich deutlich bei der Auflösung der Helena."

By assuming that the "geistige Kraft" which does not yet exist in the scheme of Dec. 17, 1826, shows itself distinctly in the drama, Valentin again places the completion of the drama later than the schemes. Hence my first point, namely that Valentin started his theory without due knowledge of the chronology of the drama, is proved.

I press on to the second, that Valentin had not noticed that Goethe intended to put the scene in Hades immediately before the entrance of Helena. This is denied by him in the following explicit terms, MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, 1900, col. 481:

"dass er [that is, Goethe] sie [that is, die Szene in der Unterwelt] aber irgendwo anders [als an das Ende des zweiten oder den Anfang des dritten Aktes] hätte hinstellen wollen, ist *nirgends* [the italics are Valentin's] behauptet worden."

This denial is not only incorrect, but directly contrary to the facts, for Valentin invariably assumes that the shades are present (that is, that they have already been released from Hades and reached the upper world) when Homunculus shatters his glass, and by this assumption alone places the scene in Hades neither at the beginning of the third act, nor at the close of the second, but somewhere before the closing scene of the second. This becomes still more evident from a passage in his *Erläuterung zu Goethes Faust*, p. 102, where commenting on the lines 8313–8338, in which Proteus and Thales express their views concerning the evolution of Homunculus, Valentin remarks:

"Dass Homunculus . . . bereits von der Gestaltung höchster Art [that is, Helena] zu ihrer Belebung erwartet wird [that is, that the scene in Hades has already taken place and that Helena has reached the upper world before even Galatea has yet appeared], wissen Proteus und Thales nicht."

However direct a proof of the erroneousness of Valentin's denial this may be, especially when taken in connection with the other passage in the same book (p. 97) about the "einzuschalten" of the scene in Hades, where Valentin (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, col. 481) objects so emphatically to my interpretation of his "einschalten" as 'insert into the middle,'[2] there is still more irrefutable testimony in Valentin's first and main book, p. 175 f.:

"Hätte also Goethe diese Szene [that is, the scene in Hades] ausgeführt, . . . so hätte er von der Örtlichkeit dieser Geisternacht [that is, the Classical Walpurgis-Night] . . . in die Örtlichkeit ewig wirklichen Lebens [that is, Hades] hinübergeführt; *er hätte dann von dort zur Geisternacht* [that is, the Classical Walpurgis-Night] . . . *zurückleiten müssen*."

As here the scene in Hades is placed unmistakeably neither at the beginning of the third act nor at the close of the second, but somewhere before the closing scene of the second, my second charge has also proved true, except that it did not go far enough. For Valentin did not only fail to observe the place of the scene in Hades in the schemes of 1830,—he did not even notice the schemes themselves. This follows from the fact that in discussing the question whether Goethe actually thought of writing the scene in Hades, he quotes a conversation with Eckermann as the only testimony, instead of mentioning those schemes, which ought to have been quoted both because they contain not second- but first-hand evidence, and because certain changes in the setting of the scene in the last two prove renewed occupation with it (*ibid.*).

Hence it is actually true that Valentin launched his Homunculus-Helena theory without a proper philological examination of the chronology of the *Helena* and the place of the scene in Hades. In addition to this it is also true that he did not even realize these errors

2 I cannot admit that the contrast which Valentin tries to establish between Hades and the Classical Walpurgis-Night had anything to do with Goethe's not writing the scene in Hades. Since the Gorgo, "das Gorgonenhaupt," is kept by Proserpina from going to the "Festebene" of the Night, it may on the contrary be assumed that many of those who participate in the feast of the Night have come from Hades and are going to return there.

after his attention had been called to them in MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiv, 1899, no. 4, and after Pniower's excellent book had made the first as plain as can be. The idea that, as late as Dec., 1826, Helena was to lose corporeal existence by crossing the boundary of Sparta, Valentin's "Zaubergränze," recurs in his last article, col. 395, and the assumption that Helena is present when Homunculus is wedded to the sea is propounded again in the same place, col. 474:

"übertritt sie die Zaubergränze (1826), so entschwindet das Körperliche, und der Schatten geht selbstverständlich sofort wieder in den Orkus," and: "Wie . . . Homunculus . . . in den noch formentbehrenden Funken . . . in das Meer . . . sich ergiesst, treffen diese Funken auf die Schatten der eben in derselben Nacht von Persephone entlassenen Schattenbilder der Helena und ihrer ganzen trojanisch-griechischen Umgebung."

Some of Valentin's Countercharges of 1900.

In the first place Valentin (col. 392) credits me with the "kindische Behauptung" or "Dogma"

"dass mit Abschluss des Helenadramas eine Abänderung der beim Abschluss dieses Dramas fertigen Entwürfe für die zwei ersten Akte nicht mehr möglich gewesen sei."

While I am glad to agree with Valentin regarding the absurdity of such an idea, I cannot grant that I ever held it or even that he had any reason to believe I did. For even if he was actually unable to see that my statement that "the time for further changes had expired with the completion of the drama" (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiv, 1899, col. 213), referred to further changes in the manner of Helena's revivification only, he could have saved himself the trouble of giving me a four-column lecture on the possibility of changes in dramatic sketches if he had observed that I have devoted two columns (cf. 75 f. and 77) to those very changes in MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, 1897, no. 2, and that I announced the imminent publication of a special article on the *Evolution* of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, etc., in the very article he was criticising.

In connection with what Valentin terms "das weitere Dogma" of mine (col. 394) he says that I deny that 'Zauberkünste' and 'Zaubermittel' contribute together to the revivification of Helena. As a matter of fact I have never dreamed of denying that. If Valentin had only observed the connection in which 'das weitere Dogma' occurs (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiv, 1899, col. 210), he would have found that I do not refer to the 'Zauberkünste' and the magic ring of the sketch of 1816 (intended for plan of 1775), but solely to the schemes of 1826, where the 'Zauberkünste' and 'Zaubermittel' of the early plan have no longer a place.

Valentin also asserts (col. 393) that I call the sketch of 1816 just referred to "Urplan von 1775." As a matter of fact I have only called it "plan of 1775." Valentin probably projected the "Ur-" into my article from Erich Schmidt's statement in the Weimar edition, who designates the sketch as "Skizze der Urgestalt." As for calling it "plan of 1775" I admit that this is perhaps rather concise. I used it because I wished to avoid the somewhat clumsy expression: sketch intended to represent the plan of 1775.

Farther on (col. 396) Valentin accuses me of having said that "Helena hat nur den Schein einer wirklichen Körperlichkeit zu erwecken," and in the same connection upbraids me for the "willkürliche Einsetzung" of "alive" in place of "truly alive." My sentence is: "She is to appear alive or 'truly alive' at Sparta." As for the first point I have to say that 'appear' in this instance does not mean 'scheinen' but 'erscheinen, auftreten;' as to the second, I remark that the expression 'truly alive' is given in quotation marks and repeated twice afterwards, while 'alive' is neither given in quotation marks nor used again. It was the original reading.

The Sketch of 1816 and the Fragment of 1800.

The sketch penned in 1816 (paralip. 63), as is well known, was intended for *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as one of the dramatic plans of the year 1775. While it may be true that it does not correspond to Goethe's plan as he actually had it in mind in 1775 in its entirety, there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of that part of it which covers the ground of the later Helena drama.[3] Even if it could be assumed that in 1816 Goethe no longer had any notes dating back as far as 1775, nor remembered the leading traits of a plan which so

3 Compare: Niejahr, *Goethes "Helena,"* Euphorion, I, pp. 81–86.

intensely interested him, one thing at least is certain: the sketch of 1816 presents a phase of the *Helena* that is older than paralip. 84, which cannot be later than the nineties. For though in this paralipomenon Helena, in accordance with the legend, still appears in Germany, nevertheless her character has already been ennobled and shows no longer the ordinary sensuousness of the legend and the sketch: "H. Bangigkeit wem sie angehöre Eg[yptierin]. Trost Faust gerühmt. Faust H. Will zu den ihrigen F. alle dahin. sie selbst aus Elysium gehohlt. H. Danckbarkeit" etc.

While thus the sketch of 1816 represents to all intents and purposes the plan of 1775 or thereabouts, the fragment of 1800 (Weimar Edition, xv, 2, pp. 72–81) is virtually nothing but the first part of the actual drama. The changes which Goethe makes in it a quarter of a century later are all in the nature of careful filing, and he tells us June 10, 1826 (Weimar Ed., xv, 2, p. 214; Pniower, no. 450), how he had taken up again "dieses wohlverwahrte Manuscript" (that is, the fragment) "und mit neu belebtem Muthe dieses Zwischenspiel *zu Ende geführt.*" Helena has reached that nobility which we admire in her in the completed drama. From the woman who longs for male company she has become the queen who seeks refuge with Faust in order not to fall a bloody victim at the hands of her revengeful husband. Instead of appearing alone and in Germany, as in the sketch of 1816, she is revivified with her entire ancient surroundings and on her own Greek soil. Even Mephistopheles is no longer merely an old stewardess, but has already been compelled to don the distasteful mask of a classic character. The revivification of the classical world, finally, can, as in 1826, only have been brought about according to Greek *Weltanschauung*. Mephistopheles could procure Helena, the tool of the devil in the old legend, and Helena, the paramour, in the sketch of 1816; but Goethe's entire conception of him as well as of his relation to classic antiquity in the scheme of Dec. 17, 1826, and in the completed Faust absolutely forbids all thought of Mephistopheles revivifying the beautiful ancient world.[4]

4 In the scheme of Dec. 17 Goethe says about Mephistopheles (Pniower, no. 489, ll. 68 ff.): "Dieser, der nicht bekennen mag, dass er im klassischen Hades nichts zu sagen habe, auch dort nicht einmal gern gesehen sey ..." Compare also the scheme of June 10 (Pniower, no. 450): Since in the second part everything is found on a higher and nobler plane "auf einer höhern und edlern Stufe," Helena cannot be obtained through "Blocksbergs Genossen," that is, Mephistopheles, but only through "dämonische(n) Sibyllen," that is, Manto.

We return to Valentin. He designates the sketch of 1816 (intended to represent the plan of 1775) with the Weimar edition as 'sketch of 1824,' which in itself is no longer justifiable since it has been ascertained that it was written in 1816. Yet he does not only designate it as sketch of 1824, but he treats it as actually representing the phase which Goethe's plans had assumed in 1824. He says, for example, MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, col. 396:

"Die Natur der Helena ... stand für Goethe natürlich *nicht erst seit 1824* [that is, sketch of 1816] *und 1826, sondern schon seit 1800* [that is, fragment] fest," and *ibid.*: "wir müssen zugeben, dass *von 1824 bis 1826 eine Weiterentwicklung* bei Goethes Plan stattgefunden hat."

He thus ranges the plan intended for 1775 as an intermediate link between the composition of the first fifth of the classical Helena drama in 1800 and the last four-fifths in 1825 and 1826. He shows himself so strangely destitute of the lofty ideas he professes concerning organic artistic creation as to make an assumption which necessitates the inference that Goethe, after once having raised Helena to the high and lofty plane of the fragment of 1800 and after having actually written the pre-eminently classical part of the drama, should in 1824 have stripped Helena once more of everything noble and classic in order to raise her again to her lofty classic height in the next year.

Though Valentin does not draw this unavoidable, but perhaps rather uncomfortable, inference himself, he has drawn enough others thoroughly to confound the old plan and the fragment. Since he sees Helena accompanied by her Trojan surroundings both in 1800 and in 1826, of course he sees her in the same way in 1824. Thus the 'Halbwirklichkeiten' of the old plan, which clearly refer to Helena and her son, are interpreted as Helena and her Græco-Trojan surroundings, and they all come to the castle on the Rhine (col. 395). In the text not a word of it. Again, since in 1826 Proserpina revivifies Helena, of course she must do so in 1824. While Goethe tells us that in the old plan it is Mephistopheles who undertakes to bring her from Orcus ("Mephistopheles unternimmt's") and does not know of Proserpina at all, Valentin informs us, *ibid.*, col. 400:

"*diese erste und durch die Faustlegende nächstliegende Möglichkeit* [that is, revivification through Mephistopheles] *musste also fallen. An ihre Stelle* trat die *Einwirkung der Persephone*, die zur Festhaltung des Schattens

auf der Oberwelt . . . zuerst einen magischen Ring, sodann den Aufenthalt innerhalb einer 'Zaubergrenze, als Mittel benutzte."

Since, on the other hand, in the legend Mephistopheles brings Helena from Orcus, and since in his opinion the fragment stands closest to the legend, Valentin tries to make us believe that Mephistopheles, the Northern spectre, revivifies classic antiquity in the fragment, *ibid.*, col. 393: "Das Auftreten selbst sollte noch im Anschluss an Legende und Puppenspiel durch die Beihilfe des Teufels stattfinden." To this Valentin adds as another piece of information that through this revivification by Mephistopheles the mediæval homely 'Teufelsspuk' becomes indissolubly connected with the classic beauty of Helena and that this is the reason why Goethe discontinues his work on the fragment where Phorkyas reveals her devilish nature (*ibid.*). Indeed he goes so far as to identify even the expressions 'Synthese des Edlen mit dem Barbarischen' and 'Schönes mit dem Abgeschmackten' with the revivification of Helena by Mephistopheles, and to say, *ibid.*, col. 400:

"Die Bewirkung des Zaubers durch Mephistopheles . . . diese 'Synthese des Edlen mit dem Barbarischen,' wie Schiller es nennt . . . oder die Notwendigkeit, wie Goethe selbst es ausdrückt, 'Schönes mit dem Abgeschmackten durchs Erhabene' . . . zu vermitteln, . . . diese erste und durch die Faustlegende nächstliegende Möglichkeit musste also fallen,"

while in reality the synthesis of the noble with the barbarous had not only not to go but remained the very axis of the drama, as was indicated by its original title *klassisch-romantische Phantasmagorie* and repeated by Goethe at different times; for example, in his letter to Iken, Sept. 23, 1827 (Pniower, no. 563) and his conversation with Eckermann, Dec. 16, 1829 (Pniower, no. 738).

Among the many proofs that might be adduced to show that during the last years of the eighteenth century Goethe quite commonly uses 'edel' and 'schön' or their synonym 'rein' with reference to the classic and 'barbarisch,' or 'Barbarey' and 'Possen,' or its synonym 'Fratze,' and similar expressions, with reference to the romantic, I quote a letter to Hirt of Dec. 25, 1795 (Pniower, no. 111) in which the classic *Laocoön* and the romantic *Faust* are contrasted:

"ich bin für den Moment himmelweit von solchen reinen und edlen Gegenständen entfernt, indem ich meinen Faust zu endigen, mich aber auch zugleich von aller nordischen Barbarey loszusagen wünsche,"

and add to this that in a letter to Schiller's wife of April 14, 1798 (Pniower, no. 121) 'die schöne Homerische Welt' is contrasted with 'Faust und Compagnie' and that in a note to Schiller himself of July 1, 1797 (Pniower, no. 104) *Faust* is called 'Possen.'

Hence there cannot be the slightest doubt that when Goethe, after having written the beginning of his *Helena*, regrets that he should have to change "das Schöne" into a "Fratze", Sept. 12, 1800 (Pniower no. 173), when Schiller speaks in his reply of the next day of Goethe's going "von dem Reinen mit Bewusstseyn ins Unreinere," when Goethe a few days after that thinks, that "durch die Verbindung des reinen und abentheuerlichen ein nicht ganz verwerfliches poetisches Ungeheuer entstehen könne," and then Schiller, finally, refers to it again as the "Synthese des Edlen mit dem Barbarischen," this always means the combination of the classic Helena with the romantic Faust and the proceeding from the classical world into the romantic.

Indeed it does not even seem likely that the distastefulness of this step should have been the reason why Goethe discontinued the work, because he had evidently reconciled himself to it when he says that he is finding "einiges Gefallen" in the amalgamation of the two elements (Sept. 16, 1800, Pniower, no. 17). It would be difficult to confound the sketch of 1816 and the fragment of 1800 more thoroughly than Valentin has done.

The Revivification of Helena in the Schemes of the Year 1826 and of June, 1830.

Proceeding now to the schemes of 1826 and of June, 1830, it is my purpose to show that in all of these the revivification of Helena takes place according to Greek *Weltanschauung*, that from the first to the last the two conditions which are attached to it remain unaltered, and that Homunculus, therefore, cannot have anything to do with it. We keep in mind that, as all the schemes are later than the completion of the *Helena*, the conditions laid down in the former must correspond to the actual state of affairs in the latter. Valentin's mis-

conceptions will be pointed out as we go along.

The first scheme (*Paralip.* 123, 2; Pniower, no. 450) was written June 10. It was headed *Helena, klassisch-romantische Phantasmagorie, Zwischenspiel zu Faust* and, though not actually published, intended to give the public the most indispensable information concerning the antecedents of the *Helena*, which had just reached its preliminary completion two days previously. The revivification of Helena—and this is about all it undertakes to explain—was accomplished through "dämonische(n) Sibyllen," who bring it about

"dass Persephone der Helena erlaubte, wieder in die Wirklichkeit zu treten, *mit dem Beding* dass sie sich nirgends als auf dem eigentlichen Boden von Sparta des Lebens wieder erfreuen solle; nicht weniger, *mit fernerer Bedingung*, dass alles Uebrige, sowie das Gewinnen ihrer Liebe, auf menschlichem Wege zugehen müsse; Mit phantastischen Einleitungen solle es so streng nicht genommen werden. Das Stück beginnt also vor dem Pallaste des Menelaus zu Sparta," etc.

As for the revivification itself, Goethe, then, simply says that Helena is permitted to return into reality, without adding a single word as to the manner in which she is to retrieve her corporeal existence, so that we cannot but infer that corporeal existence is implied in the release.[5] This release, however, is not absolute, but limited by two conditions; in the first place, Helena is to enjoy life nowhere but in Sparta; in the second place, everything else as well as the winning of her love must be done in human fashion. Phantastic introductions are not be discountenanced.

Turning now to the drama itself we find that, while the second condition needs no comment, the first, that is, the limitation to Sparta, does not exclude a stay in Arcadia. Sparta must, therefore, either include Arcadia or be meant simply as a contrast to Germany; or else the limitation is emphasized only as a matter of analogy with the limitation to Leuce which, though not yet expressed, is evidently in the poet's mind.

Valentin, in his subjective attitude concerning statements of Goethe, in the first place does not hesitate to condemn Goethe's entire idea of a revivification by Persephone as something too improbable *a limine* (Mod. Lang. Notes, vol. xv, 1900, col. 395):

"Es ist keine Frage, dass die Erteilung der Körperlichkeit durch Persephone als etwas über ihr Bereich des Wirkens Hinausgehendes erscheint."

In the second place he overlooks that the mere permission of Persephone that Helena may return into reality restores her to life, and that there is not one condition, but two. He simply omits the second and then transforms the first from a condition into a means, a "Zaubermittel," and asserts that, as in the sketch of 1816 (intended to represent the plan of 1775) Helena receives corporeal existence by means of a magic ring, so here she receives it by means of a stay in a limited circle, though even in the sketch of 1816, which actually knows of a 'Zaubergränze,' that circle is not a 'Zaubermittel,' but merely the boundary line which separates the magic world from the real one.[6] Not satisfied with this he goes so far as to aver in two places that the limited circle, that is, the boundary of Sparta, is called "Zaubergränze," though neither this scheme nor any other scheme of 1826 contains that expression:

Ibid., col. 395: "jetzt [that is, 1826] geschieht sie [die Wiedergewinnung dieser Körperlichkeit] durch den Aufenthalt in beschränktem Kreise, der als 'Zaubergränze' [the quotation marks are Valentin's] bezeichnet wird," and *ibid.*, col. 400: "Persephone, die . . . sodann [that is, 1826] den Aufenthalt innerhalb einer 'Zaubergränze' [the quotation marks are Valentin's again] als Mittel benutzte."

In addition to this he finally maintains that, as soon as Helena crosses this 'Zaubergränze,'

5 Just as Helena and her maids become materialized, as it were, with their release, so are they afterwards again dematerialized with the same degree of ease. Indeed they often become conscious of their phantom- and spirit-nature, and their materialization is so evanescent that the reproaches of Phorkyas suffice to give Helena the impression that she is becoming a phantom (l. 8881), and that the magic transfer to the castle of Faust causes her attendants to fear that they are already on their way back to Hades (ll. 9116 ff.). A material existence of this kind, which I am now willing to grant, is, however, entirely different from the conception of a special union of the shades with animate matter (*belebtem Stoff*) and a subsequent separation from it for which Valentin is contending.

6 If the limitation of Helena to Sparta could be regarded as a 'Zaubermittel' by which she receives corporeal existence, the same would, of course, have to be true of her limitation to Leuce which forms the prototype for it. Yet mythology reports only that Helena lived on Leuce and never that she was revivified by means of her limitation to Leuce.

she will lose her corporeal existence and go back to Hades:

Ibid., col. 395: "übertritt sie die Zaubergränze (1826), so entschwindet das Körperliche und der Schatten geht selbstverständlich sofort wieder in den Orkus."

Turning, now, once more to the *Helena*, we find neither any trace of such a 'Zaubergränze,' nor that Helena or any one else loses her life by crossing any particular line; thus we see still more clearly that Valentin's entire interpretation is a mere fancy which has largely grown out of his erroneous opinion that the plan with the magic ring and the 'Zaubergränze' around the castle represents the phase of the work in 1824, while in reality it was an idea of the youthful poet half a century before.

For completeness' sake we do not immediately take up the scheme of Dec. 17, but first cast a glance at *Paralip.* 99 (Pniower, no. 489, under the text), a draft of which bears the date of Nov. 9, and which itself was probably composed Nov. 10.[7] Here the revivification of Helena appears for the first time based upon ancient parallels:

"Proserpina wird angegangen. 17. Die Beispiele von Protesilaus, Alceste und Eurydice werden angeführt. Helena selbst hat schon einmal die Erlaubniss gehabt ins Leben zurückzukehren, um sich mit dem Achill zu verbinden, mit eingeschränkter Wohnung auf die Insel Leuce. 18. So soll nun Helena auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren und als lebendig dort im Hause des Menelaus empfangen werden, und dem neuen Freyer überlassen seyn, in wie fern er auf ihren Geist und ihre empfänglichen Sinne einwirken könne."

The analogous cases are Protesilaus, Alceste and Eurydice, and above all Helena's own revivification for the sake of Achilles. Thus Helena is now to return to the soil of Sparta. The two conditions are the same as in June. As far as the wording is concerned it will, however, be noticed that the words 'Beding' and 'Bedingung' are not repeated, that the limitation to the soil of Sparta is no longer specially expressed with Sparta because it is now implied in, and logically follows from, the limitation to Leuce, which furnishes the immediate analogy for it, and that the second condition now more clearly refers only to the manner in which Helena's affection is to be won.

This scheme was further elaborated with a view towards publication in the *Ankündigung* or scheme of Dec. 17 (*Paralip.* 123, 1; Pniower, no. 488):

"Sie [that is, Manto] beruft sich zuerst auf die Kraft der Beyspiele, führt die Begünstigung des Protesilaus, der Alceste und Euridice umständlich vor. Hat doch Helena selbst schon einmal die Erlaubniss gehabt ins Leben zurückzukehren, um sich mit dem frühgeliebten Achill zu verbinden!"

and after the consultation with the three judges:

"Hier findet sich nun, dass Helena das vorigemal die Rückkehr ins Leben vergönnt worden, unter der Bedingung eingeschränkten Wohnens und Bleibens auf der Insel Leuce. Nun soll sie ebenmässig auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren, um, als wahrhaft lebendig, dort in einem vorgebildeten Hause des Menelas aufzutreten, wo denn dem neuen Werber überlassen bleibe inwiefern er auf ihren beweglichen Geist und empfänglichen Sinn einwirken und sich ihre Gunst erwerben könne."

The same remarks which were made in the case of the preceding scheme apply also here. I only emphasize again that the two conditions are still the same and also that the limitation to Sparta is not expressed any longer in connection with Sparta, because it now is implied in, and logically follows from, the preceding limitation to Leuce.

In connection with this scheme Valentin makes the attempt to establish the proposition that Helena's release for the sake of Achilles was not a release in body but one in spirit (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, col. 397), and that Goethe was well conscious of this contrast between her release for Achilles and that for Faust (*ibid.*, col. 398). I, for my part, can neither see that Goethe makes any such distinction—for 'ins Leben zurückkehren,' in my opinion, is equal to 'zurückkehren' and to be 'wahrhaft lebendig,' nor how he could even have wished to do so, because it is the very analogy of Helena's present release to her own former one and to those of the others by which Manto is endeavoring to carry her point.[8] In-

7 An entry in Goethe's diary under this date reads: "Das Schema zu Faust's zweytem Theil fortgeführt."

8 My interpretation is corroborated by *Faust*, lines 7434-39, where Faust considers Achilles' enjoyment of Helena's love in Pherae (Leuce) a precedent upon which he bases his own hope to draw her into life. Lines 8879-81, where Helena, trying to exculpate herself and about to vanish away, speaks of a phantomlike union of herself with Achilles and claims that it was only a dream, refer to another tradition. Mythology does not consider life in Elysium, or on the Islands of the Blessed or on Leuce as a phantomlike existence like that in Hades (cf. Preller, Griech. Myth.3 i, p. 670 f. and ii, p. 438 f.). Euphorion, the son of Helena and Achilles, from whom Faust's son has both his name and his imaginary wings, had, therefore, corporeal existence; he was born with wings and killed by the lightning of Zeus.

deed, even if Valentin could succeed in making his proposition concerning Helena's release for the sake of Achilles acceptable, his efforts would after all be unavailing, because Protesilaus and Alceste undoubtedly returned in the body, and Eurydice was on the very point of doing so when Orpheus disobeyed Persephone's behest.

We now pass over an interval of three years and a half, during which Homunculus was transformed from a chemical dwarf into a spirit, and the first and second acts were either completed, or all but completed, and come to the scheme of June 18, 1830, or *Paralip.* 157. This paralipomenon contains a sketch of Faust's and Manto's descent to Hades and the scene in Hades, and bears the title of "Prolog des dritten Acts," because that was the only place where those incidents could still be accommodated. It occupies a unique position among all the sketches of the second and third acts[9] because it is the only one which was not written *before* the completion of those acts but either simultaneously with or immediately after it and thence is the only one which was never superseded by actual poetic execution; wherefore Valentin's "simple(r) Gedanke" (*ibid*, col. 479):

"Was geht uns ein sechsundfünfzig Jahre nach des Dichters Tode veröffentlichtes Paralipomenon an, wenn wir die fertige Dichtung lesen oder sehen, durch die alle früheren Entwürfe und Pläne aufgehoben sind?"

is not only bizarre but also incorrect.

While the schemes of June 10 and Dec. 17, 1826, because destined for publication, are composed in connected discourse throughout, and while also *Paralip.* 99, because it is a draft of the latter, connects its sentences in part, *Paralip.* 157, being intended exclusively for Goethe's own private reference, is written in an aphoristic style and, therefore, shows no attempt whatever at an outward logical connection of its sentences:

"Ehre den Antecedenzien Die Helena war schon einmal auf die Insel Leuce beschränkt. Jetzt auf Spartanischem Gebiet soll sie sich lebendig erweisen. Der Freyer suche ihre Gunst zu erwerben. Manto ist die Einleitung überlassen."

'Ehre den Antecedenzien' evidently means that Persephone recognizes and honors the precedents established by the release of Protesilaus, Alceste, Eurydice and Helena herself. Then Helena's release with the limitation to Leuce is given as usual, and this is still followed by the very same two conditions which we have noticed every time since June 10, 1826. Helena's limitation to Sparta is again left unexpressed in connection with Sparta because, just as on Nov. 10(?) (*Paralip.* 99) and Dec. 17, 1826, it is implied in, and logically follows from, the preceding limitation to Leuce. Under these circumstances I think I was perfectly justified in saying with regard to *Paralip.* 157 in MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiv, 1899, col. 213: "*the conditions of Helena's return to life are still* [*that is, in June, 1830*] *the same as they were in 1826.*" Nevertheless this statement incited the following attack from Valentin (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, cols. 478 f.):

"Wie jemand die 'boldness' haben kann, das zu behaupten, ist unbegreiflich! 1826 W. A. xv, 2, S. 176: Bedingung der Wiederbelebung magischer Ring von Persephone, von der Unterwelt ist *mit keiner Silbe* die Rede! 1826, 10 Juni (ebd., S. 213) Erlaubniss der Persephone Aufenthalt 'auf dem eigentlichen Boden Spartas;' 1826, 17. Dez. (S. 211 f.) und Paralipomenon 99: ebenso. Im Paral. 157 aber heisst es: 'Die Helena war schon einmal auf die Insel Leuke beschränkt. Jetzt auf Spartanischem Gebiet soll sie sich lebendig erweisen.' Es heisst aber hier 1830 *nicht*, wie 1826: 'dass sie sich nirgends als auf dem eigentlichen Boden von Sparta des Lebens wieder erfreuen soll.' Gerade diese einschränkende Bedingung ist hier fortgelassen, jede Analogie mit dem früheren beschränkten Aufenthalt ist vermieden, und es steht nur positiv da: 'Jetzt auf spartanischem Gebiete soll sie sich lebendig erweisen!' Goethe konnte eben hier die früheren Bedingungen nicht mehr erwähnen, er hatte sie fallen gelassen, denn nun war Homunkulus mit seiner Bedeutung für Helena eingetreten."

The first remark exhibits a strange oversight on the part of Valentin, because the magic ring which, by the way, as we have seen above, has nothing to do with Persephone, does not belong to the year 1826, but to the sketch of 1816, Valentin's 'Entwurf 1824.' The placing of 1826, Dec. 17, before *Paralip.* 99, is a minor chronological inaccuracy. The remainder, finally, is a further example of both inadvertency and lack of critical instinct; of inadvertency because it is overlooked that the

[9] I understand here by sketches prose sketches only and not paralipomena in verse.

limitation to Sparta ceases to be expressed in connection with Sparta long before the year 1830 and *Paralip.* 157 simultaneously with the introduction of the limitation to Leuce, Nov. 10(?), 1826 (*Paralip.* 99): "So soll nun Helena auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren," and almost identically, Dec. 17 of the same year: "Nun soll sie ebenmässig auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren;" of lack of critical instinct because it is not realized that in all cases, Nov. 10(?) (*Paralip.* 99.) and Dec. 17, 1826, as well as June 18, 1830, the limitation to Sparta is always implied in, and logically follows from, the limitation to Leuce.

The fact that during the very period when Homunculus was transformed from a chemical dwarf into a spirit, Goethe's conception of the revivification of Helena did not undergo any change is one of the reasons why Homunculus cannot possibly have anything to do with Helena. Another is that Homunculus has a dramatic purpose of his own which is incompatible with his union with the shades of Helena and her retinue.

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TENNYSON'S 'FAIR ROSAMUND' IN BECKET.

The dramas of Tennyson may not be among his greatest works, but critics surely go too far when they say he wasted time in writing them. Their limitations are many, it is true; yet their values are many and great. The existence of the dramas would be justified if they succeeded in doing no more than presenting some characters who, for beauty and strength, take notable place among all the creations of the poet. Of these 'Fair Rosamund,' in *Becket*, is worthy of much thought.

Tennyson draws his Rosamund de Clifford as passing fair: all red and white and gold. To her royal husband, Henry, she is the "rose of the world;" his "rosebud" first, then "rose of all the roses." The austere primate, Becket, admits her "the world's rose, as her name imports." He bids her hide "that fatal star, thy beauty:" fatal, in spite of all her purity and sweetness, in stirring jealousy and desire. The coarse Fitzurse, who loved her as a budding girl, although grown full of jealousy and hatred, must still call her "rose-faced." Queen Eleanor herself knows, full as well as Henry, that her young rival is far fairer, softer, rounder. She calls her "child" and "beauty;" and, in rage, dare say no more than "doll-face." Maid Marjery alone does not see the beauty of her mistress. Yet no one is a hero to one's valet, or a beauty to one's maid. Marjery's judgment is, moreover, bad: she thinks herself as fair and as wise as her mistress. It may be intended as a tribute to the delicacy of Rosamund's beauty, that the poet makes some senses fail to see it.

In nature, as in person, Rosamund is very fair, delicately sensitive, "tender to all hardness;" nobly born and nobly reared, by a father she loves to recall. A follower of all beauty, the surroundings of her youth brought her to love nature so much that she prefers simple wild flowers to their "flaunting foreign cousins," which Henry brings her; her figures of speech are of birds and insects; the town stifles her, she must breathe the open air. Strongly emotional, she is generous and good, reverent and religious in spirit and observance. High-minded, she avoids gossip, and, pure-minded, she avoids scandal, in circumstances in which, one feels, Eleanor would welcome both. She is modest in self-appreciation, almost naïve in lack of self-consciousness, without curiosity, and entirely unambitious for everything save love. Dependent rather than resourceful, capable of great loneliness, and with a trustful loyalty which avoids all temptation to doubt, Rosamund loves with an unselfishness which gives all and asks love alone in return.

With such physical characteristics and mental endowments, natural and acquired, Tennyson, by incidental expressions, pictures Rosamund as she is at the beginning of the play. Now and again, when alone, she expresses this virgin personality in words and actions. But it does not long remain unaffected. It develops by receiving and giving, being acted upon by surroundings, events and persons; and, in turn, acting upon all these. The fair girl soon outgrows her pleasure in such things as masquerades, and sorrow makes her womanly in a way joy could not do.

It is interesting for Rosamund's character,

and for psychology in general, to note the effect upon her sensitive nature of making her, to borrow her own phrase, "a bird living from cage to cage," of hurrying her from her secret bower in Anjou to her secret bower in England. She is shrinking and timid when in town; in her bower she recovers her dignity and noble ease of manner. But the loneliness of her retreat is depressing to her social, clinging nature, and casts a shadow over her naturally bright spirit. Only her love and gentleness could bear the long monotony. Her requests for freedom, although spirited, are always sweet and loyal. Rosamund never seeks to gain her freedom against her Henry's wish; she makes no attempt to learn from her attendants the reason for her seclusion. Her loyalty is perfect, her trust child-like.

The events which affected Rosamund all come to her through persons. One cannot fail to realize, as, in the end, she herself did, with real self-pity, that she loved much, and for it paid the price.

Very sensitive to the influence of persons, Rosamund shivers at even the mention of distasteful folk. She instinctly dislikes Marjery, recognizing by delicate intuition the incompatible person; the one by whom offence shall come. It is Marjery, too, whose coarseness calls forth pride and anger, from beneath Rosamund's usual kindliness.

The boy Geoffrey, her son and the king's, draws forth another part of her nature. Toward him she is the unselfish, happy mother. She is proud and glad in him. Anxious for his safety, she yet bravely trusts him to do bold things, that he may be trained. And she never forgets him: in her moment of supremest trial, when she might be pardoned for being self-centered, she remembers to send him away from the strife of words. In her time of joy she desires more for him than for herself. She loves her boy, her king, and last, herself.

Chiefest of the influences acting upon Rosamund is Henry's love, "love that can shape or can shatter a life," in the words of the song in Rosamund's bower,—love which did both for her. The love of the large, strong man thrills her delicate, finer fibre with emotions which, in their intensity, almost overwhelm her sensitive spirit. She is filled with life and joy. She grows charmingly playful, lovingly bold. The passages which picture her recalling the sweetness of the first meeting with her lover, and the deeper joy at the birth of her son, are perfect in their lyric quality; no doubt they are designedly so, for Tennyson evidently intended the character of his Rosamund to be beautiful to the extent of his power.

Good as well as beautiful, Rosamund acts in ways which would be impossible, with her characteristics, unless she had good reason to consider herself Henry's wife; and, always in her presence, Henry speaks and acts as though he had given her such reason. Her bearing is as wifely toward him as it is motherly toward Geoffrey. She is justified by her sense of right, or she could not be so happy. She is too pure and too proud to be a paramour. This, again, Tennyson must wish us to feel: some of the lines in his portrait of Eleanor and Fitzurse prove him able to draw the opposite characteristics, when he chooses. Rosamund is not Ottima, but Pippa.

Her high-mindedness shows in and through her affection. She loves the manliness of Henry: to her he is "manlike perfect." Jealous for her royalty, she grieves when he is ignoble. Henry calls her unworldly and ignorantly ideal, although knowing in his heart the rightness of her standards. Her vision pierces his excuses, and stirs his shame and sorrow. She shames him by her trust, as well. She heeds all his wishes, and fears lest they be thwarted. She is loyally obedient: she will not learn what he wishes her not to know, she is happy to know nothing save that he loves her and binds her to secrecy "until his own time." When, in spite of herself, she learns his secret, she will not believe it, for loyalty's sake. She prefers her love to knowledge.

Indeed, Rosamund prefers her love to all else. To be, not to be called, his queen, this is her joy. Her own dear natural world is not so dear as he: neither flowers, nor brook, nor sun itself, can equal him. And here, again, in the passages recording this devotion, Tennyson is lavish of the picturesque and rythmical beauties of his verse. Henry, by thoughts of love, drives all else from her mind: thinking of his love, she forgets even

danger. For Henry's sake she will brave Hell itself. She trembles before the dread ban of the church, she strives to avert it from him; yet, if it will come, she will share it with him. Well may Henry praise her love and bravery. His coarse feeling could never measure the cost of such decisions to her delicate nature. But Rosamund is glad to give herself for love, her abandon and dependence are complete: Henry's voice is "all her music;" he is her "sun," her very "life's life."

Rosamund's nature, in her time of happiness, is thus simple, joyous, pure, noble, unselfish, loyal, and dependent: the loss, in her time of sorrow, of her joy in Henry and of his protection, only deepens and intensifies her devoted faithfulness. Her character is not a varied one; and its development is not so much toward complexity, as toward greater simplicity. Instead of gaining new characteristics she drops some of those she has, to give herself to the selected traits remaining. Whether Tennyson chose to make her thus narrow in its range, or whether he was unable to draw a larger nature, can be decided only after a comparative study of other of his characters. Henry, Eleanor, and Becket are scarcely more complex. Nor are Modred and Lancelot, Guinevere and Arthur.

Rosamund's sorrow begins as Henry's visits to her grow less frequent; for in England, he, her "sun," shines upon her far less often than in Anjou, until she comes to ask, insisting modestly, for freedom and her rightful place. The poet gives excellent anticipation of Rosamund's dramatic crisis, as he shows her gradual realization of the shadow over her joy.

Indeed, the poet's giving of the anticipation is better than his portrayal of the crisis itself; which is neither so large nor so strong as might be. It is here that the poet fails in Becket: he is lyric rather than dramatic; his heroine is beautiful in her nature; she is seldom strong in action. As a matter of fact, Tennyson frequenty fails to depict crisal movements dramatically. He is, seemingly, unable to picture sudden shock. Emotion which would be intense in a moment, in a twinkling of the eye, is diffused through gradual realization until it is weak and flat. Thus he weakens every crisis in *The Princess*.

When Rosamund realizes her light to be darkness, she grows not bitter, but sad; sad of Henry's lack of faith, not blaming him, but pitying. She wishes still to trust, but may not; she "*should* believe," but cannot. Willing to die, for sadness, she yet hopes he will return to take her pardon; and she fears his bitter wrath against her rival.

Deprived of Henry's love, she turns to cherish Geoffrey; she will give up Henry in order to keep his son, if Eleanor insists, yet only that she may give up the more for the love of Henry. For she still loves the king, although she knows him false. She cannot think him cruel. She remembers, pardons, trusts, and loves him still; although, apparently, he seeks her out no more. She intercedes for him with Becket, now won to her championship. Becket advises her to forget the king. For answer she prays for Henry, Geoffrey, and herself, and in that order. First, she loves Henry; then the boy, as the king's son, rather than her own. For love she will become a creature,—the king's child's mother. She would return to Henry, did he ask. She lives for him, not for herself; and since it pleases him for her to live apart, she suffers that for love, as well. In fine, her life reduces to one trait,—complete, devoted love, at any cost. She is a new Griselda.

It is interesting to compare with the effects of love upon Rosamund, as shown by Henry, the effects of hate, in the person of Henry's queen, Eleanor,—Eleanor, whose relation to Rosamund is dual: both in her own proper person, and through Henry; she is both the rival of Rosamund, and the wife of Rosamund's lover.

As in the case of Marjery, Rosamund's keen intuition comes into play, indicating the identity and the character of the queen, as soon as she appears. The scene which pictures the first and last meeting of the two, is the second of the fourth act. Rosamund, at first, is dignified, formal, angry at the other's intrusion upon the privacy of her bower. Then, immediately generous again, she is solicitous for Eleanor's safety, should the king learn of her visit, and be wroth. The boldness of the queen is too foreign to Rosamund's nature for

her to understand. The contrast between the two characters is splendid and complete.

When Rosamund learns the errand of the queen, she is stricken with terror. She, the continually cherished one, so "tender to all hardness," shrinks from the pain and the ugliness of death. Then, quickly forgetting herself, she wishes to live for her child; and, judging the hard, cold Eleanor by her soft, sweet self, she appeals to the queen's motherliness with earnest pleading.

Rosamund can, with difficulty, believe that Eleanor is in earnest. She is guiltless of wishing the queen harm. On the contrary, she sympathizes with her, as one equally wronged. She regrets to have been, ignorantly, the instrument by which Eleanor's wrong was worked. She will make any reparation possible. She is not jealous of the queen; she is deeply sorry for her. Rosamund pities herself and Eleanor. This pity maddens Eleanor as hate could not do, and she detests herself and Rosamund. Eleanor hates; Rosamund loves. Eleanor is intellectual; Rosamund is emotional.

But Rosamund is too tame for Eleanor, so the queen, planning to sting her into anger, calls her boy "a bastard." All the mother's purity is stirred; her pride rises in a flash. She becomes regal, imperial, in her righteous wrath. She throws prudence to the winds, upholds her honor, and denounces her defamer, first by implication, then in definite words. Eleanor is stunned by surprise, stricken dumb with rage. The scene is Schiller's Mary and Elizabeth in the garden.

Yet Rosamund is not long heroic; she does not continue to be roused. Horror of Fitzurse, who now comes upon the scene, brings her forgetfulness of herself and Geoffrey, in her eagerness to escape the brutal fellow. But again she recovers self-possession and bravery: for Rosamund feels first, then thinks. Eleanor is far cooler. The names for the two women fit them excellently well. Rosamund cannot conceive that Eleanor will hurt her boy; when she is herself, he is uppermost in her thought. The needle of the compass of her nature is very sensitive; moved by the slightest influence, often vibrating widely; yet it always comes to rest pointing truly, at the last.

After more torture, the worm, as Eleanor calls her, finally turns; and Rosamund, rather than dishonor, chooses death for herself and her son. With words such as "adulteress," she again denounces Eleanor, and, brave in conscious purity, bares her bosom to the knife. As Rosamund stood the test of Henry's faithlessness, remaining sweet and loyal, so she stands the test of Eleanor's venomous hate, continuing brave and noble. The tests are the most severe which could be applied to her. Nothing could be more dreadful to dependent trust than falseness; nothing more dreadful to tenderness than hate. Out of all her trials Fair Rosamund comes perfect.

Of course, Rosamund is a romantic character; ideal, flawless. Her only dispraise is the one word "wild,"—meaning youthful—from her staid guardian, John. And this heresy he later recants. The poet, throughout, seems to intend her to be as perfect as he can make her. His fondness saves her from Eleanor's dagger, in violence to tradition and probability. Tennyson has not the dreadful accuracy of Hardy to follow his heroine to her probable end; he closes his play leaving her as she is, with a tenderness like that which makes some players provide a final act for *Romeo and Juliet*, in which the lovers revive and live happy ever after. Yet no one would have Fair Rosamund other than she is; she is the triumph of a poet's heart over fact.

It has been seen how Rosamund acts under the influences of love and hate. The passion of friendship, also, comes to her, in the person of Becket.

At first the vigorous bluntness of the prelate wound her delicate sensibilities: she is pained that he should consider her relation with the king an evil one; that he should wish to know what the king wishes secret,—what she is willing to keep secret, since the king wills it. But she soon pardons him, as kindly and not intentionally harsh.

By intuition she knows that Becket will not change his attitude toward the king; and so she prays the king not to attempt to alter Becket, but to be friends with him. This she wishes for Henry's sake, possibly for Becket's, and, surely, for her own peace of mind. Her only touch of petulance in the play is due to

annoyance at Henry's continually intruding talk of Becket's doings into their hours with one another.

There is a striking contrast between Becket's rugged strength and Rosamund's tender fineness. This is, undoubtedly, one reason for Rosamund's growing fondness for the prelate; as she finds him strong and true, her savior in time of trial. When bereft of Henry's care, she gladly accepts Becket's protection, regarding him as Pompilia did Caponsacchi. After she learns that he will not excommunicate the king, she finds such peace in the priest's care that she can forget her sorrow in discussing subjects of such lightness as the shape of her boy's nose.

In Becket's time of trial, Rosamund grows solicitous for his safety. She prays earnestly for "that dear head." In his danger, self-forgetful, she faces her worst enemies, brave in the midst of armed men, with a bravery newly learned from her religious thought and life. Constant in friendship, as in love, she is with her savior at his death.

Thus much of Rosamund's character and its growth, of what she is and becomes; more is to be said of her action,—of what her life accomplishes. For Rosamund's nature is far from wholly passive. She is not broad, truly, but her very narrowness, intense and consistent, makes her nature rich and potent in effect. The influence of her character, of her words and deeds,—is strong upon the action and the persons of the play.

Rosamund is strongly emotional, acting impetuously upon her emotional stimulus; a contrast in naturalness and genuineness to Eleanor, with her cool, self-conscious, calculating wisdom. With Rosamund, to think and act are one. Her body gives perfect expression to her feeling and thought. She gestures when she speaks; when she repeats one's words, she unconsciously imitates their speaker.

Rosamund's speech is interesting in its display of her psychology. She is less clever than Eleanor, for, although her mind is sensitive and often rather quick, she is tractable rather than independent, and impressionable rather than thoughtful. In matters of thought she attends to details, rather than to principles: hers is the sort of mind which may be deflected from the main track of thought by the interest or the force of an accidental illustration.

When it comes to the emotional life, Rosamund often shows in her conversation the existence of a persistent under-current of feeling, which new ideas, even of dear things, fail to stem or turn. Appreciative and sympathetic, she is, in short, an emotional rather than an intellectual type. Eleanor is the more intellectual, the less "feminine."

Modesty and delicacy are especially characteristic of Rosamund. She is absorbed in her joys and sorrows, rather than in the compliments which her beauty wins her. There are some things in life of which she cannot bring herself to speak, until she is taunted long and brought to bay.

The effect of Rosamund's beauty upon the coarsely judging Marjery has been already noted. In judging Rosamund to be unworldly, Margery is by no means so far wrong.

With all her purity, Rosamund was yet not one who repelled persons of the coarser sort. Her blossoming beauty caused many to buzz about her, before the king-bee came; Fitzurse De Tracy, "even that flint De Brito," were members of the swarm. Fitzurse, incapable of conceiving Rosamund's delicacy, loved her coarsely, as his nature was. When he learns of her again, he can only imagine her as a "paramour," and as a "minion of the king." He finds it possible to pursue her, although, to be just, that is when he is in wine. Yet he would possess her as his own; and it may be considered a limitation in the naturalness of the play—due, probably, to the exigencies of the plot—that Fitzurse, in the murder scene, forgets Rosamund's presence, leaving her untroubled. Perhaps we are to understand that the garb of the church protected her. Her effect on Fitzurse adds an interesting item to the summary of her character: perfect enough as a creature to inflame the rough, elemental man; yet so perfect as a spirit that she is beyond his comprehension.

The crisis scene between Rosamund and Eleanor is as interesting for its effect on Eleanor as for its effect on Rosamund.

The queen knows Rosamund to be "she whom the king loves indeed," but it is the

position and not the personality of her rival which disturbs her. Her attitude is not one of jealousy, but of hate. She knows that Rosamund's relation to the king is more than that of paramour; she fears that it may trouble the succession of her son. Being considered less attractive than another seems not to stir her pride; probably because lovers, other than the king, supply her heart with admiration.

And so, although Eleanor calls her rival "minion," and, even, "wanton," Rosamund's personality diminishes rather than increases her hate. The queen even shows some sympathy for the other woman, who was deceived, as well as she. And her hate appears as scorn for the inferior "child," the sentimental "turtle." She speaks with a caustic humor.

Yet she has no pity for Rosamund; she is by no means shaken in her firm determination to have her will. Characteristically cold, confident in her power, she carries on her bitter play on words. She is so cool that veiled charges fail to move her; she even realizes the theatrical character of her part. She is angered at seeing her jeweled cross on Rosamund's bosom, but seems only to grow the cooler, to torment her victim with the presence of Fitzurse. When Rosamund speaks plainly of her wickedness, Eleanor forgets her lofty air and rushes with her dagger upon the helpless girl, only to be intercepted by Becket, who theatrically arrives at the opportune moment.

Then Eleanor shows hate indeed: toward Becket for thwarting her; and toward Rosamund for humiliating her before the hated Becket, and for saying words which now ring in her ears. She raves, now, at the "minion." In short, Eleanor is forced to recognize in her rival the woman of high rank and noble pride. She thinks to send her away as a deceived young girl; she would spare her as a common paramour; she endeavors to put scorn upon her as an inferior; she, at last, must do her the honor to hate her as an equal, whose words can stir her anger and her pride. Now, her coolness gone, she turns, with fierce invective against Rosamund, to the king. She acknowledges herself thwarted, and lowers her pride to the degree of seeking aid to crush her rival.

Turning again from hate to love, we learn of Rosamund through her boy. He appears a real child; bright, healthy, fond of play,—although the poet has drawn him none too well, with evident struggle for simplicity, and almost petty humor. Even Shakespeare finds it difficult to draw a natural child. Yet, Geoffrey shows that he has been reared in an atmosphere of love and kindness. He has been taught the child-lore of the race, and his mother often tells him how love is better than gold, in the great world which he has never seen. Some of the sweetest pictures of the play portray the beautiful and sweet young mother, cherishing her handsome boy.

With all her love she is not too indulgent. The boy is accustomed to obey from very trust. He is surprised at the deception his mother is obliged to use, when she sends him away from the presence of the angry queen. Living without playmates, and in the constant companionship of his mother, the boy is polite, discriminating, and discreet, beyond his years. He, finally, shows his mother's influence by his love, his admiration, and by a delicate sympathy which notes and shares her very moods. Rosamund fulfils the most delicate requirements of life.

The strongest traits of Rosamund's character appear in their effect on Henry.

In the first place, their love is a romantic one. Henry comes to her when he would forget the world; he thinks of her apart from it, and he would keep her so. She is his "bird," his "golden dream of love's own bower;" he seeks not mind or soul in her, but heart. Henry seems to judge her nature truly: affairs would probably perplex her; he is annoyed when she would speak of them. Like Valdes' Maximina, she is the elemental creature, bringing freshness to the man of the world, wearied with great affairs. Rosamund is as fresh as 'The Princess of Thule.' She banishes cares of state and summons up remembrance of the idyllic days of early love. She, as a fresh, sweet Margaret, brings joy to her world-wearied Faust.

And as Margaret ennobles Faust, so Rosamund does Henry. To him she is no Lias; she stirs the best within him. With her, he regrets his baseness; we are made to suppose

him faithful to her. There are moments when he would, indeed, be true, and tell her all, but she will not hear him speak against himself. Her devotion, overwhelming, shuts her in from larger life. This is the "defect of her quality."

Henry faintly realizes her sacrifice for him; he honors her with his trust, and with praise of her bravery. He finds no fault in his "brave-hearted Rose," his "true heart-wife," whom he would "love indeed as a woman should be loved." He does all in his power to love her with devotion. Knowing her soft, tender, loving nature to be dependent, almost helpless, he cares for her with great anxiety. Always solicitous for her comfort and safety, his first and greatest thoughtfulness is for her. Only most urgent affairs of state can keep her from his mind.

True, he deceives her long and consistently; though her influence shakes his faithlessness, it cannot quite make him true. He never intends to recognize her son, although, at times, it seems that he does think of proclaiming her his wife. Her wish for recognition appears only just to him; he seems to plan to put away Eleanor for her, "in better times." But this is probably desire, not intention; the more convenient season never comes, and Henry acts towards Rosamund as the Earl of Liecester did towards Amy Robsart,—throughout the play such parallels are suggested: the piece has no new themes.

Henry's personal love for Rosamund is undoubted. There is no woman that he loves so well. He evidently prefers her to Eleanor; he gives to her the presents which the queen has given him. He fears for the gentle girl before the strong, cold queen. When his heart masters his head, he would imprison the "devil" Eleanor, for hunting down his Rosamund. When he forgets his policy, he loves Rosamund wholly. He raves at Becket for secluding her, more than for banning him. For her he curses Becket and the church. The primate's interference with the state he could easily brook, not so his interference with his love. The breach with the king thus caused, percipitates Becket's ruin, ending the play with real dramatic power. Rosamund is the power behind King Henry's throne.

Turning from heated love to quiet friendship, one finds a pleasant tribute to Rosamund's charm and worth in the change she works in crusty old John of Salisbury, who hates her and her kind. At the beginning, he grumbles much at this "wild Rosamund;" at the end, although he will not pardon her sex, he admits that she is unique among women,—rare, kind, and gentle—and he calls her "daughter."

The development in Becket's attitude to Rosamund is one of the masterly delineations of the drama, and throws great light upon her character.

In the Prologue, Becket is interested in her for the sake of the king alone; and not pleasantly so. He classes her with Henry's other paramours, and wishes her put away,—not to hurt Rosamund nor to please Eleanor, but that the churchly bond between the king and queen may be no longer broken.

That Becket had been the friend of Rosamund's dead father did not dispose him toward her. Rather the contrary: there is no reason to think that Becket knew the girl, herself, before the opening of the play; and misjudging her relation to Henry only stimulated anger against her, and sorrow for the father whose scutcheon she had blotted.

And so, at his first meeting with her, he is severe, annoyed at being obliged to trouble with her. But her bright beauty, so easily shadowed into mournfulness, and her tender weakness, stir in him a pity he did not feel for her when absent. Pity for her unfortunate relation to the king, for her inability to measure up to, or even to understand the requirements of her position, stirs sympathy and kindly interest in the strong, tender man. He, unconsciously, takes trouble to do more for her than he would for another; he dismisses her with a kindly "Heaven bless thee," and gives orders for her safety. Then he quickly turns to his business again.

He thinks little more of her until he learns, or rather divines, something of her position. Then the idea of her recurs to him amid his great affairs; she is no more a "paramour," but a "wronged innocent," one whom the world has banned as it has him; and he, yet strong, becomes her champion. He sees the wreck of her life, and shelters her. He calls

her "daughter" now; and when she thwarts his wishes, he is not angry but grieved.

For she still loves the king, which Becket knows hurts her peace. In her earlier days, she thought Becket not to be moved, praying Henry to yield. Now that she knows more of the rugged churchman's heart, she prays him to spare Henry, and persists until he yields and promises not to excommunicate the king.

She has crept into his heart; now in his time of trial. Her picture crowds affairs out of his mind, and that at critical times; it makes him think of the soft, sweet influence of woman and of home. Full of such thoughts when his own crisis comes, he begs her to pray for him.

And it is Becket's care for Rosamund, which coarse Henry interprets basely, which acts as an immediate cause in costing Becket his life. And it may be doubted if Henry's love for Rosamund, which failed, did not bring her less of true happiness than Becket's friendship for her, which lasted until the end. The curtain falls on Rosamund kneeling at dead Becket's side.

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HEINRICH'S MESSAGE IN HAUPTMANN'S "DIE VERSUNKENE GLOCKE."

IN the third act of the play Heinrich gives expression to his highest ideals and aspirations, beginning with the words "Urmutter Sonne." Martin Schütze (*Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, p. 86) says in regard to this passage:

"The gist of the whole message, and part of its imagery, too, is contained in the story of 'The Bell,' in Hans Chr. Andersen's *Wonder Stories*."

We know that Hauptmann was perfectly familiar with Andersen's stories, even as a boy, and it is very possible that he got some suggestions from Andersen's story of "The Bell." But Mr. Schütze's statement is too sweeping. The sea which forms such an important part in the passage quoted from Andersen is not mentioned at all by Heinrich. In Andersen all nature is a great holy church; in Hauptmann we have a real temple, aside from the temple of Nature, into which the pilgrims enter. In Andersen the sun disappears and the stars rise; no such change takes place in Hauptmann's description. The latter seems to me to have much more similarity with Uhland's poem *Die verlorene Kirche*, from which, doubtless, Andersen himself got some suggestions for the story of "The Bell." Some details in Hauptmann's description were probably suggested by the last chapter of Tegnér's *Frithiof's Saga*. We know that Hauptmann as a young man had written a drama *Ingeborg*, based upon Tegnér's great epic.[1] The poem, therefore, must have been very familiar to him. I shall quote the passage in question from Mohnike's German translation (Leipzig, 1842). Frithiof has entered the newly erected temple of Balder to be reconciled with the god whom he has so grievously offended. Twelve maidens appear and perform a dance before the altar of the god.

"Und unterm Tanzen sangen sie ein heilig Lied
Von Balder, von dem Frommen." ....
"Nicht als käm
Hervor er aus der Menschenbrust war der Gesang,
Nein, wie ein Ton aus Breidablick, des Gottes Saal,
So wie der Maid Gedanke an den fernen Freund."
. . . . . .
"Bezaubert da stand Frithjof, auf das Schwert gestützt,
Und sah den Tanz; es drängte sich vorbei dem Sinn
Der Kindheitsträume lustig und unschuldig Volk
Mit himmelblauen Augen und das Haupt umwallt
Reich von der goldnen Locken Fluth; die winkten nun
Den Freundesgruss dem fr..hern Jugendfreunde zu."
. . . . . .
"Es wuchs das Lied, die Seele hob sich immer mehr
Empor vom niedern Erdenthal gen Walaskjalf,
Und Menschenrache, Menschenhass schmolz sanft dahin,
Wie Eisespanzer schmelzen von des Felsen Brust,
Wann Fr..hlingssonne scheinet, und es drang ein Meer
Von Fried und von Entz..cken in sein Heldenherz.
Als wenn an seinem Herzen er den Puls des Alls
Vernähm', als wenn er tief bewegt im Bruderarm
Heimskringla wollt' umfassen, so war ihm; als ob
Mit allem Fried' er schlösse vor des Gottes Blick."

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MACBETH THE THANE AND MACBETH THE REGICIDE.

CHARACTER is not the most essential element in the drama. The primary requisite of the drama is action, for action is that which differentiates it, and makes it a distinct art form. Without action there cannot be a drama, whereas

1 Schlenther, *G. Hauptmann*, p. 21.

there may be a poor one without any distinct character-portrayal. However, upon such portrayal depends the *effectiveness* of the drama; if the action is not the inevitable expression of the personality of the characters, it seems either mechanical or capricious.

Of all dramatic forms, tragedy is the most exacting about character. This is evident from the nature of tragedy: tragedy shows man struggling against overwhelming odds, and strong traits of character are needed to throw him into such a conflict.

Although Shakespeare is ever a subtle analyzer of mind and heart, naturally his most powerfully conceived characters are in the tragedies. Brutus, Hamlet, Lear, Othello, and Macbeth are titanic.

Of these great tragic heroes, Macbeth is one of the most fascinating to the student, because the interpretation of his character invites prolonged study. Although it has received quite as much attention from French and German critics as from English, there is not that scholarly tradition in regard to it that one would expect; for while a few of the criticisms have been unbiased and analytic, for the most part they give the impression of being subjective and fanciful. Therefore a review of the character, based strictly upon the lines, may be acceptable.

It is necessary at the outset to decide from what point of view we shall study the man. The emphasis may be placed either upon the ethical or upon the psychological phases of his character. However, the former are more tangible and are primary to the understanding of the latter, therefore they should be studied first.

We cannot understand Macbeth, the intriguer for the throne, unless we first appreciate Macbeth the Thane. Therefore our primary inquiry is, what kind of a man was this Macbeth before he figured in the peculiar circumstances which form the action of the play?

The scene with the witches furnishes a direct approach to the consideration of this question. What are the witches: are they material existences, evil spirits in the service of the powers of darkness, or are they merely the creations of Macbeth's fancy? However much they may be in sympathy with Macbeth's mental state, they are intended by the author to be independent of him. We find four proofs of this in the play. The witches appear to Banquo as well as to Macbeth. The deeds between their first and second appearances are fearfully real. Two of their later prophecies,

> None of woman born
> Shall harm Macbeth (4. 1. 80–81),

and

> Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him (4. 1. 92–94).

are quite contrary to Macbeth's anticipations. Lastly, were they nothing but reflections of Macbeth's mind, they would reappear when he so much desires them,

> Would they had stay'd (1. 3. 83).

No, the weird sisters are not 'the internal spirit projecting its own workings into external forms, which rise up before it with all the certainty of a real object;' they are the servants of the evil one, and are so intended by Shakespeare. He was simply abiding by the popular belief in making them such. Whether or not Shakespeare conceived their significance more subtly than others is quite another question, but with that we are not concerned at present.

Granted, then, that the witches are independent beings in the employ of Satan, are they the first to suggest murder to Macbeth? Some of our critics would have us so believe, but we have external, as well as internal, evidence that such is not the case.

First, as to the internal evidence. We find this in the very different impressions made upon Macbeth and Banquo by the announcements of the witches. Macbeth starts and seems to fear words that should have given joy; as Banquo intimates, why should a man be unnerved by a promise of future happiness? Banquo is interested in the prophecies, but he experiences no emotional disturbance; he shows the interest of any healthy mind in a singular phenomenon.

Again, as to the external evidence. In Act 1, Scene 7, when Lady Macbeth is trying to screw her husband's courage to the sticking-point, she taunts him with the reminder that he first had suggested the idea of the murder to her,

What beast was't then
That made you break this enterprise to me (47–48)?

Even more, she accuses him of having planned out the very time and place,

Nor time nor place
Did then adhere, and yet you would make both (51–52).

Were Lady Macbeth the originator of the plot, as those critics contend who hold her for an arch-fiend, the destroyer of a noble nature, she could not so argue.

These passages just cited refer to a conversation prior to the appearance of the witches, for Lady Macbeth has the murder in mind as a desirable thing at the time when she receives the letter from Macbeth. The first suggestion of the murder could not have come from the witches. There is but one conclusion: it was Macbeth's own evil mind that suggested the first step toward crime. Macbeth was not the victim of fate; the witches came to him because the wickedness of his thoughts made his mind fertile soil for the sowing of the corrupt seed.

Is this view of the early character of Macbeth in harmony with what we learn later regarding it? It is, and, more, it is hardly a suggestion of the baseness to be disclosed. Witness the ancient tyranny brought to light in the scene with the murderers. Macbeth is charging to Banquo's account the oppressions which he himself has inflicted:

Macbeth:

Well then, now
Have you consider'd of my speeches? Know
That it was he *in the times past* which held you
So under fortune, which you thought had been
Our innocent self. This I made good to you
In our last conference, pass'd in probation with you,
How you were borne in hand, how cross'd, the instruments,
Who wrought with them, and all things else that might
To half a soul and to a notion craz'd
Say, 'Thus did Banquo.'

First Murderer.

You made it known to us.

Macbeth.

I did so, and went further, which is now
Our point of second meeting. Do you find
Your patience so predominant in your nature
That you can let this go? Are you so gospell'd
To pray for this good man and for his issue,
Whose heavy hand hath bow'd you to the grave
And beggar'd yours forever?
. . . . . .

Second Murderer.

I am one, my liege,
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Have so incens'd that I am reckless what
I do to spite the world

First Murderer.

And I another
So weary with disasters, tugg'd with fortune,
That I would set my life on any chance
To mend it or be rid on't (3. 1. 74–113).

What a picture of the lord's oppression of his subjects, of crushed hopes and blasted lives! This has been the long slow work of Macbeth.

It is trivial to try to assign these offences to a period subsequent to the murder of Macbeth, on the ground that several years elapse between the coronation of Macbeth and the murder of Banquo.

Banquo opens Act 3 with the words:

Thou hast it now,—King, Cawdor, Glamis, all,—
As the weird women promis'd, and I fear
Thou play'dst most foully for't.

To suppose these words uttered years after the fulfillment of the prophecies is unreasonable; the *now* forbids such a conclusion, and implies that the triumph of Macbeth is but just complete. But Banquo scarcely leaves the stage before the attendant enters with the two murderers.

We should not drop this part of the discussion without studying Lady Macbeth's opinion of her husband. If Macbeth was such a man as we have pictured him, how are we to interpret the words of his own wife:

Yet do I fear thy nature;
It is too full o'th milk of human kindness
To catch the nearest way. Thou wouldst be great;
Art not without ambition, but without
The illness should attend it; what thou wouldst highly,
That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false,
And yet wouldst wrongly win: thou'ldst have great Glamis,
That which cries, 'Thus thou must do, if thou have it;
And that which rather thou dost fear to do
Than wishest should be undone.' Hie thee hither,
That I may pour my spirits in thine ear,
And chastise with the valour of my tongue
All that impedes thee from the golden round
Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
To have thee crown'd withal (1. 5. 14–28).

Is Lady Macbeth deceived into placing too high an estimate upon her husband's kindness and conscientiousness? It would seem so at first reading. There has been an attempt to avoid such a conclusion by reading *human-*

kindness for human kindness, thus making the line mean, you are too conventional in your conduct, too much like the common run of men. Yet there is no parallel use to substantiate such a reading, and the idea contained in the word *milk* makes against it. In Act 4, Scene 3, line 97, of the same play we meet with the work *milk* again, where Shakespeare has in mind the wholesomeness, the healthfullness and soft nourishment of milk. With these passages compare *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 4, Scene 3, line 55:

> I'll give thee armor to keep off that word;
> Adversity's sweet milk, philosophy,
> To comfort thee, though thou art banished.

Also *Lear*, Act 1, Scene 4, line 364:

> This milky gentleness.

Bodenstadt, commenting upon the passage, says:

"We already know him as a quickly determined murderer in thought, and as an accomplished hypocrite; and this nature of his is not belied by the present letter; it appears only thinly disguised. The lady knows at once what he is after; she knows and openly acknowledges that his 'milk of human kindness' will not deter him from attempting the life of old King Duncan, but only from 'catching the nearest way;' that is, from laying his own hand to it."

Surely Bodenstadt is right in thinking that Lady Macbeth could not fail to read the very apparent nervous joy between the lines.

Therefore, for the purpose of testing, we may accept the hypothesis that Macbeth wished the murder committed, but shrunk from striking the blow himself, and from running the risk of punishment. The passage, 'without the illness should attend it,' easily yields to such interpretation, meaning, of course, without the aggressive initiative in crime; 'what thou wouldst highly, that wouldst thou holily' meaning, you would have a righteous veneer for your acts so as to appear honorable. If we do not accept these readings, how shall we harmonize the above quotations with the lines: 'wouldst not play false, and yet wouldst *wrongly win*,' or with: 'that which rather thou dost fear to do, than wishest should be undone?' At the close Lady Macbeth exclaims that it is the *valour* of her tongue, in contrast of course to his shrinking cowardice, that is to chastise him.

But, that we may not appear to read an unwarranted meaning into the passage, let us turn to Scene 7, where Lady Macbeth is urging on her husband; surely if he has moral scruples she here will attempt to smother them. What do we find? Macbeth is just finishing his soliloquy, so full of cold, selfish calculation of the chances of success, when Lady Macbeth enters. With cunning and cowardly hypocrisy, he pleads moral considerations for abandoning the plot. Is Lady Macbeth deceived? Not at all; with unerring, intuitive subtlety she sees through the sham, and tells him that it is cowardice, and that alone, which stands between him and the action. Had she overheard the soliloquy, she could not have been less deceived.

Thus far we have been studying Macbeth the Thane, and we have found that the scene with the witches, the conversation with the murderers, the letter to Lady Macbeth, and her soliloquy upon receiving it, as well as her later conversations, all contribute to the inevitable conclusion that he was a villain at heart.

Up to the time of the circumstances of the play, Macbeth succeeded in deluding the public as to his real character. Banquo, Duncan, and Macduff all had faith in him; Banquo unsolicitedly commended him to the King for his valour (1, 4, 54–55), Duncan guilelessly sought the castle of Inverness (1, 4, 42–43), and Macduff acquiesced when Malcolm reminded him that

> This tyrant, whose sole name blisters our tongues,
> Was once thought honest: you have lov'd him well (4. 3. 12–13).

But murder will out; therefore, let us now study Macbeth, the intriguer for the throne.

The great moral traits in the character of Macbeth, which the circumstances of the action bring to light, are his hypocrisy and his cowardly fear of retribution.

Macbeth's hypocrisy reveals itself as soon as he is seen mingling with men. One who has allowed himself to assume a false position in the world cannot act long at any time without falling back upon deception. Ross and Angus have entered and communicated the King's pleasure to Macbeth. The announcement *Thane of Cawdor* throws him into a

deep study. He is recalled to himself by Banquo's 'worthy Macbeth, we stay upon your leisure'; with the cunning of the serpent, he replies:

> Give me your favour; my dull brain was wrought
> With things forgotten. Kind gentlemen, your pains
> Are register'd where every day I turn
> The leaf to read them. Let us toward the King (1. 3. 149–152).

With such a clue, we are not surprised later at the man who, having just avoided discovery by the timely murder of the grooms, can say with pious tears:

> Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
> Loyal and neutral, in a moment? No man:
> The expedition of my violent love
> Outrun the pauser, reason. Here lay Duncan,
> His silver skin laced with his golden blood;
> And his gash'd stabs look'd like a breach in nature
> For ruin's wasteful entrance: there, the murderers,
> Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers
> Unmannerly breech'd with gore: who could refrain,
> That had a heart to love, and in that heart
> Courage to make's love known (2. 3. 105–115).

The old deception, that has stood him in good stead so many times, has almost given way beneath him here. Yet is he still the fondling of Fate, and she has protected him. What will be his support when he finally casts her away, as he does with the fearful challenge:

> Rather than so, come, fate, into the list,
> And champion me to the utterance (3. 1. 70–71)!

We find the answer in the banquet scene. The table is spread, the guests are assembled; yet one absence is noted by all—Banquo does not grace the feast. The absence must be explained; the false lips are ready to excuse:

> Here had we now our country's honour roof'd,
> Were the grac'd person of our Banquo present;
> Who may I rather challenge for unkindness
> Than pity for mischance (3. 4. 40–43)!

No longer may he hide behind the garment of pitying chance: Fate has anticipated the lying words, for even as he starts to utter them, the guest usurps the royal seat. But not so quickly may the false lips be stopped. They dare again to challenge:

> Give me some wine, fill full,—
> I drink to the general joy o' the whole table,
> And to our dear friend Banquo, whom we miss;
> Would he were here! to all and him we thirst,
> And all to all (3. 4. 88–92).

It is the last. Enraged Fate opens up her treasure-house, and blasts him as the hail the flower. When at length he recovers himself, the veil of hypocrisy is thrown away. From this moment, Macbeth's course is avowed and open crime.

We pass now to the most delicate consideration which meets the student of Macbeth; it is the crucible in which the essence of his soul is tested: does Macbeth, either before the murder or after it, show any adequate appreciation of the eternal issues with which he is trifling; does he show a nature sensitive to the abuse of right, or one that, incapable of abstract devotion to holiness, shrinks only from the consequences of evil? In a word, does Macbeth show remorse, or simply fear of retribution?

We must gain our first clues from the soliloquies, for in them the heart is opened. Turn then to the famous soliloquy in Act 1, Scene 7:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
> It were done quickly: if the assissination
> Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
> With his surcease success; that but this blow
> Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
> But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
> We'ld jump the life to come (91–97).

The only clause of doubtful meaning is: 'if the assassination,' etc; we shall have no difficulty in understanding this, if we make a literal paraphrase: if the assassination could take care of the consequence, and assure, with the cessation, a successful outcome.

The conclusion which Macbeth here reaches is the result of a careful weighing of the eternal cost of his deed. These words are uttered not thoughtlessly or half-formed, not under the goadings of his wife, but as the summing-up of an hour of quite reflection. To the wilful neglect of his guests, he has set aside this time for questioning his soul. The answer is unqualified: care not for your soul's salvation, if in this life you are free from anxiety for your safety.

Then Macbeth turns to the selfish spirit that preserves this life; it weighs the arguments, and in turn gives its answer: you will receive retribution in this life:

> But in these cases
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which being taught return
> To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> To our own lips. He's here in double trust:

First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murder shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking off;
And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, horsed
Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
That tears shall drown the wind. I have no spur
To prick the sides of my intent, but only vaulting
Ambition, which o'erleaps itself
And falls on the other (7-28).

There are those who would find in the lines, 'he's here in double trust,' etc., evidence of honor and allegiance. They can be so construed only when they are taken quite apart from the context. The argument immediately preceding is, that in this world we receive punishment, because we teach others to do to us as we have done to them; the succeeding argument is, that Duncan's meekness and virtue will discover the deed to all. Moreover the intimate connective *besides* indicates that the argument to follow is of like nature with those which have just preceded it. Indeed if we scrutinize closely the lines of the doubtful passage itself, we find strong arguments against the safety of the murder, for Macbeth, as the kinsman and the host, must answer for the murder committed in his own castle.

When we approch a step nearer to the murder, we find that the mind of the assassin is still controlled by the fear of discovery:

If we should fail (1. 7, 59)?

Will it (not) be received,
When we have mark'd with blood these sleepy two
Of his own chamber, and used their very daggers,
That they have done it (1. 7. 74-77)?

Regardless of duty and gratitude, he shrinks from the attrocious deed only because he is a coward at heart. This is what we should have anticipated from our knowledge of his past life. Knowing Macbeth's state of mind up to the hour of the murder, it is not hard to understand the immediate effect of the murder upon him. No sooner is it committed than all self-control is lost, and he is attacked with excessive perturbation. The mumblings of the grooms awake his superstition, strange noises startle him, and voices of the other world utter foreboding prophecies. So completely is he the victim of emotion that he forgets to smear the grooms, nor does he dare return to complete the act. This disturbance is the necessary recoil of the moral coward. His words express not the slightest consideration for the victim, but consuming fear for his own safety. Every remark is self-directive:

But wherefore could not I pronounce Amen?
I had most need of blessing (2. 2. 31-32).

'Macbeth shall sleep no more (2. 2. 43)!

How is't with me, when every noise appals me (2. 2. 58)?

What hands are here? ha! they pluck out mine eyes (2. 2. 59)!

Even the last hurried

Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou couldst (2. 2. 73)!

is but the false hope with which for the moment a guilty mind would soothe itself.

The argument may be advanced that, at such a critical moment, Macbeth is so dominated by his imagination and by his extreme nervous irritability, that his better nature connot appear. This argument is worthy of consideration, but to answer it we need but examine Macbeth's feelings after the immediate excitement has spent itself. The first illuminative passage is in Act 3, Scene 2, where Lady Macbeth chides her husband for his distressed looks:

How now, my Lord! why do you keep alone,
Of sorriest fancies your companions making,
Using those thoughts which should indeed have died
With them they think on? Things without all remedy
Should be without regard; what's done is done (8-12).

Undoubtedly Lady Macbeth thinks that her husband is growing morbid; she has seen little of him since the murder; she is no longer the partner of his plans, only the sharer of his frightful dreams; and when he enters with troubled brow she naturally imputes his looks to the same anguish which is soon to kill her. But that she here misunderstands Macbeth is evident from his reply. His thoughts are not directed above the earth. The old fear of discovery and retribution is still dogging him in the person of Banquo:

We have scotch'd the snake, not kill'd it:
She'll close and be herself, whilst our poor malice
Remains in danger of her former tooth.
But let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer,
Ere we will eat our meal in fear, and sleep
In the affliction of these terrible dreams

That shake us nightly: better be with the dead,
Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
Than on the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstacy. Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreigh levy, nothing,
Can touch him further (3. 2. 13–26).

Such is the happiness for which Macbeth envies his victim: not the joy of clean hands and a pure heart, but the escape from steel, poison, malice domestic, and foreign levy.

If now we scan the remainder of the play, even line by line, we shall find that fear of earthly punishment and longing for selfish happiness are uppermost in Macbeth's thoughts to the very last. It is the former that makes so dramatic the words which burst from his heart when the guests have left, and the whole consequence of Fleance's escape rushes over him:

It will have blood (3. 4. 122).

It is the latter that dictates the bitter lament:

And that which should accompany old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have (5. 3. 24–26).

If Macbeth had felt any genuine remorse, it would have found expression in words of undoubted meaning. There would have been *moments*, at least, when considerations of self would have been forgotten in sorrow at the thought of the suffering caused to others, and in an overwhelming sense of the awfulness of crime. When Shakespeare wishes to portray remorse, he does so with a sure touch. There is no mistaking the remorse in Alonzo's confession of crime:

O, it is monstrous, monstrous!
Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it;
The winds did sing it to me, and the thunder,
That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd
The name of Prosper; it did base my trespass (*Tempest* 3. 3. 96–99)!

Equally clearly is it remorse that prompts the words of Posthumus when he thinks he has caused the death of his wife:

Desired more than constrained; to satisfy,
If of my freedom 'tis the main part, take
No stricter render of me than my all.

For Imogen's dear life take mine; and though
'Tis not so dear, yet 'tis a life; you coined it.
'Tween man and man they weigh not every stamp;
Though light, take pieces for the figure's sake;
You rather mine, being yours; and so, great Powers,
If you will take this audit, take this life,
And cancel these cold bonds (*Cymbeline* 5. 4. 15–28)!

Even Richard the Third shows more spiritual sensitiveness than Macbeth:

O coward conscience, how thou dost afflict me!

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain (5. 3. 181–195).

In Measure for Measure, the Duke says to Juliet:

'Tis meet so, daughter; but lest you do repent,
As that the sin hath brought you to this shame,
Which sorrow is always toward ourselves, not heaven,
Showing we would not spare heaven as we love it,
But as we stand in fear (2. 3. 29–34).

Macbeth spared heaven neither through love nor fear.

The question may be proposed: If Macbeth is such a villain, why is the play so popular upon the stage? It has been a tradition of the drama from the days of Aristotle that the spectator must feel moral companionship for the hero, else the tragic emotions, pity and fear, cannot affect him. The history of the stage proves that Aristotle's analysis is inadequate. To the strict follower of Aristotle, the success of such a villain as Richard the Third as a tragic hero must ever be an enigma. No one can pity the man who loves evil for its own sake, nor can such an one cause us to fear retribution for our own acts. We can only explain the enthusiasm with which Richard the Third is always received, when we admit that any great display of human power is dramatic, great intellect tyrannizing over men and riding down all opposition, as well as great soul battling against ambition or jealousy. Macbeth may be a villain, and yet be a good tragic hero.

Despite its generel popularity, it is the testimony of many who have seen this play upon the stage that the latter part is not only uninteresting, but distressing. The cause of such feeling is not hard to find. Such theatre-goers conceive of *Macbeth* as a great moral battle-field, where is to be witnessed the gradual overthrow of exalted manhood, the extermination of a soul. Their interest is centered upon a supposed inward conflict; and when Macbeth is seen to yield himself quickly and unreservedly to all evil after the murder,

they feel that the real struggle is over, and look upon the rest of his actions as the throes of a being from whom the light of the soul is vanished. To all such the play must be unsatisfactory. It may be uninterruptedly pleasing only to one who finds in it the inevitable expression of, and conclusion to, a life of selfishness.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Précis de l'Histoire de France, avec des Notes Explicatives en Anglais, par ALCÉE FORTIER, Professeur à l'Université Tulane de la Louisiane. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. 12mo, pp. 173.

IN offering another history of France, Mr. Fortier has had in view not special students of history, but Americans who are learning French, and who wish to gain in a short time an acquaintance with the main outlines of the history of the country whose language and literature they are studying. Writing for college students, he has dispensed with the elementary apparatus: pictures, questions, etc., commonly found in the short text-books of history used in the schools of France. There are three colored maps: *Gallia; France, showing the Provinces; France, showing the Departments.* But we miss the genealogical tables of the reigning houses of France. Such tables are manifestly helpful, determining at a glance relationship and fixing the starting-points of new governmental policies. It is be hoped that they will be inserted in a later edition.

As Mr. Fortier treats, in the short compass of one hundred and seventy-three pages, the whole range of French history, beginning even with a mention of the prehistoric Cave Dwellers, and closing with an allusion to the Exposition of 1900, he has been compelled in many cases to limit himself to a brief statement, incurring at times the risk of dryness. The latter remark is applicable chiefly to the treatment of the centuries preceding the Renaissance; but throughout the book the author seeks to relieve the monotony of military annals by brief indications of the development and natural tendencies of French life.

Attention is called to the following points in which, according to our view, corrections or modifications are to be made: P. 2, l. 25, the date of the founding of Marseilles is said to be "l'an six cent *de notre ère*" instead of *avant J.-C.* P. 60, l. 5, it is misleading to say in the same sentence that Marot and Ronsard received their poetic inspiration from the ancients, meaning by ancients the Classical writers of Greece and Rome. For in spite of the general influence exerted upon Marot by the growing interest in Classical ideals, he remained essentially *gaulois* in spirit, while Ronsard was wholly Classical. P. 71, l. 31, insert comma after "payé" instead of after "puis." P. 101, l. 1, instead of saying that the Revolution was prepared by Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, it would be well to state, by way of summary, that the unlimited extension of the royal prerogative, the unjust privileges granted to the nobility with the consequent separation of classes, and the exorbitant taxation of the people, had for more than a hundred years been preparing the Revolution; that the possibility of a reform in government was made popular by the theories of the philosophers; that the revolutionary spirit was encouraged by the successful revolt of the American colonies, and finally, that the limit of endurance had now been reached. P. 135, l. 4, *Terreur blanche* ought to be explained in a note.

To his History Mr. Fortier has added useful *Notes* (pp. 9) in English, explanatory chiefly of persons and places.

The study of French history is valuable, not only for its own sake, but also as an aid to the interpretation of the literature. The text-book under consideration is the work of a diligent student, a teacher of long experience, who has felt the need of such a manual in his own classes. It treats all the periods of French history; the style is clear and simple, well within the reach of those who have studied the language one year and a-half or two years.

The typography and binding are excellent.

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SCHILLER'S MARIA STUART.

Schiller's Maria Stuart, by MARGARETHE MÜLLER and CARLA WENCKEBACH. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900. xxx+262 pp.

WITH commendable care and industry the editors have elaborated apparatus whereby a German classic is made available for the English-speaking student, without any admixture of his native language. Translation is an excellent exercise in one's own idiom, and belongs properly, in American colleges, to the department of English. The desire to deal with immediate realities in the study of a foreign language is laudable, and every influence should be welcomed which tends to bring the student into direct intimacy with the pure source; the question as to the particular steps to be taken in order to master the technique of a foreign tongue is too broad to discuss here.

In general, the book is adapted to do its best work with students who are in their third year of college instruction in German. The introduction covers the facts in which an intelligent student is chiefly interested. It would have been preferable to number the lines of the text consecutively, rather than by separate pages. A cursory glance gives the impression that the text is carefully, though not critically edited; unfortunately I have not the new edition of Goedeke's text at hand. There is, for instance, inconsistency in the use of apostrophes (cf. 97, line 5, and 111, line 17). In the stage-direction after 98, line 9, "Leicester" seems wrongly put for *Paulet*. After 99, line 3, "Leicester" is printed for *Leicestern*, after 102, line 14, "Tone" for *Ton;* 105, line 11, "unterwegs" for *unterweges;* 107, line 8, the word "ihr" should be spaced.

The notes show pedagogic experience. Words of foreign extraction are used to the full limit of what is allowable, and the besetting sin of all commentators, the annexation of information which does not bear upon the artistic purpose of the author, is not entirely avoided, as in the detailed facts about the castle of Fotheringhay, or in giving the date when the lily was taken into the arms of France. A few positive corrections are to be made: To 167, line 13, for "Chorinther" read *Corinther;* to 117, line 10, for "anathemo" read *anathema*. The note to 12, line 8, "mein geängstigt fürchtend Herz," demands a more detailed historical explanation of the neuter form than "Schiller lässt öfters attributive Adjektive unflektiert." While it may be true, according to the note to 22, line 30, that the "katholische Kirche begünstigt eine heitere sinnliche Lebensfreude," it would be merely just to add that the same church has been the fountain-head of ascetic pietism. The note to 129, line 4, "Maria = die Jungfrau Maria" is doubtless correct, but does not the outcry "Maria, heil'ge, bitt' für mich!" also include, by a fine poetic inconsistency, the earthly object of Mortimer's admiration?

In closing, I venture to express what often occurs in dealing with German criticism; namely, the wish there might be more of an attitude of piety toward the stately traditions of the English tongue, which, although its study is not the object of courses in German literature, is, after all, a language worthy of great respect on the part of those who represent a newer culture. It is trying to one's historical sensibilities to meet with "Fletscher" for *Fletcher*, "Wasch" for *Wash*, "Buckhorst" for *Buckhurst*, "King face" for *King's face*, and the like; in this list must also be included the sentence in the preface: "The new feature of this edition is the development questions."

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SPANISH GRAMMAR.

A Brief Spanish Grammar, with Historical Introductions and Exercises, by A. HJALMAR EDGREN, Ph. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1900.

WE have this very useful book now before us in its third issue. It has been successively improved, but it is to be regretted that the latest revision should not have been more thorough and complete.

It is the belief of the present writer that this grammar, in spite of imperfections, is the best available for the teaching of elementary Spanish, and from this standpoint, and in the spirit of friendly criticism, the following sug-

gestions are offered in the hope that they may be of service to a future edition, which will no doubt be called for.

I. Pronunciation.

The chapter on pronunciation is one which I should like to see improved and expanded. Professor Edgren states that his rules "are a brief digest . . . . of Dr. Araujo's *Recherches sur la phonétique espagnole* in *Phonetische Studien*." It seems to me that he has not derived as much benefit as is possible from this work, and I believe that if he had used the same author's *Fonétika Kastelana*, Toledo, etc., 1894, "una traduksión ampliada i korejida" of the *Recherches* he would have found therein considerable additional help.

Araujo distinguishes three important varieties of *a*, of which certainly A (open) and *a* (half-open) are of very frequent occurrence. Edgren gives but one pronunciation, though in his examples all three occur. Similarly, he makes no distinction between close and open *e*, *o*, *u*, though there are, in fact, at least four varieties of *e*, three of *o*, and three of *u*.

He follows the traditional but false scheme of diphthongs, including combinations whose first element is the palatal *i* and the labial *u*. There are in Spanish, as Araujo points out (p. 70), but six diphthongs: *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *au*, *eu*, *ou*. The same criticism applies to the statement of the triphthongs, as found in the Grammar.

Edgren recognizes that *b*, *v*, are alike in sound, and that these letters after *m*, *n*, represent the voiced bilabial stop; but he does not add that *n*>*m* under the influence of the following sound. The nature of *c* (*z*), *d*, *g*, *j*, *x*, and particularly of *r*, is not clearly stated; in fact, neither *r fuerte* nor *r suave* is dental, but both are alveolar, the latter being an especially difficult sound to acquire In general, the explanation of the sounds is very insufficient, as are also the orthoëpic rules, even when judged from the standpoint of the author's method (key-words, etc.). We could wish that he had treated the subject phonetically.

II. Forms.

The statement of the forms is fairly satisfactory, though in not a few cases clearness is sacrificed to conciseness. A few of the stumbling blocks I have noted are: P. 10. The rule regarding *santo* is ambiguous. P. 11. "Lo determines an adjective, adverb or participle used as noun." "Abstract" before "noun" would restore clearness.—*El* for *la*. It might be better to state that this is really a form of the feminine article.

P. 22, §50, note. *Doscientos* should be *doscientas*. *Mil* is masc. as substantive, but varies as adj. P. 23. An essential rule omitted is that in order to have two atonics governed by a verb, the direct object must be of the third person, with the exception (not usually noted) of such constructions as *no te me vayas*. P. 27. §68, note: *When* may *que* after preposition refer to persons?

P. 39, §86, 2. Add *valer* (*val*, *vale*, like *yaz*, *yace*).

P. 40, §86, 4. Add *estar*.

P. 30, §104. *Y* does not become *é* before *hie-*.

III. Syntax.

P. 52, §107, 3, should be connected with the possessive relation, cf. §124.

P. 62, §120: "any positive verb-form" should read "any positive form of the indicative," since the enclitic use of personal pronouns with the subjunctive is inadmissible except with subj. for imper., and the rule for attachment to positive imper., inf. and ger. has already been given.

P. 64, §125: The depreciative sense of *éste*, etc., placed after noun might be emphasized.

P. 64, §126: It should be noted that this refers to commercial style.

P. 67, §136: *Ninguno* usually precedes noun, while *alguno* in negative sense follows. It is not quite correct to say that *ninguno* is just like *nadie*, the former being rather partitive in sense.

P. 79, §169, note: The list might be made complete by the addition of *luego de*.

P. 80, §125: *Si* in such constructions does not always indicate surprise merely.

I pass over the chapters on versification and Spanish words in English, as I have also passed over the historical introductions, for the reason that I have not used these parts of

the grammar, and with the remark that I should have preferred to see them supplanted by a fuller treatment of the descriptive grammar proper.

IV. Exercises.

I would make the general criticism that those exercises which directly illustrate the grammar are too brief or few in number, particularly those on the syntax, which adapt themselves but irregularly to the grammatical material. The pieces of connected prose I have found very useful, though I could wish there were more of them, and that the Spanish pieces might have served as models for the exercises following them. In exercise I, I especially regret the advice to "pronounce consonants . . . . as in English."

V. Vocabulary.

The vocabulary is nearly complete, but in a third issue, at least, it ought to be quite so.

VI. Errata and Misprints.

I subjoin a list of errata and misprints, which is, of course, not intended to be exhaustive.

P. 4, for *équis* read *equis;* p. 5, for *bu·eno, bue-no;* p. 9, for *hench(i)ó*, hinch(i)ó; p. 18, *-ote* is not always or often diminutive; p. 44, for *importe, importa;* p. 49, for *adelante de, además de;* p. 53, for *intencion, intención;* p. 54, for *que, qué;* p. 58, for *el autor, al autor;* p. 74, for *miéntrus, mientras;* p. 77, for *wagon, wagón;* p. 79, for *concluido, concluido;* p. 82, for *sealo, sea aquello* (?); p. 83, for *quitado, dejado;* for *Ese, Ése;* p. 93, for *ceñer, ceñir* or *ceñar;* p. 96, *mujeracha, mujerona*, transpose the meanings; for *piecito, piecillo* read *piececito, piececillo;* p. 100, sentence 15, the combinations *dándolesnos, dándomele* are impossible; sent. 25, for *si, sí;* p. 101, the indications in sent. 7 and 16, "with dat." and "f. dat." should be "pers. acc. with *á;*" *me alegro saberlo* should be either *me alegra saberlo* or *me alegro de saberlo;* p. 102, sent. 2, for 5, 6; *han*, 'they have,' add aux.; p. 103, 1, for 'more elegantly,' 'less elegantly'; p. 105, sent. 2 and 5, for *A, Á;* sent. 3, *este, éste;* sent. 7, *feeha, fecha;* p. 107, sent. 15, ref. to §25 a, is out of place; p. 109, for *algun, algún;* 'the first train,' omit 'first'; p. 110, for *immediatamente, inmediatamente;* p. 113, for *largísimo, larguísimo;* for *en que, que en;* p. 115, *podia, podía;* for *immóvil, inmóvil;* p. 17, for *Franciso, Francisco;* for *esponía, exponía;* fut. §147, out of place; p. 119, sent. 6, for *había yo andado, había andado yo;* sent. 11, for *sería, estaria;* for *esclamó, exclamó;* p. 121, sent. 8, for *como, cómo;* p. 123, sent. 13, for *que, más que;* for *algun, algún;* for *Chino, chino;* p. 124, for *balcon, balcón;* for *se reproduce, se reproducen;* sent. 5, absol. superl. adj. in *—ísimo* for 'most learnedly' should be adv.; p. 125, for *donde, dónde;* p. 126, the (*de*), transpose; p. 142 (vocab.) for *crísis, crisis;* for *costumbre*, m., *cost.*, f.; p. 143, omited: 'to equal,' *igualar;* p. 145, omitted: 'loss,' *pérdida*, f.; p. 149, for *mode, modo.*

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ITALIAN LITERATURE.

Vita di Benvenuto Cellini: Testo Critico con Introduzione e Note Storiche per cura di Orazio Bacci. In Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, Editore, 1901.

With the exception of Dante there exists, I believe, no document of greater importance to the study of Italian, and in particular, of the Tuscan dialect, than the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini. Despite certain pretensions to an ancient and lofty origin, Benvenuto was a man of the people and wrote the people's tongue. As he tells the story of his life the words roll out eloquently, and often with the greatest confusion. If such a figure be permissible, many of Cellini's sentences lack arms, while others have but one leg, and some no head. In a word he writes as he thinks, naturally, with none of the dryness so often found in writers who hold grammar in scholastic awe. The *Vita* of Cellini is a primary record of his mind, and, therefore, a document of the highest value to students of language as a psychic sign. It is, furthermore, a mine of Tuscan, through which run streaks of other ore; for Benvenuto had an appropriative mind and began to travel when still a child. We possess, however, no more voluminous, no purer record of the language of Florence as it was spoken in the sixteenth century. Not

only had Benvenuto an immense vocabulary, but he inflected his verbs and varied the other parts of speech with all the profusion of a plebeian to whom *aspettavi* and *aspettavate*, *dentro* and *drento*, *filosafo* and *filosofo*, *stietto* and *schietto*, are pretty much the same.

Notwithstanding the manifold value of Cellini's Life, no good edition of it has existed until this year. We have to thank Signor Orazio Bacci for editing the book in an adequate, I might say conclusive, way. The laborious years which this distinguished scholar required and gave to his task, will not fail to find a reward in the appreciation of all who study Italian literature.

This edition of Cellini is the work of a trained philologist, and has furthermore the merit of being well printed—a rare and gratifying quality in the books of modern Italy; for the land of Aldo Manuzio in this respect lags usually far behind England, the United States and France, in which countries no classic is likely to remain long in shoddy dress. It is a pity that the only good accessible edition of Italy's greatest poet should have had to be printed in England. That the Life of Benvenuto Cellini, after a durance of three hundred and fifty years, may be read at last in an edition at once so scholarly and so pleasing to the eye, is due in the first place to the instigation of Signor Giosuè Carducci. The credit, however, for carrying out the work with such success belongs to Signor Orazio Bacci, and his edition will be appreciated by all the friends of Benvenuto Cellini.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de buen amor. Texte du xive siècle publié pour la première fois avec les leçons des trois manuscrits connus, par JEAN DUCAMIN. Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1re Série, Tome vi. Toulouse: 1901. 8vo, lvi+344 pp.

THE poems of Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, were first made accessible to the public in the year 1790 when Tomás Sánchez published them in the fourth and last volume of his *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo xv.*[1] This early edition was based on the three extant manuscripts of Juan Ruiz's work, but, as may be judged from the date, the editor did not produce a text suitable for modern critical investigations in regard to language and versification. Furthermore, Sánchez himself tells us that he has

"suprimido una poesía entera y varios pasajes, no los ménos festivos é ingeniosos por no ofender á los que lean estas composiciones, olvidados del fin con que se publican."

In 1863, Amador de los Rios published in his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* the greater portion of those passages which Sánchez had suppressed. Unfortunately, Rios consulted only two of the early manuscripts and it is even possible that he saw only later copies of the original documents.[2] Thus we are not surprised to find that he failed to discover all the missing passages, and that his text, as published, is by no means free of linguistic errors. In the following year Florencio Janer reprinted Sánchez's text, emending it in the light of but one early manuscript and two later copies of another. Janer also attempted to publish the stanzas not included in the earlier edition, and it seems that he was not familiar with Rios' work on the same subject.

Prof. Jean Ducamin, realizing that the previous editions could not serve as a proper foundation for linguistic study, has prepared a book the aim of which may be set forth in the editor's own words:

Nous avons cru que l'œuvre de l'Arciprêtre était assez importante pour mériter une édition paléographique et une édition critique, et c'est la première que nous offrons aux hispanisants, ... Les textes de Sánchez et de Janer peuvent, à la rigueur, fournir une base suffisante à une étude littéraire de l'Arciprêtre, mais ils ne sauraient servir aux grammairiens ou aux métriciens pour leurs travaux précis et minutieux. C'est surtout en pensent á eux que nous avons fait notre édition. Nous avons voulu qu'elle pût, autant que possible, leur tenir lieu des manuscrits.

Former editors designated the Arcipreste's work *Poesías* or *Libro de cantares;* Ducamin prefers *Libro de buen amor* which was the title used by the author himself in several instances, adopted by Baist,[3] and discussed at

1 Reprinted by Ochoa, Paris, 1842.

2 Cf. Ducamin, p. xlii.

3 *Grundriss der Ro u. Phil.*, ii, 2, 405.

length by Menéndez Pidal.[4] In the present edition the first two chapters of the introduction deal with the manuscripts—their history, contents, size, script, water-marts, etc., and finally the extent to which the documents had been used by previous editors.

The early manuscripts are three in number. The first (**S**) was formerly in Salamanca and is now preserved in the Palace Library in Madrid. The hand-writing is late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and the text contains, as an introduction, ten stanzas and a lengthy prose passage, neither of which is found in the other early versions. The second manuscript (**G**) belonged formerly to Benito Martínez Goyoso and passed later into the possession of the Spanish Academy. The manuscript was finished July 23, 1389 and some unknown person, "à une époque assez ancienne," underscored, or otherwise marked, certain verses and single words, and Ducamin gives a complete list of these verses and words, and notes that the former are generally proverbs, while the latter were apparently intended for a vocabulary of those expressions which offered special difficulty or interest. The third manuscript (**T**), originally in the Cathedral of Toledo, is now in the National Library in Madrid. The hand-writing is contemporary with that of **G**. In 1899 the manuscript was re-bound, and the binder while trimming the leaves cut into the text in several instances. Fortunately, Ducamin had made his copy in 1897, and thus he has preserved to us the missing letters. **T** and **G** belong to a separate group from that represented by **S**; the order of verses is the same in **G** and **T**, though it differs at times from that in **S**; **G** and **T** show similar errors, and as noted above these two documents were written at about the same time. The book before us contains a facsimile of one page from each of the three manuscripts.

After discussing the sources just mentioned the editor refers to

> "un curieux programme ou boniment de jongleur .... Ce pot pourri de dictons et bouffonneries diverses renferme quelques vers de l'Arciprêtre. Ils sont certainement cités de mémoire et sans le moindre souci de la mesure, ni de leur ordre véritable."

4 *Rev. de arch. bib. y mus.*, ii, 1898, pp. 106 ff.

The document is of little value for the study of Juan Ruiz's text, but taken as a whole it throws such a light on the history of the Spanish jongleurs that Ducamin has decided to publish it in full at an early date.[5]

In addition to the manuscripts, there are five "copies" based on sources which are accessible. The first three copies are so closely related that

> "Elles semblent prouver qu'à une époque où **S** n'était pas encore connu, antérieurement à Sanchez, en 1753, on avait songé à faire, avec **G** et **T** complétés l'un par l'autre, une édition de l'Arciprêtre."

The fourth copy is based on **S**, and the fifth seems to be simply a reproduction of Sánchez' printed text.

After discussing the various editions of the Arcipreste's work, Ducamin concludes his introduction with three tables. These tables contain, respectively, the comparative numbering of the strophes of his own and Janer's text; a series of parallel columns showing which strophes are contained in the several manuscripts; a comparison of the folios of the manuscript with the pages of the edition.

The editor has taken **S** as the basis for his text, though he uses **G** in order to supply the lacunæ. The reason for selecting **S** as a basis lies in the fact that it is more complete than either **T** or **G**; it is written more carefully and intelligently, and gives, as a rule, the more correct readings, in spite of the somewhat modernized orthography. Furthermore, the spelling in **S** is rather complex, and it was found more convenient to produce this manuscript in full, and give the reading of the other two in the variants. In some cases slight orthographic differences, such as the forms of the letter *s*, are not noted among the variants, but in order that the reader may become familiar with such minor variations, one hundred and thirty-four strophes of **G**, and seventy-seven strophes of **T** are produced *in extenso*.

There are several typographical features of the text which call for special mention. Those portions of the manuscript which are written in red ink are transcribed in heavy type. The editor has reproduced the three scribal forms of the letter *i* (*j*), and has used five distinct

5 Cf. Menendez Pidal. *Cron. gen. de España*, p. 9.

letters in order to render the various forms of the dental sibilant; namely, ς, ſ, ϭ, *f*, and *s*. The abbreviations have, for the most part, been resolved, and the corresponding letters are put in italics. The horizontal stroke, when used to represent palatalization of the letter *n*, is transcribed as a *tilde* (saña, año), otherwise it is interpreted as *n* (muera*n*, no*n*lo). In those cases when the stroke is superfluous, or where its value is doubtful, it has been retained, thus we find such forms as grañd, cieñt, feĉho, coṁo, oṁe. I reproduce, herewith, the first two stanzas of the text, omitting the foot-notes corresponding to the numerals 1–4:

Señor[1] dios q*ue* aloϭ jodioϭ pueblo de perdiçio*n*
facaſte de cabtiuo de*l* pode*r* de fa[raon][2],
adaniel facaſte del poço de babilo*n*,
faca ami coytado deſta mala prefio*n*.

Señor tu diſte gr*aç*ia aeſte*r* la Reyna,
ante*l* (*sic*) el rrey afuero ouo tu gr*aç*ia digna:
ſeñor, da me tu gr*aç*ia *e* tu merced Ayna;
facame[3] deſta la[ſ]eria deſta p*reſio*n[4].

It is somewhat difficult to decide when the horizontal stroke over a letter is superfluous, consequently we find the stroke retained in 'nōl,' 'nīl,' but transcribed as *n* in "co*n*nella" (538 d); likewise, we see "co*n* nel (*sic*)" (46 c) in contrast to "co*n*nel" (341 b). Indeed it is to be regretted that the editor has not preserved intact all the abbreviations, thereby keeping his text one step nearer the original manuscripts.

While it has been the aim of the present reviewer to give a brief description of the contents and purpose of this new edition, it is impossible to convey an adequate impression of the patience and skill exhibited by the editor in the preparation of the introduction, text, variants, and foot-notes. While the book is intended primarily for the student of language, persons interested in Spanish literature will find welcome material in the seventeen hitherto unpublished stanzas,[6] and in the *Index de noms propres*. In short, the present edition is an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Old Spanish, and, although the editor makes no promises, I hope he may supplement the book by a critical study of the text. In many respects Juan Ruiz is the most important figure of his time, and the publication of the manuscripts of his verses forms an appropriate sequel to Knust's recent study of Juan Manuel, the Arcipreste's famous contemporary.

6 Nos. 385, and 436–451. See also no. 1656.

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LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA.

A Literary History of America. By Barrett Wendell, Professor of English at Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900.

The most striking fact about American literature is its retardation. The earliest colonists came over in the heat of religious and political controversies, and brought with them the Bible—that is, Religion, and the Common Law—that is, Politics. When they had set up (in New England at least) a commonwealth as nearly resembling the old Hebrew theocracy as was possible for Englishmen, and substituted the despotism of the pulpit for the despotism of the throne, they naturally found that politics and religion merged into one. Thus the whole literature (if we can call it literature) of the seventeenth century was theological; re-arguing in heavy prose, or droning in unmelodious verse, the doctrines which had been alive at the beginning of the century. They were out of the world; embayed from all currents of transformation; and the changes that England passed through from James I. to Anne, from Shakespeare to Dryden, practically touched them not. In art and letters the beginning of the eighteenth century found them a hundred years behind.

But the middle of the century saw an advance. America became conscious of itself, and ceased to be a detached piece of England. New England had shaken off the shackles of her rigid theology; and secular politics, the nature and duties of government, and the rights of the people, especially the American people, now occupied men's minds. To this extent the literature was American: in thought it was English, and in expression it modelled itself on the *Spectator*, Swift, and Pope.

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw

the attempt to produce a genuine American literature—at least a literature dealing with American subjects. Brockden Brown, Cooper, and Irving founded American fiction. An indisputable poet arose in Bryant; a really original genius in Poe. The "Knickerbocker School," if it produced nothing that was excellent, produced at least more than a little that was respectable. The revived New England, with Prescott, Parkman, Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow, went beyond respectability, and even promised excellence. It had also an original genius and delicate artist combined in Hawthorne; but with nearly all the rest, the fault was that the artists were not thinkers, and the thinkers were not artists. All things seemed to foreshadow the rise of a literature which should be original as well as artistic; should be distinctively American in moods of thought and feeling, and with some claim to take a place of its own among the literatures of the world.

Such a literature, however, has not yet appeared, though it may be at the door. We have writers in abundance, and the presses groan with American books, but somehow literary power seems to fail us. Prof. Wendell (the thread of whose narrative we have been following) in the section entitled "The Rest of the Story," gives us a rather disheartening outlook. He thinks that

"newspaper humour, the short stories of the magazines, and the popular Stage, seem the sources from which a characteristic American literature is most likely to spring."

If these be indeed the germs from which our literature of the twentieth century is to take its origin, they must be endowed with some element of vitality not visible to the present writer.

This book is incomparably the best on the subject that has come under our notice. The movement in literature is co-ordinated with the social and political movements, without which treatment a so-called history of literature is nothing but a handbook for reference. The author's views are broad and liberal, his judgment sound, and the work shows throughout a candor and freedom from bias which are beyond praise.

Wm. Hand Browne.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—*A Short History of French Literature*, by L. E. Kastner and H. E. Atkins of Cambridge, England, has recently appeared. Considering the small space into which the writers have compressed their vast materials, the main currents of tendency in the different periods of French literature are admirably stated. The writers are evidently permeated with the ideas of M. Brunetière, and their book is, on the theoretical side, in the main, a reflection of his doctrines. In the treatment of individual writers, likewise, the data furnished by the best French criticism are again very felicitously summarized, but an occasional slip in dealing with such a multitude of facts is inevitable.

In a work of such small compass it was impossible to aim at originality, to adapt the presentation to the Anglo-Saxon's angle of vision, to accentuate the things in French literature that he less easily apprehends or most needs, or to enlighten the subject by that constant comparison or contrast of literary phenomena offered by two parallel literatures.

A few corrections and observations are offered:

P. 60, it is stated that "already in 1550 Ronsard was fully established and looked upon as the prince of poets." And on p. 63: "Already a year after the publication of the Pléïade's manifesto, Ronsard was recognized as the greatest living poet." This is placing it at least several years too early and would imply instant recognition.

Du Bellay (p. 65) can hardly be called the most *original* poet of the Pléïade, since compared with the wide scope of Ronsard, he succeeded only in *la poésie intime*.

Montaigne (p. 85) is accused of a *somewhat hurried departure* at the time of the Bordeaux plague—in reality he was absent and refused to return. See his letters.

The statement (p. 88) that athletic training is too much neglected in Montaigne's system of education is not tenable. "Ce n'est pas assez de lui roidir l'âme, il lui faut aussi roidir les muscles, etc." (*Essais* I, 25.) "Il le faut

rompre à la peine et aspreté des exercices, etc." (*ibid.*)

P. 118, the "Spaniard Montemayor" should read the "Portuguese Montemayor." P. 131, Tucis et Amarante should read Tircis et Amarante. P. 139, the date of *Les Plaideurs* is twice given as 1688 instead of 1668. P. 140, Don Cassius should read Dion Cassius. P. 153, the Abbé de Saint-Real becomes the abbot of St. Real.

P. 259, Dumas the Elder is called the grandson of a creole—the writer evidently attaching to this word a meaning it does not possess. Read *negress*. P. 298, *La Petite Roque* is classed among the novels instead of the *Contes* of Maupassant. P. 300, *Le Lys Rouge* is classed with *Sylvestre Bonnard* and *Le Livre de Mon Ami;* as,

"charming stories which deal in a playful way with various philosophic and scientific mysteries and curiosities, and in which there is much delicate fancy and very little striving after realism,"

which, of course, is wholly untrue of *Le Lys Rouge*. Anatole France is on the whole rather inadequately treated. In like manner the patriotic *motif* in Erckmann-Chatrian is overlooked, and they appear as painters of Lorraine peasant life only.

P. 301, L'Abbé Tigraine should read Tigrane. P. 302, for Nimrod et Cie, read Nemrod et Cie. P. 303, instead of *Pascal Gavosse* read *Pascal Géfosse*. The date of its publication was 1887, not 1889, and the date of Renan's *Études d'Histoire Religieuse* should be 1857, not 1856.

P. 288, Rodenbach certainly deserves mention as much as Rollinat, and p. 306, in the meagre paragraphs on contemporary critics, one misses Faguet beside Lemaître and France. Scherer, too, deserves to be mentioned.

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MODERN ENGLISH ajar.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—I beg to offer the following note on the voiced *j* (dž) in the modern *ajar*.

Skeat, *Concise Ety. Dict.*, says of this word: "Put for *a char*, *on char*, on the turn, . . . <A. S. *on cerre*, on the turn. <A. S. *cyrran*, *cerran*, to turn;" Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Etymology*, offer no explanation of the change of *ch* to *j;* the earliest instance of *ajar*, as given in the *New Eng. Dictionary*, is taken from Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), although a slightly different form, *at jar*, in the sense of 'partly opened,' is cited from Swift's *Abol. Chr.* (1708), and explained as due to false analogy of *at jar*, 'out of harmony,' which is found as early as 1553.

Does the word *ajar*, 'partly opened,' owe its *j* to false analogy of *at jar*, 'out of harmony'? It may be that such is the true explanation, but I venture to suggest that the change of *ch* (*tš*) into *j* (*dž*) is quite parallel to that of *s* into *z*, the latter taking place in Modern English when the *s* was preceded by an unstressed, and followed by a stressed, vowel: note the interchange of voiceless and voiced sounds in such pairs as *luxury* (*kš*) and *luxurious* (*gž*), *execute* (*ks*) and *executive* (*gz*), and also the retention of the voiceless (*tš*) in the dialectal *char*, as compared with the voiced (*dz*) in *ajar*. Moreover, Sweet, *HES.*, §928, points out the fact that there was at one time an alternation of voiceless *which* (*whitš*) with voiced (*whidž*) in such a word as *whichever*. It would seem, therefore, that the *j* in *ajar* may be another example of the voicing of sounds as a result of want of stress.

In connection with Swift's usage of *at jar*, in the sense of *ajar*, 'partly opened,' I should like to call attention to the fact that the Anglo-Indian *achar*, 'pickles,' is also found, according to the *NED.*, with the forms *atchaar*, *attjar*. Note also the obsolete *atchieve*, by the side of the present *achieve*. May not Swift's *at jar* be explained as due to a change in his pronunciation of the earlier *a char* rather than to false analogy of an expression entirely different in signification?

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GOETHE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—Dr. Eugene Oswald, in his exhaustive bibliography of *Goethe in England and*

America,[1] lists the only translation of *Palæophron and Neoterpe* as follows:

"A masque for the Festival of the twenty-fourth of October, 1800. From the German of Goethe, by the translator of Goethe's Herrmann [sic] and Dorothea and Schiller's Mary Stuart. [Who can that be? The oldest *dated* translation of H. and D. is Holcroft's of 1801; there are two early undated ones, Whewell's and Cochrane's. The Brit. Mus. Catalogue suggests J. C. Mellish.] Weimar, Gädicke & brothers, 1801. 18 pp. 4°."[2]

The translation is undoubtedly the work of Joseph Charles Mellish, who was well known at Weimar.[3] Not only was the translation published at Weimar as above, but it also appeared at London (1801), in *The Monthly Magazine*,[4] with the title:

A MASQUE, by GOETHE; translated from the original manuscript by Mr. MELLISH, of Weimar.

It was preceded by an Introduction from the pen of William Taylor of Norwich.[5] Goethe himself referred to Mellish's translation in a letter to Cotta, dated January 29th, 1801.[6]

Mellish's English version of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* (1801) is well known to bibliographers. Notices will be found in contemporary numbers of *The British Critic*[7] and *The Monthly Mirror*.[8] Dr. Oswald could not identify Mellish as "the translator of Hermann and Dorothea," because that translation was not published; although we have ample evidence that it was undertaken. Thus, on May 2nd, 1798, Goethe wrote[9] to Schiller:

"Die englische Uebersetzung meiner Dorothea welche Herr Mellish unternommen hat ist, wie er mir gestern sagte, fertig, er will mir die vier ersten Gesänge zeigen die er mit hat. Ich selbst kann so was gar nicht beurtheilen, ich will veranlassen dass Schlegel sie zu sehen kriegt, der das Verhältniss beyder Sprachen mehr studirt hat."

Again, on August 24th, 1799, Schiller, in a letter[10] to G. H. Noehden (one of the translators of his *Don Carlos* and *Fiesco*), mentioned Mellish's translation of *Hermann and Dorothea* as about to be brought out by Bell, the London publisher. Nothing further seems to be known of its fate.[11]

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1 *Die Neueren Sprachen*, vii, pp. 313 ff., 404 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 331-332.
3 *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Cotta*, p. 348, n. 2.
4 *Monthly Mag.*, xi. pp. 232-236.
5 Cf. Robberds, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of W. T.*, i. 393.
6 Goethe, *Werke* (Weimar, 1893), iv. Abth., xv. Bd., s. 170.
7 *Brit. Crit.*, xviii, pp. 665-667.
8 *Monthly Mirror*, xiii, p. 42.
9 *Werke*, iv. Abth., xiii. Bd., s. 135.
10 *Briefwechsel zw. Schiller u. Cotta*, p. 348.
11 Cf. *Notes and Queries*, Seventh Series, xii, 507, and Eighth Series, i, 58.

TRANSVERSE ALLITERATION AGAIN.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—It is clear from Prof. Emerson's letter in your last issue that much of the difference between him and myself is due to a confusion of terms. For example, he thinks I have assumed, and challenges me to prove, "that mere chance accounts for the initials of words in poetry." Of course I cannot accept such a challenge. As he seems to understand "chance," I admit that nothing in this world is governed by it;—but as I understand it, the laws of chance apply to every fact about which we lack complete knowledge. When I say it is an even chance whether it will rain or shine, I mean that so far as my knowledge goes there is as much reason to expect rain as to expect clear weather; but Prof. Emerson, apparently, would deny me the right to use such an expression unless I am prepared to prove that "mere chance accounts for" the weather.

Apart from this, the trouble is simply that Prof. Emerson does not understand me. I regret very much that I was not able to make my meaning clearer. My conclusions were based largely upon the results of his scholarly and exhaustive investigations; and we differ so little upon the main issue that I think we should probably not differ at all, if we fully understood each other. Still, it would be unreasonable to demand space for further amplification and elucidation of my own article, in the reasoning of which I see nothing that needs amendment; and I am, therefore, content to rest upon my former argument.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, May, 1901.

THE FRENCH CONDITION CONTRARY TO FACT.

In the earliest French monuments, the unreal condition both present and past is expressed by the use of the subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis. Later, the subjunctive disappears entirely in the present unreal condition and, in part, in the past unreal condition. This change of syntax renders necessary a historical examination of the French condition contrary to fact, in order to trace first the gradual disappearance of the subjunctive and, in the second place, to note the constructions by which the subjunctive has been supplanted. In the present paper such a study has been made on the basis of the material collected from an examination of representative French authors,[1] ranging from the eleventh century to the present time. While the list of texts here examined is by no means exhaustive, it may be considered as fairly representative. I have examined few texts later than the sixteenth century for the reason that most of the changes in the construction in question took place before that time.

I.

EXAMPLES OF OCCURRENCE IN THE TEXTS EXAMINED.

A. *Present condition contrary to fact.*

a. Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis:

E Deus, dist il, bels reis qui tot governes,
Se tei ploust ici ne volsise estre (A, 41 ab).
Fust i li Reis n'i oüssum damage (C, l. 1102).
De la joie assez vos contasse,
Se ma parole n'i gastasse (J, l. 2393).
Je oi la fors et grant noise et grant cri;
S'or eüssions bons destriers arrabis,
Ja oississions la fors tot ademis
Por nos vengier de nos max enemis (O, l. 3795).
Se j' osasse amer,
Volentiers amasse (P, II. 65, 11).
Se carmes et herbes vausissent,
Jamés amors ne departissent (T, l. 1321).
Et ce ie faillir ne cuidasse,
De sa biautei vos devisaisse (V, l. 188).
Si bataille perdue fust reprouche, on ne
Luy feïst pas tel honneur (Z, 45).

b. Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

Dist Guillelmes d'Orenge: "E, sainz Pieres, aiue!
Car la tenisse en France, et Bertrans si i fusset,
A pis et a martels sereit aconseüe!" (B, l. 326).
Mais bien dist que M mars d'argent
Au grant pois vorroit avoir mis
Se cil fust autant sez amis
Qui sa gent avoit fait la honte,
Que il estoit amis au conte (Q, l. 5277).
S'il fuissent andui present,
Pais fereient a tel parlement (R, p. 5).

c. Imperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

E tuz tens durereit,
Se li soleilz n' esteit.
Nuit est tute pleniere
La u nen at lumiere;
E tuz tens durereit,
Se li soleilz n' esteit (E, l. 316).
Et se je pooie amander
La mort don je n'ai rien forsfet,
Je l'amanderoie sans plet (J, l. 1992).
Or te di bien, mielz amereie
Tun sul engin, se jeo l'aveie,
Que cels dunt ai ma puche pleine (K, xcviii, 33).
Et s'ele estoit ja ci, je l'arderoie
En un fu (L, 10, 55).
Se le tenoie as puins, por le chité de Blaives
Ne le rendroie mie a mon frere carnable (M, l. 424).
Et, s'avoye fleurs et marjolaine,
Par despit je les deschiroye (DD, l. 599).
Si j' avois du papier
De rames un millier,
Et qu'il ne fust trop tard,
Comme a mon amy seur,
T'escrirois de bon cueur (EE, p. 404).

B. *Past condition contrary to fact.*

a. Imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect subjunctive) in the protasis and apodosis:

Se jo t'sousse la jus soz le degret,
Ou as geut de longe enfermetet,
Ja tote gent ne m'soussent torner
Qu' emsembl' od tei m'ousse converset (A, 98a).
Sempres caïst, se Deus ne li aidast (C, l. 3439).
Petit por mon oste fïsse,
Se cest don li escondïsse (J, l. 265).
Car se il te seüst, ja ne t'osast tenpter
Ne t'osast traïr ne faire en crois pener (N, l. 598).
Quant ge le senti si flairier,
Ge n'oi talent de repairier;
Ains m'aprochasse por le prendre,
Se g'i osasse la main tendre (S, 1679).

[1] In cases where it seemed to be a sufficient test of an author's usage, I have examined only one volume of his works.

b. Imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect) in the protasis and the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis:

Se me leust si t'ousse guardet (A, 98e).
Si li Sires ne fust en nus,
cum s'esdreçowent sur nus humes;
Puet cel estre vis oüssent
gluti nus . . . . . (D, 123, 3).
S'il an i eüst cinc sestiers,
S'eüst ele autel fet, ce cuit (J, l. 3008).
Ja l'eüst mort s'il eüst sa vertu (O, l. 1191).
Se ne fust li fors de haubers,
Molt l'éust de cel cop bléchié (Q, l. 5379).
Se ge l'eusse en ma baillie,
Il m'éust rendue la vie (S, l. 1738).
Se je bien me peüsse aidier,
Moult eüsse eu de delit (U, l. 802).

c. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect) in the apodosis:

E si tu ne l'ouses fait,
Deu apareillast tun règne sur
Israel parmanablement (G, 13, 34).
Se je a cort trové l'eüsse,
Ja requerre ne li seüsse
Rien nule qui me fust veee (J, l. 3703).
Se deus eust mis auoc les biens
Humilitei, n'i fausist riens (V, l. 277).

d. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis:

N'eüssent pas cel mal eü,
S'il eüssent cunseil creü (K, xvii, 27).
Se l'eust fait . i . autre, ja l'eust comperé (M, l. 110).
Mais s'il n'eüst prié merci el l'eüst mort (W, l. 3506).
Se nous y eussions entré au point
du jour, nous ne fussiens pas venus a nostre dit hauberge (Y, 233).
Brief, se eusse sceu pellerinage
Dont remède me fust venu
Pour obvier a telle raige,
J'y eusse esté avant tout nu (DD, l. 789).
Mais si tu m'en eusses parlé,
Ton affaire en fust mieulx allé (EE, p. 7).
Si elle m'eust tenu bon, i'eusse
assourdi touts mes amis (FF, i, 9, 44).
L'Ane, s'il eût osé, se fût mis en colère (JJ, ii, xix, 23).

e. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

Si mort l'eusse, à mort me turnereit (G, ii, 2, 33).
Mult par sereie desleials,
trop sereie malvais e fals, se j, encuntre vostre santé lur eüsse le quer embé (K, lxx, 63).
Si emsemble eüssent parlé
Tost en seroient acordé (R, p. 5).
J'estimerois la recompense ingrate,
Si pour vous six eust travaillé sa teste (EE, p. 468).

f. Pluperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

S'ele s'en iert alee fors,
Ne seroit pas au tel mastire (J, l. 3538),
Et se je l'avoie estei
Pour Diu, le roi de maestei,
Por votre amor le guerpiroie (Q, l. 1189).
Sy vous avoye meffait
A vous, ma doulce amye,
D'une espee en effect
Je m'ousteroye la vie (CC, p. 101).
Si tu n'avois servi qu'un meunier, comme moi,
Tu ne serois pas si malade (JJ, i, iv, 18).
Oui, je, mourrais content du marché qui me tue,
Si je t'avais trouvée au lieu de ta statue (NN, i, vi, 83).

g. Pluperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional perfect in the apodosis:

Trai avreie mun seignur,
Ki m'a nurri desq' a cest jor;
Malement avreit enpleié
Qu'il m'a nurri e afaitié,
Se par ma guarde aveit perdu
Ceo dunt il m'a lung tens peü (K, xx, 19).
S'or aviez felonie enpensé,
En petit d'ore m'avriez ja tué (O, l. 2323).
Je n'ai de vostre amor cure,
Car je seux toute seure
Et bien fie
Ke se vos m'avies honnie
Et si tolue m'onor,
Bien tost m'avries guerpie (P, ii, 17, 27).
Si j'avois su ça tantôt, je
N'aurois pas manqué de les laver (HH, Dom Juan, ii, 2).
Et si je n'avois eu que ma vie à défendre,
J'aurois su renfermer un souvenir si tendre (II, l. 1209).
S'ils avaient été blessés, il aurait
Assurément entendu quelque bruit (MM, p. 123, l. 30).

II.

Résumé.

The following table gives a résumé of the occurrences noted above. The capital letters represent the authors, and the numerals placed to the right represent the number of times a given construction occurs in the author mentioned. If no numeral is expressed, the construction occurs only once in the text indicated. 'Rule' means that the construction given is found to the exclusion of competing constructions in the text indicated.

A. *Present condition contrary to fact.*

a. Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis:

A, C[2] 6, F, G, J[3] 16, K[4], M[5] 4, N[6] 4, O[7] 3,

2 Cf. 899, 1102, 1717, 1760, 1769, 3764.

3 Cf. 86, 144, 1488, 1525, 1626, 2393, 3238, 3913, 4041, 5234, 5389, 5727, 5894, 6426, 6742, 6768.

4 Cf. Anhang ii, v, 8.

5 Cf. 461, 1142.

6 Cf. 1326.

7 Cf. 3796.

P[8] 6, Q 2, S[9] 5, T[10], V 2, W[11] 2, Z[12], AA[13] rule, BB[14] 3, CC[15] 3.

b. Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

B, K 5, P[16], Q, R[17], U[18], V[19], BB[20] 4, CC[21].

c. Imperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

E[22] 2, J[23] 24, K[24] 12, L[25] rule, M[26] 7, N[27] 4, O[28] 2, P[29] 28, S 4, T[30] 10, U[31] 11, V 3, W 8, Z[32] 6, BB 3, CC 12, DD rule, EE 14, FF rule, GG rule, HH rule II rule, JJ rule, KK rule, LL rule, MM rule, NN rule.

B. *Past condition contrary to fact.*

a. Imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect) in the protasis and apodosis:

A[33] rule, C[34] 2, F, J[35] 14, K[36], M[37], N rule, P[38] 2, Q rule, R, S[39] 2, U[40], V.

b. Imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect) in the protasis and the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis:

C[41] 2, D[42], J[43] 7, M[44] 2, N[45], P[46] 2, Q[47] 2, S[48] 2, U[49] 2, EE[50] 2.

c. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and imperfect subjunctive (=pluperfect) in the apodosis:

B[51], G[52], J[53] 7, K[54], N[55], P[56], U[57], V[58], W, LL[59].

d. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis:

J[60] 2, K[61] 3, M[62], O[63], S[64] 3, W[65] 4, Y[66] 2, AA[67] rule, CC 3, DD rule, EE[68] 11, FF rule, GG[69] 2, JJ 5, KK[70], LL 7, MM[71] 2, NN[72].

e. Pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and conditional in the apodosis:

D[73], G[74], K[75] 5, R[76], CC[77], EE[78], GG[79], II[80] 2, JJ 4, KK[81] 3, LL 5, MM 4, NN[82] 5.

f. Pluperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional perfect in the apodosis:

P 5, Q[83], CC[84], EE[85], JJ 3, LL[86], NN.

g. Pluperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional perfect in the apodosis:

K[87], O[88], P[89], HH[90] rule, II[91], JJ 2, KK[92] 3, LL 6, MM, NN.

h. Pluperfect indicative in the protasis and pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis:

LL[93], MM[94].

8 Cf. i, 52, 60; ii, 3, 34; ii, 9, 13; ii, 44, 50; ii, 61, 35; ii, 65, 11.
9 Cf. 1214, 1661, 2512. 10 Cf. 1321.
11 Cf. 682, 1009. 12 Cf. 49.
13 Cf. G. T. 16, G. T. 18, G. T. 26, G. T. 114, xiii, 2.
14 Cf. ci, 15; cii, 2; cxxxi, 3. 15 p. 66.
16 Cf. iii, 17, 21. 17 Cf. p. 5. 18 Cf. 1622.
19 Cf. 564. 20 Cf. xciv, 5. 21 Cf. p. 115.
22 Cf. 316, 320.
23 Cf. 625, 1001, 1501, 1503, 1781, 1992, 2273, 2276, 2528, 2582, 4080, 4622, 4778, 5163, 5171, 5545, 5557, 5954, 5975, 6008, 6256, 6294, 6579, 6792.
24 Cf. xi. 23; xvi, 14; xxiv, 23; xxv, 12; xxxviii, 9; xcviii, 33.
25 Cf. 2, 38; 6, 42; 12, 9; 14, 30; 22, 21; 24, 31; 25, 13; 40, 14; 40, 20.
26 Cf. 98, 424, 1428. 27 Cf. 118, 1646.
28 Cf. 3219, 4111 (compound of conditional used).
29 Cf. ii, 46, 34; ii, 47, 17; ii, 66, 46.
30 Cf. 1521, 3275. 31 Cf. 327, 1230.
32 Cf. 49, 55, 94. 33 Cf. 84e, 90ce 98ad, 98e.
34 Cf. 3439, 3441.
35 Cf. 267, 435, 2111, 3021, 3207, 3317, 3331, 4021, 4245, 5377, 5865, 6055.
36 Cf. lxx, 68. 37 Cf. 2021.
38 Cf. i, 57, 22; iii, 51, 47. 39 Cf. 1681, 1872.
40 Cf. 1446. 41 Cf. 691, 1728. 42 Cf. 123, 1.
43 Cf. 941, 1770, 2898, 3008, 3643, 3933, 6279.
44 Cf. 447, 1605. 45 Cf. 2044.
46 Cf. i, 21, 26; i, 39, 66. 47 Cf. 2818, 5379.
48 Cf. 1737, 2879. 49 Cf. 391, 802.
50 Cf. pp. 235, 382.
51 Cf. 689. 52 Cf. i, 13, 34.
53 Cf. 1235, 1365, 2931, 3703, 5780, 6342.
54 Cf. iii, 36. 55 Cf. 2843.
56 Cf. iii, 52, 63. 57 Cf. 419.
58 Cf. 277. 59 Cf. p. 8, l. 17.
60 Cf. 5089, 6111.
61 Cf. viii, 28; lxxii, 115; lxxxix, 19.
62 Cf. 110. 63 Cf. 1191.
64 Cf. 1618, 3020, 4163. 65 Cf. 213, 1939, 3506.
66 Cf. p. 57.
67 Cf. G. T. 21, G. T. 55, G. T. 73.
68 Cf. pp. 7, 12, 181. 69 Cf. pp. 110, 257.
70 Cf. p. 210, l. 5. 71 Cf. p. 8, l. 18; p. 39, 19.
72 Cf. L'Aventurière ii, 4, 47.
73 Cf. 105, 22 (where the imperfect subjunctive equals the pluperfect).
74 Cf. ii, 2, 33.
75 Cf. xxx, 29 (see note 73); lxi, 31; lxii, 13; lxx, 40; lxx, 63.
76 Cf. p. 5. 77 Cf. p. 33.
78 Cf. p. 173. 79 Cf. p. 78.
80 Cf. Athalie, l. 724.
81 Cf. p. 98, l. 19; p. 110, l. 26; p. 112, l. 32.
82 Cf. L'Aventurière, ii, 8, 34.
83 Cf. 1191. 84 Cf. p. 101.
85 Cf. p. 508. 86 Cf. p. 203, l. 25.
87 Cf. xx, 21. 88 Cf. 2323.
89 Cf. ii, 17, 30.
90 Cf. Dom Juan, ii, 2, 58; ii, 3, 36; iv, 5, 17.
91 Cf. Iphigénie, l. 1209.
92 Cf. p. 123, l. 5; p. 165, l. 15; p. 166, l. 27.
93 Cf. La Petite Fadette, p. 165, l. 30.
94 Cf. p. 165, l. 27.

III.

Discussion.

A. *Origin of the subjunctive in the Old French unreal condition.*[95]

The use of the subjunctive in the protasis and apodosis of the present and past condition contrary to fact in the earliest French texts is a survival of the Latin, where the imperfect[96] subjunctive was used when the condition referred to present time[97] and the pluperfect[98] subjunctive when the condition related to the past.

The conditional[99] began to supplant the subjunctive in the apodosis of the present condition contrary to fact about the middle of the eleventh century.[100] The substitution of the imperfect indicative in the protasis appears first in Philippe de Thaon,[101] who wrote at the beginning of the twelfth century.[102] However, the subjunctive did not disappear entirely in such constructions until the seventeenth century,[103] and even persisted later, in cases where one clause was suppressed.[104]

In the unreal condition referring to the past, the imperfect subjunctive was used for the pluperfect until the latter part of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century.[105] Haase is wrong, however, in intimating that this was the only way in which the pluperfect idea was expressed during this time.[106] As early as the eleventh century the pluperfect appears in *one* clause, sometimes in the protasis,[107] and sometimes in the apodosis,[108] the imperfect subjunctive still being kept in the other clause, but used in the sense of the pluperfect. The pluperfect in both clauses dates from the second half of the twelfth century, the first example in the texts examined occurring in Marie de France.[109]

In the past condition contrary to fact just as in the case of the unreal condition referring to the present, the first step in the disappearance of the subjunctive was the substitution of the conditional in the apodosis. The simple conditional occurred first in the conclusion of the unreal condition referring to the past in the first half of the twelfth century,[110] while the pluperfect indicative is found first in the protasis in the second half of the twelfth century.[111] The pluperfect indicative in the protasis with the conditional perfect in the apodosis appears first in the thirteenth century.[112]

In modern French the past condition contrary to fact is expressed in four different ways[113]: (1) pluperfect indicative in the protasis and conditional perfect in the apodosis[114]; (2) pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis and

95 Cf. C, l. 1102: Fust i li Reis, n'i oüssum damage.

96 Cf. Si *haberem*, *darem*.

97 The use of the past tenses in present unreal conditions is a problem of syntax that has never been satisfactorily explained. However, as the French borrowed the construction from the Latin, its solution must be sought in the Latin and not in the French. Suffice it to say that the French goes a step further than the Latin and uses the pluperfect in conditions relating to the present (*Fust i li Reis, n'i oüssum damage*). This is due to the fact that the Latin pluperfect has become the French imperfect subjunctive. For suggestions in regard to the reason for the use of the past for the present in this construction compare *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xiv, 23–24.

98 Cf. *Si habuissen*, *dedissem*.

99 Cf. *Résumé*, p. 130.

100 Cf. B, l. 326: Dist Guillelmes d'Orenge: "E Sainz Pieres, aiue l
Car la tenisse en France, et Bertrans si i fusset,
A pis et a martels sereit aconse:le l"

101 Cf. E, l. 316:
E tuz tens durereit,
Se li soleilz n' esteit.

102 In regard to the date of the substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive here, compare A. Haase, *Syntaxe Française du xvii. Siècle*, Paris, 1898, § 66A, 114.

103 Cf. Se ne craignisse aultre que Dieu, je vous ostasse le quaquet (*Moralité de Charité*, *Ancien Théâtre Français*, III, 348).

104 Cf. Haase, *op. cit.*, ¶ 66A.

105 Cf. *Résumé*, p. 131.

106 Cf. Haase, *op. cit.*, § 66B: "L'ancienne langue, dans la phrase *hypothétique irréelle* se rapportant au *passé*, employait dans les deux propositions *l'imparfait du subjonctif* qui, dans son acception primitive, équivalait au *plus-que-parfait* du subjonctif moderne. Cet emploi subsista jusqu'au xiv. siècle, où il commença à faire place à un autre, celui du *plus-que-parfait* du subjonctif.

107 Cf. G, 13, 14:
E si tu ne l'ousse fait,
Deu apareillast tun règne sur
Israel parmanablement.

108 Cf. A, 98e: Se me leust si t'ousse guardet.

109 Cf. xvii, 27:
N'eussent pas cel mal eü,
S'il e:ssent censeil creü.

110 Cf. G, II, 2, 33: Si mort l'eusse, à mort me turnereit.

111 Cf. J, l. 3538:
S'ele s'en iert alee fors,
Ne seroit pas au tel martire.

112 Cf. p. 21. Compare also Haase, *op. cit.*, § 66B.

113 For the relative frequence of these four constructions in the texts examined compare *Résumé*, p. 131.

114 Cf. Si j' avais eu, j' aurais donné.

conditional perfect in the apodosis [115]; (3) pluperfect indicative in the protasis and pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis[116]; pluperfect subjunctive in both clauses[117].

C. *Why the subjunctive of the Old French unreal condition was later supplanted by the indicative.*

1. Present condition contrary to fact.

It will be observed that the Romance Languages of to-day express this condition in different ways. The French [118] uses the imperfect indicative in the protasis and the conditional in the apodosis, while the Spanish[119] and Italian [120] use the subjunctive in the protasis, and conditional in the apodosis. The French has discarded the Latin subjunctive in both clauses, while the Spanish and Italian have kept it only in the protasis. The first step in the disappearance of the subjunctive in such constructions in French was the substitution of the conditional in the conclusion. Already in B [121] the conditional has begun to supplant the subjunctive in the apodosis. It is even probable that there have been sporadic examples of the conditional in the conclusion of hypothetical sentences referring to the future[122] since about the beginning of the Popular Latin period.[123]

a. Why the conditional was substituted for the subjunctive in the apodosis.

aa. Foth [124] and Willers [125] attribute the introduction of the conditional in the second member of hypothetical sentences to the idea of *duty* and *necessity* expressed by it.[126] They claim that the two members of such conditional sentences are naturally joined together by this idea of *necessity* and *obligation*, and, hence, the substitution of the conditional, which has conveyed this meaning from the beginning, was a natural result. In regard to this explanation, Gessner says: [127]

"Aber wie erklärt sich dann das spanische und portugiesische Plusquamperfekt, dem doch ein solcher Begriff der Modalität nicht beiwohnt? Denn die von Foth (*Romanische Studien*, Heft 8, p. 277) gegebene Deduktion ist doch zu gewunden als dass man sich ihr anschliessen könnte. Dann scheint es mir aber auch sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass das Imp. Fut., man auch infolge seiner Entstehung eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Notwendigkeit darin anzunehmen hat, diese so lange gewahrt haben sollte, zumal das analog gebildete Futurum den rein temporalen Sinn von den ältesten Zeiten an so unzweideutig erkennen lässt."

bb. Burgatzcky [128] starts from the imperfect of the future in real conditions depending upon the preterit of a verb of saying,[129] and supposes that it passed from this construction into the apodosis of unreal conditions referring to the present. As an objection to this explanation of the substitution of the conditional for the imperfect subjunctive in the conclusion of the present condition contrary to fact, Gessner[130] asks why the imperfect indicative is not also used in the *protasis* of unreal conditions relating to the present, just as it is in the protasis of the real condition depending on a verb of saying. Why should this real condition affect the apodosis of the unreal condition and not the protasis, as is shown by the fact that the Spanish and Italian keep the the subjunctive in the protasis.

cc. In regard to the use of the conditional in unreal conditions Gessner remarks[131]:

"Wenn nämlich die Folge auch naturgemäss an eine der Vergangenheit Ueberwiesene Bedingung anknüpft, so hat sie doch einen klaren Bezug auf die Gegenwart des Sprechenden, und um diesen idealen Zusammenhang mit dem Jetzt anzudeuten, gab es schwerlich eine geeignetere Zeit als diejenige, welche von der Vergangenheit in die Zukunft verweist; denn

115 Cf. Si j' eusse eu, j' aurais donné.

116 Cf. Si j' avais eu, j' eusse donné.

117 Cf. Si j' eusse eu, j' eusse donné.

118 Cf. NN, iv, 7, 47: Car s'ils en avaient plus, ils en feraient usage.

119 Cf. Si tuviera, or tuviese, dinero compraría libros.

120 Cf. Se l'avessi te lo darei.

121 Cf. Résumé, p. 130.

122 Cf. *Migne*, vol. 39, 2214, 6: *Sanare te habebat deus, si confitereris.*

123 Cf. Thielmann, *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, ii, 187.

124 Cf. Willers, *Essai sur la formation et l' emploi syntaxique du conditionnel français*, Emmerick, 1886, p. 17.

125 Cf. *op. cit*, p. 17.

126 Cf. Brunot, *Grammaire Historique de la Langne Fran,aise*, Paris, 1889, §452.

127 Cf. *Zeitschrift*, xiv, note 1 to p. 28.

128 Cf. *Das Imperf. und Plusquamp. des Futurs im Altfranzösischen*, Greifswald, 1885, p. 14.

129 Cf. Li Venicien distrent que se il i aloent, li coranz de l'aigue les enmenroit contreval le Braz (*Zeitschrift*, 14, note 1 to p. 30).

130 Cf. *Zeit.*, note 1 to p. 30.

131 Cf. *Zeitschrift*, xiv, p. 30.

in dieser Richtung liegt die Gegenwart; diese ist von der Vergangenheit aus angesehen ein Zukünftiges."

dd. On this point Thielmann[132] says:

"Der Leser wird schon längst gemerkt haben, dass es sich jetzt zur Erklärung des (eigentlichen) roman. Kondicionalis nur noch um eine Substitution handelt, um die Auswechselung einer alten Münze gegen eine neue. War einmal *habere* mit Inf. in der Umschreibung des Futurs soweit vorgeschritten, dass es sein Gebiet auch auf aktive Verba ausgedehnt hatte, so konnte für *facturus eram* das neue *facere habebam* eintreten, nicht nur in der Bedeutung 'ich war willens zu thun,' sondern auch im Sinne von 'ich hatte gethan' im Nachsatz eines irrealen Kondicionalsatzes. Wahrscheinlich hängt diese Substitution auch mit dem Untergange des part. fut. act. zusammen. Der reiche Segen, wie er in den drei gleichbedeutenden Ausdrücken *facturus eram fui fueram* vorlag, wurde später in der Weise verteilt, dass *facturus fueram* (=*facere habueram*) als Irrealis der Vergangenheit beibehalten, *facturus eram* aber und *f. fui* (=*facere habebam*, *habui*) auf die Gegenwart bezogen wurden. Letzteres konnte um so leichter geschehen, als ja bei den Begriffen des Müssens und Sollens, zu denen doch *habere* mit Inf. gehörte, der Ind. Imperf. zur Bezeichnung der Gegenwart im Nachsatz irrealer Kondicionalsätze schon in klassischer Zeit üblich war: Cic. leg. Manil. § 50 *quodsi Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus* (=*deligi habebat*), id. Phil. 2, § 99 *quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas* (das Nähere s. bei Foth, S. 263 ff.)."

The strongest argument against the theory that *facere habebam* was substituted for *facturus eram* in the apodosis of the unreal condition is the fact that the subjunctive[133] and not the conditional was used in such constructions in the earliest French texts. If such a substitution was made, why was it not made at the time when the French conditional (formed from the infinitive+*habebam*) first began to be used? According to Foth the conditional (<infinitive+*habebam*) was already frequent in ecclesiastical Latin in the third century.[134] Now, if the *facere habebam* construction grew out of *facturus eram*, etc., one would naturally expect to find examples of *facere habebam* in the conclusion of the condition contrary to fact from the origin of the Romance conditional.

While all of these suggestions are ingenious, they do not seem to solve in a satisfactory manner the problem under consideration. The conditional probably contained no idea of the present when it was first used in hypothetical sentences, but expressed a purely future conception in the form of the past. The fact that the conditional is the imperfect of the future does not exclude the idea of futurity. The simple future looks at the future from the present, while the conditional views it from the past. The use of the conditional in hypothetical sentences doubtless began in conditional sentences referring to the future, after the time when future conditions were expressed by the use of the past tenses.[135] Supporting this argument is a very old Latin example of the conditional used in a hypothetical sentence relating to the future.[136] Then from the conditional sentence referring to the future,[137] the conditional passed into present and past conditions.

b. Why the imperfect indicative was substituted for the imperfect subjunctive in the protasis.

aa. Gessner[138] says that the presence of the conditional in the apodosis of unreal conditions caused the use of the indicative in the protasis. He says that the language felt a need of expressing both members of the conditional sentence by the use of the same mood,[139] and thinks that the unreal condition like *si j'avais, je donnerais* may have been fashioned on the real condition *si j'ai, je donnerai*.

While this suggestion of Gessner is ingenious,

132 Cf. *Op. cit.*, ii, 190.

133 Cf. Joseph Klapperich, *Historische Entwickelung der Syntaktischen Verhältnisse der Bedingungssätze im Altfranzösischen.* (In) *Französische Studien*, vol. iii[4]. 17; Gustav Bussse, *Der Conjunctiv im Altfranzösischen Volksepos*, Kiel, 1880, p. 70; Richard Kowalski, *Der Conjunctiv bei Wace*, Breslau, 1882, p. 46; Karl Quiehl, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs in den ältesten französischen Sprachdenkmälern*, Kiel, 1881, p. 38; Hermann Reichel, *Syntaktische Studien zu Villon*, Leipzig-Reudnitz, 1891, p. 43.

134 Cf. Bernhard Willers, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

135 Cf. S'il venait demain, je le lui donnerais.

136 Cf. *Sanare te habebat deus, si confitereris* (Cf. Thielmann, *op. cit.*, 187).

137 Cf. C, 1805:

Se ve ssum Rollant, ainz qu'il fust morz,
Ensembl' od lui i durriums granz colps.

138 Cf. *Zeitschrift*, xiv, 32.

139 Cf. L. Tobler in *Zeitschrift für Volkerpsychologie*, ii, 49.

it is open to criticism. If the indicative in the apodosis brought about the use of the indicative in the protasis of the French unreal condition, why is not the same law observed in Spanish[140] and Italian?[141] Why does not the conditional in the apodosis drive out the subjunctive in the protasis of Italian and Spanish conditional sentences as well as in the French.[142]

The substitution of the imperfect indicative for the imperfect subjunctive in the protasis of the French present condition contrary to fact must be sought in the history of the language.

In the first place, a careful study of the history of French syntax reveals a constant tendency to restrict the sphere of the subjunctive.[143] Many verbs which were followed by the subjunctive in Old French are now followed by the indicative. An example of this is furnished by verbs of *thinking* and *believing*. The old form *cuider* and the verbs *penser* and *croire* took the subjunctive in the old language, but take the indicative now. Especially noticeable is the gain of the indicative over the subjunctive in the imperfect tense. Not only has the imperfect subjunctive disappeared in hypothetical sentences assuming the supposed case as possible and in the unreal condition, but its disappearance in dependent clauses has been so marked in the popular speech that one scarcely hears to-day an imperfect subjunctive in the spoken French of Paris.

A suggestion that might explain in a general way the disappearance of the imperfect subjunctive in all of the cases indicated above is, to say that it was in keeping with the general tendency toward euphony. The majority of French verbs being of the first conjugation, the harsh ending in *-asse* predominated in the imperfect, and hence, there arose a tendency to discard this form and substitute others more euphonic. This change from the imperfect subjunctive to the imperfect indicative doubtless began in popular speech, just as the disappearance of the imperfect subjunctive in dependent clauses to-day belongs to the language of conversation. It is to be remembered that at the beginning of the twelfth century, the time at which we have noted the first examples of the indicative for the subjunctive in the conditional constructions in question, there were comparatively few literary monuments in French and the majority of these were sung by Troubadour poets from court to court. Hence, there was no literary standard as there is to-day, the spoken language still predominating.

Favoring the supposition that the substitution of the imperfect indicative in the unreal condition is due in part to the general tendency toward euphony is the fact that in the unreal condition relating to the past the subjunctive is still possible. Here the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* indicate the subjunctive and hence the harsh ending in *-asse* is avoided. For instance, one can say *si je l'eusse eu*, *je l'eusse donné* without violating the law of euphony.

While this general tendency towards euphony rendered easy the disappearance of the imperfect subjunctive in any construction, there is a still more specific reason for its loss in the unreal condition referring to the present. In the first place, it is to be observed that, while in Latin *si* was followed by the present[144] and perfect[145] subjunctive in a condition assuming the supposed case as possible, by the imperfect[146] and pluperfect[147] subjunctive in the present and past condition contrary to fact, in the earliest French texts these were all expressed by *si* with the imperfect subjunctive,[148] the imperfect having been used for the pluperfect until the latter part of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. In other cases *si* was usually followed by the indicative. There were many constructions where the simple tenses of the indicative

140 Cf. Si tuviese daría. 141 Cf. Se l'avessi te lo darei.

142 The Provençal and Catalan also show the indicative in the protasis of unreal conditions.

143 Cf. L. Clédat, *Grammaire Élémentaire de la Vieille Langue Française*, Paris, 1885, § 462: "L'ancienne langue employait le subjonctif dans beaucoup de cas où nous mettrions aujourd'hui l'indicatif."

144 Cf. Dies deficiat, si velim causam defendere.

145 Cf. Improbe feceris, nisi monueris.

146 Cf. Si haberem, darem.

147 Cf. Si habuissem, dedissem.

148 Cf. Hi: E si aucuns meist main en celui ki la mere iglise requereit, si ceo fust u evesqué u abeie u iglise de religiun, rendist ceo qu'il avreit pris.

C, l. 1102, Fust i li reis, ni oüssum damage;
J, l. 265, Petit por mon oste fesisse,
Se cest don li escondïsse.

followed *si*[149] in Old French, and these may have controlled the one important construction where *si* was followed by the subjunctive.

Proving that it was through such a process of leveling that the indicative drove out the subjunctive in the protasis of the present condition contrary to fact is the survival of the imperfect subjunctive where *que* repeats *si*.[150] Here the Latin subjunctive remained because the analogy affected only those cases where the subjunctive was preceded by *si*. The Modern French use of the subjunctive in all constructions where *que* repeats *si*[151] is doubtless due to the unreal condition where the subjunctive is a survival of the Latin, as above indicated.[152]

A further proof of the supposition that the imperfect subjunctive was supplanted by the indicative in the potasis of the unreal condition relating to the present, because it is preceded by *si*, is the fact that where *si* is omitted the subjunctive is still used. For instance, one says *fût-il ici, j'irais*,[153] but the moment the *si* is used the indicitive is required.[154] Under the influence of the present unreal condition the indicative passed into the protasis of the past unreal condition. The persistence of the subjunctive in the past condition contrary to fact until the present time, may be due in part to Latin influence. Also poets used the subjunctive in rime when it would not have been used in prose.

149 Cf. C, l. 914: Se truis Rollant, de mort li doins fidance;
C, l. 82: S'il vnelt ostages, il en avrat par veir;
C, l. 273: Ne parlez mais, se jo nel vos comant;
C, l. 788: Deus me confondet se la geste en desment;
C. l. 721: Ja mais ne serai liéde se vos me honireiz;
Psaut. d'Oxf., 136, 6, Si je oblierai tei, a obliance seit dunée la meie destre;
Psaut. d'Oxf., 138, 7, Si je munterai el ciel, tu iluec iés;
T, l. 154, Et se por lui souffroie paine,
Bien le me prometoit a rendre;
Joinville, 24, il me demanda se je vouloie estre honorez;
Y, p. 92, L'empereur donoa aux seigneurs, Freres de Rodes, celle isle, s'ilz la povoient conquerer;
II, Esther, l. 694, Si jamais à mes vœux vous fûtes favorable.

150 Cf. EE, p. 404:
Si j'avais du papier
De rames un millier,
Et qu'il ne *fust* trop tard,
Comme à mon amy seur,
T'escrirois de bon cueur.

151 Cf. S'il n' a que peu d'argent et qu'il veuille en avoir plus.

152 Cf. *quand, comme, lorsque, puisque, pendant que*, etc., which keep the indicative when repeated by *que*.

153 Cf. L. Clédat, §460.

154 Cf. S'il etait ici, j'irais.

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THE SONNET FORMS OF WYATT AND SURREY.

THE following study is an examination of the form of the sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey, with reference to the Italian standards used by Petrarch, whom they translated and imitated. By the largest definition, the Petrarchan sonnet consists of fourteen five-stressed iambic lines, grouped in two quatrains of two rimes each, and two tercets, forming a sestet, of two or three rimes. In all of Petrarch's sonnets the second quatrain repeats the rimes of the first; and in all but three the arrangement of the second is identical with that of the first; in three hundred and three out of three hundred and seventeen this is the enclosed rime (*abba*). The sestet of three rimes occurs in one hundred and eighty-seven sonnets, that of two in one hundred and thirty; of these only four are concluded with a couplet. In but one does the sestet contain a rime from the quatrains.

The most noticeable difference between

these forms and those used by Wyatt and Surrey is that the latter, however widely they may vary in other details, always close with a couplet, introducing the rime and expressing the thought in such a way as to make the arrangement of the last six lines a quatrain plus a couplet. By the largest definition then, these earliest English sonnets consist of three quatrains of two rimes each followed by a couplet.

With the exception of Wyatt's verses beginning:

"I abide and abide, and better abide,"

written with four stresses to the line, all the sonnets of both poets are written in five-stressed iambic lines.

In the form of the first and second quatrains, Wyatt follows closely the model of Petrarch, employing the enclosed rime in the first quatrain of all but one, in the second quatrain of all but two of his sonnets. With four exceptions the second quatrain repeats the rimes of the first. Surrey departs radically from the Petrarchan standard, adhering, however, without deviation to the rule of identity of structure in the first and second quatrains. With him the alternate rime (*abab*) used by Wyatt but once, is the favorite, occurring in fifteen out of his sixteen sonnets. In only four are the rimes of the first repeated in the second quatrain.

Wyatt shows greater variety in the treatment of the third quatrain, although he uses his favorite enclosed rime in twenty-four out of thirty-two cases. It is to be noted that in the sestets of Petrarch's sonnets there is no arrangement analagous to this. In seven cases the alternate rime is used, manifestly following the arrangement of the first four lines of the sestet found in one hundred and seventeen of Petrarch's sonnets. According to Italian rule also is the introduction of new rimes in these four lines. In twenty-eight of these quatrains both rimes are new; in three but one new rime is introduced; while one repeats the same rimes in the same order as in the quatrains. Surrey, with one exception, retains alternate rime for the third quatrain. There are twelve cases in which both rimes are new, one in which the previous quatrains have furnished a rime, and three in which both rimes have been used earlier.

The concluding quatrain has, as we have seen, practically no parallel in the Petrarchan sonnet; indeed it was considered a defect by most Italian writers and critics. For reasons connected with differences of metrical taste, and particularly with differences in the thought to be expressed, the final couplet was at first the favorite method of concluding the English sonnet. As stated before, all Wyatt's and Surrey's sonnets close in this way; and on no point do the poets agree so fully as in the management of the couplet. Each shows marked preference for a new rime in these two lines. Wyatt uses this thirty times and Surrey fourteen. Each furnishes one example of a couplet in which the rime is borrowed from the third quatrain, and one in which it contains a rime common to all the quatrains. Wyatt has one sonnet so arranged as to close with two couplets, and Surrey one closing with a triplet. It is worthy of observation that the concluding couplet was thus firmly established in the earliest English experiments.

In the arrangement of the rimes, Wyatt's favorite form is *abba abba cddc ee*, occurring seventeen out of thirty-two times. Surrey's is *abab cdcd efef gg*, occurring eleven out of sixteen times. This is at once recognized as the form of the Elizabethan sonnet made classic by Shakespeare. It is to be further noted that in its form it is far nearer to the *strambotti* of Petrarch's contemporaries than to any sonnet of Petrarch's. On the line of this resemblance I hope to make further investigation.

It is inevitable that any English copy of an Italian metre should differ widely from the original in the cadences and in the quality of the rimes, owing to the different values of inflectional syllables in the two languages. Thus we find Italian rimes predominantly feminine, dissyllabic and even trisyllabic, ending in a vowel; and English rimes predominantly masculine, monosyllabic, ending in a consonant. In his attempt to follow foreign usage Wyatt did violence to his native tongue in a fashion that recalls poor Lydgate's and Occleve's frantic attempts to rime like their "maister Chaucer." Some of Wyatt's most pronounced peculiarities are (1) riming words with the same grammatical ending, as *aggrieved* . . . .

wearied . . . buried . . . stirred, making, as it were, a grammatical or inflectional rime; (2) riming words that end in the same vowel without regard to preceding consonants, as *jollity . . . sluggardy . . . unhappy . . . commonly;* (3) riming words with different accents as *cómfort . . . port; done . . . on . . . príson . . . occásion.* Marked examples of these forced rimes are found in thirteen out of Wyatt's sonnets, and less noticeable violence in nearly all. None of these errors are committed by Surrey, and here lies one chief reason for the greater melody of his verse.

While Wyatt, like all succeeding English poets, commonly used masculine rime, the very fact of his imitation of Italian models caused him to make frequent experiments with feminine rime, generally unsuccessful, as *variáble . . . stable; ever . . . endeavor . . . perséver . . . lever.* Many of the forced rimes referred to above are intentionally feminine. This form of rime occurs in eleven sonnets, and in some of these several times. In this, as in all else, Surrey recognized more clearly than did Wyatt the possibility of the medium with which he was working; and there are but two sonnets in which feminine rime occurs. One of these is a direful attempt to make dissyllables rime throughout the quatrains, and results in the sequence *season . . . reason . . . peason . . . geason . . . treason . . . poison (!)* capped by the couplet *taken . . . shaken.* The other case is used very effectively in the sixth and eighth lines of the fine *Epitaph on Clere.*

The rule of the Petrarchan sonnet is that each metrical division is syntactically distinct, or if not embodying an independent sentence contains a separate clause of a compound sentence. The old statement of the office of the different parts of the poem presupposes this syntactical completeness:

"The business of the first quatrain of the sonnet is to state the proposition of it; of the second quatrain to prove the proposition; of the first tercet to confirm it; and of the second tercet to draw the conclusion."

The point at which this syntactical separation is most essential is, naturally, the point of metrical separation, that is at the close of the quatrains and beginning of the tercets. So carefully did Petrarch observe this rule that in the first hundred sonnets only the tenth, eleventh, forty-fourth, and seventy-ninth leave the sense incomplete at the end of the eighth line, and in no case is the second quatrain concluded by a real run-on line. In the same hundred sonnets there are twenty-two cases of first quatrains with incomplete sense (Sonnets 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 16, 20, 27, 30, 32, 39, 40, 46, 48, 49, 55, 58, 79, 93, 94, 96); and eleven cases of first tercets concluding with incomplete sense (Sonnets 2, 9, 10, 19, 21, 32, 36, 72, 77, 82, 90). In the eighty-second the overflow from the first to the second tercet is by a run-on line. Wyatt and Surrey did not maintain this logical and syllogistic character of the sonnet, but disregarded the syntactical independence of the quatrains. Thus among Wyatt's sonnets there are seven cases of sentences continued from the first to the second quatrain (Sonnets 7, 10, 13, 13, 15, 22, 23, 26);[1] seven continued from the second to the third quatrain (Sonnets 4, 8, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25); fifteen continued from the quatrain to the couplet (Sonnets 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31). Surrey shows four cases of the first quatrain overflowing to the second (Sonnets 3, p. 12; 5, p. 13; 7, p. 14; 9, p. 16); five overflowing from the second to the third quatrain (Sonnets 6, p. 14; 9, p. 16; 11, p. 59; 13, p. 62; 16, p. 68); and six overflowing from the third quatrain to the couplet (Sonnets 5, p. 13; 6, p. 14; 7, p. 15; 8, p. 15; 12, p. 60; 15, p. 64).

Of the technically termed run-on lines one would expect to find few examples in Wyatt's verses. He was so mechanical a writer, so new to his craft, so unaccustomed to his tools that naturally he took refuge in the end-stop line that furnishes a breathing place before beginning the desperate struggle with five more unwilling feet and a new unyielding rime. It is impossible to be dogmatic on this point, as one's determination of run-on lines often depends on individual phrasing. I have found ten sonnets with none of these lines (Sonnets 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 32); nine with but one (Sonnets 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 16, 18, 28); six with two (Sonnets 8, 10, 24, 25, 26,

[1] In numbering these sonnets, I have followed the order of the Aldine edition, in which they occur between pages one and twenty-one; but as Surrey's sonnets are not given consecutively in the Aldine edition, I have added to the number of the sonnet the number of the page.

30); four with three (Sonnets 2, 4, 5, 29); one with four (Sonnet 31); and two with five (Sonnets 9 and 19). With Surrey the proportion is somewhat different: four have no run-on lines (Sonnets 3, p. 12; 5, p. 13; 10, p. 16; 14, p. 62); seven have one (Sonnet 1, p. 3; 4, p. 12; 8, p. 15; 9, p. 16; 11, p. 59; 12, p. 59; 15, p. 64); four have two (Sonnets 2, p. 11; 6, p. 14; 7, p. 14; 13, p. 62); and one has three (Sonnet 16, p. 68). It is apparent that the greater smoothness of Surrey's verse can hardly be due to the predominance of these lines.

The typical foot in these, as in all sonnets, is the iambic; but as is customary in English verse this is often superseded by the trochaic foot. Wyatt uses this shifted accent very frequently, in all about one hundred and seventy times; and in about one third of the cases the trochaic foot is the first in the line. Twenty-three of the lines thus introduced begin a new turn of thought (for example, Sonnets 1, l. 5; 2, l. 3; 7, l. 14; 21, l. 5); and the shifted accent may then be considered as a mark of emphasis. But in the remaining cases there is no such change of thought or expression (for example, Sonnets 2, l. 8; 4, l. 8; 9, l. 4; 28, l. 12). Sometimes the initial trochee is followed by one, two, or three others before the measure returns to the iambic; and there are fourteen fully trochaic lines (Sonnet 1, ll. 1, 4, 8, 11, 12; 5, l. 1; 10, l. 4; 12, l. 3; 14, l. 2; 22, l. 4, 5; 27, l. 1; 30, l. 3; 31, l. 10). Very rarely the shifted accent occurs after a medial pause (Sonnets 4, l. 11; 5, l. 9; 13, l. 9; 19, ll. 6, 12). In general I have been able to see no reason for these trochaic interpolations except the convenience of an unskillful craftsman. Wyatt's other changes of feet are to the dactyllic, which he uses twice in the seventh and once in the twelfth line of the nineteenth sonnet; and to the anapestic which he uses about thirty times. The thirtieth sonnet beginning

"I abide and abide, and better abide,"

is written throughout in four-stressed lines of triple measure with occasional dissyllabic feet; and in comparison with the regular five-stressed iambic compositions furnishes a good example of a kind of metrical compensation. Surrey's use of the dactyllic and anapestic foot is very sparing. The former occurs once (p. 11, Sonnet 2, l. 1); and the latter seven times (p. 13, Sonnet 5, ll. 2, 13, 14; p. 14, Sonnet 7, l. 6; p. 59, Sonnet 11, ll. 1, 2; p. 60, Sonnet 12, l. 14). There are two fully trochaic lines (p. 60, Sonnet 12, l. 5; p. 62, Sonnet 14, l. 1).

The initial trochaic foot occurs fifty-six times in fourteen of Surrey's sonnets, and with six exceptions (p. 11, Sonnet 2, l. 10; p. 15, Sonnet 7, l. 10; p. 59, Sonnet 12, l. 3; p. 62, Sonnet 13, ll. 3, 6; p. 69, Sonnet 16, l. 11), it is used after a pause or to mark emphasis. There seem to me few details that show the superiority of Surrey to Wyatt more clearly than this logical, consistent use of the shifted accent.

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THE CALF OF THE LEG.

THIS use of the word *calf* has always been a puzzle. The word is defined in *The Oxford Dictionary* as "The fleshy hinder part of the shank of the leg, formed by the bellies of muscles which move the foot." Evidently related forms are not wanting. In Old Norse we find the weak noun *kālfi* 'calf of the leg,' which appears also in *kálfabōt*, defined as 'ham' and said to be equal to *knēsbōt*, *knēsfot*. Then there is Irish and Gaelic *calpa* 'calf of the leg,' which has been proposed as the source of the Germanic word. It would, however, be hard to explain how a Celtic *lp* should become *lf* when adopted into a Germanic language, while the converse change of *lf* to *lp* in passing from Germanic into Celtic is not strange. Moreover, the word lacks explanation in Celtic and can be easily explained as Germanic; hence we must, as in so many other cases, regard the Celtic as the borrower. In fact, we find, not only *calf of the leg* appearing in Gaelic as *calpa*, *calbtha*, Manx *colbey-ny-coshey*, but also *calf* 'vitulus' appearing as *calpach*, *colpach*, *colbthach*, Manx *colbagh*.

The English word, which appears as *calf* in the fourteenth century, may stand for OE. *cealf*; but, if the form *calfe* is not merely an orthographic variant, the word was originally a weak derivative, cognate with ON. *cālfi* or derived directly from it, and the shorter form is due to the influence of *calf* 'vitulus.' But this is immaterial.

We know that the root of the latter word appears in various Indo-European words and that it shows the following development: (1) belly or womb, (2) foetus, child, (3) young, for example, child, pig, calf, foal, whelp, etc. Cf. Sanskrit *gārbha* 'womb, fruit of the womb, newborn child'; Greek δολφός and δελφύς 'womb,' βρέφυς 'foetus, babe, cub,' etc., δέλφαξ 'suckling pig'; Gallic-Latin *Galba* 'belly, Bigbelly'; English *moon-calf*, 'false conception, monstrosity,' Old-English, etc., *cealf* 'calf,' 'young deer,' etc.; Old-High-German *kilburra*, Old-English *čilforlamb*, English *chilver*, 'ewe lamb,' Swiss *kilber* 'young ram.' The same development of meaning is shown also in other roots, for example, Latin *venter* and *uterus* 'belly, womb, foetus, child,' Gothic *qipus*, etc.[1]

Now, it is not difficult to show that in *calf of the leg* we have a special development of the early meaning of the word, namely, 'belly.' The word for belly is in all languages used figuratively of the bulging part of an object. Thus γαστήρ is applied to a shield, a bottle, a vessel, a turnip, and the like; Latin *venter* is applied to a gourd, a flagon, the ankle, etc.; German *bauch* is applied to a pot, a keg, a bottle, a ship, a sail; and our *belly* is applied to a pot, a bottle, a pear, an archer's bow, and many other things that bulge out. Of special interest to us now is the application of such words to the large part of a muscle. In this way the Greeks used γαστήρ, the Germans use *bauch*, and we use *belly* and *venter*. See *The Oxford Dictionary*: "*belly*, the central portion of a muscle." "[This muscle] was called Digastricus because it hath two Venters or Bellies," Crooke, *Body of Man*, 759 (1615). "Muscles which have a bulging centre or belly," Todd and Bowman, *Phys. Anat.* i, 176 (1845). The calf of the leg is, then, simply the belly or bulging part of the leg. For exactly the same figure, compare Greek γαστήρ 'belly,' κνήμη 'the part of the leg between the knee and the ankle,' γαστροκνήμη or γαστροκνημία 'calf of the leg,' also Manx *bolg* 'belly,' *bolgane* (literally 'little belly') 'calf of the leg.'

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1 Is the fact that various words (for example χοῖρος, δελφάκιον, *porcus*, etc.) mean both '*pudendum muliebre*' and 'pig' to be explained in the same way? Or is it due to the fact that the matrix of a sow (*volva*) was a favorite dish with the ancients?

MILTON'S CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY.

IN his list of the Greek gods who appear among the fallen Angels (*Paradise Lost* I. 508-521), Milton speaks of

> Titan, Heaven's first-born
> With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
> By younger Saturn.

In view of the mistaken interpretations of these lines which are found in various commentaries of Milton, it may be well to point out certain passages in late classical writers which remove all difficulties of explanation.

According to the common account of these events given in Hesiod (*Theogony* 133-138; 164-182; 459-462) it was Oceanus, and not Titan, whose birthright was seized by his brother Saturn. To be sure, Oceanus was a Titan, but the name Titan alone was never used to designate Oceanus, and the two names were never confused. Keightley observes that there never was a person in Greek mythology known simply as Titan; Browne repeats his observation; Verity is uncertain of Milton's meaning; Moody, in the Cambridge edition, says, with the temerity seldom seen in the careful student of Milton, that the poet's scholarship seems here to be at fault. Another explanation is, that the poet means Oceanus when he says Titan, because in the next line he mentions his enormous brood, who were some six thousand river-gods, children of Oceanus, in part enumerated by Hesiod (*Theog.* 337-361).

Milton's allusion, however, is based upon an account given by Lactantius in his *Divine Institutions*, I. 14. This author quotes Ennius to the effect that Uranus had two sons, Titan and Saturn. When Uranus ceased to rule, Titan demanded the throne on the ground that he was older than Saturn. But their mother, Vesta (not Earth, as in Hesiod and the earlier writers), and their sisters, Ceres and Ops, induced Saturn to keep the power. Titan finally yielded to his brother's claim on condition that the male children of Saturn should be destroyed at birth in order to secure the reversion to his own line. When Jove was born he was stolen away and reared in secret. For this breach of faith Titan vanquished and imprisoned Saturn, but was conquered in turn by Jove, together with his twelve sons, the Titans. A similar version is found in the apocryphal *Sibylline Oracles* (III. 110—a part which Alexandre assigns to the second century be-

fore Christ), except that Earth, not Vesta, is the mother of Titan and Cronus, and a third brother, Iapetus, figures in the strife for the throne (cf. *P. L.* I. 510), while Cronus is older than Titan. The story has also been connected, as it is in the *Sibylline Oracles*, with the building of the Tower of Babel, and the strife between Titan and Saturn is regarded as an episode in the confusion of tongues. It is inserted by Eusebius in an account of the Tower of Babel which he quotes from Abydenus (*Præparatio Evangelica* IX. 14; cf. the Byzantine Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia* 44 D, and the *Mythologia* of Natalis Comes, Book II, an epitome of mythology dating from 1600, which Milton must have known). Diodorus makes Euhemerus his authority for the statement that an ancient prince named Uranus had by Vesta two sons, Titan and Cronus (VI. 2). In fact, this Titan mentioned by Milton was euhemeristic in character, and a late invention by sceptical students of mythology (M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und die Titanen in der Antiken Sage und Kunst* 72).

All this is significant, both as showing the true meaning of the passage under discussion, and as illustrating an important fact in Milton's use of classical mythology. In the first place, it is clear that Milton has not confused Titan with Oceanus, and that he has good classical authority for his distinction between them. Secondly, 'enormous brood,' of line 511, refers not to the Oceanids, but to the Titans, who were sons of Titan. This is further borne out by Milton's use elsewhere of the word 'enormous.' If it referred to the Oceanids, it would in effect mean 'numerous,' but the more conservative meaning is kept in the two remaining cases of its occurrence. In *P. L.* V. 297, we have the expression 'enormous bliss,' and in *P. L.* VII. 411, sea-monsters are described as 'enormous in their gait.' Here the meaning is 'extraordinary in magnitude, vast, immense,' with perhaps a suggestion in the latter case of 'monstrous'—meanings which would obviously be more appropriate to the Titans than to the Oceanids.

The question may now be asked why Milton has chosen the later and more obscure version in preference to the earlier and more celebrated account by Hesiod, and why he remains so faithful to it. The whole passage, *P. L.* 1. 506–521, lies in the direction of a favorite theory of the Fathers. Apparently beginning with a euhemeristic theory of mythology they endeavored to show that the Greek myths were only a deceived and perverted form of early Hebrew history, and they often identified Greek gods with Biblical personages, or found a place—usually a low one—for Greek legends and Greek deities in the Hebrew scheme. It thus becomes clear that Milton would find a patristic account more appropriate for use in a list of the fallen Angels, than one which was more ancient or more purely classical. This view of mythology found especial favor with him in his later life, and he often proves his interest in it, as when he follows the tradition that identified Ham, son of Noah, with Ammon or Jove (*P. L.* IV. 277), Eve with Eurynome (*P. L.* X. 581), and Japhet with Iapetus (*P. L.* IV. 717; cf. I. 508). See also *Paradise Regained* IV. 334–348; *Hymn on the Nativity* 89).

Since working out the results here given, I find that Patrick Hume, the first commentator on Milton, whose notes appeared in the edition of 1695, has given in substance the story of Titan as here told, but without any reference to its sources.

In this connection it is interesting to note a point of resemblance between *Paradise Lost* and *Le Tornoiement Antecrist*, an Old French poem of 3500 lines, by Huon de Méri, dating from about 1234. In the latter, as Antichrist goes forth to contend in tournament with the hosts of the Lord, he is surrounded by many of his barons, conspicuous among whom are Beelzebub, Jupiter, Saturn, Apollo, Mercury, Hercules, Neptune, Mars, and Cerberus, together with Pluto and Proserpina, the king and queen of Hell. Besides these there is a large following of such persons as Pride, Avarice, Hate, Felony, Sloth, Cruelty, and Gluttony, a little in the manner of the group around the throne of Chaos and Night (*P. L.* II. 963–966). Overhead streams the gorgeous banner of Antichrist, wrought by Proserpina. One is reminded of Dante's lines:

> Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna,
> Che girando correva tanto ratta
> Che d'ogni posa mi pareva indegna:

E dietro le ven'a sì lunga tratta
Di gente, ch' i' non avrei mai creduto,
Che morte tanta n' avesse disfatta.
Inferno III, 52–57.

So *Comus:*

Let him be girt
With all the griesly legions that troop
Under the sooty flag of Acheron,
Harpies and Hydras.
602–605.

Apropos of this passage, Warton cites from P. Fletcher's *Locusts* the line:

All Hell run out, and sooty flagges display.

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*HELENA AND HOMUNCULUS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF VEIT VALENTIN'S HYPOTHESIS AND ITS LAST DEFENSE.**

II.

The Dramatic Structure of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Dramatic Purpose of Homunculus.

IN order to clear the way for a brief examination of the dramatic structure of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the dramatic purpose of Homunculus, it is necessary first to dispose of some preconceived opinions of Valentin.[10]

In the first place his contention (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, 1900, col. 401) that it is a 'klägliche Anschauungsweise' even to suppose that Goethe ever made use of *Faust* to give expression to scientific views of his is entirely unfounded. The plan of discussing the Neptunistic and Plutonistic theories in connection with the appearance of Enceladus-Seismos, for example, is clearly defined in the prose sketch of Dec. 17, 1826 (Paralip. 123, 1):

"Naturphilosophen die bey dieser Gelegenheit auch nicht ausbleiben konnten, Thales und Anaxagoras gerathen über das Phänomen heftig in Streit, jener dem Wasser wie dem Feuchten alles zuschreibend, dieser überall geschmolzene, schmelzende Massen erblickend."

Had Goethe considered it inappropriate to express his views on scientific problems in *Faust*, he could have excluded not only the two philosophers but even Enceladus-Seismos just as well as he actually did exclude a good many other mythological characters.[11]

In the second place, Valentin's claim (*ibid.*, col. 402) that the separate parts of *Faust* should not be considered and explained by themselves but with reference to the entire drama, is not justified in view of the conversation with Eckermann on Feb. 13, 1831 (Pniower, no. 851). Here Goethe says of the fourth act:

"Dieser Act bekommt wieder einen ganz eigenen Charakter, sodass er, wie *eine für sich bestehende kleine Welt*, das übrige nicht berührt und nur durch *einen leisen Bezug zu dem Vorhergehenden und Folgenden* sich dem Ganzen anschliesst"

and fully agrees with his young friend when the latter finds this to be equally true of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, the *Helena* and a number of other parts. It must, therefore, be perfectly proper to consider the Classical Walpurgis-Night primarily as an independent little world of its own, provided the 'leise(r) Bezug' to the preceding and following by which it is joined to the whole be not lost sight of.

In the third place, Valentin's statement (*ibid.*, col. 476):

"Thatsächlich ist aber die klassische Walpurgisnacht ausschliesslich dazu da, um uns zu zeigen, wie es möglich ist, dass die Helena wahrhaft lebend auftreten kann"

cannot have more than a purely subjective value because an authentic utterance of Goethe on the purpose of the Classical Walpurgis-Night does not exist. What Goethe says to Eckermann, Dec. 16, 1829[12] (Pniower, no. 738), refers only to the bulk of the first act and the first two scenes of the second, which were then completed, and what he writes to Zelter

* *Errata* in the first part of this article: MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xvi, col. 199, l. 20 f., read 'in the nature of *a slight amplification* and careful filing.' Col. 202, l. 35, read '177' instead of '17.' Col. 209, l. 15 ff. (deprints Col. 208, l. 10 ff. from below), read 'when Homunculus was transformed from a chemical dwarf into a spirit and *the entire second act was written*, Goethe's conception of the revivification of Helena, etc.'

10 Valentin's treatise on the Classical Walpurgis-Night, which was to appear this spring, has not yet come to hand as this article goes to press.

11 Says Goethe to Eckermann, Feb. 21, 1831 (Pniower, No. 855): "Das Schwierige indessen war, sich bei so grosser Fülle mässig zu halten und solche Figuren abzulehnen, die nicht durchaus zu meiner Intention passten."

12 After Eckermann has observed that Helena gains the real 'Fundament' through Faust's dream of Leda, Goethe remarks:

"So auch . . . . werden Sie finden, dass schon immer in diesen fr. hern Acten das Classische und Romantische anklingt und zur Sprache gebracht wird, damit es, wie auf einem steigenden Terrain, zur *Helena* hinaufgehe," etc.

on the same day[13] and Jan. 24, 1828[14] (Pniower, nos. 737 and 623), about the manner in which the first and second acts are to join or to prepare the third, is general in character, does not refer to the person of Helena but to the Helena drama, and likewise belongs to the time before the Classical Walpurgis-Night had passed from the stage of a prose sketch to its final form.

Proceeding now to the dramatic analysis of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, the first thing with which we are struck is the wonderful difference between the prose sketch of Dec. 17, 1826, and the finished work of 1830. The scene with Erichtho and Erichthonius, the attempt of the Pompejans and Caesareans to possess themselves of the phosphorescent atoms collected by Homunculus, and the descent to Hades together with the scene in Hades itself, have been omitted. The conversation with the Sphinx, the Griffin and the Ant as well as the temptations of the Lamiæ have been transferred from Faust to Mephistopheles. The festival by the sea is no longer merely hinted at but actually represented from its beginning to its culmination. Independent from the experiences and doings of Faust and Mephistopheles a center of dramatic interest has been established by contrasting the land and the sea and opposing to Seismos, who embodied the principle defended by Anaxagoras, Homunculus in a transformation that fits him to exemplify the main part of the persuasion of Thales. In short, a most carefully planned but rather unexpected dramatic structure has taken the place of a more or less disconnected and casual array of incidents.[15]

The first scene is devoted to the exposition. Erichtho speaks her prologue and disappears. Homunculus sets out to find new wonderful things. Faust, who, as Homunculus had predicted, regains conciousness upon touching Greek soil, is directed to Chiron as the one who may give him information concerning Helena. Mephistopheles, who feels thoroughly out of place in the Classical atmosphere, discovers the Lamiæ, who had been held out to him as a bait, and starts in their pursuit. The Sphinxes, Griffins and Ants, the principal characters of the land existing at that time, reveal their natures and are contrasted with the Sirens, the chorus of the sea.

In the remainder of the work the world of the land with its wonder,[16] the action of Seismos, and the revelation of supreme homeliness in the Phorkyads, is placed over against the world of sea with its wonder, the beginning by Homunculus of corporeal existence or the evolution of animal life, and the manifestation of highest beauty in the person of Galatea, while Faust meets Chiron and Manto, and Mephistopheles, mocked and deluded by the Lamiæ, joins the Phorkyads.[17] The action of Seismos commences with a tremble yet scarcely strong enough to disturb Peneus in his dreams, is retarded by the episode with Chiron and Manto, interrupted by the episode with the Lamiæ, and only loosely connected with the scene of the Phorkyads. The measures leading towards the beginning by Homunculus

13 "Meine einzige Sorge und Bemühung ist nun: die zwey ersten Acte fertig zu bringen, damit sie sich an den dritten . . . . klüglich und weislich anschliessen mögen."

14 "ich möchte gar zu gern die zwey ersten Acte fertig bringen, damit *Helena* als dritter Act ganz ungezwungen sich anschl sse und genugsam vorbereitet, nicht mehr phantasmagorisch und eingeschoben, sondern in aesthetisch-vernunftgemässer Folge sich erweisen könnte."

When Valentin (Mod. Lang. Notes, vol. xv, 1900, col. 476) paraphrases this passage by saying:

"Helena soll sich 'als dritter Akt ganz ungezwungen' anschliessen und sich 'genugsam vorbereitet, nicht mehr phantasmagorisch,' also als volle, reale Wirklichkeit, ferner nicht mehr 'eingeschoben,' also als im engsten Zusammenhang der organischen Entwickelung der Handlung auftretend erweisen,"

he reads something into it which it does not contain. For as Goethe does not contrast 'phantasmagorisch,' but 'phantasmagorisch und eingeschoben' (cf. 'phantasmagorisches Zwischenspiel,' Paralip. 123, 1, at the close) as a unit, with 'in aesthetisch-vernunftgemässer Folge,' Valentin's 'also als volle, reale Wirklichkeit' is a gratuitous insertion and all inferences drawn from it with regard to the nature of Helena and her maids in the completed *Faust* are false and futile.

15 For a fuller explanation of the evolution of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and a more detailed exposition of its dramatic structure without special reference to Valentin and the dramatic purpose of Homunculus, see my article on 'The Evolution of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Scene in Hades' in *Americana Germanica*, vol. iii, 1899, No. 1, with the supplementary remarks *ibid.*, No. 2.

16 The Sirens sing with regard to the upheaval of Seismos, l. 7508:

"Niemand dem das *Wunder* frommt"

and exclaim with regard to the beginning by Homunculus of corporeal existence, l. 8474:

"Welch feuriges *Wunder* verklärt uns die Wellen."

17 The purely episodical character of the scenes with Chiron and Manto and with the Lamiæ, and to some extent also of that with the Phorkyads is explained in *Americana Germanica*, l. c., pp. 14 ff.

of corporeal existence, on the other hand, are from the outset closely intertwined with the preparations for the arrival of Galatea and both actions proceed without any outward retardation or interruption to the same grand climax at the close.

Furthermore land and sea are both connected and contrasted in manifold ways. The Sirens witness the first outbreak of the disturbance of Seismos and then in dismay flee to the sea, contrasting the horrors of the earth with the charms of their own element. Thales assists at the consummation and partial frustration of the volcanic feat by the fall of the rock from the moon and then with calm disdain betakes himself likewise to the cheerful scene of the sea. Homunculus does not venture to satisfy his craving for corporeal existence on the land, but has a pleasing sensation of the growth-promoting qualities of the sea, as soon as he breathes its air. Proteus sees on the land nothing but worry and toil while he commends the waves as more congenial to life. Even the wonders of the land and of the sea themselves are brought into immediate contact and contrast by the claim of Anaxagoras:

Durch Feuerdunst ist dieser Fels zu Handen

and Thales' quick retort:

Im Feuchten ist Lebendiges erstanden.[18]

An essential difference naturally exists in the extent to which the two wonders could be represented to our eyes. While the wonder of Seismos could be unfolded before us through all its vicissitudes from first to last, the wonder of Homunculus could merely be represented in its beginning, and even this could only be done in such a manner that some have doubted whether it is represented at all and that only last year, in an article in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* of 1900,[19] Julius Goebel declared that all those who think that it is represented had lost their minds. The further progress of the wonder, however, was entirely unrepresentable on the stage and, therefore, could only be intimated in advance. This is done through Nereus, Thales and Proteus, who, being as strictly individualized as all the other characters of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, differ in their knowledge of evolution also.

Nereus, the patriarch deity of the sea, knows that Homunculus has not simply to originate but also to evolve ('entstehn und sich verwandeln') and that Proteus is the authority on evolution, yet he is not familiar with the details himself. Thales, the mortal, on the other hand, is acquainted with the theory of evolution, but he neither realizes of his own accord that Homunculus will be obliged to take that road, nor does he know that Proteus is the authority to whom to go, nor has he confidence enough in Proteus and insight enough in his method not to be concerned about Homunculus' fate at the moment when he ends his uncorporeal existence in order to enter upon his corporeal one. Proteus, however, being the ancient god of transformation, is the real and logical authority on modern evolution. He does not only explain to Homunculus his future career, first and most fully, but he also attends

18 The contrast between Neptunism and Plutonism which Goethe had in mind when he wrote the sketch of Dec. 17, 1826 (see above col. 285) has not entirely disappeared either, but crops out in the lines of Thales (8438–8442) as against the claim of Seismos in ll. 7554–7557.

19 Vol. xxi, pp. 208–223. Declaring all the efforts of his predecessors to explain Homunculus to be 'zwecklose Muthmassereien (p. 213), Goebel himself advances the view that Goethe regarded Homunculus as a demon in his own peculiar sense of the word, although in the passage with Eckermann upon which he rests his argument Goethe only says (Pniower, No. 738): "solche geistige Wesen wie der Homunculus . . . . zählte man [that is, *were* counted in the past] zu den Dämonen." Page 220 we are told that it is Homunculus who brings about Faust's turn to the classic, although the drama itself and every paralipomenon teaches us that it was the sight of Helena:

"Ganz im Einklang mit Goethes Vorstellung, dass das Dämonische die entscheidenden Wendungen im Menschenleben hervorbringe, ist es der D. mon Homunculus, der *durch seine Einflüsterung* (!) den Umschwung in Fausts Leben herbeiführt," etc.

On the next page we are informed that Homunculus is not only not one of the principal characters in the Classical Walpurgis-Night, but that he is in reality superfluous there:

"Nachdem Homunculus als Dämon seinen Zweck im Leben Fausts und damit in der Oekonomie des Stückes erfüllt hat, wird er eigentlich *überflüssig* (!) und dies ist der Grund, warum ihm Goethe im weiteren Verlauf der Walpurgisnacht *keine bedeutendere Stellung* zugewiesen hat."

Page 222 finally we learn that Homunculus does not commence corporeal existence in the sea, but that he meets there with an untimely end:

"Die Geschichte von der mystischen Vermählung des Homunculus mit dem Meere war und ist also blauer metaphysischer Dunst, der dem Kleinen das Leben und den Commentatoren den Verstand kostete."

However interesting and valuable Goebel's exposition of Goethe's idea of the demoniac may be, not many probably will share his expectation (page 223) that he has done justice to the 'highest task of the interpreter' in his explanation of Homunculus.

to the practical execution of its beginning. He himself takes him out into the sea in order to wed him to the ocean, and when Homunculus, in the full enjoyment of the new atmosphere and at the sight of Galatea and her train, declares that everything he is illuminating in the gracious moisture is charmingly beautiful, it is he who reminds him that that moisture is a moisture of life and thus induces him to take the decisive step and to unite with the waves.[20]

This crowning climax of Homunculus' career appears in the richest setting. Even before he leaves the charge of Proteus, Thales, 'thrilled with the beautiful, the true,' has proclaimed his:

Alles ist aus dem Wasser entsprungen! !

the only line in *Faust* which is distinguished by a double exclamation point and that by Goethe's own hand. As he is about to reach the shell of Galatea, Nereus perceives his flame and wonders what a 'neues Geheimniss' is about to reveal itself. When he has actually shattered his glass and the 'feurige(s) Wunder' is glorifying the waves, the Sirens call upon Eros, who has begun everything, to preside over this new beginning too, and praise water and fire and the 'seltne(n) Abentheuer' till all present join in and end with a fervent tribute to air and earth and all the elements. The triumph of the sea and its wonder is assured and the Classical Walpurgis-Night has not led up directly to the entrance of Helena, but, as the poet expresses it in the letter to Eckermann of Aug. 9, 1830 (Pniower, no. 831), has run out into the infinite ([ist] 'ins Gränzenlose ausgelaufen').

Although two scientific theories are set forth in Seismos and Homunculus, this is done in the broadest and most poetic and artistic way. The contrast between those theories is enlarged to one between ill will, war, futile violence, and homeliness on the one hand, and love, peace, organic development, and beauty on the other. In spite of the introduction of the modern idea of evolution, the whole atmosphere and most of the characters remain thoroughly and genuinely classical. Everything is combined and conducted with such consummate art that the work, both from a dramatic and a purely poetic standpoint, takes rank among Goethe's highest and most perfect creations. Notwithstanding its independence, however, the 'leise(n) Bezug' to the preceding and following, by which it is joined to the whole, is not lacking. Homunculus makes good his promise to restore Faust to consciousness and himself succeeds in originating. Faust is seen entering upon the road to Hades in the company and with the good cheer of Manto, and thereby prepares Helena's entrance in the next act. Mephistopheles finds his witches and dons the classic mask of which he has need before the ancient castle of Sparta. In addition to this, Helena gains a stronger 'Fundament' by the day-dream of Faust and his conversation with Chiron, and the contrast between the classic and romantic is brought out more forcibly than ever by the presence of Mephistopheles in classic surroundings.

Just as the Classical Walpurgis-Night, then, is, on the one hand, a little independent world of its own, and on the other, is connected with the whole of *Faust*, the dramatic purpose of Homunculus, finally, also has a double aspect. In the economy of the whole drama it is to take Faust and Mephistopheles to the Classical Walpurgis-Night in order that Faust may be in his new element; within the Classical Walpurgis-Night it is to form the counterpart of Seismos, and to exemplify the principle of the origin and evolution of animal life in the moist. Thus Valentin's hypothesis proves impossible once more. For even if the shades of Helena and her maids, and of Menelaus and his followers, instead of being still in Hades, were present when Homunculus unites with the sea, Homunculus would be unavailable for them because he is starting to evolve 'nach ewigen Normen, Durch tausend, abertausend Formen' and for that reason cannot suddenly reach the highest stage by an absolutely inorganic and arbitrary multifarious union with a host of shades.

The points in which Valentin's interpretations differ especially from those given above are the passages which speak of the evolution

20 For the general idea of the union of a spirit with elements compare the union of the maids of Helena, in which Goethe, as Eckermann (Jan. 29, 1827: Pniower, no. 506) tells us, took special pride: "Auf den Gedanken, dass der Chor .... sich den Elementen zuwirft, thue ich mir wirklich etwas zu gute."

of Homunculus, and the statement in the letter to Eckermann that the Classical Walpurgis-Night 'ins Gränzenlose ausgelaufen ist.' As for the former, he contends that they can have no weight because Proteus and Thales speak from an imperfect knowledge of affairs (Main book, p. 191 f.):

"Den Proteus wie den Thales lässt der Dichter hier in treffender Weise aus ihrer Lage, aus ihrer Kenntnis der Verhältnisse herausprechen: sie wissen nicht, dass . . . . er [that is, Homunculus] also diese Stufen . . . . keineswegs Schritt für Schritt zu erklimmen braucht."

However limited the knowledge of Thales, the mortal, may be, the knowledge of Proteus, the god of transformation, must be reliable because it is venerable Nereus, the highest deity present, who designates him as an authority. To maintain that what Proteus says concerning the future course of Homunculus is not reliable would be equal to maintaining that the poet had purposely misled us regarding his own ideas about the fate of Homunculus, an assumption too singular to require a refutation. Conscious or unconscious of the weakness of this first argument, Valentin soon afterwards (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vol. xvi, 1895, p. 141) tried to strengthen it by giving to line 8329 'Beliebig regest du dich hier' the meaning that Homunculus might move in whatever shape he pleases and, therefore, need not commence at the beginning. This, however, was refuted in MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, 1897, col. 74, where I showed that that line does not mean that Homunculus may move 'in whatever shape he pleases,' but 'as he pleases'; and Valentin never objected to that interpretation.

As for the statement in the letter to Eckermann that the Classical Walpurgis-Night 'ins Gränzenlose ausgelaufen ist,' Valentin in the first place made an attempt to interpret 'gränzenlos' in such a manner that the passage should not conflict with his idea that the close of the Classical Walpurgis-Night leads up directly to the entrance of Helena. In doing so (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiii, 1898, cols. 442 f.) he was, however, so singularly unfortunate as not to notice that Goethe uses the word 'gränzenlos,' and to assume that he says 'unendlich.' He, consequently, favored the readers of the MOD. LANG. NOTES with a learned disquisition on Goethe's use of 'unendlich' which, valuable as it was in itself, was of no avail whatever as far as the point in question was concerned.

Besides, Valentin tried to offset the testimony of this letter, and to gain evidence for his idea of the immediate connection between the close of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the entrance of Helena, by giving to a letter of Eckermann to Goethe, written in Geneva, Sept. 14, 1830, before the letter under discussion had yet reached him, a critical import which it does not possess. The letter (Pniower, no. 832) reads:

"Zu meiner grossen Freude habe ich aus einem Ihrer letzten Briefe in Genua ersehen, dass die Lücken und das Ende der "Classischen Walpurgisnacht" glücklich erobert worden. Die drei ersten Acte wären also vollkommen fertig, die Helena verbunden, und demnach das Schwierigste gethan" etc.

In 1898 (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiii, col. 464) Valentin went so far as to claim on the strength of this letter that:

"Goethe, der es doch schliesslich am besten wissen musste, bekanntlich behauptet hat, die grosse Lücke [zwischen der klassischen Walpurgisnacht und dem Helenadrama] sei ausgefüllt"

that is, he simply substituted Goethe for Eckermann and 'die grosse Lücke' for 'die Lücken und das Ende.'[21] In 1900 (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xv, col. 476), to be sure, he had become somewhat more conservative. He no longer put Goethe in the place of Eckermann, but he still claimed that Eckermann wrote: 'aus seiner Kenntniss der Dichtung und ihres Zusammenhangs heraus' and asked:

"wie soll denn aber durch den Abschluss des zweiten Aktes, der klassischen Walpurgisnacht, die Helena 'verbunden' sein, wenn der zweite Akt und sein Schluss nichts mit ihr zu thun hat?"

If he had investigated the matter a little more deeply, he would have found that, owing to an absence of nearly five months, Eckermann's knowledge of the state of the 'Dichtung,' upon the reliability of which he built his conclusion, was quite imperfect. It rested only upon a manuscript of the Classical Walpurgis-Night having 'Lücken' and lacking

21 The same error is repeated by Goebel, l. c. p. 222: "so sehr er [that is Goethe] auch glauben mochte, dass die Lücke ausgefüllt sei."

'das Ende,' that is, almost certainly upon the manuscript that bears the title '*Classische Walpurgisnacht erstes Mundum*' (ii, H. 74), which Goethe had given him to read a few days before his departure for Italy, and upon the notice in Goethe's letter to his son, dated June 25, and bearing the postmarks Weimar, June 28, and Milan, July 10, and thence forwarded to Genoa (Pniower, no. 827):

"Wenn Eckermann, bey soviel Lockungen und Verführungen, noch beysammen und ein rückwärts blickender Mensch geblieben ist, so sag ihm: Die Walpurgisnacht sey völlig abgeschlossen, *und wegen des fernerhin und weiter Nöthigen sey die beste Hoffnung.*"

Not knowing, therefore, that the scene in Hades had not been written, but reserved for a prologue to the third act, and not understanding the reference to this which may be contained in the words I have italicized, he drew the conclusion that not only 'die Lücken und das Ende' of the Classical Walpurgis-Night had been conquered, but that also the *Helena* was 'verbunden.' Yet, however pardonable Eckermann's conclusion may seem under the circumstances, it is none the less an error, and thence can in no way impair the weight of Goethe's own testimony that the Classical Walpurgis-Night 'ins Gränzenlose ausgelaufen ist.' Valentin's efforts, therefore, do not contain anything that would tend to disprove the conception of the dramatic structure of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, and the dramatic purpose of Homunculus, which has been set forth above.

The Sketch of the Prologue to the Third Act of June 18, 1830 (Paralip. 157).

The evidence of the impossibility of Valentin's hypothesis which has been derived from our study of the revivification of Helena and the dramatic purpose of Homunculus, is fully borne out by a closer examination of the sketch of the prologue to the third act of June 18, 1830, *Paralipomenon* 157, to which we have had occasion to refer a few times before. According to this, Goethe intended at the time of the completion of the Classical Walpurgis-Night, just as much as at any other time during the preceding four years, that Faust and Manto's descent to Hades together with the scene in Hades itself were immediately to precede the entrance of Helena and her attendants in Sparta. Helena and her maids were not only not supposed to be present when Homunculus shatters his glass and flows out into the sea, as Valentin constantly maintained, but the very request for their release from Hades was not to be made till after that time. The union of Homunculus with the sea and the revivification of Helena for a renewed existence on earth, were considered so completely foreign to one another that they were separated by the interval between two acts.

If, however, it is well established that Goethe cannot possibly have intended a combination of Homunculus with the shades of Helena and her maids and Menelaus and his followers, up to the moment when he either had just finished or was just about to finish, the Classical Walpurgis-Night, it may be asserted with equal certainty that he cannot have suddenly planned such a combination as a kind of afterthought when he abandoned the poetical execution of the prologue, allowed the entrance of Helena to follow immediately upon the union of Homunculus with the sea, and left it to the reader to supply a transition for himself. For certainly no one who seriously reflects upon the matter for a moment, will venture to maintain that with the omission of the prologue Goethe should suddenly have relinquished his long-standing idea of the revivification of Helena according to Greek *Weltanschauung* in order to replace it by such an artificial and rationalistic plan as was suggested by Valentin. Still less will anybody consider it possible that the mere omission of the prologue should suddenly have upset the entire most carefully planned dramatic fabric of the Classical Walpurgis-Night and deprived Homunculus of his purpose within in order to assign him to one without. Indeed the mere fact of the organic growth of Goethe's creations alone would forbid any such assumption even if we had not Goethe's own testimony that the present *Motivierung* of the entrance of Helena is not so close as he had hoped to make it.[22] Yet, fortunately for the altogether incredulous among the Faust interpreters, there is even such testimony, and Valentin, too, knew it and quoted it, only that, as in so many other cases, he did

[22] See notes 13 and 14 above.

not understand its full import. This testimony is Goethe's communication to Zelter of Jan. 4, 1831 (Pniower, no. 846):

"Die zwey ersten Acte von Faust sind fertig. Die Exclamation des Cardinals von Este, womit er den Ariost zu ehren glaubte, möchte wohl hier am Orte seyn. Genug! Helena tritt zu Anfang des dritten Acts nicht als Zwischenspielerin sondern als Heroine *ohne Weiteres* auf."

Helena is no longer a 'Zwischenspielerin' but has become a 'Heroine,' yet she still enters 'ohne Weiteres,' that is, without a close *Motivierung* of her entrance such as there would have been if the prologue had not been abandoned. The non-execution of the prologue, therefore, simply increased by one more the number of the transitions which 'the intelligent reader' has to supply,[23] and did not affect the dramatic structure or presuppositions of the completed second and third acts in the slightest degree. It is impossible that Goethe intended for the shades of Helena and her maids, and Menelaus and his followers, to be present when Homunculus unites with the sea. Hence Valentin's hypothesis stands disproved for the third time.

Since of the three reasons for the impossibility of Valentin's hypothesis which have been given the first and the third may claim objective mathematical certainty, while the second may be considered scarcely less reliable, it will neither be necessary to accumulate any more evidence against the hypothesis itself, nor to enter further upon any other deductions and assertions in Valentin's last article. Valentin had the misfortune of founding his theory regarding Homunculus and Helena upon subjective æsthetic presuppositions instead of objective philological investigations, and after he had once established it and found wide approbation for it among other scholars, he became so strongly prejudiced in favor of it that it was no longer possible for him to recognize its weakness and to give the statements of the poet or the arguments of his opponent an objective and dispassionate examination. His fervent self-assurance and his brilliant style and dialectics cast a spell not only upon others but also upon himself so that he continued to the last to battle for a connection between Homunculus and Helena, and a conception of an artistic unity of the whole of *Faust* that could not exist without it. It does not seem any longer advisable to attempt æsthetic explanations of the whole or of parts of *Faust*, except upon the basis of a thorough philological examination of the text and all the other critical material.

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[23] Compare Goethe's letter to Wilhelm von Humboldt of Dec. 1, 1831 (Pniower, no. 912):

"Nun hat der Verstand an dem zweiten Theile mehr Forderung als an dem ersten, und in diesem Sinne musste dem vern inftigen Leser mehr entgegengearbeitet werden, wenn ihm auch *an Uebergängen zu suppliren genug übrigblieb.*"

SPANISH GRAMMAR.

An Elementary Grammar of the Spanish Language, by L. A. Loiseaux, Instructor in the Romance Languages and Literatures in Columbia University. New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company, 1900. 8vo, viii + 192 pp.

There are many text-books of modern Spanish grammar, but there are few good ones. Mr. Loiseaux's *Elementary Grammar of the Spanish Language* has the merit of being short, concise, and practical, and it will therefore be welcomed by teachers of Spanish. The general arrangement of the book is good, but it is to be regretted that the conjugation of verbs is not introduced earlier. In a beginner's text-book it does not seem wise to treat fully nouns and adjectives,—including augmentatives and diminutives, numerals, etc.,—before taking up the conjugation of the regular and common irregular verbs. And, then, much valuable space is given up to lists of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections, which might better be left to the lexicon. In the following review of the *Grammar* the criticisms and suggestions are arranged in the order of the paragraphs to which they refer.

§ 2. The meaning of the sentence "the sound of the Spanish vowels *never* changes" is not clear. If the author means that each of the Spanish letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, always represents one sound, and one only, he contradicts himself in § 4. The statement that "the consonants are less distinctly pronounced than the

vowels," while on the whole true, should be modified in view of the fact that certain consonants, such as *l* and *r*, are pronounced more distinctly in Spanish than in English.—§ 4. The author makes no attempt to give the minor variations in sounds of the Spanish vowels, and it is probably best that he should not do so in an elementary text-book. It is to be regretted that the *Grammar* does not call attention to the diphthongal nature of *a* in *late* and of *o* in *go*, and warn the student to avoid the "vanish" when speaking Spanish. There is, in reality, little resemblance between the sounds of *a* in *laté* and *e* in *papel*, nor between *o* in *go* and *o* in *malo*. Never under any circumstances does Spanish *o* have the sound of English *o* in *come*. Possibly the author pronounces *o* in *come* like the *o* of German *kommen*.—§ 6. Spanish *b* and *v* are pronounced alike, not "almost alike." Usually *b* and *v* represent a bilabial fricative, as in *estaba*, *centavo*, etc.; but *b* after *m*, and *v* after *n* represent a bilabial explosive, as in *ambos*, *enviar* (pronounced *embiar*), etc. Moreover, at the beginning of a breath group *b* and *v*, if enunciated with emphasis, become explosive, as in *ven acá*, *¡basta!*, etc. It is true that the Academy maintains the fiction that Spanish *b* and *v* are pronounced like French *b* and *v* respectively; but neither to-day nor at any previous time have the Spaniards made this distinction. Theoretically, *d* final should be voiced (Araujo places it as "ápico-dental, fricativa sonora"), but in fact it is usually pronounced like *z* in central Spain. As for medial *d*, when it immediately follows a stressed vowel it is often omitted in informal speech wherever Spanish is spoken. It would be better to say simply that "*h* is silent everywhere," and omit "except in a very few words." It is unfortunate to teach the student that Spanish *ll* and *ñ* are pronounced like *lli* in *million* and *ni* in *onion*. It is extremely difficult for the English-speaking student to acquire the correct sounds of Spanish *ll* and *ñ*; but he should be taught at the beginning the difference between *ll* in *mi-llón* and *lli* in *million* (pron. *mil-yon*), and between *ñ* in *a-ño* and *ni* in *onion* (pron. *on-yon*). The author again follows the Academy too closely in stating that Spanish *x* represents the same sound as English *x*. As a matter of fact in nine words out of ten Spanish *x* is pronounced like *s*, as in *texto* (*testo*), *expedición* (*espedición*), etc. Medial *x* is usually pronounced like English *x*, as in *éxito*, but even to this rule there are exceptions; as, *exacto* (*esacto*).—§ 7. It would have been better to omit (1), (*b*): "in most of the nouns ending in *n*, etc.," since the insertion of these words causes confusion and gives a needless exception. Under REMARKS, the wording of (*c*) should be modified to allow for such changes in accentuation as occur in *joven*, *jóvenes*; *nación*, *naciones*.—§ 8. The meaning of the Note is not clear; a line may certainly begin with a single vowel, such as *á*, *y*, etc.

§ 19. The rule should read: "Spanish *nouns* have only two genders, etc."—§ 27. Would it not be better to change (1), (*a*) to "with an unaccented vowel or diphthong," and (2), (*c*) to "with an accented vowel (except *é*) or diphthong"? The author could then omit (2), (*b*), since *ley*, *rey*, etc., end in a stressed diphthong. —§ 34. The endings *azo* and *ada* mentioned in the Note are out of place here, since they have nothing whatever to do with the augmentative suffixes.—§ 35. It is to be regretted that the author did not state, at least in a foot note, when to use *ito*, *cito*, or *ecito*, etc.—§ 37. The second sentence in this rule would be improved by changing it to read: "An adjective qualifying two singular nouns is usually masculine plural, unless both nouns are feminine, when the adjective is feminine plural."—§ 40. In (1) the adjective *suizo* is out of place.—§ 47. This and the following paragraphs treat of the "Position of the *Descriptive* (*Qualifying*) Adjective," and not of the "limiting (or determining) adjective."

§ 55. It is not quite correct to say that *que* is preferred to *de* in a negative sentence. It has been the experience of the present writer that the opposite is true. Moreover, there is a difference in meaning between *no . . . más de* and *no . . . más que*. Compare: *No tengo más de diez pesos* "I hav'nt more than ten dollars," and *no tengo más que diez pesos* "I have only ten dollars." In (3) the author has been led to make a mistake by following Ramsey's text-book. The rule from beginning to end is incorrect, as may be seen from the fol-

lowing sentences: *es más feliz de lo que era hace un año* "he is happier than he was a year ago;" *la casilla del hortelano es más bonita y limpia de lo que se suele ver* "the gardener's cabin is prettier and neater than one usually sees." Furthermore, no mention is made of the use of *del que, de la que, de los que, de las que*, as in *le ofrecieron más sueldo del que ganaba* "they offered him a larger salary than he was receiving;" *escribe y habla con más corrección de la que es común en su pueblo* "he writes and speaks more correctly than is common in his town."—§ 61. In (*b*) would it not be well to insert "often" or "usually" before "return"? In popular language it is becoming not uncommon to retain the diphthong when *ísimo* or a diminutive or augmentative suffix is added. Thus one hears *nuevísimo* oftener than *novísimo*, and in § 51 the author himself gives *nuevecito*.—§ 67. This should read: "*Uno* agrees with its noun *in gender*," thus *treinta y un hombres* "thirty-one men."—§ 101. Would it not be well to mention here more definitely the explicit forms *el de él, el de ella*, etc.? And should it not be stated that when a possessive pronoun is used predicatively, the article is usually omitted? Thus *esta casa es mía* "this house is mine."

§ 103. It would be best to omit the rule that "before *otro*, 'other,' *este* and *ese* become *estotro* and *esotro*," etc. These forms are not common in modern Spanish, and even in rapid speech the final *e* of *este* and *ese* is usually retained before *o*.—§ 118. This rule should read: "After a long preposition *el cual* or *el que* is preferable to *que*, etc."—§ 123. This and the following paragraphs treat both of interrogative pronouns and adjectives.—§ 126. It would be better to say: "*Quien* can refer only to persons, and is never used adjectively."

§ 142. Is it correct to say that "*haber* is used only as an auxiliary," when it may be used independently as a neuter verb and in a few expressions as a personal verb? The illustrative sentence, *tres años há*, is not a happy choice, in view of the fact that in expressions of time it is preferable to use *hacer* rather than *haber* when there is a *definite* period of time.—§ 163. The second part of this rule is out of place; namely, that "when a vowel precedes, a *z* is added to the *c* before *a* or *o*." This is a purely phonetic change, and should not therefore come under the head of "Orthographic Changes." According to the system of classification adopted by the author, this change should be considered among the irregular verbs, for does not the stem *conoc-* change to *conozc-* before *a* or *o*; that is, is not the "theta" strengthened by adding the "k" sound?—§ 187. Would it not be better to say: "Besides, when unaccented, *e* becomes *i*, and *o* becomes *u*, if the next syllable does not contain accented *i*?"—§ 194. This rule could then read: "*u* becomes *uy*, if not followed by accented *i*."—§ 236. The rule that "*á* should not be used before a common noun" is incorrect. On the preceding page the author gives *la madre llama á su hija*, and *hija* is a common noun. In 2 it would be better to omit the clause "or when preceded by a numeral." Cf. *busco á un hombre que canta bien* "I am looking for a (certain) man that sings well," *busco un hombre que cante bien*, "I am looking for some man that sings well;" *asesinaron á dos hombres que iban á tomar el tren*, "they murdered two men that were going to take the train," *asesinaron dos hombres* "they murdered two men."—§ 240. *Desde* should be included here. Ex. *desde entonces estoy enfermo*, "I have been ill since then."

§ 241. Is the statement in the note (p. 118) correct? Is not the reverse true? It is well known that the modern tendency is to use the past indefinite, rather than the preterite, whenever possible. The past indefinite is often used, even when the action occurred at a definite time entirely past, provided the action occurred recently, as in *ayer he descubierto una mano empuñando el asa de un ánfora* (Pérez Galdós).—§ 242. Attention should be called to the fact that the Spanish imperfect indicative is used with *hacía* or *desde*, just as the present tense is used with *hace* or *desde*. See § 240.—§ 245. The author does not explain the use of the past anterior tense in *leído que hubo la carta* . . . "when he had read the letter . . . ."—§ 246. The Note at the foot of page 120 should be omitted. See § 259 and § 260, Note.—§ 251. The wording of (1) implies that only the subjunctive is used after verbs expressing *wish, fear*, etc. Would it not be well to compare *yo quiero hacerlo*, "I wish to do so,"

and *yo quiero que él lo haga*, "I wish him to do so," etc.?—§ 257. In (*b*) does the author mean that the imperfect subjunctive is not used after a present tense to denote an action completed before the time indicated by the governing verb, as in *esto no quiere decir que el capitán fuese mal soldado*, "this does not mean that the captain was a bad soldier?" Would it not be well here to call attention to the fact that the past indefinite sometimes has the force of a present tense and sometimes that of a past tense? Compare *nada ha dicho que pueda ofenderme*, "he has said nothing that can offend me," and *esta mañana he dicho al criado que subiese el baúl*, "I told the servant this morning to take the trunk up stairs."—§ 259. No end of confusion results from the names "present subjunctive" and "future subjunctive, since both forms may be either present or future; thus, in *dado caso que esté*, or *estuviere*, *aquí*, *se lo diré*, "in case he is here, I shall tell him," both *esté* and *estuviere* are present tenses; while in *luego que escriba*, or *escribiere*, *la carta la mandaré al correo*, "as soon as he writes the letter, I shall send it to the postoffice," both *escriba* and *escribiere* are future tenses. The "present subjunctive" may be substituted for the "future subjunctive," except after the conjunction *si*, when the present indicative may be substituted for the "future subjunctive."

§ 275. Under Examples, would it not be better to read "*Les oímos tocar el violín*," since *tocar* has a direct object? It is true that this rule is not always followed even by some otherwise careful writers. On the other hand a pronounced "*leísta*" like Pérez Galdós would use *les* even when the following infinitive was intransitive, as in *les vimos salir*, "we saw them go out."—§ 280. This should read: "Adverbs are derived from most *descriptive* (or *qualifying*) adjectives, etc."—§ 284. The use of *lo* with the superlative of adverbs is not explained.—§ 288. The rule as here stated does not make allowance for such expressions as the following: *viene aquí dos veces al día* (Juan Valera); *por más que nosotros aquí en el campo*, etc.; *todo lo que se gasta acá sale de mi propio bolsillo* (Alarcón); *casi se arrepintieron de haber ido hasta allí* (Juan Valera); etc.—§ 290.—Would it not be better to omit in an elementary grammar the foot-note on page 146, inasmuch as *muy* is used with *mayor*, etc., only when they refer to health, and even then *mucho* is not uncommon—§ 302. *En*, when used with the present participle, means 'after.' —§ 308. This paragraph is largely unnecessary, since *para* and *por* followed by an infinitive have the same force as when followed by a noun or pronoun; thus, *pagan para entrar*, "they pay *in-order-to* get in;" *ofrecen dinero por entrar* "they offer money *in-exchange-for* getting in; *doy un paseo para distraerme* "I take a walk *in-order-to* amuse myself; *doy un paseo por distraerme* "I take a walk *for-the-sake-of* amusing myself," etc.

Since we are connected politically with Cuba and Puerto Rico, and commercially with other Spanish-American states, would it not be best, even in an elementary grammar, to treat briefly the characteristic features of Spanish-American speech? The reviewer would suggest that the following facts be included: In Spanish-America, as well as in some parts of Spain, *c* + *e*, *i*, and *z* are pronounced like *s*, thus *cera* (pron. *sera*), *zapato* (pron. *sapato*); *d* final is usually omitted, thus *ciudad* (pron. *siudá*); *ll* is usually pronounced like *y*, thus *calle* (pron. *caye*).—§ 31, Note. Throughout the greater part of Spanish-America, *Señor José Herrera* is the usual expression, rather than *Don José Herrera*. —§ 35. In Cuba the diminutive suffix *ico* is in common use, and it regularly replaces *ito* after a stem ending in *t*, thus *gatico*, *platico*, etc.—§ 80. The foot-note on page 36 is correct in so far as it refers to Central Spain. In Spanish-America, however, *lo* is retained in popular speech as the regular form of the masculine accusative singular, and it is used of both persons and things.—§ 290, Note. *Muy mucho* is not uncommon in some parts of Spanish-America.

While the author's English is usually correct, two errors should be noted, namely, the use of *nice* in § 35, and "There are good news" in § 145.

The following errata and misprints have been noted:

§ 5, *belong* for *belongs* ("and each belongs to a distinct syllable"); § 25, *including* for *included;* § 186, § 164 for § 163; § 251 (2), *le* for *lo* ("*¿Cree V. que lo haya hecho?*"); § 261, in

the Examples under Note, *No* for *Nos* ("*Nos aseguraba que* +"). Finally, in the conjugation of *haber*, *ser*, and *estar* the accentuation is imperfect. There should be no accent on *hayamos*, *habremos*, *hubisteis*, *hubierais*, *hubieseis*, *hubiereis*, *fuisteis*, *fuerais*, *fueseis*, *fuereis*, *estabais*, *estaremos*, *estuvisteis*, *estuvierais*, *estuvieseis*, *estuviereis*, etc., and there should be an accent mark on *hayáis*, *seáis*, *estáis*, *estéis*, etc. These errors of accentuation occur to a lesser extent in the conjugation of other verbs. Moreover, there should be no accent on *crisis*, § 28, *ti*, § 80; and *fe*, § 98.

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ETYMOLOGY.

Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, zweite verbesserte Auflage, von Dr. C. C. Uhlenbeck, Professor an der Univ. Leiden. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

The second edition of Uhlenbeck's well-known *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* is a decided improvement on an already good book. Not the least of its good qualities is the reference often made to etymologies with which the author does not always agree.

Its chief fault is the small space devoted to the development of meaning, though it is perhaps hardly fair to call that a fault in an etymological dictionary which claims to be "kurzgefasst." Moreover, it is a fault that is common to most if not all etymological dictionaries. But it is nevertheless a fault. For it is only where we can trace a group of words to their primary meaning that we really know anything about those words. To study the outward form, the phonetic changes, is necessary in all word-study. But after all the main thing is to know the real life-history of the idea in the word. If this is not gained, nothing of any practical importance is gained as far as the words themselves are concerned.

Now in establishing the etymology of a word two principles may be set down: (1) "Difference in meaning is of itself no bar to connecting words" (*AJP.* xix, 40 ff.); (2) "Similarity in meaning is no ground for connecting words" (*AJP.* xx, 254 ff.). Judged by these principles the following etymologies must be declared faulty.

Goth. *arbaiþs* 'arbeit, mühsal': Lith. *dárbas* 'arbeit.' With the latter compare OE. *ge-deorf* 'labor, effort, hardship,' etc. (*AJP.* xx, 258 f.).—G. *beidan* is unnecessarily separated from *baidjan*. For the former we may assume the primary meaning 'press upon, hold,' whence 'endure, hold out, continue,' etc. From this we certainly need not separate *baidjan* 'zwingen,' OE. *bēdan*, 'compel; urge on, incite; solicit, require; afflict, oppress,' etc., nor Gk. *πείθω* 'impel, stir up; prevail upon, persuade,' etc.—With Alban. *bē* 'eid, schwur' compare OE. *bād* 'pledge, thing distrained.'—G. *hiufan* 'wehklagen:' Lat. *cupiō* 'begehre:' Skt. *kúpyati* 'gerät in aufregung, wallt auf, erzürnt, zürnt' is regarded with disfavor. And yet we have here the three most natural developments from the primary meaning 'stir, be agitated' as seen in Skt. *cópati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich.' Not only are these related but they are further connected with Gk. *καπνός* 'smoke,' Lith. *kvepiù* 'exhale,' etc., base *qeuepo-* (*Pub. MLA.* xiv, 302).—G. *hwairnei* 'hirnschädel:' OHG. *hirni* 'gehirn' should not be compared. They are phonetically and semasiologically distinct. The one with IE. *qu̯-* goes back to the meaning 'shell,' the other with IE. *k̂-* goes back to 'top, point,' whence 'head, horn, summit,' etc.—G. *kalbō* 'kalb,' Gk. *δελφύς*, etc., cannot be combined with Gk. *βρέφος* unless we assume a primitive root *(e)gu̯o-*, which is only the barest possibility. They may, however, be referred to a primary meaning (*AJP.* xix, 46 ff.).—ON. *krof* 'the cut up carcass of a slaughtered animal,' *kryfja* 'split, embowel' should be taken rather with OE. *ceorfan* 'cut, cut down; cut out; tear,' Gk. *γράφω* 'scratch, write.'—G. *marzjan* 'ärgern, anstoss geben,' OE. *mierran* 'hinder; squander, waste' are easily combined with Skt. *mr̥̄syatē* 'vernachlässigt, verzeiht, vergisst,' Lith. *miršzti* 'vergessen' through the root *mer-s-* 'rub, rub away, make soft; give way, forgive, forget.' Compare Skt. *mr̥dú* 'weich, zart, mild,' Gk. *ἀμαλδύνω* 'crush, destroy, ruin; soften, weaken, Lat. *mollis*, *molliō*, OE. *meltan* 'be consumed, melt.'—G. *sugil* should be separated from *sauil* 'sun' and connected with OE. *swegl* 'sky, heaven; sun,' *swegle* 'bright,' OS. *swigli*

'hell, strahlend.'—G. *swikns* 'rein, unschuldig, keusch,' ON. *sykn* 'schuldlos, straffrei,' OE. *swicn* 'clearance from criminal charge' have been connected with OHG. *swīhhan* 'nachlassen; im stiche lassen,' OE. *swīcan* 'wander, depart; desert, withdraw; desist, cease; fail; deceive,' etc. (cf. Schade, *Wb.*). The primary meaning of *swikns* is 'departed, removed from, cleared, free.' Compare Gk. ἤλυθον 'went:' ἐλεύθερος 'free.' See MOD. LANG. NOTES, xvi, 20.—G. *swiltan* 'hinsterben' has received an explanation worth referring to. See Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *swelzan;* Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 1052. The underlying meaning is 'pass away, be consumed,' whence 'pine away, starve, die; waste away, be consumed, burn.'—G. *þuthaurn* 'trumpet,' ON. *þjōta* 'resound, sound,' etc., are hardly connected with *stautan* 'stossen.' At least they do not come from the meaning 'stossen,' but from 'swell, burst forth.' This is evident from OHG. *diozan* 'sich erheben, quellen, schwellen; rauschen, tosen, laut tönen,' MHG. *duz* 'anschwellen, schwall; geräusch,' OE. *þēote* 'torrent, cataract; waterpipe, channel,' *þēotan* 'howl, resound.' It is from this primary meaning that we may also derive 'thrust, beat' in Skt. *tudāmi*, Lat. *tundō*. The entire group I derive from the root *tŭ-* 'swell,' from which also ON. *þysja*, *þyrja* 'hervorstürzen,' *þyss*, *þausn* 'noise, tumult,' OE. *þys* 'storm,' OHG. *dōsōn* 'brausen, rauschen, tosen;' Lat. *tumeō*, *tumultus*, etc. (cf. *AJP.* xx, 268 f.).—G. *unwērjan* 'unwillig sein,' ON. *vǣrr* 'freundlich, ruhig, angenehm' do not come from the meaning 'wahr,' but together with *wahr* they come from 'join, agree' as we see from Gk. ῥή-τρᾱ 'agreement,' OE. *wǣr* 'agreement, treaty, promise, faith, fidelity, friendship.' This presupposes a Germ. *wēra-* 'joining together, agreeing, friendly, faithful, true' (cf. *Pub. MLA.*, xiv, 329 f.).—G. *wairþan* 'werfen' resembles Ch. Sl. *vrŭgą* 'werfe' in having the same primary meaning 'twist, whirl,' but they should be connected only through the root *u̯er-* 'turn, twist.'—G. *wēgs* 'woge' is beyond a doubt connected with *ga-wigan* 'bewegen.' Compare especially Skt. *vāhá* 'fahrend, fliessend' from *váhati* 'fährt, fährt dahin, weht, fliesst.'—G. *winnan* 'leiden' is referred to a root **wen-* 'begehren, streben,' which would give a combination similar to *hiufan: cupiō*. But it is incorrect to speak of the root *u̯en-* 'desire.' The primary meaning is rather 'struggle, strive for.'—G. *wratōn* 'wandern, reisen:' OE. *wrōtan* 'aufwühlen' is a comparison that causes no difficulty. The common meaning is 'turn, roll,' whence 'wander': 'turn up, overturn.' Compare Skt. *válati* 'wendet sich, dreht sich,' MLG. *walen* 'drehen, wälzen, rollen': OHG. *wallōn* 'wallen, wandern': *wuolen* 'wühlen' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v. *válati*). With *wratōn* ('turn, roll'), 'wander' we may compare Gk. ῥοδανός 'waving,' ῥοδανίζω 'twist threads, spin,' ῥαδανίζω 'swing, move backwards and forwards,' ῥαδινός, Aeol. βραδινός 'slender, slim,' primarily 'pliant, supple,' Skt. *vradatē* 'wird weich' (compare MHG. *swanc* 'schwankend; biegsam, schlank, dünn'), Gk. ῥάδαμνος 'young branch, shoot,' OE. *wyrt* 'plant, herb, root,' G. *waurts* 'wurzel,' etc. This last is also a natural development of 'roll, turn.' Compare Skt. *vr̥ṇakti* 'wendet, dreht,' OE. *wrencan* 'twist,' OHG. *renken* 'drehend hin- und herziehen,' NHG. *ranke, ranken;* G. *wairþan* ('whirl, twist') 'throw,' Lith. *vir̃bas* 'rod, twig,' *virbinis* 'snare,' Gk. ῥάβδος 'sprout, rod,' Lat. *verbēna*, *verbera*, etc. (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 165; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); OE. *wrīþan* 'twist,' *wrīdan* 'grow, flourish.'—On the connection of G. *fauhō* 'fox': Gk. πυκνός 'shrewd, sly,' compare Gk. κίδαφος 'sly, artful:' κιδάφη 'fox;' κέρδος 'craft, cunning,' κερδαλέος 'crafty, cunning': κερδώ, κερδαλέη 'fox.'

Under some words related forms in the other dialects are missed. I have noticed the following cases.

G. *agis* 'angst:' OE. *āga* 'terror,' *on-ēgan*, *on-ēgnan* 'fear.'—G. *dumbs* 'stumm:' Icel. *dumba* 'dark color.' This proves connection with G. *daufs* 'taub,' Gk. τῦφος 'rauch,' τυφλός 'blind, dunkel,' OIr. *dub* 'schwarz,' G. *-dūbō* 'taube.'—G. *flōkan:* OE. *flōcan* 'clap, applaud.'—G. *gaidw:* OE. *gīwian* 'ask, demand, beg,' *gīw* 'vulture.'—G. *giutan:* OE. *gīetan* 'destroy,' Lith. *žudaũ* 'slay, kill,' etc. (MOD. LANG. NOTES, xv, 96).—G. *bi-gitan:* Lith. *godau* 'errate, mutmasse,' *gñdas* 'habgier,' etc. (cf. as above).—G. *hlains:* Gk. κλίσις 'a bending, turning aside, wheeling right or left (of soldiers), region,' OE. *hlīþ*

neut. 'slope,' ON. *hlīð* fem. 'slope, mountain-side,' *hlið* fem. 'side,' Dan. *led* 'side, region,' *lid*, *lide* 'side, region, declivity, slope,' ON. *hliða*, *hliðra* 'turn aside,' OE. *hleda* 'seat' < **k̂litón-*, OHG. *lita* 'abhang, leite' (cf. Schade, *Wb.*; Kluge, *Et. Wb.*; Fick, *Wb.* I⁴, 44).—G. *hwaþjan:* OE. *hwaþerian* 'foam or surge.'—G. *liuts:* OHG. *lūzēn* 'verborgen liegen; heimlich lauern.'—G. *saups:* OE. *sēaþ* 'pond, lake; pit, cistern.'—G. *snōrjō:* OE. *snēr* 'string,' *snōd* 'fillet, head-dress.' Here also Germ. *snarh-*, *snark*, *snarp-*, *snarl-:* OHG. *snerahan* 'bind, draw together,' *snaraha*, OE. *snearh* 'noose, snare,' etc.; OE. *ge-sneorran* 'draw together, shrivel,' ON. *snerkja* 'contort, draw together, wrinkle,' NHG. *schnörkel;* OHG. *snerfan* 'draw together, shrivel,' Dan. *snerpe* 'draw together, bind,' Sw. *snörpa* 'schlecht nähen,' ON. *snarpr* 'uneven, hard, sharp, keen, bold, violent,' etc.; ON. *snerla* 'close with a twist,' Dan. *snerle* 'convolvulus,' E. *snarl* 'tangle,' base *snĕ-* 'twist, twine; whirl, move rapidly.'—G. *taudjan:* OE. *ontendan* 'kindle.'—G. *tulgus:* OE. *tylg* 'more willingly, rather,' *tylgest* 'best; chiefly, most.'—G. *wlits:* OHG. *antlizzi* 'antlitz,' MHG. *liz* 'antlitz,' *litzen* 'leuchten,' etc.—G. *writs:* ON. *reitr* 'ritze, furche,' *reita* 'reissen, zerreissen, verletzen,' etc.

Below are given new explanations or additions to a number of words.

G. *aiwiski* 'schande,' etc., are evident derivatives of Germ. **aiwjan*, OE. *ēwan* 'contemn, scorn.'—With G. *audahafts* 'beglückt,' ON. *auðr* 'besitz, reichtum' compare Gk. *ἆεθλον* 'prize,' G. *wadi* 'pfand,' etc., base **aŋedho-*.—G. *fraisan* 'versuchen,' OHG. *freisōn* 'in gefahr, in schrecken sein'=*fra*+ ON. *eisa* 'heftig vorwärts eilen' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 925), with which compare Skt. *prḗṣ* 'drang,' *prḗṣa* 'antrieb,' *prēṣaṇa* 'das absenden, geheiss, befehl, auftrag,' *prāiṣá* 'aufforderung, geheiss,' *prēṣati* (*pra*+*iṣati*) 'antreiben, aussenden, schicken; auffordern, darbringen,' *iṣatḗ* 'eilt,' *éṣati* 'gleitet,' *iṣyati* 'setzt in bewegung,' root *ei-* 'go.' Compare further OHG. *freidi*, MHG. *vreide* 'profugus, abtrünnig; verwegen, kühn,' *freidīg* 'flüchtig, abtrünnig; herrenlos; leichtsinnig, keck; mutig,' Skt. *prēta* 'hingeschieden, verstorben,' participle from *pra*+*i* 'fortgehen, aufbrechen, vordringen, hinziehen, scheiden.' Germ. *fraiþja-*, therefore, meant 'vordringend; fortgehend, fortgegangen.' Here also probably belongs G. *freis* 'free,' with the same development as in Gk. *ἐλεύθερος*.—G. *gafaurs* 'enthaltsam, gesittet,' *unfaurs* 'geschwätzig' I connect with Gk. *παῦρος* 'small, few,' *παύω* 'cause to cease, restrain.'—G. *gagrēfts*, *gagreifts* 'befehl, beschluss:' *greipan* 'greifen,' etc. Compare especially Lett. *griba* 'wille,' *gribēt* 'wollen.'—G. *garēdan* 'auf etwas bedacht sein.' Add Lith. *randù*, *ràsti* 'find,' *ródau* 'point out, show.'—G. *galarnjan* 'entfremden:' OHG. *trinnan* 'sich absondern.'—G. *guþ* 'God' I derive from pre-Germ. **gʰutó-*, and connect with Ch. Sl. *govĕti* 'revere, worship, venerate, respect,' etc., from which also G. *gaumjan* (*Pub. MLA.* xiv, 326).—G. *haidus*, which is connected with Skt. *cétati* 'nimmt wahr, bemerkt, erscheint' is eventually from the root *qᵘei-* in Skt. *cā́yati*, *cikḗti* 'nimmt wahr.' This root is also in OE. *hāwian* 'gaze on, survey,' *be-hāwian* 'look carefully, take care.'—For G. *haitan* 'rufen, heissen, nennen' a satisfactory explanation has been given by Brugmann in his article on the reduplicating verbs, *IF.* vi, 89 ff.: Lat. *cieō*, *cīvī* 'errege, rufe herbei,' Gk. *κῑνέω* 'bewege.' Compare especially *κίνδαξ* 'beweglich; gefahr,' *ὀνο-κίνδιος* 'eseltreiber.' The connection of Germ. *haitan* 'urge, threaten, command, call' with Lith. *skẽdžiu* 'scheide' is out of the question.—With G. *hrōps* 'geschrei' compare ON. *hrapa* 'rush, fall, hasten,' *hrapaðr* 'haste,' *hrapaðligr* 'hasty, violent,' *-liga* 'boisterously, noisily.'—With G. *raupjan* 'rupfen' compare Lith. *rubà* 'plundering,' *rubiju* 'plunder,' Lat. *rubus* 'bramble-bush.'—G. *rinnan* can hardly be connected with Skt. *rṇ́vāmi* in the face of G. *runs*, OE. *ryne*, unless two distinct words have fallen together here (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 483, 489; Dieter, *Laut- u. Formenl. der altg. Dial.* 787).—G. *rōhsns* 'hof, vorhof:' Lith. *rakìnti* 'schliessen,' *rāktas* 'schlüssel,' Lat. *arceō*, *arx*, *arca*, etc. (*Jour. Germ. Phil.* ii, 229; cf. also Osthoff, *IF.* viii, 54 f.).—G. *sidus* 'sitte' may better be taken with Skt. *sídhyati* 'kommt zum ziel, gelingt,' Welsh *haeddu* 'porrigere, assequi,' Gk. *ἰθύς* 'straight' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v.), and further OE. *be-sīdian* 'regulate, determine,' *sīdian* 'extend,' *sīd* 'long, broad,' etc. 'Stretch

out, bring to the end, ausführen' is the underlying meaning, which is also in OHG. *sitōn* 'machinari, machen, thun, ausführen, in stand setzen.'—With G. *supn* 'magen' compare OE. *sēod* 'pouch, purse,' *newe-sēopa* 'pit of stomach.'—G. *þlahsjan* 'erschrecken' is probably related to Ch. Sl. *tlŭkǫ*, *tlěšti* 'klopfen,' Lith. *tulkŏczius* 'mörserkeule,' OPrus. *tlākut* 'dreschen,' base *tleq-* 'move rapidly: startle: beat.'—G. *ur-rīsan* 'aufstehen' no doubt goes back to the root *rei-* in Skt. *riṇāti* 'lässt laufen, lässt fliessen,' Gk. ὀρῖνω 'stir, raise; move, hasten.' The primary meaning of Germ. *rīsan* was not 'rise' nor 'fall' nor 'move up and down,' but 'move hastily, rush.' From this came the various other meanings, as in Gk. ὀρούω 'stürme los, erhebe mich,' Lat. *ruō* 'rush, hasten, rush down, fall, sink;' E. *start*, NHG. *stürzen*, etc. With *rīsan* 'rise,' therefore, we may compare OE. *ge-rīs* 'fury,' *rīsan* 'seize,' *rǣs* 'running, rush, impetus, attack,' *rǣsan* 'rush, attack.' The root *rei-* appears also in OE. *rīþ*, *rīþig* 'stream,' ON. *rīða* 'bestreichen, beschmieren.' Compare Skt. *rīti* 'strom, lauf, strich.'—G. *urrugks* 'ausgeschlossen' is perhaps from pre-Germ. **us-rŋgo-*, which may be compared with Skt. *argala* 'riegel,' OE. *recud* 'house,' etc. In that case it would be remotely connected with G. *rōhsns* (v. supra).

For other words unexplained or insufficiently explained, I refer to various articles of mine in the MOD. LANG. NOTES; *Am. Jour. Phil.*; *Jour. Germ. Phil.*

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FRENCH LANGUAGE.

Henri Estienne et son Œuvre Française: Étude d'Histoire Littéraire et de Philologie, par LOUIS CLÉMENT. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, éditeurs, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 1898. 8vo, x and 539 pp.

OF all the celebrated French printers in the sixteenth century Henri Estienne alone has also a considerable reputation as a student of the French language and literature, and M. Clément's book was therefore well worth the writing even if the subject should have fallen into the hands of a less able scholar. We have presented to us here quite a full account of all the circumstances in the author's life which have a bearing upon this portion of his scholarly work, as well as an analysis of the writings in question, together with an estimate of their value to us at the present time.

People at this time were beginning to inquire into the history of the French language, and his first work in this field was the *Conformité du Langage François avec le Grec*, published at Geneva in 1565. Owing to insufficient knowledge and the lack of a rigid critical method, the results reached in this treatise have, of course, not been able to stand the test of time.

More successful was *La Précellence du Langage François*, as this really great work is likely to remain the standard of its kind through all time. In it he endeavors to present the claims of French as a language against all other languages, but more especially Latin and Italian, and he has indeed succeeded in marshalling the chief arguments which can be advanced in favor of his mother-tongue. He seems, in fact, to have had a species of prophetic vision which enabled him to foresee in a measure the future greatness of French as the polite language of the whole civilized world.

The book itself appeared at Paris in 1479 with Mamert Patisson as publisher, and received the august protection of King Henry III. While endeavoring to raise the French language in the general estimation by calling attention to its many excellencies, he at the same time was desirous of defending it against the encroachments of both the Latinists and the Italian sympathizers. In opposing these two powerful schools of innovators it was his purpose to purify and elevate his language as much as possible; for though the additions from foreign sources were most valuable, they must be thoroughly assimilated and kept within proper bounds before the language could reach the highest phase of its development.

The members of the *Pléiade*, too, were endeavoring in their way to elevate the language, but while they were merely considering it as a vehicle of literary expression, Henri Estienne's view was much broader. He wished to have his native tongue serve both the poet and the

business man, the historian and the orator, but above all it must be the language of the whole people.

To those of his critics who reproached him with the taunt that he knew Greek better than French, he proudly replied that French was his mother-tongue and came natural to him. His frequent and long-continued sojourns in foreign countries only served to increase his grasp of his own language by enabling him to gain a proper perspective, and it is much to be regretted that the plan of a more pretentious work floating in his mind during many years, which was to be the synthesis of his linguistic researches and a definite plea in favor of the French language, never came to fruition.

Henri Estienne's chief successors in this field were Claude Fauchet and Estienne Pasquier, both of whom were able to improve on his method, but could not even distantly approach him in the matter of originality.

Our author was also a French grammarian of some note, for scattered through his various works are many remarks bearing on this subject. His great merit here is the prominence into which he brought the study of syntax, the essential point of his method being a comparison with Greek and Latin grammar, while it is the spoken language rather than its literary form which is made the basis of his own work on the French side. His etymological theories have by this time become entirely antiquated, but his observations on the meaning and pronunciation of words still have their value. He had also a good deal to say upon the question which has recently been so much agitating the public mind in France; namely, that of orthography. In general he would advocate an adherence to the etymological principle, although fully recognizing the difference between superfluous letters and those actually pronounced.

To sum up, in spite of the imperfections of our author's linguistic methods, his prodigious knowledge, his insatiable curiosity, and the powerful comprehension of his judicial faculty, enabled him to organize the complex facts which he was able to collect, and thus he caught more than one glimpse of the most delicate as well as most fundamental laws of the French language. His work as a whole presents, therefore, a most precious document, showing the state of the language in his day, the second half of the sixteenth century.

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HENRIK IBSEN.

Henrik Ibsen, in zwei Bänden, von ROMAN WOERNER, Erster Band, 1828–1873. München, 1900, 404 pp.

ONE of the most encouraging symptoms of modern German literary scholarship has been the growing interest in very recent phenomena. It was natural that at first the past was studied with minute care, to the exclusion of a similarly keen interest in works of more recent origin. For a time it looked as if the antiquarian spirit which lurks in every form of historical curiosity, were going to continue. This, we take it, would have been most unfortunate and would have given color to the accusation leveled at historical scholarship in general, as tending to estrange us from our own times. Recent publications like Baechthold's biography of Gottfried Keller, Frey's life of C. F. Meier, and especially R. M. Meyer's treatise on German Literature in the nineteenth century, show that modern scholars by no means disdain to make a scientific study of the literary monuments of our own times. Particularly R. M. Meyer's history should be hailed with satisfaction as the performance of a person who is well acquainted with all the important literature of the past, especially of his own nation, and at the same time full of the warmest sympathy for the literary problems and literary attempts of to-day. Literary science will remain green and vigorous as long as such a spirit of hospitality to all things modern prevails. What is more, literary criticism, when influenced by this combination of large historical knowledge and spontaneous interest in the present, must gain in soundness and fairness, and lose much of the quality of erratic subjectivity which unfortunately often mars it.

Woerner's treatise on Ibsen before us, no less than the books mentioned above, eminently is the expression of a mind well trained in the work of our own generation. The author

is singularly well adapted for his task. A distinguished lecturer on Comparative Literature in Munich, he has for years past turned his main attention to the drama of the world, and particularly to Ibsen (compare his book *Henrik Ibsen's Jugenddramen*, München, 1895). His fine literary sense was shown especially in his translation of the Nibelungenlied. In his last book the early works of Ibsen are discussed down to "Emperor and Galilean." There are added an introduction containing a survey of Norwegian literature in this century, based on Dietrichsen and Jaeger, and a chapter on Ibsen's language and his lyrical poems.

The comparative method prevails throughout and proves most valuable in the chapters on "Catiline" and on "The Warriors of Heligoland." Everywhere we are struck with the solid scholarship of the author and his calm attitude towards the works discussed, free from cavil and from blind enthusiasm, and with his keen literary sensitiveness. Woerner's style is admirable,—terse and to the point, yet flexible and elegant. The old contention that the prose of German university-men was labored and opaque, fortunately loses its justice in the presence of such works. Probably no modern nation is laboring harder to improve its prose style and make it a simple and adequate instrument of expression, than are the Germans, and no nation is more rapidly succeeding in creating a new and efficient vehicle of thought. Not only does this apply to political prose and to the style of novelists, but also to the works of certain of the younger representatives of academic life, like, for instance, Heusler and notably Woerner.

This book will prove a very important contribution towards an understanding of Ibsen's position in literature. We hope the author may sometime give us what might be called an introduction to this work: a treatise on realism in the European drama of the nineteenth century before Ibsen; the realism (or what is supposed to be such) in, say, Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena*, Ludwig's *Der Erbförster*, Dumas' *Le Demi Monde*, Sardou's *La Famille Benoiton*," etc.; again, the realism of certain authors since Ibsen's influence has made itself felt: Echegaray (for instance, in *El Hijo De Juan*), Bernard Shaw (for instance, in *Mrs. Warner's Profession*), etc. In this way we shall fully recognize our indebtedness to the great Norwegian, and also better understand how large a margin of improvement is still left.

Only one word of protest. In the introduction Woener compares Norway with North America, and continues:

"But on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, for the present the desire for material acquisition reigns supreme in the inner life of the masses; even a prolonged sojourn in America reveals no intellectual undercurrents, no longing for the ideal."

To prove the incorrectness of such statements we need only remind the author of names like Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe, Lowell, etc., and in more recent years, of Howells, James, Field, and especially Henry B. Fuller, etc. We might also call the author's attention to what he probably does not know, that no modern country has made greater strides in pedagogy than America, that American landscape and portrait painters are making a distinct mark in the world, that one of the very greatest of modern painters, Whistler, is an American, that the rapidity with which love for good music has spread over here is something remarkable. If Woerner knew enough of American civilization to judge, he probably would express himself very differently. His ideas need not irritate us except inasmuch as views like these (based, as they are in his own case, on slender acquaintance with the country made under unfavorable circumstances) have spread abroad and continue to feed what seems to be an ineradicable prejudice against this country. As a natural result, in certain parts of the United States there arises complete indifference and even hostility towards all European views of American affairs.

We look forward to an English translation of Woerner's works and feel sure that it would supplement in very important fashion the efforts to introduce Ibsen to English-speaking nations, made on the part of men like Archer, Boyesen, Gosse, etc., etc.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

German Lyrics and Ballads, with a few Epigrammatic Poems. Selected and arranged by JAMES TAFT HATFIELD. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1900. xxix + 224 pp.

IN the preface Prof. Hatfield makes a "plea for such an emotional treatment of these selections in the class-room as shall make them a source of spontaneous joy and refreshment." This idea of the educational value which German lyrics and ballads may properly have in developing and refining the emotional nature has evidently been constantly in the mind of the editor during his work.

The Introduction is a short but scholarly essay on the development of German lyric poetry from the time of Goethe down to that of "Youngest Germany." The seventeen pages are divided into four sections: (1) Goethe and Schiller, (2) Romanticism, (3) The Period of Political Transition, (4) Modern Germany.

The chief characteristics of the different authors are brought out clearly, and illustrated by references to the selections, furnishing the student a very satisfactory basis for his work with the text. The first two sections are particularly successful. The last one, in which about two-thirds of a page is devoted to Nietzsche, has comparatively few selections corresponding to it, and might perhaps have been shorter.

Excluding the twenty-six *Sprüche und Sinngedichte* in No. 81, there are in the one hundred and sixty-two pages of text one hundred and twenty selections, representing forty-six authors, who range in date from Matthias Claudius (b. 1740) to Georg Edward (b. 1869). The selections are divided into three parts, according to the maturity demanded of the student. This seems a device of doubtful utility. Pupils who are advanced enough to read the Introduction with profit surely do not need it, while it greatly increases the task of following the development of German poetry as represented by the selections. Very likely, however, the wish to include the epigrammatic poems, in themselves a very welcome addition, may have influenced the arrangement.

The selections are well chosen, but the value of the book would have been increased had their number been somewhat larger. One is rather surprised, for example, not to find Bürger represented. The Introduction, too, fails to mention his importance for the literary ballad.

After the text comes a short bibliography of the most important collections of German poems published in Germany. The notes occupy forty-four pages. Among the literary notes, which are full and to the point, the following would bear revision:

To No. 6. The legend of the sleeping emperor in the Kyffhäuser originally related to Friedrich II, the grandson of Barbarossa, and was transferred to the latter in modern times.

To No. 46, l. 41. The Old-French *Song of Roland* can hardly be called a "ballad," as it contains 4002 lines.

To No. 88, ll. 31–32. "These lines are spoken ironically" is misleading. The meaning is that only a daring race can afford to choose as a palladium anything as fragile as a glass.

To No. 96. The statement that Goethe's *An den Mond* was "rewritten in 1788 in such a way as to detract from the unity and clearness of the poem" is calculated to call the æsthetic superiority of the later version in question, which cannot be the intention of the editor.

To No. 104. Substitute "ought to begin" for "only begins" in the note on the idea of the poem.

The grammatical and lexicographical notes give about the right amount of help. The translations are generally very apt. A few instances were noted in which words needing explanation were passed over: *Sünderglocke* (No. 1, l. 15), *Gnadenschmaus* (1, 88), *Sie tanzen mit den muntern Reihn* (24, 18), *in der Fremde gehn* (94, 26).

The following points suggested themselves for possible correction:

To 61, 13. The whole of the alliterative formula, *Was sich . . . . rührt und regt* should appear in the note. It might be rendered by "whatever has life and motion."

To 64, 4. *Aufgegangen* has here rather the meaning of 'opening, blossoming,' than of 'springing up.'

To 66, 2. Sc. *ist* rather than *sei*, as the clause states a fact.

To 98, 3. *Ihn schläfert* = 'it is drowsy,' not 'it becomes drowsy.' The idea of transition detracts from the picture of a lasting state which the poem gives.

Words now only used in poetry or higher diction are distinguished by the editor rather indifferently as "poetic" or "archaic." For

example, we are told that *dräut* (20, 1) and *Freudenzähren* (20, 20) are "poetic," but *gebeut* (43, 22) and *Bronnen* (46, 6) are "archaic." Perhaps archaic-poetic would be a better term for all of them. *Melodei* (25, 16) is "popular" only in its phonology; in its use it belongs to the same class as the above-mentioned words. *Fürwitziger* (1, 40) is rather obsolescent than archaic, especially for the date of the poem (1817).

The concise biographical notices (pp. 211–222) are a commendable feature of the work, and will prove useful to teacher and pupil alike. An index of first lines completes the book, which as a whole makes a pleasing impression of accurate and scholarly work.

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PROFESSOR LEWIS'S REJOINDER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—It is again difficult, not to understand Prof. Lewis's arguments, but to reconcile his statements. He is content to rest upon his former argument, yet is sure that we differ very little upon the "main issue" and refers with flattering unction to my "scholarly and exhaustive investigations." As he devoted a page to proving me in the most serious error, I am unable to see how both statements can be true. That he does not rest upon his former argument, however, is clear from another serious charge, that I use "chance" or probability in some sense at variance with the mathematician's in discussing the theory of probabilities. If this is true, the charge should have been advanced at first, since so fundamental to the whole question. I see no reason to answer the last accusation, as my argument on its mathematical side all passed through the hands of a competent mathematician before anything was printed. The latter also detected the fallacy of Prof. Lewis's reasoning as I had done, and stated it in language similar to that of my last article.

Finally, Prof. Lewis's courtesy to the readers of this paper, lest an explanation of his position should weary them, seems amusingly misplaced. He has publicly attacked my article, and some courtesy would seem to be due to me. Instead, he adds a new charge, and withdraws for fear the spectators may be weary. If his charges are true they should be supported with some other plea than my inability to understand him. If not, there is a natural alternative, though, I admit, more honored in the breach than the observance.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* there is a famous passage in regard to the unity of time. In this Sidney says that it is "ordinary" that

> "two young persons fall in in love; after many traverses she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy, he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another child,—and all this in two hours' space."

Yet this is, he comments, 'absurd,' as is shown by all ancient examples. Then follow these two sentences:

> "Yet some will bring in an example of Eunuchus in Terence, that containeth matter of two days, yet far short of twenty years. True it is, and so was it to be played in two days, and so fitted to the time it set forth."

Prof. Cook finds (see his annotated edition in the Ath. Press Series, pp. 119–120) these sentences "somewhat obscure" and suggests that "we should expect 'yet not far short.' The time is actually fifteen years." He evidently takes the end of the first sentence to refer to Terence's play. Even if we follow Prof. Cook and insert "not," I do not see that we are helped to any clear meaning.

I shall offer a different explanation. Sidney takes the time comprised in the plays that he is ridiculing where children are begotten and grow up ready themselves to beget children, to be, as a fair estimate, twenty years. Writers of these plays will perhaps defend themselves by the example of Terence, who breaks the law of unity of time, since in one of his plays he had "matter of two days." But that, Sidney adds, is 'far short of twenty years,' which the moderns have in their plays, and would not excuse such a stretch of time. And further, while it is true that the play of Terence does contain 'matter of two days,' he is consistent enough since it was 'to be played in two days.'

Whether Sidney has confused the plays of Terence is another question. If we grant his data, I think this explanation makes good sense of the passage.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, June, 1901.

PHONETIC NOTATION.

THE necessity of representing sounds by letters involves the selection of a set of signs that will indicate unmistakably what are considered to be single sounds. Such phonetic notations are approximated by several languages, the Italian, Japanese, German, etc. In other languages, like the French and English, the system is seriously defective.

A phonetic notation should be based on an attempt to get one distinctly special sign for each sound, or group of sounds, retaining as many letters as possible in their most usual applications in the majority of languages. The attempt should also be made to avoid, as far as practicable, letters that suggest wrong sounds.

A fundamental requirement is that of ready availability. No system can be generally adopted unless it can be readily set up in any large printery. The presence of even one character not found in the type-founder's catalog makes the system practically impossible; it is too much to ask that new types shall be moulded or that types be broken for a single occasion.

The letters and symbols that regularly appear in the usual font of type are given in the following list with the approximate relative number of each beside it.

a	8500	r	6200	á	100
b	1600	s	8000	é	250
c	3000	t	9000	í	100
d	4400	u	3400	ó	100
e	12000	v	1200	ú	100
f	2500	w	2000	à	200
g	1700	x	400	è	100
h	6400	y	2000	ì	100
i	8000	z	200	ò	100
j	400	&	200	ù	100
k	800	fi	500	â	200
l	4000	ff	400	ê	200
m	3000	fl	200	î	100
n	8000	ffl	100	ô	100
o	8000	ffi	150	û	100
p	1700	æ	100	ä	100
q	300	œ	60	ë	100
ï	100	3	1100	Y	300
ö	100	4	1000	Z	80
ü	100	5	1000	Æ	40
ā	100	6	1000	Œ	30
ē	150	7	1000	A	300
ī	100	8	1000	B	200
ō	100	9	1000	C	250
ū	100	0	1300	D	250
ă	100	$	100	E	300
ĕ	150	A	600	F	200
ĭ	100	B	400	G	200
ŏ	100	C	500	H	200
ŭ	100	D	500	I	400
ç	100	E	600	J	150
ñ	100	F	400	K	150
,	4500	G	400	L	250
;	800	H	400	M	200
:	600	I	800	N	200
.	2000	J	300	O	200
-	1000	K	300	P	200
?	200	L	500	Q	90
!	150	M	400	R	200
'	700	N	400	S	250
*	100	O	400	T	320
†	100	P	400	U	150
‡	100	Q	180	V	150
[	150	R	400	W	200
‖	100	S	500	X	90
§	100	T	650	Y	150
(	300	U	300	Z	40
¶	60	V	300	Æ	20
1	1300	W	400	Œ	15
2	1200	X	180		

The additional accented letters that are generally on hand in small quantities in the usual sizes in both Roman and Italic in a large printery are ā å ō ů ø č ć ť ň ř š t' ý ž. German and Greek are also generally on hand. The molds of these characters are present in most type-foundries and any quantity of the type can be obtained upon order.

The letters in a notation for *ordinary* use must be limited to those of the regular alphabet and such new characters as may be derived from them. A well selected system with these limitations is immediately available anywhere for any amount of printing.

Where the demands on the printery may be more special and various, as in specimens of

phonetic notation in a work printed in the ordinary characters, the notation may be enlarged to include any of the accented letters, superscripts, subscripts and symbols found in the type-founder's catalogs. The number of accented letters carried by the printer is steadily increasing and new ones would probably be added for phonetic notation provided such a notation could first secure general adoption by conforming to the present possibilities.

In preparing the following list of letters I have tried to make it conform in every practicable way to the notation of the "Association Phonétique Internationale;" it may be regarded as a revision of that notation with mainly such changes as are needed to make it practically available. Students of language are deeply indebted to Dr. Passy for his work toward phonetic uniformity; it is to be hoped that the notation which has been developed under his care can be so modified as to be universally acceptable to all who approach the matter in a profitable spirit of compromise. I have felt compelled to avoid as far as possible the use of letters in such a way as to suggest to the American ear a wrong sound; for example, the notation *jard* for *yard* involves an almost irresistible association of the word *jarred*. In this attempt at adaptation I have been greatly aided by suggestions and criticisms from Mr. E. H. Tuttle, of New Haven.

The reasons for the selection of most of the characters will generally be apparent without special explanation. Both Roman and Italic forms for the lower case letters are available. The : indicates "long;" the small capitals indicate "strong." The key-words indicate the usual American pronunciation; the Bostonian pronunciation differs considerably and the English widely.

When several characters are given in the list for the same sound, the first is the one regarded as the best for scientific purposes. Such a type may not be numerous enough for its use in a work exclusively in phonetic notation; a thoroughly available substitute is then given in [ ].

American Sounds.

a,—ah (*a:*).
ɐ,—pat (*pɐt*).
ɑ̊, [ɔ],—halt (*hɑ̊lt*).
b,—bat (*bɐt*).
d,—din (*din*).
ð, [*d'*],—then (*ðɛn* or *d'ɛn*).
ɛ, [ɛ]—let (*lɛt*).
e,—pate (*pe:t*)
ə,—escape (*əske:p*).
f,—fat (*fɐt*).
g,—good (*gud*).
h,—hat (*hɐt*).
i,—fit (*fit*).
i̯,—feet (*fi̯:t*).
j,—you (*ju:*).
k,—cook (*kuk*).
l,—long (*lɑ̊:n̯*).
m,—mat (*mɐt*).
ɯ,—pert (*pɯ:t*).
n,—noon (*nu:n*).
n̯,—sing (*sin̯*).
o,—note (*no:t*).
p,—*pole* (*po:l*).
r,—trilled tongue *r*.
ɹ,—untrilled tongue *r*.
s,—seal (*si:l*).
š, [*s'*],—shun (*šən* or *s'ən*).
t,—tin (*tin*).
θ, [*t'*],—thin (*θin* or *t'in*).
u,—put (*put*), pool (*pu:l*).
v,—vat (*vɐt*).
ɑ,—but (*bɑt*).
w,—we (*wi:*).
z,—zeal (*zi:l*).
ž [z'],—vision (*viž̈n* or *viz'n*).
ˌ—undetermined vowel.

Additional Foreign Sounds.

a,—Fr. rat (*ra*).
aⁿ,—Fr. banc (*baⁿ*).
ɑ̊ⁿ,—Fr. bon (*bɑ̊ⁿ*).
β, [*b'*]—Span. saber (*saβɛr*), Germ. zwei (*tsβai*), bilabial sonant fricative.
ç,—Germ. ich (*iç*).
vⁿ,—Fr. bain (*bvⁿ*).
φ,—Jap. Fuji (*φuž̈i*), bilabial *f*.
ɤ,—north Germ. lagen (*laɤ̊n*).
ɥ,—Fr. lui (*lɥi*).
ĭ, —Russ. syn (*sĭn*).
i̯ⁿ,—Port. fim (*fi̯ⁿ*).
χ,—Germ. ach (*aχ*), Greek *χ*, Russ. *x*.
ʎ,—Ital. *gl*, Span. *ll*, Port. *lh*.
ñ,—Span. *ñ*, Ital. *gn*, Fr. *gn* as in *règne*.
œ,—Fr. seul (*sœl*).

œⁿ,—Fr. un (*œⁿ*).
ö, ø,—Germ. *ö*, Danish *ø*.
ɐ,—uvula *r*.
uⁿ,—Port. um (*uⁿ*).
ü,—Germ. *ü*.
y,—Danish *y*, Fr. *u*.
ʿ,—Arab. "ain."
ḥ,—Arab. "ha."
ḫ,—Arab. "he."
',—glottal catch, Germ. an (*'an*).

Modifications.

ː,—preceding vowel lengthened.
ʻ,—aspiration of preceding sound.
ₒ,—surd, or devocalized, form of preceding sound.
***,—sonant, or vocalized, form of preceding sound.
ˊ,—tongue more advanced.
ˋ,—tongue more retracted.
ˊˊ,—mouth more open.
ˋˋ,—mouth more closed.
ᵒ,—lips more rounded.
ᵓ,—lips more closed.
Superior letters,—modification of the previous sound in the direction of the sound indicated, foxes (*fɑ́ksiᵉz*).
Superior figures,—relative duration, nut (*nɑ¹t*), note (*no²t*).
Inferior figures,—slightly different forms of the same sound as defined on each occasion; thus t_1 (interdental), t_2 (apical prealveolar), t_3 (apical alveolar), t_4 (cerebral), t_5 (dorsal alveolar), etc., to denote different forms of *t*.
Large letters,—strong sounds, bother (*bÅðə*).
Small letters,—weak sounds, now (*naᵾ*), say (*seɪ*).
δ, ρ, σ, τ, etc.,—forms with upturned tongue, used only when considered necessary.

Complex Sounds.

ʕ=tš,—chair (*ʕvɑ=tšvɑ*).
ŧ=dž,—joy (*ŧđi=dzđi*).
ṁ=ʰw,—which (*ṁiʕ=ʰwitš*).

Remarks.

ɑ, a. This is the notation of the Assoc. Phon. Int. When the notation is Roman, a broken *d* must be used for *ɑ*. The difficulties occur mainly in printing French in Roman letters. English has only the first of the two sounds. When it is necessary to print English in Roman letters, a may be used for *ɑ*.

đ, ɔ,—The combinations *A°*, *A₀*, *Å*, *đ* for this sound have long been in use. The supply of types for the Swedish *đ* is rather limited. The *ɔ* of the Assoc. Phon. Int. seems repulsive in English owing to its association with *c*.

ɛ, e, ɔ. Without entering into the midst of the utter disagreement of phonetic writers on these sounds it will probably be sufficient to say that *ɛ* is the usual American short *e*, *e* the similar long vowel, and *ɔ* the common very short indistinct vowel sometimes called the indefinite vowel. The first type is the Greek epsilon [for which turned 3 may be used]; it is to be highly recommended on account of its legibility.

For capitals only the form *E* is available; the solution seems to lie in using *E* as the capital of *ɛ*, E_2 as that of *e*.

g, ɠ. This corresponds to the most general usage of *g*; the turned *g* for the German sound in *lagen* is appropriate. The corresponding letters of the Assoc. Phon. Int. are not in any font.

j. The letter *j* for this sound is objectionable on account of its constant use in English (as in *judge*), French (as in *juge*), and German (as in *Jahr*), for sounds that differ from each other. I might suggest the inferior *i* to avoid this objection and also to suggest the *i* with which it is practically identical. The *j* is used by the Assoc. Phon. Int.

r, ʌ. In the usual American pronunciation the *r* is weak or lacking. The *r* may be heard in an effort to speak a word like *arrow* with a distinct *r*.

š, s'. The Slavic *š* has been widely used but occurs only as a special accented letter; it may be replaced by *s'* when necessary. The sign of the Assoc. Int. Phon. is unavailable.

θ, t'. This sound of *th* in *thin* is best indicated by the Greek *θ* or the Icelandic *þ*. Its great frequency in English requires a numerous type and may make it necessary to use *t'*.

ž, z'. The Slavic *ž* has been much used. The *z'* corresponds to *t'*, *d'*, *s'*. The symbol *ʒ* has been adopted by the Assoc. Phon. Int.

ʻ When the object is not to record the peculiarities of special persons, the vowels

used in distinct speech should be retained; thus the word *resident* would be regularly written *ɹezidnt*, and the form *ɹez¸dnt* used only for an actual speech record where the vowel was indistinct.

$_{o}$. The devocalized sound generally resembles a form for which there is already a letter, but it is not identical with it. Thus Danish d_{o} is a devocalized *d* resembling somewhat, but not completely, a *t*. Wholly or partially devocalized sounds occur in all connected speech.

$_{*}$.—Sonant forms of usually surd sounds occur in connected speech. Thus a vocalized *h* has been found in words like *aha* (*ah*$_{*}$*a*), a vocalized *k* in *aka* (*ak*$_{*}$*a*).

$_{,}$, $_{v}$, $_{m}$, $_{w}$, $_{9}$, $_{ð}$. These six signs are for corresponding ones of the Assoc. Phon. Int. which are not to be found in the typefounder's catalog.

Large letters. These may be used to mark sounds that are in any way emphatic. The strength may arise from intensity, length or pitch. The ear cannot be relied upon to distinguish between these factors.

Inferior letters. When it is necessary to indicate the weakness of a sound, this method may be used as the opposite of that for strength. The weakness may arise from shortness or faintness. It is perhaps not necessary to distinguish between the two except in indicating the results of measurements; in this case smallness may indicate faintness and the superior numeral may indicate relative length.

β. This is a sound resembling both *b* and *w*, produced by closing the lips more than for *w*, but not completely as for *b*.

a^{n}, *å*^{n}, *ɔ*^{n}, *ɔ*^{n}. Types with the tilde over the vowel would be preferable, but *ā* and *ō* are the only accessible ones.

Melody markings. It is often important to indicate the general melody of sounds with their variations of length, intensity and pitch. This may be done by using "piece accents" above them. The degrees of length are indicated by the number of marks, ′ ″ ‴, etc.; the degrees of intensity by the heaviness of the marks, the variations in pitch by the height above the letter, ˈ ˌ ˈ, etc.

Use of the notation. In indicating the peculiarities of an individual pronunciation the various methods may be all employed. Thus, various pronunciations of *hair* would be indicated by *hvɑ*, *hvɹ*, *hvr*, *hvd*, *hvρ*, *hvːɹ*, *hɣːρ*, *Hvr*, *ʜvr*, *vr*, etc. The finest details can be expressed only by giving speech curves and measurements.

In writing phonetically for the purpose of communication, however, all individual peculiarities should be suppressed as far as possible. It is perhaps advisable to use forms that suggest the usual printed spelling even when those forms are the rarer ones; in reading print the eye pictures are the most important parts of the words, and it is a serious matter to throw these away or to have them irresistibly suggest sounds not intended. Anything that can be done as a compromise to the well-founded prejudice in favor of established eye-forms will aid in the spread of a notation.

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PARALLELS BETWEEN SHAKESPERE'S Sonnets AND A Midsummer Night's Dream.

THE verbal composition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is very remarkable, perhaps almost as remarkable as the original and peculiar composition of the imagery and poetry of the play. The diction in its various parts is as diverse as the conditions of 'human mortals' may be said to differ from those of supernatural propagation. This divergence has its origin in the nature of the play. The characters, incidents, and settings of the play belong to three separate worlds. The first is represented by Theseus, Hippolyta, and the Athenians, the courtly, chivalric world; the second, by Oberon, Titania, and their fairy attendants; the third, by the stupid Bottom and his fellow tragedians. Each of these three worlds has its own language; and the language of the Athenians, in their courtly, chivalric environment, is the only one that has any connection with the diction of the *Sonnets*. Here the conceits and the phraseology in which they are couched have something in common.

In the editions of the *Sonnets*, by Messrs. Dowden and Rolfe, the text has been frequently explained by references from *Midsummer Night's Dream*, but these illustrations are

mostly limited to similarity of words in the texts, rather than to similarity of conceits or phraseology. The following are the cases cited by Mr. Dowden, nearly all of which are repeated by Mr. Rolfe:

Summer's distillation, perfumes made from flowers. Compare Sonnet liv, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act i. sc. ii, ll. 76, 77:

> Earthlier happy is the rose distill'd,
> Than that which withering on the virgin thorne
> Grows, lives and dies in single blessedness.

Beard, compare *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii, sc. i, l, 95:

> The green corn
> Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard.

Defeated, defrauded, disappointed; so *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iv, sc. i, ll. 153–155:

> They would have stolen away; they would, Demetrius;
> Thereby to have defeated you and me,
> You of your wife and me of my consent.

Being fond on praise, doting on praise. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii, sc. i, l. 266:

> That he may prove
> More fond on her than she upon her love.

Patent, privilege. As in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act i, sc. i, l. 80, 'my virgin patent.'

To set a form, etc., to give a becoming appearance to the change which you desire. So *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act i, sc. i, l. 233:

> Things base and vile, holding no quantity,
> Love can transpose to form and dignity.

The teeming autumn, etc. So *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii, sc. i, ll. 111–114, 'The childing autumn.'

Few additional words are cited by Mr. Rolfe, of which the following are most important:

Heavenly alchemy, Sonnet 33, ll. 1–4:

> Full many a glorious morning have I seen
> Flatter the mountain tops with sovereign eye,
> Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
> Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;

Compare with Act iii, sc. ii, ll. 391–393:

> Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,
> Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
> Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.

Canker, Sonnets 35, l. 4, 70, 7, 92, 4, and 99, 12:

> And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud.

Compare with Act ii, sc. ii, l. 3:

> Some to kill cankers in the musk-rose buds,

My home of love, etc. Sonnets 109, 5–6:

> That is my home of love: if I have ranged,
> Like him that travels, I return again;

Compare Act iii, sc. ii, ll. 171–172:

> My heart to her but as guest-wise sojourn'd,
> And now to Helen is it home return'd,

Misprision, Sonnet 87, 11:

> So thy great gift, upon misprision growing,

Compare with Act iii, sc. ii, l. 90:

> Of thy misprision must perforce ensue, etc.

By increasing the list of parallels that may follow, it is not intended to claim any peculiar connection between the *Sonnets* and the play, nor to establish any data by which the time of the composition of either may be determined. Both works were mentioned by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, published in 1598. The play has sometimes been assigned to a date as early as 1591. There is nothing misleading in saying that a few years only intervened between the writing of the *Sonnets* and the play.

Two classes of parallels are presented: one, in which the thought or imagery seems to be correspondent, though this may not always be in the exact phraseology; and a second, in which the mere word is sufficiently forcible to attract the attention. The sonnet is first quoted and the play's parallel follows.

Son. 75, 9–10, "Sometime, all full with feasting on your sight,
And by and by clean starved for a look;"

M.N.D. i, i, 222–3, "we must starve our sight
From lovers' food till morrow deep midnight."

Son. 147, 1–4, "My love is as a fever, longing still
For that which longer nurseth the disease;
Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,
The uncertain sickly appetite to please."

M.N.D. iv, i, 170–3, "But, like in sickness, did I loathe this food;
But, as in health, come to my natural taste,
Now I do wish it, love it, long for it,"

Son. 72, 9–10, "O, lest your true love may seem false in this,
That you for love speak well of me untrue,"

M.N.D. iii, ii, 89, 91, "And laid the love-juice on some true-love's sight:"
Again, "Some true love turn'd, and not a false turn'd true."
i, i, 134, "The course of true love never did run smooth;"
Son. 137, 1-2, "Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes,
That they behold, and see not what they see?"
M.N.D. i, i, 234-5, "Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind;
And therefore is wing'd Cupid painted blind:"
Son. 113, 1, "Since I left you mine eye is in my mind,"
and
Son. 148, 1-2, "O me, what eyes have Love put in my head,
Which have no correspondence with true sight!"

may be compared with the passage just preceding.

Sons. 35, 12: 89, 14; 142, 1; 150, 9-10; all contrast love with hate, so

M.N.D. i, i, 199, "The more I love, the more he hateth me."

Other such conceits of contrast are:

Son. 129, 14, "To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell."
M.N.D. i, i, 207, "That he hath turn'd a heaven into a hell!"
Again,
ii, i 240, "I'll follow thee and make a heaven of hell,"
Son. 43, 13-4, "All days are nights to see till I see thee,
And nights bright days when dreams do show thee me."
M.N.D. ii, i, 218-9, "It is not night when I do see your face,
Therefore I think I am not in the night;"
Son. 12, 2, "And see the brave day sunk in hideous night;"
M.N.D. i, i, 7, "Four days will quickly steep themselves in night,"

The use of the word *steep*, as it occurs here in the play, may aid in the explanation of the same in *Son.* 63, 5,

"when his youthful morn
Hath travell'd on to age's steepy night;"
Son. 68, 13-4, "And him as for a map doth Nature store,
To show false Art what beauty was of yore."
M.N.D. ii, ii, 104, "Nature shows art,"
Son. 133, 9, "Prison my heart in thy steel bosom's ward,"
M.N.D. ii, ii, 47-50, "I mean, that my heart unto yours is knit
So that but one heart we can make of it:
Two bosoms interchained with an oath;
So then two bosoms and a single troth."
Again,
ii, ii, 105, "That through thy bosom makes me see thy heart."
Son. 94, 11-2, "But if that flower with base infection meet,
The basest weed outbraves his dignity:"
M.N.D. i, i, 232-3, "Things base and vile, holding no dignity."

The eye being the best reflector of the beauty of the face. It was made the favorite conceit in the *Sonnets*. It is used also in the eloquent speeches of the lovers, in the play. Through the magical influence of love the seeing sense of the eye was confused with the other senses and was made to carry on a sort of warfare with such members as the heart, ear, and with the intellectual faculties.

Son. 113, 1-3, "Since I left you mine eye is in my mind,
And that which governs me to go about
Doth part his function and is partly blind,"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 177-8, "Dark night, that from the eye his function takes
The ear more quick of apprehension makes;"
Son. 13, 14, "To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit."
M.N.D. i, ii, 234, "Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind,"
Son. 148, 1-4, "O me, what eyes hath Love put in my head,
Which have no correspondence with true sight!
Or, if they have, where is my judgment fled,
That censures falsely what they see aright?"
Again,
14, 1 and 9, "Not from the stars do I my judgment pluck;"
"But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive,"
M.N.D. i, i, 56-7, "I would my father look'd but with my eyes."
"Rather your eyes must with his judgment look."
Son. 20, 5-6, "An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,
Gilding the object where upon it gazeth;"
M.N.D. v. i, 12, "The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,"
Again,
iii, ii, 187-8, "Fair Helena, who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light,"
Son. 119, 7, "How have mine eyes out of their spheres been fitted."

M.N.D. ii, ii, 99. "Made me compare with Hermia's sphery eyne?"

Son. 14, 9-10, "But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive,
And, constant stars, in them I read such art"

M.N.D. ii, ii, 121-2, "And leads me to your eyes, where I o'erlook
Love's stories written in love's richest book."

Parallel passages occur where the play upon the word furnishes the element of humor:

Son. 138, 13-4, "Therefore I lie with her, and she with me,
And in our faults by lies we flatter'd be."

M.N.D. ii, ii, 52, "For lying so, Hermia, I do not lie."

Son. 141, 5, "Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted;"

M.N.D. i, i, 183-4, "and your tongue's sweet air
More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear,"

Son. 18, 7, "And every fair from fair sometime declines,"

again, 21, 4-5, "And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a couplement of proud compare,"

M.N.D. i, i, 171-2, "Call you me fair? that fair again unsay.
Demetrius loves your fair: O unhappy fair!"

Son. 134, 8, "Under that bond that him as fast doth bind."

M.N.D. iii, ii, 267-8, "I would I had your bond, for I perceive
A weak bond holds you: I'll not trust your word."

Son. 105, 5-7, "Kind is my love to-day, to-morrow kind,
Still constant in a wondrous excellence;
Therefore my verse, to constancy confined,"

M.N.D. v, i, 26-7, "And grows to something of great constancy,
But, howsoever, strange and admirable."

Son. 105, 1-2, "Let not my love be call'd idolatry,
Nor my beloved as an idol show,"

M.N.D. i, i, 109, "Devoutly dotes, dotes in idolatry,"

Son. 35, 9, "For to thy sensual fault I bring in sense."

This passage has caused some trouble and dispute among commentators. Readers will find an interesting note in *The Poems of Shakespeare* edited by George Wyndham, p. 283. The word *sense* gives the trouble. Malone suggested *incense;* and the parallel now to be quoted from *M.N.D.* ii, ii, 45, would suggest *innocence*, an excellent substitute too.

"O, take the sense, sweet, of my innocence!
Love takes the meaning in love's conference."

Another play upon *sense* is, *M.N.D.* iii, ii, 27-8,

"Their sense thus weak, lost with their fears thus
Made senseless things begin to do them wrong;"

Along with the famed passage upon the distillation of the rose, the first quoted from Mr. Dowden in this enumeration, could also have been cited the lines telling of the roses in the cheek.

Son. 116, 9-10, "Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;"

again, 130, 5-6, "I have seen roses damask'd, white and red,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks;"

M.N.D. i, i, 128-9, "How now, my love! why is your cheek so pale?
How chance the roses there do fade so fast?

Just here it may be said that one of the most common of the conceits in the *Sonnets*, and indeed in many of the plays, is only faintly touched upon in this play; namely, the comparison of dark complexions with light, in a word, the mysterious presence of the Dark Lady. The references are slight and go to show that Hermia had the unfashionable dark complexion:

M.N.D. iii, ii, 257, "Away, you Ethiope!"

and l. 263, "tawny Tartar." And a possible third reference to this occurs in Theseus's speech: v. i, ll,

"See Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:"

It only remains to add a collection of phrases in which the key-word, not a common word, strikes a peculiar tone suggesting a similarity or harmony of thought in the writer's mind when penning the lines of both the *Sonnets* and the play. These are generally unusual words with no uncertain sound. Often they are surrounded by a verbiage that might suggest a closer parallelism than the one cited here.

Son. 112, 8, "That my steel'd sense or changes right or wrong,"

again, 133, 9, "Prison my heart in thy steel bosom's ward,"

M.N.D. ii, i, 193-4, "But yet you draw not iron, for my heart
Is true as steel:"

Son. 113, 6, "Of bird, of flower, or shape, which it doth latch:"

M.N.D. iii, ii, 36, "But hast thou yet latch'd the Athenia's eyes"
Son. 66, 9, "And art made tongue-tied by authority,"
again,
85, 1, "My tongue-tied Muse"
140, 2, "My tongue-tied patience"
M.N.D. v, i, 104, "Love, therefore, and tongue-tied simplicity."
Son. 77, 7, "Thou by thy dial's shady stealth mayst know"
M.N.D. iv, i, 157, "My lord, fair Helen told me of their stealth,"
Son. 76, 10, "And you and love are still my argument;"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 242, "You would not make me such an argument."
Son. 92, 11, "O, what a happy title do I find,"
M.N.D. i, i, 92, "Thy crazed title to my certain right."
Son. 44, 14, "But heavy tears, badges of either's woe."
M.N.D. iii, ii, 127, "Bearing the badge of faith to prove true?"
Son. 83, 4, "The barren tender of a poet's debt:"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 87, "If for his tender here I make some stay."
Son. 120, 13, "But that your trespass now becomes a fee."
M.N.D. iii, ii, 113, "Pleading for a lover's fee."
Son. 125, 14, "When most impeach'd stands least in thy control."
M.N.D. ii, i, 211, "You do impeach your modesty too much,"
Son. 34, 12, and 42, 12, "To him that bears the strong offence's cross."
M.N.D. i, i, 136, 150, and 153, "O cross! too high to be enthrall'd to too low,"
"Because it is a customary cross,"
Son. 103, 14, "Your own glass shows you when you look in it."
M.N.D. ii, ii, 98, "What wicked and dissembling glass of mine."
Son. 7, 8, "Attending to his golden pilgrimage;"
M.N.D. i, i, 75, "To undergo such maiden pilgrimage;"
Son. 126, 4, "Thy lovers withering as thy sweet self grow'st,"
M.N.D. i, i, 6, "Long withering out a young man's revenue."
Son. 82, 12, "In true plain words by thy true-telling friend,"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 68, "O, once tell true, tell true, even for my sake!"
Son. 66, 11, "And simple truth miscalled simplicity,"
M.N.D. i, i, 171, "By the simplicity of Venus' doves,"
Son. 109, 11, "That it could so preposterously be stain'd,"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 121, "That befall preposterously."
Son. 137, 8, "Whereto the judgment of my heart is tied?"
M.N.D. i, i, 236, "Nor hath Love mind of any judgment taste;"
Son. 147, 11–2, "My thoughts and my discourse as madmen are,
At random from the truth, vainly expressed;"
M.N.D. v, i, 2–6, "More strange than true: I never may believe
These antique fables, nor these fairy toys.
Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends."
Son. 95, 13, "Take heed, dear heart, of this large privilege:"
M.N.D. ii, i, 217, "Your virtue is my privilege for that."
Son. 85, 13, "Then others for the breath of words respect,"
M.N.D. iii, ii, 44, "Lay breath so bitter on your bitter foe."

It remains only to quote the sonnet in which the poet refuses to overpraise the beauty of his lady. But a similar tribute of praise is expressed in the play.

Son. 130, 1-4 and 13-4. "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red:
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head,"
"And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare."
M.N.D. iii, ii, 138-44. "To what, my love, shall I compare thine eyne?
Crystal is muddy. O, how ripe in show
Thy lips, those kissing cherries, tempting grow!
That pure congealed white, high Taurus' snow,
Fann'd with the eastern wind, turns to a crow
When thou hold'st up thy hand. O, let me kiss
This princess of pure white, this seal of bliss!"

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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND GERMAN LITERATURE.

I.

The interesting paper recently published by Professor Hatfield and Miss Hochbaum on the influence of the American Revolution upon German literature [1] calls attention to a subject which has never been treated with anything like the completeness it deserves, a subject

1 *Americana Germanica*, iii, Nos. 3 and 4.

which is of peculiar interest to the students of German in this country. The first one to emphasize this influence was, so far as I am aware, the well known *Kulturhistoriker* Karl Biedermann. In an article entitled *Die nordamerikanische und die französische Revolution in ihren Rückwirkungen auf Deutschland*,[2] he shows, by a number of examples, how intensely interested German poets were in the American struggle for freedom. He quotes in full the enthusiastic poem *Die Freiheit Amerikas* which had appeared in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*. In his *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (iii, 169) he also refers to this influence. It is to be regretted that Biedermann, familiar as he was with eighteenth-century literature in its cultured relations, did not treat this subject at greater length.

In the following I wish to show the attitude of German poets and authors towards the American Revolution and its two great representatives, Franklin and Washington. I shall confine myself to such references as are not given in the article in *Americana Germanica*.

Klopstock, always a lover of personal and national liberty, expressed great admiration for the Americans. Besides the two odes *Sie und nicht wir* (1790) and *Zwei Nordamerikaner* (1795) mentioned in *Americana Germanica*, there are several other references to America in Klopstock's works. Biedermann[3] believes that the ode *Weissagung* (1773), dedicated to the Counts Stolberg, contains the first trace of the influence of the American Revolution upon Klopstock. This does not seem to me probable. The ode was composed on the occasion of a visit of the two Stolbergs in April, 1773,[4] more than half a year before the Boston Tea Party. Nor is it likely that, as Biedermann thinks, the ode *Fürstenlob* (1775) shows the influence of American events. Klopstock in this ode gives vigorous expression to the principle which he always practised, not to praise princes simply because they are princes, as so many poets do, but to praise only such princes as are really worthy of praise, like Frederick V. of Denmark, or the Margrave of Baden.

2 *Zschr. f. deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 483 ff.

3 Deutschland im 18. Jahrh. iii, 163.

4 Düntzer, Klopstocks Oden, ii, 2; cf. Lappenberg, *Briefe von und an Klopstock*, Braunschweig, 1867, p. 248.

In the ode *Die Denkzeiten* (1793), addressed to "Gallia, the slave," Klopstock points to America as an example worthy to be imitated by the French:

Kennte sie sich selbst und des Lernens Weisheit, mit scharfem
Hinblick schaute sie dann über das westliche Meer. L. 27 f.

In line 8 of the same ode Klopstock says with regard to certain decrees of the French Senate:

Wurden je sie vollführt?
Ich verehre den Thäter, und, gern Mitbürger des Guten,
Der die Verehrung gebeut, halt' ich das schöne Gebot.

Düntzer[5] explains *des Guten* as referring to the noble-minded among the French. Hamel[6] accepts Düntzer's explanation. Klopstock, however, in a note refers us to an article of his in the *Berliner Monatsschrift* (1796) entitled *Das nicht zurückgeschickte Diplom*. In this article Klopstock gives his reasons for not sending back the diploma by virtue of which he was an honorary citizen of the French Republic.

Among other things he says:

"Ich hielt es (that is, das Zurücksenden) ferner auch darum für undankbar gegen die Nation, weil ich durch sie Mitbürger von Washington geworden war."[7]

Des Guten must therefore refer to Washington.[8] Klopstock is proud of being a fellow-citizen of Washington. In a letter addressed to Roland, the French minister, dated Hamburg, November 19, 1792, he expresses his gratitude for having been made an honorary citizen of France. One of the things most pleasing to him in connection with this honor is "*dass dieses schöne Gesetz mich zum Mitbürger Washingtons gemacht hat.*"[9]

In a Latin letter addressed to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, dated June 25, 1790, he speaks of Lafayette as "*imperatorem Washingtoni amicum.*"[10]

Franklin's name occurs in a letter to C. F.

5 l. c. ii, 174.

6 *Klopstocks Werke*, iii, 189 n.

7 *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1855, x, 349.

8 As I have not access to all the Klopstock commentaries, I cannot say whether this has been pointed out before.

9 Schmidlin, Klopstocks sämmtliche Werke ergänzt. Stuttgart, 1839, l, 370, 372.

10 Lappenberg, l. c., pp. 333, 524.

Cramer, dated Hamburg, December 10, 1782.[11] Klopstock, during the later years of his life, spent much time and thought upon the reform of German orthography. Cramer may have called his attention to similar efforts on the part of Franklin, for Klopstock says in this letter: "*Wär kan anders über di Ortografi denken, als Franklin und ich?*"

The ode *Der jetzige Krieg* (1781) cannot be called a glorification of the American Revolution. Though it refers to the great war between England on the one hand, and France, Spain, Holland and the American colonies on the other, it treats only of the European theatre of war. Klopstock does not praise the war because one side is fighting for liberty, but because both sides seem to hesitate about shedding human blood. That is to him a sign that the spirit of humanity is modifying the cruel warfare of former times.[12] From the modern point of view the ode may be called naïve, but Herder, who also dreamed of an era of universal peace, called it "eine Prophetenstimme der Zukunft."[13]

Herder took great interest in America. He felt strongly drawn towards Franklin. There is a certain spiritual kinship between the two men. Franklin is mentioned by Herder for the first time, it seems, in *Zerstreute Blätter* (1792).[14] Herder speaks of him as "*ein hochachtungswürdiger Mann;*" then he continues:

"*die Wissenschaft des guten Richards* enthält einen solchen Schatz von Lebensregeln, dass man in mancher Rücksicht fast aufs ganze Leben nichts mehr bedürfte."

At the end of the book he gives a free translation of Bishop Berkeley's well-known poem on "Arts and Learning in America." In his comments on this poem Herder speaks of "*das aufstrebende Amerika*," but he is sure that for Europe, too, a new day is dawning.

Franklin is mentioned again in the second and third of the *Humanitätsbriefe* (1793). In the fourth letter Herder refers to Schlichtegroll's necrology of Franklin (Gotha, 1791). The letters were written under the influence of the French biography of Franklin.[15] This book circulated among the friends of Jacobi and Schlosser, and had been sent to Herder by one of the ladies. It seems that the letters had originally been intended for the *Freitagsgesellschaft* at Weimar, a literary society before which Knebel, at a previous meeting, had read a "*moralische Rhapsodie*," in which Franklin's name had been mentioned.[16] Herder's friend, Fr. Jacobi, was also much interested in Franklin. The royal library at Berlin has several volumes of Franklin's works bearing the mark "*ex bibliotheca Jacobi.*"[17]

In 1794 (Febr. 26) Herder writes to Heyne at Göttingen:

"Darf ich Sie bitten, bester Freund, um gütige Mitteilung der neulich in England herausgekommenen Franklin'schen Sammlung von Aufsätzen?"

After mentioning Bertuch's translation of these essays he continues:

"Sie nennen sich Aufsätze im Geschmack des Spectators und sind, irre ich nicht, im vorigen Jahre erschienen. Die Sammlung in 4. unter dem Titel: Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces, by B. Franklin, London, 1779, besitze ich mit mehrern Stücken, ... Und das *American Asylum* legen Sie wohl zugleich gefälligst bei; wenn viele Teile sind, einen oder zwei Teile."

In Heyne's reply (March 10, 1794), Franklin's book is mentioned. On the second of March Heyne had sent Herder six volumes of the Columbian Magazine.[18]

In the *Beilage* to the fifty-seventh of the *Humanitätsbriefe* (1795), Herder compares Franklin with Socrates:

"Socrates hatte seinen eigenen Genius, der nachher nicht oft, aber doch hie und da z. B. in Montaigne, Addison, Franklin u. a. wieder erschienen ist."[19]

It is interesting, in this connection, to note a French opinion of Franklin; the historian Lacretelle relates: "This venerable old man,

11 Lappenberg, l. c., p. 308.

12 Düntzer, l. c., ii, 35, 36.

13 *Humanitätsbriefe*, no. 20. Suphan, *Herders Werke*, xvii, 93.

14 4, 137; *Herders Werke*, ed. Suphan xvi, 23.

15 *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benj. Franclin*, Paris, 1791.

16 Suphan xviii, 539-42; Haym, *Herder*, II, 485 f.

17 Suphan, l. c.; Fr. Jacobi's *Auserlesener Briefwechsel*, ii, 111.

18 Or Herder to Heyne? Düntzer und F. G. von Herder, *Von und an Herder*, Leipzig, 1861, ii, 223, 225.

19 Suphan, xvii, 295.

it was said, joined to the demeanor of Phocion the spirit of Socrates."[20]

In his discussion of popular poetry (*Adrasteia*, 10. Stück, 1803) Herder quotes a letter written by Benjamin Franklin to his brother, Hrn. Johann Franklin, at Newport in New England, concerning the merits of a certain ballad.[21]

Herder's attitude towards the soldier traffic may be seen from the bitter verses in the poem *Der deutsche Nationalruhm* originally intended for the *Humanitätsbriefe* (1797), but, doubtless for political reasons, withheld from publication until 1812.[22]

Und doch sind sie (die Deutschen) in ihrer Herren Dienst
So *hündisch-treu!* Sie lassen willig sich
Zum Mississippi und Ohio-Strom
Nach Candia und nach dem Mohrenfels
Verkaufen. Stirbt der Sklave, streicht der Herr
Den Sold indess; und seine Witwe darbt;
Die Waisen ziehn den Pflug und hungern.—Doch
Das schadet nichts; der Herr braucht einen Schatz.[23]

References to the American Indians and to the negro slaves may be found in several places.[24]

Schiller published his first poem *Der Abend* in 1776. The opening lines of this ode run as follows:

Die Sonne zeigt, vollendend gleich dem Helden,
Dem tiefen Thal ihr Abendangesicht,
(Für andre, ach! glücksel'gre Welten
Ist das ein Morgenangesicht).

The ode is full of reminiscences of Klopstock, Haller, and the Old Testament prophets, but the third and fourth lines, according to Boas, are original with Schiller: they contain an allusion to the American struggle for liberty.[25] Boas' suggestion has been accepted by Biedermann.[26] It has much in its favor. In 1781, when Schiller was editing the *Nachrichten zum Nuzen und Vergnügen*, he openly showed his sympathies for America. Boas says in regard to this:[27] "Schillers Zeitung persiflierte die unwahrscheinlichen Siegesberichte der Engländer." Brahm[28] says:

"Derb werden die Engländer verspottet, wegen ihrer prahlerischen Bulletins im Amerikanischen Befreiungskriege."

Minor[29] says:

"Ohne eine feste Stellung einzuhalten, kann die Zeitung Schillers ihren Spott über den gesunkenen britischen Löwen nicht unterdrücken."

It is a strange irony of fate that Schiller's own family should have been mixed up with the soldier traffic. His father, while stationed at Lorch (1763–66), secured recruits for the Duke of Württemberg that were afterwards sold to Holland. Schiller's sister Christophine relates that the officers at first did not know what fate was in store for their recruits,[30] Schiller's god-father and distant relative, Johann Friedrich Schiller was an agent in Hessia and Württemberg for the purpose of obtaining troops for Holland's foreign possessions. Later he went to England, where he seems to have served the British government in a similar capacity. Here he translated Robertson's *History of America* and dedicated it to Queen Charlotte (1777),

"die Georg's Sorgen für das Wohl seiner Zeitgenossen, durch die Bildung seiner würdigen Familie zu Menschenfreunden, versüsst, und auf dem Throne kein höheres Vorrecht oder Vergnügen fühlt, als den Menschen wohl zu thun."[31]

Garve, the well-known *Popularphilosoph*, was very anxious to translate Robertson's book. He writes to Chr. F. Weisse, from Breslau (March 12, 1774):

"Wenn Robertson's Geschichte von Amerika herauskommen wird, das wäre etwas für mich zu übersetzen."[32]

Later he writes (March 11, '75):

20 Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, Boston, 1867, ii, 212.

21 Suphan, xxiv, 268; *B. Franklin's Works*, ed. John Bigelow, New York and London, 1887, iii, 392. The letter here is addressed to Peter Franklin at Newport, 1765.

22 Suphan xviii, 208, 211.

23 Cf. also Biedermann in *Zschr. f. deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 490.

24 Cf. *Negeridyllen; Humanitätsbriefe* Nos. 114, 116-119; Suphan, xiii, 239 ff.

25 *Schillers Jugendjahre* von E. Boas. Herausg. von W. v. Maltzahn, Hannover, 1856, i, 120.

26 *Deutschland im 18. Jh.*, iv, 597, n.

27 l. c. i, 235.

28 *Schiller*, Berlin, 1888, i, 169.

29 *Schiller*, Berlin, 1890, i, 483.

30 Brahm, l. c., i, 29; Minor, l. c., i, 23.

31 Boas, l. c., i, 51 f.; Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jh.*, iv, 626.

32 *Briefe von Christian Garve an Chr. F. Weisse*, Breslau 1803, i, 59. Cf. also i, 85.

"Ich weiss nicht, was ich so gern übersetzt hätte, als den Robertson. Ich schätze ihn so hoch—ich denke ich würde es erträglich gut machen—und weg ist er. Das wäre das Buch, das ich übersetzt hätte, ohne es zu kennen, weil ich nicht glaube, dass er etwas mittelmässiges schreiben kann. Und Amerika ist jetzt ein so wichtiger Weltteil! Wie in 200 Jahren sich die Gestalt der Dinge verändert hat! [33]

Joh. Fr. Schiller's translation was not altogether satisfactory. Zollikofer in 1779 (Febr. 19) writes to Garve:

"Und nun kömmt schon wieder eine Korrectur von Robertson's Geschichte von Alt-Griechenland. Schiller in London hat sie übersetzt, und seine Sprache ist öfters undeutsch. Diese Fehler soll ich ihr benehmen, so wie wir es mit seiner Geschichte von Amerika gemacht haben." [34]

Not a few German writers followed Klopstock and Herder in their sympathy for the American Revolution and in their admiration for Washington and Franklin. These two men were the only ones among the leading men of the Revolution whose names became thoroughly familiar to the German public. Men like Hamilton and Jefferson seem to have been practically unknown except to the few. This condition of things, it must be admitted, has continued to the present day: the average German—we may say, the average European—connects only the names of Franklin and Washington with the American Revolution.

Lichtenberg, the great satirist at Göttingen, speaks of Franklin as "*der grosse Franklin.*" [35] In his diary written during his stay in England (1774–75), he says:

"Ich habe selbst jemanden sehr unparteiisch die Rechte der Amerikaner verteidigen hören; er sagte: das glaube ich, das ist meine Meinung, allein wenn mir der Hof 600 Pfund jährlich gibt, so will ich anders—sprechen. So denken vielleicht alle."

Lichtenberg gives here the opinion of an English Whig, but seems to endorse it. He sympathizes with the British, on the other hand, in a humorous poem on the siege of Gibraltar and its defense by Elliot. The Americans, however, are not mentioned in this poem. [36]

Nettelbeck writes to Bürger (Febr. 7, 1778):

"Es ist eine Schande, dass England mit seinen Kolonien sich noch nicht verglichen, da doch diese höchstwichtige Sache so geschwind hat können verglichen werden." [37]

Hippel, the disciple of Kant, says in his *Kreuz- und Querzüge des Ritters A bis Z*, [38] published in 1793–94:

"Wen würdest du in Nordamerika aufsuchen? Franklin und Washington. Und wenn der letztere, so wie der erstere, nicht mehr im Lande der Lebendigen ist, wirst du nicht nach ihren Kindern fragen? Werden dich nicht schon die Namen Washington und Franklin interessieren?"

In another passage in the same work [39] Hippel says:

"Der gute Franklin, der seinen Sohn vor Voltaire auf die Knie fallen liess, verglich den Adel mit Tieren, die im Alten Testament ein Greuel sind." [40]

Anton von Klein, Bavarian privy counsellor and literary amateur, wrote a poem *Empfindungen des Doctor Franklin bei einem Blicke in die Natur.* It is largely an adaptation from the English. Klein's friend Professor Eckert, to whom he sent the poem, grew enthusiastic about "the sublime thoughts of the great Franklin." [41]

Friedrich Nicolai, the versatile author and book-seller in Berlin, says in his life of Justus Möser: [42]

"Möser als Schriftsteller ist schon sehr richtig mit Franklin verglichen worden. [43] Allerdings findet sich in allen Aufrätzen beider Schriftsteller 'ein Anstrich von Sonderbarkeit, verbunden mit thätiger, gesunder Vernunft und Menschenliebe.' Bei beiden sind 'Originalität, Eifer zur Verbreitung heilsamer, gemeinnütziger Wahrheiten, Witz und Laune' beinahe in gleich grossem Masse anzutreffen. Indess da Franklins gelehrte und politische Laufbahn

33 Ibid. i, 119.

34 *Briefwechsel zwischen Christ. Garve und Geo. Joach. Zollikofer*, Breslau 1804, p. 252.

35 *Vermischte Schriften*, Wien 1817, V, 316.

36 Ibid. iv, 237.

37 Strodtmann, *Briefe von und an Bürger*, ii, 229.

38 Leipzig 1860, i, 281.

39 Ibid. i, 119.

40 Cf. also ii, 252.

41 *Litterarisches Leben des Kgl. Baierischen Geheimen Rates und Ritters Anton von Klein*, Wiesbaden 1818, p. 38 f. The poem appeared in the *Pfälzisches Museum* about 1783.

42 Just. Möser, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Abeken, Berlin 1842–3, x, 73.

43 This had been done in an article of the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, July, 1783, p. 37 f.

ganz anders gerichtet war als Mösers, so scheint mir unter den Ausländern niemand als Schriftsteller Mösern näher zu vergleichen wie Addison, der ihm an Fähigkeit zu Geschäften so ganz unähnlich war."

Goethe, too, compares Möser with Franklin. He says in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (bk. 13, end):

"In Absicht auf Wahl gemeinnütziger Gegenstände, auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Uebersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen als frohen Humor, wüsste ich ihm (Möser) niemand als Franklin zu vergleichen."

Joh. Georg Zimmermann, the celebrated Swiss physician, says in regard to Franklin:[44]

"Ein vortrefflicher deutscher Schriftsteller hat in einem meisterhaften Aufsatze über Franklins Leben gesagt: Franklins Vortrag habe nie einen Anschein von Gelehrsamkeit, nirgends die Miene eines Compendiums. Alles seien einzelne Bemerkungen mit ihrer ganzen Veranlassung uns angenehm erzählt, kurze Sätze, kleine Abhandlungen, leichte Briefe an Freunde, an Frauenzimmer. Man nehme Teil daran, man ermüde nie, man finde so viel Abwechslung in der Darstellungsart als in den Gegenständen selbst. Dieser feine Geist des Weltmannes, dieser gesunde Natursinn des unpedantischen Weisen lebe und webe überall in Franklins Schriften."

Joh. D. Michaelis, the great orientalist at Göttingen, met Franklin in 1766, and in his autobiography speaks very pleasantly about his American acquaintance. It is to be regretted that Franklin did not keep a diary during his stay at Göttingen, and that no letters of his are extant written during that time.[45] How generally Franklin was esteemed in Germany may be seen from Lafayette's letter to Franklin dated Paris, February 10, 1786:

"In my tour through Germany I have been asked a thousand questions about you, when I felt equally proud and happy to boast of our affectionate intimacy."[46]

Franklin repeatedly complains in his letters about the numerous applications for appointments in the American army which he receives from all parts of Europe and which he cannot possibly endorse.[47] It seems that one of the applicants was the poet Pfeffel in Kolmar. In a letter to Sarasin at Basel, he writes that, through the good offices of Franklin, he hoped to secure for the poet Klinger a commission in the American army.[48]

The soldier traffic of some of the princes brought the American war close to the hearts of the Germans. It drew forth most bitter protests. Klinger, who has just been mentioned, gives expression to his indignation in several passages of his *Geschichte eines Deutschen der neuesten Zeit* (Leipzig 1798).[49] Hadem, the broad-minded, big-hearted tutor of a young nobleman, is removed from his position on a trumped-up charge. He enlists as chaplain of a German regiment about to sail for America. Ernst, his pupil, who dearly loved Hadem, goes to Paris to complete his education:

"Franklin war um diese Zeit in Paris. Ernst hatte das Glück, diesem seltenen Manne zu gefallen und von ihm geachtet zu werden. Als sich dieser nun zu seiner Abreise fertig machte, bat ihn Ernst um die Bestellung eines Briefes an Hadem, von dem er den edlen Greis so oft unterhalten hatte. Franklin versprach ihm, wenn Hadem in dem ungeheuren Bezirke von Amerika lebte, so sollte er diesen Brief gewiss bekommen. So viel hatte Ernst schon von Franklin erfahren, dass das Regiment, wobei Hadem stand, in einem für die Engländer und Deutschen unglücklichen Treffen beinahe gänzlich zu Grunde gerichtet worden sei, und man die übrigen als Kriegsgefangene in das Innere des Landes geführt hätte."[50]

In his letter to Hadem, Ernst says:

"Ich war in England, in dem Lande, das die Söhne der Deutschen von ihren Fürsten erkauft, um sie über das Meer zur Schlachtbank zu senden. . . . Ich empfinde, was Sie diesen Unglücklichen sein müssen, welche die Goldsucht ihrer Fürsten von dem väterlichen Boden vertrieb, die nun seufzen in der Gefangenschaft, im Innern eines fremden Landes, dessen Erde schon den grössten Teil ihrer Brüder in Wildnissen deckt. Ist der Deutsche dazu geboren? Seinen Fürsten von der Natur als eine Waare gegeben? Was hofft dieser von den zurückgebliebenen Waisen, wenn die Zeit kommt, da das Vaterland seiner Söhne bedarf? . . . Ich darf diese Gedanken nicht weiter verfolgen. Kein Volk der Erde verdient mehr Achtung und Schonung von seinen Fürsten, als das deutsche; und dieses Volk

44 *Ueber die Einsamkeit*, Leipzig 1784, II, 36.

45 Cf. John Bigelow, *B. Franklin's Works*, iii, 468.

46 Bigelow, l. c. ix, 290.

47 Bigelow, l. c, vi, 99 f.

48 Erich Schmidt, *Lenz und Klinger*, p. 73; Rieger, *Klinger in der Sturm und Drang Periode*, Darmstadt, 1880, p. 262.

49 *Sämmtliche Werke*, Cotta 1842, viii, 102 ff.

50 Ibid., p. 125.

wird von ihnen verkauft! Weg mit dem elenden Gedanken, der Deutsche hat kein Vaterland!"

Later (p. 194) Ernst receives a note from Franklin with a letter from Hadem enclosed:

"er habe den jungen deutschen Mann auch in Amerika nicht vergessen, seinen Auftrag erfüllt, und sende ihm hiermit einen Beweis davon."

In his letter Hadem relates his experiences in America:

"Aus öffentlichen Nachrichten werden Sie wissen, dass der kleine Überrest des Regiments, bei dem ich angestellt war, in Gefangenschaft geriet. Ich wurde mit fortgeführt, ohne den Sterbenden den letzten Dienst leisten zu können. Was für Elend, was für Jammer habe ich erlebt und angesehen! Und liegt nicht schon alles in dem Gedanken begriffen: die Deutschen wurden für Geld nach Amerika verkauft? Ihre Verkäufer hätten sie sehen sollen, verschmachtend, den Blick nach ihrem Vaterlande, ihren Eltern, Weibern, Kindern, dann zum Himmel, dann auf die fremde Erde richtend, die sich ihnen zum Grabe öffnete!—Ich ward von den Gefangenen getrennt; eine Kolonie Deutscher an den Grenzen der Wilden bemächtigte sich meiner."

Hadem is asked by the Germans in this out-of-the-way settlement to be their minister. They build him a house and treat him with the utmost reverence. When peace is concluded, Hadem wants to return, but his parishioners refuse to let him go. They are so eager to retain him that they resort to trickery: they demand compensation for the expenses they have incurred in maintaining him, "at the same time praying to God to forgive them the wrong they are doing to their minister." Hadem writes to the "noble Franklin," who promises to secure a German minister for the settlement. When Hadem finally returns, he finds Ernst suffering from melancholy. Hoping to arouse his former pupil by threatening to go back to America he says in Ernst's presence (p. 314):

"das verheissene Paradies hier (in Deutschland) habe wirklich abgeblüht; er wolle es nun am Ohio-Strom, in den Wildnissen Amerikas wieder suchen, so alt er auch sei, so sehr er auch der Ruhe bedürfe. Auch habe er mehr Zutrauen, mehr Liebe, Sicherheit und Tugend unter den dortigen Wilden gefunden, als in dem aufgeklärten Europa. . . . Der Europäer verstehe nur schön von der Tugend zu reden. Die Wilden thäten, wovon man hier spräche, . . . er sei nun aller europäischen Schwäche, Gleisnerei und Plage herzlich satt."

Hadem's, or rather Klinger's, belief in the moral superiority of the Indian, in the virtue and integrity of the untutored savage, is frequently met with in the writings of that period.[51] It is due to the influence of Rousseau.

Hardly less interesting than the experiences of Hadem are those of Faustin, the hero of a German novel by an anonymous writer in the style of Nicolai's *Sebaldus Nothanker*.[52] Poor Sebaldus experiences all sorts of troubles and misfortunes at the hands of pietists and orthodox clergymen, whom Nicolai wishes to show up in what he considers their true character. In a similar way, Faustin, a Bavarian rationalist and philanthropist, is made to travel through different parts of Europe for the sole purpose of showing the reader the numerous relics of barbarism, despotism and fanaticism which the age of philosophy and reason has not yet been able to shake off. After several narrow escapes from the fanaticism of the priests, he falls in love with a girl almost at first sight. She takes him to a ball where he drinks too much and falls asleep. As he awakens, he finds himself in the hands of two officers who threaten to shoot him on the spot if he creates any disturbance or tries to run away.[53] Faustin enquires of the captain about the way in which he was captured:

"Auf eben die Weise wodurch die meisten Werbungen im H. R. Reich jährlich eine Menge Rekruten erhaschen. Man hält sich in den grossen und kleinen Reichsstädten einige Töchter der Freude, die abgewixt genug sind, junge, hitzige, unvorsichtige Pürschgen an sich zu locken, und sie dann bei einem bequemen Anlass zum Regiment liefern."

Faustin entreats the captain to release him, but the captain roundly refuses; the recruiting officers, he says, have great difficulty to secure the necessary recruits for America.

"Wie Faustin hörte, dass er gar nach Amerika sollt, war er vollends untröstbar. Nach Amerika! rief er schluchzend, nach Amerika! Was geht uns Deutsche Englands Fehde mit seinen Kolonisten an? Finden Sie das unserm

51 Cf. Seume's *Der Canadier*.

52 *Faustin, oder das philosophische Jahrhundert*, 1780. Dritte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, 1785, *s. l.*

53 Cf. Stolberg's *Lied eines deutschen Soldaten in der Fremde*, where a similar scene is described.

menschenfreundlichen, aufgeklärten, philosophischen Jahrhundert angemessen, dass einige deutsche Landesväter ihren Bauern das Geld nehmen; mit eben diesem Gelde die Söhne derselben, den gesündesten, nervigsten Kern der Nation mondieren und armieren, und dann für einige lumpige Guineen an die Britten verkaufen? Ist das etwas anders, als europäischer, noch ärger, etwas anders als deutscher Sklavenhandel?—Man lacht über die Kreuzfahrer, ihre Anführer, und jene europäschen Fürsten, die ihre Untertanen dem Tausend nach in die syrischen Wüsten verschickten, um das elende Palästina mit europäischem Blute zu düngen, oder, wenn's noch gut ging, das Land für einen andern zu erobern: Und diese Phantasten hatten doch gute Aussichten in der Ewigkeit zur Vergeltung, gingen alle aus freiem Willen, und waren aus freiem Willen Narren. Aber nun müssen wir für einige Pfund Sterling uns im Schnee der Huronen wälzen und haben nicht einmal, wie jene, die schmeichelhafte Hoffnung uns ins Paradies zu fechten."

The troops are ordered to proceed to the Weser. Faustin takes comfort in the thought that the trip would give him an opportunity of seeing the English, "the most philosophical of nations," and of getting acquainted with the "philanthropic Quakers at Philadelphia." At Bremerlehe the troops are put aboard two British transports, '*wie Pickelhäringe gepackt.*' His impressions of England are not very favorable.

"Unsre philosophischen Herren Britten," he says, "die so viel von Freiheit sprechen, so stolz auf ihre Freiheit sind, und doch bei all dem das grösste Heer Sklaven mit ihrer eisernen Zuchtrute peitschen: Sie haben's verdient, dass sich Nordamerika empörte."

A few days after landing in New York the troops are sent to Jamaica, from there to Pensacola. On the way to Florida they are captured by a Spanish frigate, but later on exchanged for Spanish prisoners. That practically ends Faustin's experience in America.

J. J. Engel, the author of the well-known novel *Herr Lorenz Stark*, satirizes the soldier traffic in his *Fürstenspiegel* (1798).[54] Princess Kunigunde watches from her window the sad parting of the soldiers bartered away by her father. She is moved to tears. At her next geography lesson she reproaches her tutor for giving her wrong information. He had taught her, she claims, that human beings were sold in Africa only, but now she knew that in Germany, too, human beings were sold for money. She cannot see the difference between the soldier traffic of her father, and the slave trade carried on by

"den afrikanischen Hungerleidern von Prinzen, die um eines geringen nichtswürdigen Gewinnstes willen das Blut ihrer Untertanen an ein fremdes Volk nach einem fremden Weltteil hin verkauften."

Hermes in *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* refers to this traffic with the following bitter words: *Deutschland hat ja Volks genug! wie könnt es sonst mit seinem gesündesten Blut die amerikanischen Äcker düngen.*[55]

August Hermann Niemeyer, in a passionate appeal to the German princes not to begin a new war (*An Deutschland, im März 1778*), exclaims:

Hat Albion nicht satt das Schwert geschwungen
Genung der Edlen hingewürgt,
Euer deutsches Blut, zu fremder Freiheitsschlacht gedungen,
Mit Golde sich verbürgt?[56]

Frederick II. expressed his contempt for this traffic at different times.[57] It is well known that he exacted the same toll for the soldiers that were marched through his dominions bound for America as used to be paid for cattle,[58] if he did not prohibit their passage altogether. In his *Mémoires depuis la Paix de Hubertsbourg jusqu'à la Paix de Teschen*, he speaks of the German princes bartering away their troops as *des princes avides ou obérés*.[59] The sale of troops, he fears, will deprive Germany of her natural strength in case of war.[60]

The fate of these poor soldiers deeply affected the general public. That was doubtless one reason why Schubart's *Kaplied* became so popular, though it was not written until 1787, several years after the close of the American war. Matthisson in his *Erinnerungen* (1794) relates[61] that the *Kaplied* was sung from the Limmat in Switzerland to the Baltic Sea, from

54 *Schriften*, Berlin, 1802, iii, 154-165.

55 Quoted by A. Henneberger in *Deutsche Litteraturbilder des 18. Jahrhunderts, Zt. f. deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 598.

56 *Gedichte*, Leipzig 1778, p. 236.

57 Cf. *Franklin's Works*, ed. Bigelow, vi, 78 n.

58 Ibid., vii, 78.

59 *Œuvres*, ed. Preuss, vi, 116.

60 Ibid., vi, 118.

61 Wien, 1815, i, 181.

the Moldau in Bohemia to the banks of the Rhine; postilions, journeymen and recruits sang it, as well as officers, students and clerks.

Heinrich Steffens (1773–1845), professor of philosophy at Breslau, relates in his autobiography the impressions the American Revolution made upon him during his childhood.[62] Though Steffens was a Norwegian by birth, and at the time of the Revolution was living in Denmark, his description doubtless applies also to the German-speaking provinces of Denmark, and to many parts of Germany proper:

"Auch war ich genug von der Bedeutung des nordamerikanischen Krieges unterrichtet, um mit ganzer Seele mich für ein Volk zu interessieren, welches so kühn für seine Freiheit kämpfte. Unter den grossen Männern der damaligen Zeit leuchteten vorzüglich Washington und Franklin hervor. . . . Es waren wohl wenige lebhafte, in dem friedlichen Lande lebende junge Männer, die nicht der Sache der Nordamerikaner anhingen. Die Gesinnung meines Vaters steigerte die Teilnahme der Knaben, ja sie wurde wohl zuerst dadurch veranlasst. Wenn wir die Bedeutung dieses Krieges bedenken, durch welchen zuerst der glimmende Funke nicht allein in Frankreich, sondern in alle Länder der kultivierten Welt hineingeworfen wurde, der später in die mächtige Flamme der Revolution ausschlug, so ist es gewiss nicht ohne Interesse, eine Betrachtung anzustellen, die uns zeigt, wie dieser Funke still genährt wurde in dem ruhigen Schosse der Familien entfernter, friedlicher Länder, und wie die ersten wachgewordenen lebendigen Vorstellungen heranwachsender Kinder das eigene Geschick mit dem zukünftigen von ganz Europa verschmolzen."

When peace was concluded, Steffens' father invited a few friends to celebrate the victory of the Americans:

"Die Sache der Freiheit der Völker ward lebhaft besprochen, und es war wohl eine Ahnung von den grossen Ereignissen, die aus diesem Siege hervorgehen sollten, die damals der Seele der Jubelnden vorschwebte. Es war die freundliche Morgenröte des blutigen Tages der Geschichte."

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THE 'LUZINDA' OF LOPE DE VEGA'S SONNETS.

An inordinate weakness for the female sex was a characteristic of Lope de Vega from his early youth till the very close of his long career. In his *Dorotea*, written early in life—between 1587 and 1590—but revised and printed by Lope when he was seventy years old, he relates unblushingly and evidently with no little satisfaction, events of which he ought to have felt ashamed. And though Lope was twice married, he never allowed this fact at any time to interfere with his love affairs, nor did his joining the priesthood after the death of his second wife, turn him from his former ways; in fact he had established his last love Doña María de Nevares Santoyo—in his own house in the Calle de Francos, where she died in 1632, three years before Lope's death.

From documents that have lately been published, and notably those by the well-known scholar, Pérez Pastor in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Lope's conduct during his first courtship in no wise redounds to his credit. There is every reason to believe that in order to insure his obtaining the hand of Doña Isabel de Urbina y Cortinas, the young lady who was in love with him, he abducted her, and so secured the consent of her family, which had been denied him on account of his unenviable reputation in Madrid. This was, we now know, in 1588. Doña Isabel died, in all probability, in 1595 at Alba de Tormes.

Three years after this, in 1598, Lope married at Madrid, Doña Juana de Guardo, who brought him a considerable dowry. She died in 1613, a few days after giving birth to Lope's daughter Feliciana. Perhaps even prior to his first marriage Lope had been a writer for the Madrid stage—the exact date is not known. He tells us he wrote plays at the age of thirteen, but the earliest dated play we have is of 1539. This contact with the theatrical profession of his time was disastrous to his very impressionable nature, as the record of his life shows. "Love was in Lope Felix de Vega Carpio," as his learned biographer, Barrera, says, "the most imperious necessity, the vivifying sun of that prodigiously fertile imagination."[1] By this, however, his biographer means "love" for anybody else except his own wife.

Among the many loves that Lope had in the course of a long and by no means platonic career, there was one whose identity, so far

62 *Was ich erlebte.* Breslau, 1840, i, 77–81.

1 *Nueva Biografía*, p. 86.

as I know, has never been fully established. It is the 'Luzinda,' sometimes called 'Camila Luzinda,' of Lope's poems.

The earliest mention of Luzinda occurs in the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas*, published at Madrid in 1602, in the same volume with the *Hermosura de Angélica*, and the reprint of the *Dragontea*, which had already appeared in 1598. The *Hermosura de Angélica* had been written as early as 1588; when the verses to Luzinda were written, it is impossible to say, —they probably extended over a period of several years prior to 1602, as early perhaps as 1596 or 1595, the year of the death of Doña Isabel de Urbina. Lope's solemn asseveration in a poem *Lope de Vega á Lucinda*, prefixed to the *Hermosura de Angélica:*

"Pues nunca me ayude Dios
Sino he sacado de vos
Quanto de Angélica dijo"

is apparently not true, if we believe his statement that he wrote the work in 1588, during the expedition of the Armada.

Among the two hundred sonnets in the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas* there are twenty-two written to Lucinda, three of which, at least, are extremely beautiful, and all are written with that grace and ease which Lope's verse always shows. Among the other verses written to Lucinda is an *Epístola*, inserted in his *Peregrino en su Patria*, a work finished in 1602, and which was published in the following year. This *epístola* is certainly one of the most beautiful poems that ever flowed from Lope's pen. We shall quote only that part of it which is of present interest. Lope deplores his absence from Toledo, where Lucinda lives, in these verses:

Ya pues que el alma y la ciudad dexava,
Y no se oya del famoso rio
El claro son con que sus muros laua,
A Dios dixe mil vezes, dueño mio,
Hasta que a verme en tu ribera vuelua,
De quien tan tiernamente me desuio.
No suele el Ruyseñor en verde selua
Llorar el nicto de uno en otro ramo
De florido arrayan y madreselua,
Con mas doliente voz que yo te llamo
Ausente de mis dulzes paxarillos,
Por quien en llanto el coraçon derramo.
Ni brama, si le quitan sus nouillos,
Con mas dolor la vaca, atrauesando
Los campos de agostados amarillos,
Ni con arrullo mas lloroso y blando
La Tórtola se quexa, prenda mia,
Que yo me estoy de mi dolor quexando.
Lucinda, sin tu dulce compañia,
Y sin las prendas de tu hermoso pecho,
Todo es llorar desde la noche al dia.
Que con solo pensar que està derecho
Mi nido ausente, me atrauiesa el alma,
Dando mil unctos a mi cuello estrecho."[2]

It follows from these verses that the fruit of this love-affair with Lucinda was two children —*dulzes, paxarillos*, sweet little birds, Lope calls them. From his *Epístola* to his friend Gaspar de Barrionuevo, we learn their names —Mariana and Angelilla:

"Mariana y Angelilla mil manzañas
Se acuerdan de Hametillo, que a la tienda
Las llevaba por chochos y avellanas;
Y Lucinda os suplica no se venda
Sin que primero la aviseis del precio."[3]

In the same *Segunda Parte de las Rimas*, and therefore written before October 20, 1602 —the date of the *Privilegio*, occurs the following sonnet:

A dos niñas.

Para tomar de mi desden vengença,
Quitome Amor las niñas que tenia,
Con que miraua yo como solia,
Todas las cosas en ygual templança.
A lo menos conozco la mudança
En los antojos de la vista mia,
De un dia en otro no descanso un dia,
Del tiempo huye lo que el tiempo alcança.
Almos parecen de mis niñas puestas
En mis ojos que bañia tierno llanto,
O niñas, niño amor, niños antojos.
Niño deseo que el viuir me cuestas,
Mas que mucho tambien que llore tanto
Quien tiene quatro niñas en los ojos."[4]

This sonnet must refer to Lucinda's two children mentioned above; namely, Mariana and Angelilla, and the *Epístola* to Lucinda must have been written prior to 1602, and afterwards inserted in the *Peregrino en su Patria*. This same Lucinda bore Lope another daughter, Marcela, in 1605, and a son, Lope Felix, in 1607.

Who was really the lady hidden beneath this poetical pseudonym, is a question asked by Barrera. He inclines to the belief that it is María de Lujan—who, it was well known, was the mother of Lope's children Marcela

2 Ed. Brussels, 1608, pp. 286–7.

3 *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. iv, p. 388.

4 Ed. of 1602, p. 259.

and Lope Felix. Barrera's surmise was entirely correct, only he was unable to prove it, though he really had the proof at hand and gives it in his Life of Lope, only in some unaccountable way he overlooked it.

In the first place it never was certain that the lady's name was *María* de Lujan. That name, as it turns out, was first given by Alvárez y Baena, in his *Hijos de Madrid*, but Barrera shows that he is not an entirely trustworthy authority. Now, however, since Pérez Pastor published his *Datos acerca de Lope de Vega*,[5] all doubt has been removed. In *Documento num. 7*, we read:

"En la iglesia parrochial de San Sebastian de la villa de Madrid, en siete de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y siete años, yo, Alonso del Arco, baticé un niño (*nacido?*) en veinte y ocho de Enero del dicho año, hijo de Lope de Vega Carpio y de Micaela de Lujan, y le pusieron por nombre Lope, y fueron sus padrinos D. Hurtado de Mendoza y Hieronima de Burgos."

The name is therefore not 'Maria de Lujan,' but 'Micaela de Lujan' or Luxan, and an almost perfect anagram is 'Camila Luzinda.'

One of the sponsors is Hierónima de Burgos, a famous actress of the time and also an intimate friend of Lope's. Micaela de Luxan was therefore, also, in all probability an actress, and this conjecture is made certain by a statement of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa in his *Plaza Universal*, written in 1610–11, and first published in 1615. I quote from the edition of Perpignan, 1630 (p. 336). Here among the most famous actresses then living he mentions:

"Juana de Villalua, Mariflores, Michaela de Luzan, Ana Muños, Jusepa Vaca, Geronima de Burgos, Polonia Perez, Maria de los Angeles and Maria de Morales."

I have searched in vain, however, in such books as are at my command, for any further notice of Micaela de Luxan. She is not mentioned in Cassiano Pellicer, *Tratado Histórico sobre el Orígen y Progresos de la Comedia y del Histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1804; nor does Gallardo give the name in his list of *Comediantes*. From the fact that Suárez de Figueroa mentions Micaela de Luxan as living in 1610, it does not follow, of course, that she was also still acting. I am rather of the opinion that her stage career was confined to the last decade of the sixteenth, and the first years of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately such lists of players as are found in books accessible to me are generally of a later date —after 1615, and mostly after 1625.

Of the lists given in MSS. of Lope's plays, the earliest that I have been able to consult are of the year 1610; they are *La hermosa Ester* and *La Encomienda bien guardada*, in neither of which do we find the name Micaela de Luxan. An examination, however, of some of the earlier MSS. of Lope, of which at least five are known prior to 1598, would probably reveal the name.

How long this love affair with Micaela de Luxan lasted we do not know. After the death of Lope's second wife, Doña Juana, in 1613, he took his two children, Marcela and Lope Felix, into his own care. Where they had been prior to this time is a matter of conjecture. Did they continue to be in the care of their mother, Lucinda? It would be interesting to know. Certain it is, however, that by the close of the year 1615 Lope is on with a new love—Doña María de Nevares Santoyo, the *Amarilis* of his later verses.

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5 *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. i, p. 595.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

An Old English Martyrology. Re-edited from manuscripts in the libraries of the British Museum, and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with introduction and notes by GEORGE HERZFELD, Ph. D. London: Published for the E. E. T. S. by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1900. xlii+243 pp.

THIS is in some respects one of the most important of recent Old English reprints. In the first place, one of the manuscripts upon which the text is based, though only a fragment, belongs among the oldest manuscripts of English literature. Secondly, the Martyrology is one of the most extensive monuments of Old English prose that has appeared during the last few years, and the text is in itself doubly interesting because it appears to have been, in its earliest form, of Anglian or Mercian origin. Finally, Herzberg's book is important

because the text was previously inaccessible to most students of Old English literature, for Çockayne's edition[1] has long been out of print.

Herzberg has, generally speaking, done his work well, especially the Introduction, which embraces forty-three pages, and treats of the origin and growth of Martyrologies in the early Christian church, the genealogy of the several manuscripts, the date of the oldest text, the locality where it originated, and the sources of the Old English Martyrology. The text and a parallel modern English translation embrace two hundred and twenty-three of the two hundred and forty-three pages of the book, the remaining twenty pages being devoted to Notes and Corrigenda, and an alphabetical list of the saints whose names occur in the Martyrology.

From the Introduction we learn that Martyrologies are legal descendants of the early church calendars and Legendaria. Some of the less important ones date back to the third and fourth centuries, but the most important of the early martyrologies for the Western Church dates from the time of St. Jerome, to whom it was long incorrectly attributed. From this pseudo-Jerome, the lesser Roman Martyrology (*Martyrologium Romanum parvum*, discovered by Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, at Ravenna in 850), and the work of Bede and Florus, all later Books of Martyrs have been derived. Such collections, the editor thinks, were intended to refresh the memory of the monastic preacher, and to supply him with the ground-work of his sermons.

Four manuscripts of the Old English Martyrology have come down to us, all incomplete. Two of these, A and D, are mere fragments, while B and C are more extensive and complete. While A (Brit. Mus., Addit. 23211) is a bare fragment covering one small leaf, it is nevertheless very valuable because of its antiquity (it is attributed to the latter half of the ninth century), and its Mercian dialect. And D (Corp. Christ. Coll., Cambr., No. 41), though a late West Saxon manuscript, is almost equally valuable, since it is the only one which contains the entries from December 25 to 31 (pp. 1 to 10 of the text). This manuscript is the well known Parker MS. of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Miller, in the Introduction of his edition of the Old English version of Bede, places the date of D "at about the time of the Conquest," but Herzberg thinks "we may put it down as belonging to the end of the eleventh century as the earliest date." The text of this manuscript also shows undoubted Mercian influence.

Of the two longer manuscripts B (Brit. Mus., Cod. Cotton, Julius A x) and C (Corp. Christ. Coll. Cambr., No. 196) the editor considers the former the better and more reliable, and therefore makes it the basis of his text. B

"is a West Saxon transcript of a Mercian manuscript, as is shown by the numerous Mercian forms occurring in it; at the same time the prevailing influence of the West Saxon dialect is undeniable."

C, though "apparently somewhat earlier than B,"[2] contains more mistakes in the form of omissions and interpolations. It seems to have "been written about the beginning of the tenth century," and differs from B in showing a much smaller proportion of Mercian forms; but C contains "many traces of late West Saxon and even a few of the Kentish dialect." It is the only manuscript that contains the latter part of the text (p. 204, 4 to end).

Herzberg shows by careful investigation that B follows A very closely, and he is led to believe that both manuscripts go back to the same original:

"The scribe of A may have possibly had the archetype before him. As to B, which is a much later copy, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a link between it and O, because it shows a number of mistakes of its own. Besides it is pretty sure that C must be derived from the same source as B, as they have certain mistakes in common."[3]

In regard to the date of the Martyrology Cockayne says in a note at the end of his text:[4]

"We must conclude that this Martyrology is of the age of Alfred; none of its materials are

1 In *The Shrine* (1864–73).

2 I am inclined to think Herzberg wrong in saying this manuscript was "apparently written in the second half of the tenth century." It is written in a distinct eleventh century hand, characteristic of the period just before the Conquest.

3 See pp. xi–xiii.

4 *The Shrine*, p. 157. Cf. pp. 45, 124, 148.

more recent; it is further directly indebted to that king himself, and doubtless composed under his direction; it draws from Benedictine, Roman, English and Syriac sources."

Herzberg shows that Cockayne's statements are for the most part unfounded. While the existence of a fragment (MS. A) from the latter part of the ninth century would seem to prove that the *Book of Martyrs* is as old as King Alfred, "there is not the vestige of a proof" that he had anything to do with its composition. The text, in its original form, seems upon quite trustworthy evidence to have been composed in a Mercian monastery, and the Mercian district "never formed a part of King Alfred's dominion." Moreover, the presumption is very strong

"that the book was composed merely for the use of the monks in their services, and the King cannot be expected to have meddled with a matter of monastic discipline."

The last point does not seem to be well taken, when we remember that King Alfred concerned himself zealously with the spiritual affairs of his kingdom; and we may be sure from what we know of his character that he would not have hesitated to meddle with monastic discipline, had he considered it necessary, or of great importance to his people.

To what extent certain legends recorded in the Martyrology are derived directly from oriental sources, it is difficult to say. Cockayne holds[5] that the legends of St. Mylas and Senneus (Nov. 15), for example,

"must have reached our English bishop direct from Syria, probably from Helias, patriarch of Jerusalem, with whom a correspondence of King Alfred is expressly recorded in the nearly contemporary 'Leech book.'"

Herzberg has shown that the materials might easily have come into England through other channels. Before the time of Alfred the Great

"Englishmen had plenty of opportunities for acquiring knowledge of Oriental legends. A perpetual intercourse between English and French monasteries had been going on from an early period. In France the appearance of Oriental monks was by no means infrequent."[6]

Still, if King Alfred was in correspondence with the patriarch of Jerusalem, as Cockayne states, at a time when there existed "a passion for investigation into ritual and ecclesiastical antiquity generally," there is no reason why he should not have received the legends direct from Jerusalem.

Herzberg seems to be clearly in the right in claiming a Mercian origin for the text of the Myrtyrology, and there is no apparent objection to his suggestion of "Lincolnshire as the place where it was composed." It is interesting to learn in this connection "that very few South English martyrs have found their way into the list of saints," in fact only three; while "all the other English saints belong to the Mercian or Northumbrian provinces." A few noteworthy omissions from the list of Martyrs, like that of St. Boniface, would also seem to be against a West Saxon origin of the Martyrology.

Judging from grammatical peculiarities the editor thinks

"the Martyrology can not possibly be later than 900. We might even fix its date as early as 850, if we are allowed to draw any conclusions from the syntax."

In his investigations of the sources, Herzberg has succeeded in finding originals for almost all the legends and anecdotes recorded in the Martyrology. The researches of Cockayne in this direction rendered the task much less difficult, and the importance of his work receives just acknowledgment. Of about two hundred and thirty different legends, events, and anecdotes mentioned in the book, there are only twenty for which no originals have yet been discovered.

The attempt to show the indirect influence of the Talmudic writings upon the account of the creation (March 19–23) is interesting, but the evidence produced is not entirely convincing.[7] The source of the 'Harrowing of Hell' incident (March 26)[8] is certainly not biblical, unless we consider the bible in a very loose, indefinite sense as the source of such mediæval treatises as the *Gesta Pilati*, and especially of the second part of the "Pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus." The contents of this interesting entry show that the source was most likely the second part of the *Evangelii Nicodemi*, otherwise entitled[9] *Descensus Christi*

5 *The Shrine*, p. 148.

6 P. xxxix; Cf. pp. 178 and 200.

7 See pp. xxxv and 226–7. 8 Cf. pp. xxxviii and 30.

9 Cf. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 368 ff.

ad Inferos. The presence of this description in the Martyrology bears further testimony [10] to the popularity of the "Harrowing" episode in Old English literature.

The compiler of the Old English text has on the whole followed the Latin original very closely:

"He does not give much more than a mere outline of the legends, and sometimes not even so much; in a few cases, however, he enlarges on a story which seems to have struck his fancy as being peculiar and out of the way." [11]

Herzberg does not seem to me to have been so happy in building up his text from the somewhat confusing materials of the several manuscripts, as in the disposal of literary-historical questions of sources, date or origin, etc. He has, to be sure, given us a clear and generally reliable text, that is, from his point of view. Objection, however, might be raised to his method of procedure, and it may be that the editor was not altogether responsible for this. Where two manuscripts of a text present so many orthographical and syntactical differences as do B and C, it would certainly be more desirable to print the two parallel, as the marginal notes would otherwise assume undue proportions. Since this plan was not adopted, doubtless for valid reasons, we have a right to expect that the foot-notes shall be carefully and orderly arranged, and shall contain sufficient hints and materials to enable the student to restore the original reading of any one of the manuscripts. In this respect Herzberg's notes are frequently very deficient. It would be impossible for one to gain more than a faint conception of the orthography of C, for instance, from the help given in the marginal notes, beginning with page 40. And the additional materials and suggestions of the Introduction and Addenda do not improve the confusion which such an arrangement as Herzberg's is sure to produce. If a few hints had been given in the foot-notes, such as that the form *twentigoðan* always occurs in C, and that *ys*, *hig*, *ylcan*, *sylf(e)*, *worulde*, etc., are regular forms of C, the editor could have avoided repeating "twentigoðan, etc., C" for dozens of times. Moreover, whenever a form is given in the notes as occurring in C, he should have been careful to give the exact reading of C, and not that of B, or his own normalized forms. For example, the reading of C 40, 11 (note) is *myd þe beon*, not *mid*, etc.; 42, 10 (note) *se hyt* (not *hit*); 42, 11 *ðe ðær æt hym* not *him*; 42, 23 *syðon* not *siðon*, etc. Such slips are not sufficiently excused by the statement made in the Introduction [12] that *y* continually occurs for *i* in manuscript C. In fact, there are several instances in which C has *i*, and B, *y*, although the *y* forms in C are the rule.

Of course, every one who has had experience in editing texts from several different manuscripts will appreciate the difficulties which Herzberg met with in attempting to give only a partial list of the variants in a correct form. The strongest objections to the plan he pursued are that he seems to have had no method in noting different readings, and his text is not sufficient for purposes of careful scholarship. The following are the *errata* which I noticed in making a careful comparison of Herzberg's text (pp. 40–70) [13] with my own collation of manuscript C. From the beginning to page 40 the editor had comparatively easy sailing, as he generally had only one manuscript to deal with. In these first forty pages (that is, twenty pages of text) there are several minor mistakes, such as failure to indicate the manuscript abbreviations for *m*, *n*, and *er*, but I have noticed no serious errors. It is with page 40 that manuscript C begins, and from this point on mistakes, misprints, and omissions, for the most part in the marginal notes, are very frequent.

41, 11, (note) *myd þe beon* C; *penden*] *þa hwile* C; 21, *fylledflod* C. *42*, 3, *untrumyssa* C; 5, *sumere* C; 6, *dæg*, *underntreste* C; 9, *7 se hyra þegen wæs* C; 10, *þa sealde se hyt þam* C; *11*, *ondranc* (?) B; 12, *hig*, *þ hyt* C; 14, *hig* C; 19, *gesingodon* C; 22, *mennisc* C; 23, *singiað syðon* C; 25, *wanað* C; 27, *symle* C; 28, *ponne he byð beforan hyre ponne wanað hys leoht* C (after *leoht* of text;—this sentence escaped Herzberg entirely). *44*, 2, *symle* C; 4, *bene-*

10 Cf. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xiii, 462–3.

11 See p. xxxvi.

12 P. xiii.

13 I did not have time to complete the collation of the MS. when last in Cambridge.

dictus C ; 5, *abbudes* C ; 7, *syllan* C ; 8, *forðam* C ; 10, *swa* C ; 24, *on pam . . . gesceop* C ; 25, *woruldsnottere* C. *46*, 5, *feldam* C ; 8, *fenne* C ; 10, *pā dage* C ; 11, *seo was gesceapen* C ; 12, *wylddeor* C ; 13, *myhton* C ; 14, *geheoldon* C ; 15, *mennisce* C ; 17, *feor* C ; 22, *prowode* C. *50*, 6, *eond* C ; 8, B omits *ealle* ; 14, *nu* om. C, *myd pynū* C ; 23, *scofen* C ; 26, *beobread* C] *bebread* (?) B. *52*, 6, *hyt byð medemū men* C ; 12, *dæg byð þ ylce* C ; 13, *on pone* C. *54*, 2, *sisninius*, *chionian* C ; 5, *hrægel* C ; 13, *wið strangre peode* (*mid* of text misprint!); 14, *pa ætywde* C ; 18, *swylce hylle* C ; 20, *7 pa sona* C ; 27, *ðæssalonica* B ; 27, *swustra* C] *sweostra* (?) B. *56*. 2, *1 pæra nama* C; 3, *sorotina* C; 7, *hys nama wæs on leden*, *minus* C ; 11, *pæs* om. C ; 21, *fyðera* C. *58*, 1, *byð pæs* C ; 2, *sċe* om. C, *anthie*, 7 C ; 7. *on þ scryð* C ; 13, *up* C ; 14, *7 pa het* C. *60*, 1. *7 pa*, *hyne*, *forhwan* C ; *fregn* (?) B ; 2, *hu myhte butu samod* C ; 4. *georius* C; 5. *seofan* (?) B, *seofen* C ; 10, *pe myd hym ær*, *tyntregodon* C ; *16. frecnesse* (?) B, *frecednysse* C; 17. *stefen* C ; 21. *ongytan* C (not "B" as Herzberg notes); 26. *wylferðes* C, *gewytennys* C] *geleornes* B (Herzberg repeats this note several times). *62*, 5. *7 onsundru* C ; 13. *milcelra* (?) B] *mycelra* C ; 14. *heom forgife* C ; 15. *smyltlice* C. *64*, 1. *æfestegodon* C ; 6. on *æfenne* C ; 10. *myd pig rape* C ; 19. *cwæð he wá* om. C ; 23. *hi preagean*] *preatian hig* C ; 24. *myd pam hig ne myhte* C ; 27. *up dryhten myn* C. *66*, 1. *tyd 7 ðrowung* C ; 2. *pynne* C ; 11. *hym fyllan* C ; 12. *siððan* om. C ; 13. *wundru* C ; 15, *in pa ceastre* C ; 16. *ys gehaten* C ; 19. *morgesteorra* C ; 25. *myd* C. *68*, 4. *myd . . . . myhte* C ; 6. *hyne* C ; 7. *awyht* C ; 8. *ofer hig ne come* C ; 9. *oðra* C ; 10. *seo* om. C ; 17. *ceaster* C : 24. *brytene* C ; 25. *on dæg* C ; 26. *philippus* C. *70*, 4. *ys ponne* C ; 8. *dohtor* C ; 15. *werod* C ; 26. *1 pa het pæne papan* C. *72*, 6, *pe hatte nu . . . ia* (*numentana*) C ; 13. *byrgenne 7 hys lych.* C ; 21. *pœm* om. crystene C ; 24. *þ ys* C, not omitted as Herzberg states.[14]

Herzberg's translation is not all that could be wished, but he generally succeeds in reproducing the meaning of the original in language which, though frequently crude and teeming with German idioms, is capable of being understood. Here as in the case of the text, one is at sea as to his method: one never knows whether he is trying to reproduce the original literally in modern English, or whether he is seeking a comparatively free translation. He has himself not told us any where what he is aiming at. His punctuation is about as bad as it could well be, and it is made the more so by the constant omission in the translation of the old English particles *ond*, *pa*, etc. There are accepted English forms of the names *Datianus*, *Diocletianus*, *Adrianus*, *Urbanus*, etc., but Herzberg does not use them.

In conclusion I cannot refrain from expressing the wish that the E.E.T.S. had embraced a good glossary in its plan of such publications, and left the translation to each individual student. Such publications as the present one, at least, appeal almost entirely to the limited world of English scholars and students to whom even a good translation is superfluous, but who would cherish a carefully made glossary. A glossary of such a little known text would also be a valuable contribution to English lexicography.

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[14] In the preceding list I have noted especially errors in Herzberg's marginal notes, and words or phrases omitted from or added in C which he has not given. Of course, no attempt has been made to enumerate the scores of variant readings in C, which he apparently omitted purposely.

GOETHE.

Goethe über seine Dichtungen. Versuch einer Sammlung aller Aeusserungen des Dichters über seine poetischen Werke von Hans Gerhard Graef. Erster Theil: Die epischen Dichtungen: Erster Band. Frankfurt: Rütten und Loening, 1901. 8vo, xxiii+492 pp.

Graef aims to give all the utterances of Goethe concerning his poetic works with only the exception of his translations from foreign languages. He has divided his material into three parts, of which the first brings Goethe's utterances concerning his epic works in prose or verse, the second those about his dramatic works, and the third those regarding his lyric poems. Each of these three parts is to form a complete whole in itself, with separate pagination and separate full indexes; for convenience's sake, however, parts one and two are to be published in two volumes each.

Dr. Gräf was until last February connected with the library of Wolfenbüttel, which Lessing superintended for so long, and now has taken charge of the Public Library of Freiburg im Breisgau. He is one of the editors of the great Weimar edition of Goethe's works and, besides, has made himself favorably known as a Goethe scholar by his edition of *Briefe von Heinrich Voss über Goethe und Schiller*, which appeared in 1896. The more he occupied himself with Goethe, the more he realized that a full and sure understanding of his works is impossible without as complete an insight as possible into their genesis, and that the utterances of the poet himself upon his works are their safest commentary. While, with a similar persuasion, Pniower collected and published all the testimonies referring to Faust, Gräf undertook the gigantic task of gathering Goethe's utterances on all of his poetic works, and though conscious of the fact that some further information may come to light with the diaries and letters of Goethe which still remain unedited, he commenced the publication of his material at the beginning of the present year, in order that Goethe students might not continue to be without so valuable an aid for an indefinite period to come.

Volume one, which contains the utterances on twenty-two epic works, opens with a general preface in which the author explains his enterprise and defends his line of proceeding, a bibliography of the works which are most frequently cited, and two tables of the epic works according to their chronology and poetic form respectively. The twenty-two works themselves are arranged in alphabetical order, *Hermann und Dorothea* and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* occupying one fourth of the entire volume each, and *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderter*, *Achilleïs*, *Reineke Fuchs* and *Novelle* coming next in space. Under each head, first a list of the existing manuscripts and the prints supervised by the poet himself and the editors of his 'Nachlass' is given; then follow the utterances themselves in strictly chronological order, accompanied by copious cross-references and explanations. The most valuable part of the latter is that consisting of extracts from the letters of the correspondents to which Goethe refers in his own letters.

Gräf's work is intended both for the special philological student of Goethe and for the cultured lover of his works, and while it may be pronounced indispensable to the former, it will very much enhance the pleasure and profit of the latter. For what greater delight can there be to the lover of literature than to be guided in his enthusiasm for a great work of poetry by the poet's own hand!

It is to be hoped that Part I will be complete before very long, and that the next may follow in as rapid succession as possible. For the present the author deserves our gratitude both for what he has done and for the manner in which he has accomplished it.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

On Southern Poetry Prior to 1860. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the University of Virginia as a part of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By Sidney Ernest Bradshaw, June, 1900, pp. 162.

Prof. Bradshaw's dissertation is the first of a series of "Studies in Southern Literature" promised by the English department of the University of Virginia. The theme of this first number is the poetry of the South before 1860; the purpose of the study, to collect and systematize material concerning the Southern verse and verse-writers of that period. The book then is, in large part, as the author frankly admits, a compilation, containing some critical material, but consisting in the main of biographical and bibliographical *data*. It is accordingly of chief value as a book of reference.

The author deals with his subjects by centuries. Within these larger divisions he takes up each of the poets separately, considering them in the order of their first appearance in print—a plan which has been too closely followed in some instances. Wilde, for instance, whose dates are 1789–1847, and whose best-known poem was written before 1815, comes immediately after Deems, who was born in 1820, and just before Requier, whose dates are 1825–1887.

The proportion observed in these sketches is also open to criticism; though such criticism

is forestalled by the author's disavowal (p. 38) of any pretentions to observe that principle. Still such a disclaimer should not shield from criticism the writer who would give to Simms as a poet nine pages, to Munford five pages, or to O'Hara four pages, while Pike and P. P. Cooke are dismissed with two pages each. And in the case of Poe—who receives but three pages—while one may excuse meagreness of critical and biographical detail, he cannot but feel that a biography of the most important and more recent references should have been given.

Certain errors of judgment or of statement are also to be noted. Captain Smith's poem (p. 21) should not be classed with the poetry of the South, inasmuch as Smith left Virginia in 1609, never to return again, while his poem is usually dated about 1630. And a slight modification should be made in the statement on page 94, to the effect that Cooke's *Froissart Ballads* were "based on the stories of the old French chronicler;" most of the ballads were indeed based on Froissart, but some of them—notably *The Master of Ballantrae* and *Geoffrey Tetenoire*, the first two—as Cooke tells us in a prefatory note, were inventions of his own in the style of those based on Froissart.

But perhaps the chief limitation of the study is to be found in the incompleteness of its bibliographical lists. These lists, though as a rule full, do not include a number of magazine articles embodying the results of more recent and original research. Among the most important of these are the late Professor Ross's valuable articles on Timrod (*Quarterly Review of the M. E. Church South*, xiii, 239–261, 1893), Pinkney (*Sewanee Review*, iv, 287–297, 1896), and Meek (*Sewanee Review*, iv, 410–427, 1896). Other additions to be made to the bibliographical *data* are as follows:—under Cook [1] (p. 29): Steiner, *Publications of the Md. Hist. Socy.*, No. 36, pp. 102, 1900 (a reprint of the *Sotweed Factor*, with other early Maryland poems); under Tucker (p. 35): *Magazine of American Hist.*, vii, 45–46, 1881, and *Southern Literary Messenger*, ii, 469 f., 739, 1836; under Dabney (p. 43): *So. Lit. Mess.*, ix, 329 f., 390, 408 f., 557 f., 1848; under Allston (p. 46): the standard life of Allston, by Flagg, Scribner's, 1892; under Key (p. 48): *Century*, xxvi, 358 f., 1894; under Pike [1] (p. 69): the collective edition of Pike's poems, edited and published by Allsopp, Little Rock, Ark., 1900; under Wilde (p. 83): C. C. Jones, Jr., *Life, Literary Labors, and Neglected Grave of Wilde*, (no date), and certain articles on the authorship of Wilde's famous song, in *So. Lit. Mess.*, i, 252, 452, 1835, xxiii. 249, 1856; under Cooke (p. 95): *So. Lit. Mess.*, xxvi, 419-432, 1858, xvi, 125, 1850, xvii, 669 f., 701, 1851; and under Timrod (p. 129): Austin, *International Review*, ix, 310–319, 1880.

But to recognize in these omissions the chief limitation of the book constitutes, in reality, an admission that it has few or no serious limitations. Indeed, considering the difficulties under which Professor Bradshaw labored, he has done his work well. He need have little fear that his book, bringing together, as it does, in convenient form, a mass of information heretofore to be had only after much plodding—and to many largely inaccessible—will not prove both useful and interesting to the sympathetic student of the history of our literature.

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[1] The author should not perhaps be held accountable for omitting reference to the works I cite under Cook and Pike, since they probably appeared after his work had gone to the printers.

SCHILLER'S WALLENSTEIN.

Schiller's Wallenstein. Edited with introduction, notes, and map, by MAX WINKLER, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901. 8vo, lxxvi+446 pp.

THIS welcome addition to the well-known Macmillan series presents itself as an attractive volume of suprisingly small compass if we consider the fullness of introductory matter and notes, and the unusual length of the text. The evident desire to reduce the bulk of the book has led to the adoption of type that is rather too small to be desirable in textbooks. It must be admitted, however, that the press work is of such excellency as to make the page, despite the small and crowded type, appear lucid and attractive.

Prof. Winkler's edition is evidently the result of conscientious scholarly labor, and al-

though Dr. Breul's exhaustive treatment of the drama must have materially lightened the work of the later editor, his work bears in every detail the impress of independent investigation, and plainly rests on wide reading in the historical literature on the subject.

The linguistic and historical interpretation of Wallenstein, though it calls for an extensive commentary, offers but few real difficulties and leaves but little room for differences of opinion. But some of the broader literary aspects of the drama continue to be veritable bones of contention among the most competent critics and commentators. On such questions, it is, therefore, permissible to differ considerably from the position taken by the editor without, thereby, in the least impugning the carefulness of his work or the soundness of his judgment. The present writer's views on most of these mooted topics are unfortunately not in accord with those held by Prof. Winkler, but no attempt shall be made to enter into their discussion, except in so far as the editor's general view on these matters has induced him to put on a few isolated passages a construction that does not seem warranted by the facts in the case.

Prof. Winkler's thoughtful *Introduction* is well written, and, despite its length, by no means prolix. It observes a fair balance between solid information and critical and literary suggestions, and seems slightly wanting only in warmth and personality of tone and treatment, and that, perhaps, purposely. For advanced college students it can hardly be said to contain much that is not desirable or, at any rate, useful. In fact, we regret the absence of a brief chapter on the general position of the drama in German literature.

Only the long first chapter on the historical Wallenstein seems to furnish considerably more information than is needed by the student of the *drama*, for the critical results of modern historical investigation cannot throw any light on the drama as such. More important, from a literary point of view, is a clear conception of Wallenstein as Schiller found him in his sources, which are far less accessible than the modern historical treatises. If, therefore, a wish might be expressed in regard to this chapter, which in itself is well done and full of interest, we should prefer a briefer treatment of the Wallenstein of modern historical research, complemented by a fuller comparative treatment of the Wallenstein of Schiller's sources and of his *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs*..

The second chapter of the introduction carefully traces the genesis of the drama at the hand of numerous illustrative references to Schiller's important correspondence on this subject, especially with Goethe and Körner. Some of these quotations incidentally open up the question of the place of fate in the economy of the play, a question which later is more fully discussed in the chapter dealing with the character of the Wallenstein of the drama. On one of these quotations I beg to offer a few remarks.

The word *Schicksal* in the passage from the letter of November 28, 1796 (p. xlv), as well as *Gestirne* in the famous lines 109–110 of the prologue, the editor interprets as "his fate in general, which is a necessary expression of his character." In both instances such an interpretation seems to do violence to the natural meaning of language and the logical cogency of thought. In the letter to Goethe, Schiller plainly has in mind the irreconcilable contrast between the historical facts of the Wallenstein story as he found it in his authorities, and his own convictions of what constitutes *Vergnügen am Tragischen*, as he had outlined them in 1792 in *Über die tragische Kunst*. These convictions can be plainly outlined by quoting a few passages from this important essay, to which, as to some others of the *Ästhetische Schriften*, Prof. Winkler makes rather too brief reference (p. xxxix).

"Diejenige Kunst, . . . , welche sich das *Vergnügen des Mitleids* ins besondre zum Zweck setzt, heisst *die tragische Kunst*."[1]—"Die tragische Kunst wird also die Natur in denjenigen Handlungen nachahmen, welche den mitleidigen Affekt *vorzüglich* zu erwecken vermögen."—"Wenn die *Unlust über die Ursache eines Unglücks* zu *stark* wird, so *schwächt* sie unser *Mitleid* mit demjenigen, der es erleidet."—"So schwächt es jederzeit unseren Anteil, wenn sich der Unglückliche, den wir *bemitleiden* sollen, *aus eigner unverzeihlicher Schuld* in sein Verderben gestürzt hat."—"Es wird jederzeit der höchsten Vollkommenheit

1 These italics are Schiller's, the others are my own.

seines Werks Abbruch thun wenn der tragische Dichter nicht ohne einen Bösewicht auskommen kann, und wenn er gezwungen ist, *die Grösze des Leidens von der Grösze der Bosheit herzuleiten.*—"Zu einem weit höheren Grad steigt das Mitleid, wenn sowohl derjenige, welcher leidet, als derjenige, welcher Leiden verursacht, Gegenstände desselben werden. Dies kann nur dann geschehen, wenn der letztere weder unsern Hass noch unsre Verachtung erregt, sondern *wider seine Neigung* dahin gebracht wird, Urheber des Unglücks zu werden."

Now it is true that in 1792 the youthful poet of freedom was still so vigorously alive in Schiller as to dictate to him the sentence: "eine blinde Unterwürfigkeit unter das Schicksal (ist) immer demütigend und kränkend für freie sich selbst bestimmende Wesen" (ed. Goedeke, vol. 10, p. 26). That, however, even at that time Schiller had a high opinion of what he considered to be the æsthetic advantages of fate in tragedy is plainly shown by the statements leading up to the opinion just quoted, especially by the very suggestive paragraph ("Aber auf der höchsten und letzten Stufe" etc.), which immediately follows.

As a matter of fact an uninterrupted line of development can be traced from 1792 to 1803, and there can be no doubt that even in 1792 the ground of Schiller's artistic consciousness was well prepared for the later reception (in 1795 and following years) of seeds that were soon to bear fruit in some of the products of the *Balladenjahr*, in *Wallenstein*, and in the *Jungfrau*, and which reached their fullest development in *Die Braut von Messina* of 1803.

In the light of these facts, no doubt seems permissible concerning the meaning of the passage in the letter of Nov. 28, 1796. Besides, Prof. Winkler stops his quotation from this letter rather too soon, for the omitted last sentence is, perhaps, even more to the point than what precedes:

"Mich tröstet hier aber einigermassen das Beispiel des Macbeth, wo das *Schicksal* ebenfalls weit weniger Schuld hat als der *Mensch*, dass er zu Grunde geht."[2]

If, in this context, *Schicksal* does not mean something for which man is *not* responsible, something, therefore, that cannot be "a necessary expression of his character," then the passage is devoid of all meaning.

2 The italics are mine.

Quite the same is true of lines 109–110 of the prologue. The art of the poet, in order to bring the hero closer to our hearts (that is, for the sake of better securing the effect of tragic pity), frees him from part of his responsibility and *wälzt die gröszre Hälfte seiner Schuld den unglückseligen Gestirnen zu.* Hence the latter phrase cannot refer to a necessary result of the hero's character. For if the larger part of his guilt were made to depend upon his character, what would become of the contrast in which it is meant to stand to the remaining part, the responsibility for which certainly is to rest on the hero?

Thus we are forced to admit that in these two, and in other similar passages, Schiller is plainly thinking of some agency not within that sphere of human action for which we hold the doer personally accountable. On the other hand, this is not the place for determining—if it really can be definitely determined—whether he has in mind the blind chance of outward circumstances over which we have no control, or the actual 'fate' of either the ancients or moderns,[3] or Goethe's conception of *das Dämonische* in man (to which several passages in *Wallenstein* seem to point), or, finally, a world-soul, in contemplation of which

"Unzufriedenheit mit dem Schicksal hinwegfällt, und sich in die Ahndung oder lieber in ein deutliches Bewusstsein einer teleologischen Verknüpfung der Dinge, einer erhabenen Ordnung, eines gütigen Willens verliert." (*Ueber die tragische Kunst*, *Werke*, ed. Goedeke, vol. 10, p. 27.)

It would lead too far if I were to continue this line of thought more in detail, and I confine myself to two general inferences:

1. The attitude which one assumes with regard to what was Schiller's theory and purpose in this matter, extends its radiating influence in all directions and largely determines one's relation to almost all the other mooted phases of the drama: the characters of Wallenstein and Octavio (from Prof. Winkler's standpoint the former losing in sympathy, the latter gaining, while from the opposite point of view the reverse is the case), the significance of the astrological motif, the question of the genuineness of the *Buttlerbrief*, the Wallenstein-

3 Comp. Flath, *Die Schicksalsidee in der deutschen Tragödie*, p. 18.

Octavio dream,[4] and the economic value of the Max-Thekla action. The latter Prof. Winkler judges almost solely from the ethical viewpoint, without calling equal attention to the purely artistic purpose (the only one stressed by Schiller, I believe) of furnishing relief scenes and of "rounding out a certain circle of human experience." As soon, however, as one judges the introduction of Max and Thekla from the ethical point of view, one's estimate necessarily becomes the direct result of one's general attitude on the above-discussed question of fate. Prof. Winkler assigns to these scenes above all the office of "accentuating the guilt of the hero," although admitting that they also serve to elevate his personality. From my stand point the former cannot possibly be the case and, aside from their purely artistic functions, they can only serve to render the hero more sympathetic to us.

2. It is a point which, I believe, needs no special emphasis that in consequence of the view upheld in the above remarks one need not consider Schiller's *Wallenstein* as a tragedy of fate. At any rate, this is not done by Hettner,[5] who, to my mind, has said some of the best and truest things about the drama, which he admires no less than I do. On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that one should hold the view represented by Prof. Winkler and many of the most prominent German commentators—that is, that there are no fatalistic traits in the drama as it stands—and yet admit the unmistakable plainness of what Schiller means when he discusses with Goethe *das Schicksal* with reference to *Wallenstein*. Such an attitude, while not my own, is by no means inconsistent, and would simply mean that a true poet's instinctive practice carried the day over philosophical theorizing, that the historical basis and older conception of a dramatic fable proved stronger than all later attempts to infuse into it elements originally foreign to it, that in the Schiller of 1797 and 1798 there was enough left of the youthful "poet of freedom" to serve as an effective antidote against all æsthetic preferences for fatalistic theories.

As I have indicated, this is not my personal view; from my standpoint, I feel forced to admit that elements of a romantic fatalism have found their way into the grandest drama of German literature, although certainly not to the extent that Schiller seemed to think when he wrote of *die gröszere Hälfte*.

The *text* of Prof. Winkler's edition is an excellent specimen of the most painstaking work, almost wholly free—as is indeed the entire book—from typographical errors and the many small inaccuracies that so often beset first editions. We have noticed only the following: p. lii, l. 9 from below; p. 317, l. 23; p. 331, l. 6; p. 335, l. 8; p. 390, l. 10 from below.

The *notes* occupy over one hundred and ten closely printed pages and are full and elaborate; but only in very few instances (for example, *Lager*, l. 48, l. 126) do they furnish information that is of no practical value for even the fullest appreciation of the text. A few notes (for example, Prol., l. 3; *Lager*, ll. 7 and 14) seem too elementary for students reading *Wallenstein*. On the other hand, there are a few cases where a note is called for: *daurend* for *dauernd* (Prol., l. 39); *sahe* (Picc., l. 2269); *kläresten* (Picc., l. 2342); *Geschichten* (Tod, l. 326). On the whole, however, the annotation is both scholarly and practical, constantly having in view the actual needs of college students as well as of such teachers as have no access to additional reference literature. There are numerous references to the works of Schiller, Goethe, and others, but since the passages referred to are generally not quoted, they will in practice, if not by necessity, remain inaccessible to most students. It would seem, indeed, that in a text for students, if references are considered of real value, they should be given in full, unless they be much too long.

Lack of space renders it impossible, at present, to take up in detail a number of individual passages that invite discussion. This will be done, however, in one of the next issues.

4 Prof. Winkler seems to treat this point too lightly when, on p. lxvi, he states that "it is not at all remarkable that two generals . . . . should dream of the impending conflict." Surely, it is not, but equally surely is there a great deal more involved than just this bare fact.

5 Not only in his *Literaturgeschichte d. 18. Jh.*, but also in *Die romantische Schule in ihrem inneren Zusammenhang mit Goethe und Schiller*, p. 101 ff.

In conclusion we consider it our duty again to express to the editor our full appreciation of the excellency of his work and to thank him, even though on many of the important questions we belong to "the other side," for having furnished us a thoroughly good working edition of *Wallenstein*.

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DANISH-NORWEDIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

Dansk-Norsk-Engelsk Ordbog of A. Larsen. Tredie Udgave. Gennemset of Johannes Magnussen. København, Gyldendal, 1897. 687 pp.

The last edition of Larsen's *Ordbog*, revised by Johannes Magnussen, does not differ materially from the third edition of 1888, except in the normalization of the spelling. In the earlier editions the traditional spelling had been adhered to, but Magnussen has adopted the orthographic standards recommended by the ministry of culture. In the edition of 1888 Larsen embodied about 50,000 technical terms and Danish and Norwegian words that had not previously appeared in any Danish-Norwegian dictionary. Highly valuable as the work was, it left much to be hoped for in that a mass of Norwegian words that are in common use and are found in the works of Ibsen, Björnson, and Kielland had been omitted. The failure to include specifically Norwegian words occurring in works as widely read as Ibsen's *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, *Arne* and *En Glad Gut*, and Kielland's *Skipper Worse* was a fault that should have been remedied in the revised edition; but while some new material has been added it is to be regretted that so many omissions still occur. We note here the following, from the three works of Björnson mentioned above: *Aan*, as in *Hö-aannen*, the hay-making season; *dætte*, to fail; *ende*, as in *ende op*, straight up; *fyge op*, to flare up; *Fark*, a ne'er do well; *Gnæg; hövelig*, suitable; *kovne*, to smother; *kringmælt*, said of one who speaks fast; *leike*, to play, Danish lege; *Leite*, time; *Læm*, an upper room; *mörklet*, Dan. mörkladen; *Nab*, a peg; *Regle*, a story; *Rid*, a while; *rape*, to crumble, fall: *skamfare*, to damage; *Spurlag*, written *Sporlag* by Jonas Sie, rumor, report; from Ibsen's *Brand* and *Peer Gynt; Bos*, chaff; *Brot; Bö, dagblak, Frænke, forskingre, klarne, kende*, in the sense to grope about; *med*, also; *nem; nöre*, to kindle; *Nemme*, cleverness, talent; *plent*, just, entirely; *Sprike*, crack; *stödt*, always; *Spjeld* and *Yr*, and the word *löien* from *Skipper Worse*. Under *lei* should also have been given the definition 'troublesome,' which is a very common meaning of the word. The Norwegian *kvas* is given together with the Danish *hvas*, but *Gagn* and the derivatives *Ugagn* and *tilgagns* (Danish *Gavn*, *Ugavn*, *tilgavns*) are omitted; so also *gnage*, Danish *gnave*. The dialect word *trive* is given but the words *Bil*, a while, *bjart, kverve, fram, oppi, overlag*, very, *sövne*, and *tröisom*, merry, interesting, all of which are found in Ibsen or Björson are omitted. Under *god* and *ilde* the Norwegian idioms *god til*, able to, and *at blive ilde ved*, to become ill at ease, embarrassed, should have been included. *Paa Lag*, about, as in *Hvorneget paa Lag*, and *paa Stel*, beside one's self, which occur in Björnson, should have been given. Larsen's *Ordbog* is too well known to need any special recommendation. It is an excellent work in spite of the omissions noted, though it is hoped that the next edition will include all words found in the works of the chief Norwegian and Danish writers of the nineteenth century.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Études sur la littéralure française. Par René Doumic. Quatrième Série. Librairie Académique. Perrin et Cie., 1901.

M. Brunetière is certainly one of the strongest minds in contemporary France. The large number of his enemies in the literary world and elsewhere would alone suffice to prove it. His opinions, thanks especially to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, have now been the property of the French people for a good many years. It was impossible that the persistent repetition of the same ideas, presented, as they were by

the great critic in a style which was forcible, even if a trifle heavy, should remain without effect. In recent years, several well-known writers of France have changed entirely their attitude towards important problems discussed in their country (Lemaître, Bourget, Barrès, etc.), and their new points of view are very much the same as the one long represented by M. Brunetière; namely, a kind of opportunism in political and ecclesiastical matters, which may well be unattractive in itself, but is, it must be admitted, deserving of attention as very diplomatic at this moment in the history of France. M. Doumic's book *Études sur la littérature française* (4. série) is a remarkable illustration of this invading spirit of Brunetièrism. The great currents of thought of the Director of the *Revue des deux Mondes* are all there. Nay, even in the language we notice traces of his inspiration. For instance, there is hardly one page of M. Doumic's book where the reader does not run across an *aussi bien* placed at the beginning of a sentence. *Aussi bien* is the most irrelevant conjunction that can be used, but it has been repeated over and over again by M. Brunetière until finally other writers have accepted it, and the public, having become accustomed to it, no longer notices it.

Let us come to the content of M. Doumic's *Études*.

We notice first the author's attitude towards cosmopolitanism in literature. The strongest words do not frighten him.

"La manie de l'exotisme s'est déchaînée, intransigeante, intolérante et sectaire, manie qui a ses illuminés, ses fanatiques et ses convulsionnaires. Voyez lorsqu'ils sont dans l'accès de leur délire, les tolstoïsants, les ibséniens, les nietzschéens; mais surtout n'essayez pas de les calmer . . . . . le cosmopolitisme a été pour beaucoup d'esprits distingués de notre temps l'école de l'anarchie."

Or elsewhere:

"Peut-être y a-t-il lieu de discuter sur ses avantages ou ses inconvénients dans l'ordre intellectuel; ce qui ne fait pas doute, et ce qu'il importe de signaler dans un intérêt de préservation sociale, c'est l'immoralité du cosmopolitisme."

It may be well to remark that M. Doumic can actually refer to the authority of a number of men of high standing in literature and science. It seems as if the death of M. Joseph Texte the energetic and genial representative of the opposite tendency, had been the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm on the side of nationalism. M. Doumic points out with delight (*L'Education dans l'Université*), that the speeches at the "distribution des prix" in the different Lycées of Paris last June, agreed in blaming the exotic tastes of the French of to-day indulged in to the injury of the national spirit. Let us, they say, remain true to the French ideals:

"Tandis que partout ailleurs, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, en Amérique, l'enseignement contribue à développer, à fortifier, à exalter le sentiment anglais, allemand, américain, que l'Université de France ne s'expose pas à mériter quelque jour le reproche d'avoir préparé des générations de dupes."

This feeling in France is most natural. No nation likes to see her people deserting the writers of the country and looking abroad for other ideals. On the other hand, the fact exists, there must be some reason for it. There are no more fabristic people than the French; they have this reputation and deserve it. They would be the last ones, it would seem, to read foreign books if they could find at home the intellectual food they are longing for. The past is a testimony to this assertion; French people up to the present time as a rule had always proved utterly ignorant of the literary movement of other nations. One cannot account for the present tendency, as does M. Doumic in his book, by suggesting that it is a mere question of fashion. Neither the broad diffusion of the evil, nor its duration, can be explained in this way. The simplest, and indeed the only explanation, is that the literature of to-day in France lacks that spirit which alone would make it worthy to be cultivated. The best demonstration that this is actually so will be found precisely with M. Doumic and his friends. It may even be put down as a second characteristic feature of Brunetièrism, that these critics seem to make it a point to attack all recent attempts at novelty in French literature. They, more than anybody else, found fault successively with Naturalism, Psychologism, Symbolism, Dilettantism and all other *-isms* of recent years. When by chance they discover something in the younger generations which is not altogether bad, they are

apt to point out that it has been borrowed or imitated from older French authors—a very characteristic suggestion as we shall see further on. Thus M. Doumic will show us the theatre going back, after the vagaries of our century, by way of the psychological drama to the ideal drama of the seventeenth century (*Un livre sur la Comédie Nouvelle*). The lyrics of the school of Symbolism, when they put aside the naturalistic acceptation of the world and the descriptive and cold poetry of the Parnassians, in order to develop the emotional part of the individual, show a tendency to go back to the Lamartinian lyrism. Even our "mal, fin de siècle" is not very different from the "mal du siècle" of Chateaubriand, Senancour, Musset . . . . Only, of course, the men of the present are always inferior to those of the past (see, for instance, *Le bilan d'un génération*, p. 300–301).

Thus, if there is no good, or at least if the only things which are not entirely bad are spoiled by the new authors in France, why should M. Doumic blame people for being interested in foreign authors? His sometimes violent attacks upon the adherents of cosmopolitanism in literature may seem all the more out of place since he cannot help occasionally admiring them. In a fit of enthusiasm he goes so far as to compare the heroes in Tolstoï's last novel with those of Rabelais (see *Résurrection du Comte Tolstoï*), a judgment at which even a cosmopolitan-minded reader may well stand amazed.

If then he fights against the reading of foreign literature, it must be because he has some special end in view. In fact M. Doumic is inclined to take very much the same position towards the books of strangers as that which we have found him assuming towards recent French authors. In so doing he again agrees with other powerful nationalist critics of France. At the end of the article on Georges Sand, he does for Russian literature exactly—although not so extensively—what Lemaître did a few years ago for Scandinavian literature, in an article of the *Revue des deux Mondes* which has remained famous; namely, that the most celebrated of these authors of Northern Europe, or Eastern Europe, took their ideas originally from French literature, and only developed their theories in their own fashion. Tourgueniew, Pouchkine, Dostoïewski, Lermontow, Tolstoï and others owe the very best part of their works to Georges Sand. So after all what the French public enjoys in foreign authors, is, though they do not know it, French thought. Conclusion: why not stay at home and enjoy these ideas in the original?

But, as we have said above that the contemporary literature in France does not meet the demand, there remains nothing else but to go to the authors of the past. This is just what M. Brunetière and M. Doumic want. They have other cares than literature in their books and articles; they aim at a reorganization of France awarding to a special social ideal, this ideal is the France of the past, more plainly still Catholic France. Our nineteenth century has been a time of political disorder and anarchy; so, too, with its literature. Therefore, what the French public needs is to assimilate by reading the spirit of the authors of the centuries when order prevailed in the country. M. Brunetière's cult for the classical literature of the seventeenth century, and especially for the catholic Bossuet whom he constantly holds up to his fellow-countrymen, is well-known. Classical literature, then, is recommended for the general public. As for students, the men who are to be at the head of France to-morrow, one ought to be more careful still. Even the seventeenth century is not always the most beneficial reading for them. It will be much safer to cultivate, according to a venerable tradition, the Latin and Greek literatures. The object is to avoid open discussion of all the problems of the day, in order to prevent conflicts—especially religious conflicts which have proved so fatal to the welfare of the country. Keeping to this path M. Doumic succeeds in presenting his stupendous claim under the name of *Tolérance*. Of course "Tolerance" actually means to refrain from attacks on the ideas of the Catholic church; free-thinking has not been altogether favorable to the religion prevailing in France, so let us suppress free-thinking. It with a most admirable dexterity and subtlety of dialectics that M. Doumic brings the reader to this conclusion, without of course committing the mistake of expressing himself in so many words.

But this is not all: as if it were the most natural thing in the world M. Doumic expects the University itself to commit this naïve suicide. I quote a few sentences from the suggestive chapter on *L'éducation dans l'Université*. First the question whether neutrality is a good thing. Yes indeed, answers our critic, especially when applied to the enemies of clericalism.

"Cette neutralité, nous ne songeons guère à contester qu'elle soit nécessaire: nous nous plaindrions plutôt que dans un ordre d'enseignement, l'enseignement primaire, elle soit depuis si longtemps continûment, cyniquement et officiellement violée. La neutralité est dans l'état actuel la formule du libéralisme."

This last sentence is true, without doubt. Only M. Doumic is just as little anxious to be faithful to true neutrality in the Université as his adversaries themselves are. In other words, if the latter favor anti-clericalism under the name of neutrality, M. Doumic asks the Université to favor clericalism under the same name of neutrality; he would like very much to go still further in his claims, if he could do it without exposing his views too openly:

"La neutralité scolaire a de solides avantages. Mais on voit aussi quels en sont les inconvénients. Sur toutes les questions essentielles le professeur est obligé de s'abstenir. Sur celles-là même qui intéressent la vie de la conscience, il est tenu de n'avoir pas d'opinion et de laisser croire qu'il ne pense rien. Il n'est ni pour, ni contre. Qu'il ne fasse un pas ni à droite ni à gauche! Qu'il ne bouge pas! Qu'il se surveille! Mais à tant se surveiller, on perd toute hardiesse. Ne pas bouger, c'est être paralysé. On n'agit pas en s'abstenant. Cette impossibilité de se référer à un corps de doctrines et de sortir du vague, c'est le grand obstacle auquel se heurte l'Université."

After all he grants that neutrality is hardly to be dispensed with. But while advocating it, he cannot help doing his best to have it actually practised in such a way as to favor his own ideas. Here I must be allowed a new quotation:

"Pour qu'un professeur donne un enseignement fort efficace, il faut qu'il se sente libre, maître de tout dire, de pousser ses idées jusqu' au bout, de livrer le fond de sa pensée. Cette liberté, il peut l'avoir avec les textes antiques, il ne l'a pas avec les textes français eux-mêmes. C'est ce qui a été excellemment mis en lumière dans ce passage de la déposition de M. Brunetière:" "Les textes qui servent de base à l'enseignement classique étant en général antérieurs au christianisme ont ce grand avantage de n'être pas *confessionnels* . . . Il est très difficile à un professeur impartial, mais qui, pourtant a ses idées, ses convictions à lui, d'expliquer un peu à fond les *Lettres provinciales*. Il lui est encore très difficile de parler avec liberté de *l'Histoire des Variations*, très difficile également d'expliquer des textes de Voltaire, de Diderot, ou même la *Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard*. Vous mettez ce professeur dans une situation gênante; il est exposé à chaque instant à faire appel aux passions qui commencent à se faire jour chez les élèves, ou à donner un enseignement qui blessera les familles."

Who will not see through that? Either the professor in discussing ancient authors will say all that he thinks, and then the students will be very stupid indeed if they cannot apply it to the questions of the present time; or the professors will not say all they think, which means in other words, that they will give up free discussion. Of course there are different ways of explaining opinions; but why should not we go on the supposition that the professors will always be tactful? Then the authors used in class, whether ancient or modern, will not have the slightest influence upon the teaching. If, on the other hand, the professors do not speak tactfully, then reform them, but not the University.

But even suppose we could take the proposition seriously, what is going to be the practical value of a University in which all discussions of the problems of the day are carefully avoided? What is to become of the books published on social or religious matters? Are the students not to read them? Or are the authors to give up writing in order to make it easier for the representatives of clericalism?

Thus if

"Renoncer à la tradition telle qu'elle s'est d'elle-même établie, ce serait fausser l'esprit de l'Université, y faire souffler tous les vents de la dispute, et, en ouvrant les portes du lycée aux bruits de la mêlée contemporaine y ruiner jusqu'à la possibilité d'une éducation."

Anarchy may probably seem preferable to some generously-minded people, who prefer progress with war, to a stand-still and peace. On the other hand, we repeat what we said at

the beginning of our article: It may well be that the remedy proposed by M. Brunetière and his followers, is the only one to save the situation for the present. It is not our affair to decide as to that. We have only tried to present their stand-point in its true light.

We have said nothing of the first set of articles in M. Doumic's book, those on Voltaire, Napoleon, the love stories of Balzac and Michelet. They are entertaining accounts of interesting researches in history and politics, but have little to do with literature as such.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

GRILLPARZER AND ROSTAND.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—During the winter's work I have come across several points of contact between Grillparzer and Rostand. Permit me to call attention to two passages in *Cyrano de Bergerac* where the French poet is certainly indebted to the German. In *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, Leander pleading Hero for a kiss says:

> Und dann—sie legen Lipp' an Lippe
> Ich sah es wohl—und flüstern so sich zu,
> Was zu geheim für die geschwätz'ge Luft.
> Mein Mund sei Mund, der deine sei dein Ohr!
> Leih mir dein Ohr für meine stumme Sprache!
> Cotta 7, 59: Act iii.

In *Cyrano de Bergerac*, Cyrano pleading Roxane likewise for a kiss, for Christian, says:

> Un baiser, mais à tout prendre, qu'est-ce?
> Un serment fait d'un peu plus près, une promesse
> Plus précise, un aveu qui veut se confirmer,
> . . . . . .
> C'est un secret qui prend la bouche pour oreille.
> Act iii, p. 125.

And as Hero says half-offended, half-pleased:

> Das soll nicht sein!

So Roxane

> Taisez-vous!

Grillparzer in his poem to Katharina Froehlich, *Allgegenwart*, says of her eyes:

> Wo ich bin, fern und nah,
> Stehen zwei Augen da,
> Dunkelhell,
> Blitzesschnell,
> Schimmernd wie Felsenquell,
> Schattenumkränzt.
> Wer in die Sonne sieht,
> Weiss es, wie mir geschieht:
> Schliesst er das Auge sein,
> Schwarz und klein,
> Sieht er zwei Pünktelein
> Uebrall vor sich.
> So auch mir immerdar
> Zeigt sich dies Augenpaar,
> Wachend in Busch und Feld,
> Nachts, wenn mich Schlaf befällt;
> Nichts in der ganzen Welt
> Hüllt mir es ein.
> Cotta i, 167.

Cyrano uses the same image for Roxane's hair:

> Je sais que l'an dernier, un jour, le douze mai,
> Pour sortir le matin tu changeas de coiffure!
> J'ai tellement pris pour clarté ta chevelure
> Que comme, lorsqu'on a trop fixé le soleil,
> On voit sur toute chose ensuite un rond vermeil,
> Sur tout, quand j'ai quitté les feux dont tu m'inondes,
> Mon regard ébloui pose des tâches blondes!
> iii, p. 121.

Certainly these two parallel passages occurring in the same scene show Rostand's acquaintance with and appreciation of Grillparzer.

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REPUTE OF THE HESSIANS IN AMERICA.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Der Unterzeichnete, mit einer kleinen Studie über den Leumund seiner hessischen Landsleute beschäftigt, ersucht die verehrlichen Leser dieser Zeitschrift um den brieflichen Nachweis sprichwörtlicher Redensarten und vulgärer oder dialektischer Ausdrücke, die sich auf die "Hessians" im allgemeinen oder die hessischen Hilfstruppen Englands im Unabhängigkeitskriege im besondern beziehen. Er ist auf Derbheiten gefasst und wird auch das unfreundlichste dankbar, mit Interesse und guter Laune aufnehmen.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, November, 1901.

BEN JONSON'S INDEBTEDNESS TO THE GREEK CHARACTER-SKETCH.

THE purpose of this article is to point out the indebtedness of Ben Jonson to the post-classical character-sketch.

This literary form has its origin in the ἠθικοὶ Χαραχτῆρες, or *Ethical Characters*, of Theophrastus.[1] These characters in the form in which they have come down to us consist of thirty-seven short sketches. In all of them the method of treatment is precisely the same and is simplicity itself. It consists in defining a quality and then proceeding to enumerate the actions to be expected, under given conditions, from a man embodying that quality.

Just how much Jonson owed directly to Theophrastus it is, of course, impossible to say. The most that can be affirmed positively is that he was familiar with the work of Theophrastus. This is proved by a comparison of passages like the following. The first of these is an entry in the diary of Sir Politick Would-be:[2]

"A rat had gnawn my spur-leathers, notwithstanding I put on new and did go forth; but first I threw three beans over the threshold."

Likewise Theophrastus says of the *Superstitious Man:*

"And if a weasel run across the road, he will not proceed till someone goes ahead of him; or until he has thrown three stones across the road."

Again in the first scene of the third act of the same play, Mosca speaks thus of flatterers:

> "I mean not those that have your bare town art,
> . . . . . nor those
> With their court dog-tricks, that can fawn and fleer
> Make their revenue out of legs and faces
> Echo my lord, and lick away a moth."

This is evidently taken from the character of a flatterer in which Theophrastus says:

"And saying such things, he will pluck from the mantle (of his patron) a bit of wool; and if any speck of chaff has been blown by the wind upon his hair, he will pluck it off."

It is not mainly by direct adaptations, however, that Jonson shows most clearly the influence of Theophrastus. He was much too original a worker to content himself with mere borrowing. Hence we find him amusing himself by writing character sketches of his own, quite in the Theophrastic manner. To the list of *dramatis personæ* of two of his plays, *Every Man out of his Humour* and *The New Inn*, he affixed short "characters of the persons," which, because each of the persons is the embodiment of some "humour," are, except for their brevity, exactly like those of Theophrastus.

Yet it was neither in his borrowings nor even in his imitations of Theophrastus that Jonson shows most clearly his indebtedness to the Greek character-sketch. This appears most evident in the use he made of a certain dramatic character-sketch written by Libanius, the Greek sophist of Antioch.[3] This character-sketch appears in the fourth volume of Reiske's edition of the works of Libanius under the title "A rhetorical declamation" on the subject "A morose man, who has married a talkative wife, denounces himself." Jonson's literary discernment is no where better shown than in his selection of this particular character-sketch for dramatic treatment. For, in distinction from those of Theophrastus, it is thoroughly dramatic in the same sense and to the same degree that Browning's *Soliloquy in a Spanish Cloister* is dramatic. Both are dramatic monologues.

To show how closely Jonson followed his Greek original, I have placed side by side the

1 Born in Lesbos between 373 and 368 B. C., he was a pupil of Aristotle and afterwards became his successor as head of the Peripatetic School.

2 *Volpone*, Act. iv, sc. 1.

3 Libanius died near the end of the fourth century A. D. Classical and post-classical literature contain many examples of the writing of character-sketches—enough certainly to show that Theophrastus was not alone in his interest in it, that indeed the interest in character portrayal in and for itself is perennial and as universal as literature itself. Of these, the following are a few out of many that might be instanced: *Iliad*, Book xiii. lines 278 and following; Horace, Book i, *Satire* ix; Juvenal, *Satires* viii and x; Martial, Book iii, *Epigram on Cotilus; Auctor ad Herennium*, Book iv; Rutilius Rufus, *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*, Book ii; Synesius, *Epistle* civ.

corresponding passages from the Greek character sketch and from the two plays, *The Silent Woman* and *Volpone*, in which Jonson made use of it.[4]

In the description of Morose given in the dialogue between Clerimont and Truewit in the first scene of the first act of *The Silent Woman*, Jonson develops certain suggestions of Libanius as will be shown by a comparison of the following passages.

Truewit,

"They say he has been upon divers treaties with the fish-wives and orange-women, and articles propounded between them: marry the chimney-sweepers will not be drawn in."

Clerimont adds,

"No, nor the broom-men: they stand out stiffly. He cannot endure a costard monger, he swoons if he hears one."

Truewit continues,

"Methinks a smith would be ominous."

Clerimont,

"Or any hammer man. A brazier is not suffered to dwell in the parish, nor an armourer."

All this is clearly an adaptation of the following lines from Libanius:

"Moreover, I flee precipitately from the anvils and the hammers and the uproar of the work-shops, from the shops of the silversmiths, from the forge of the worker in iron—many others. But I welcome those crafts which are carried on in silence. And, verily, I have even seen painters who sang while they worked—so delightful is it to citizens to chatter and they cannot restrain themselves."[5]

Clerimont goes on:

"He turned away a man last week for having a pair of new shoes that creaked. And this fellow waits on him now in tennis-court socks, or slippers soled with wool."

Libanius makes *Δύσκολος* say:

"As long as I lived alone, I enjoyed silence enough, having trained my household servants never to do anything that would annoy me."[6]

Clerimont has heard that Morose vows to marry a woman who lodges in the next street

"who is exceedingly soft-spoken; thrifty of her speech; that spends but six words a day."

This is taken from the recommendation given to *Δύσκολος*

"Be of good courage, he said, she has trained herself in nothing so much as this, for sooner would you accuse stones of loquacity than this girl: so that I fear, he said, lest the charge may be made against her that she is more silent than is necessary."[7]

The suggestion for the first scene of the second act, in which Morose appears and asks his servant many questions, each of which is answered only by signs, was doubtless also the single line from Libanius in which *Δύσκολος* is made to say:

"Having trained my household servants never to do anything that would annoy me."[8]

It is to be observed that Epicœne begins to reveal her true character much sooner than does the silent woman in Libanius, for she remonstrates with Morose about sending away the parson,[9] whereas her prototype does not begin to talk till after the marriage is performed.[10]

When the wedding guests come in, headed by Daw with the Collegiate Ladies, Morose utters an exclamation of horror.

"O the sea breaks in upon me.[11] Another flood, an inundation! I shall be overwhelmed with noise."

This is evidently an echo of Libanius.

"Just as the sea overwhelms a ship, so the woman's tongue overwhelms me."[12]

The third act ends in a frightful uproar of drums, trumpets and the shouts of the guests, in the midst of which Morose runs out with a howl of disgust. This also seems to have been suggested by Libanius in the following passage, in which *Δύσκολος* describes his own wedding.

"For there was no moderation. There was a great clatter, violent laughter, unseemly dancing, a senseless wedding song . . . so that I was tempted to tear off my garland and run from the wedding."[13]

4 Since the writings of Libanius have never been translated, even into Latin, I am obliged to present my own, doubtless imperfect, translation.

5 Page 136, l. 12–18. 6 Page 136, l. 18–20.

7 Page 137, l. 6–9. 8 Page 136, l. 19. 9 Act iii, sc. 2.

10 But this, in comparison with the coming conflict, was unbroken peace. For before midnight, a voice was heard complaining of the bed. Later she asked me If I was asleep . . . a third time she asked something, and a fourth. Page 137, l. 21–26.

11 Act iii, sc. 2. 12 Page 142, l. 22–23.

13 Page 137, l. 12–18.

Truewit, commenting upon the tumult, says:

"The spitting, the coughing, the laughter, the neezing, . . the dancing, noise of the music, . . . makes him think he has married a fury."

Here he uses the same expression as *Δύσκολος*, who speaks of his wife as *ταύτην τὴν ἔριννυν*."[14]

In the second scene of the fourth act, Morose, accompanied by Dauphine, enters, cursing the barber who had been the promoter of the marriage. In this passage Jonson seems to have had in mind the following lines:

"I await a cessation of the chattering, lamenting and cursing marriage, and him who first mentioned the woman to me."[15]

What follows is also from Libanius. Epicœne approaches Morose, saying:

"You are not well, sir; you look very ill: something has distempered you."

Such questions are among the grievances of *Δύσκολος* also. He says:

"But if she notices the groan, she assails me, asking, 'What goes amiss with you within?'"[16]

Truewit adds fuel to the flame of Morose's anger at what he regards as a senseless question, by affirming that these are "but notes of female kindness; certain tokens that she has a voice." This is almost an exact rendering of the consolation which *Δύσκολος* says he received under like circumstances.

"Verily, he said, this is a sign of love and a certain indication, at the same time, that she has a voice."[17]

Truewit considerately offers to entreat Epicœne to hold her peace, but Morose interposes with the despairing cry:

"O no, labor not to stop her. She is like a conduit pipe, that will gush out with more force when she opens again."

The comparison is taken from the speech of *Δύσκολος* where he says:

"For just as those inspectors of watercourses, when they take away the dike, make the flood worse . . ."[18]

Finally they decide that Morose is mad and Epicœne says compassionately,

"Sure he would do well enough if he could sleep."

To this Morose retorts,

"No I should do well enough if you could sleep. Have I no friend that will make her drunk, or give her a little laudanum or opium?"

The corresponding passage is,

"My wife is not drunk. Yet is this a terrible thing? For if she were drunk, she would sleep, and if she slept, she would perhaps be silent."[19]

Truewit continues the torture by replying,

"Why she talks ten times worse in her sleep."

Morose,

"How!"

Clerimont,

"Do you not know that, sir? Never ceases all night."

This, too, is from Libanius,

"But when she has exhausted every topic by the rush of her speech—the affairs of our own household, those of our neighbors and still nothing new appears, she tells me her dreams, inventing them, by the gods, as it seems to me, for she never sleeps, but often spends the night in talking."[20]

Both *Δύσκολος* and Morose canvass the possibilities of getting a divorce. The former rejects the project, preferring to die by a decree of the senate. Because into the senate chamber, while such a matter was under consideration, a woman might not enter, whereas she would have access to a court of justice granting a divorce.[21] Morose, on the contrary, welcomes the suggestion of an interview with a lawyer. It is interesting to observe that the caution of *Δύσκολος* is fully vindicated by the experience of Morose, for in the midst of his consultation with the pretended lawyer and parson, Epicœne enters, rampant. Yet before this, even in his attempt to see a lawyer, Morose has difficulty, as shown by his reply to Dauphine's solicitous inquiry whether he has yet seen a lawyer.

14 P. 137, l. 14–15.

15 P. 140, l. 14–16.

16 P. 140, l, 16–18.

17 P. 138, l. 4–5.

18 P. 146, l. 23–24.

19 P. 143, l. 8–10.

20 P. 141, l. 11–16.

21 For it is illegal for her to be present with those discussing a matter of life and death in the council. But if this were a divorce trial, and if it were necessary to explain to the judges in what way I am wronged, the court would be common to her and to me. Page 147, l. 14–18.

"O no!" he says, "there is such a noise in the court that they have frighted me home with more violence than I went. Such speaking and counter-speaking with their several voices of citations, appellations, allegations, certificates, attachments, interrogatories, references, convictions and afflictions indeed among the doctors and proctors, that the noise here is silence to 't, a kind of calm midnight."[22]

The speech is adapted from the following:

"I do not frequent the Assembly much, not because I am indifferent to matters affecting the common weal, but because of the shouts of the rhetoricians who cannot be silent. Nor am I accustomed to frequent the Agora, on account of those many names of legal processes, as φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγή, διαδικασία, γραφή, παραγραφή, which they who have no business before the courts love to name. So-and-so has accused so-and-so of such and such things. What is this to you, who are neither prosecutor nor defendant."[23]

When Truewit brings in the pretended lawyer and parson, Morose refuses to salute them, giving as his reasons the following:

"Salute them! I had rather do anything than wear out time so unfruitfully, sir. I wonder how these common forms as *God save you*, and *You are welcome* are come to be a habit in our lives; or *I am glad to see you!* When I cannot see what the profit can be of these words, so long as it is no whit better with him whose affairs are sad and grievous, that he hears this salutation.[24]

This is a free rendering of the following lines:

"Verily I think we ought to drive out from the Agora this form of salutation which consists of greeting one with the word, Hail! a custom which has come into our life I know not whence. For I, by the gods, do not see the profit of the expression, since I have not heard that he whose circumstances were such as to call for grief was benefited by the salutation."[25]

A little farther on, Morose interrupts the wrangling of the pseudo-parson and lawyer to give some account of his former way of life.

"Nay good gentlemen," he says, "do not throw me into circumstances. Let your comforts arrive quickly at me, those that are. Be swift in affording me my peace, if so I shall hope any. I love not your court tumults. And that it be not strange to you, I will tell you: my father, in my education was wont to advise me that I should always collect and retain my mind, not suffering it to flow loosely; that I should look to what things were necessary to the carriage of my life, and what not; embracing the one and eschewing the other: in short that I should endear myself to rest and avoid turmoil; which now is grown to another nature to me. So that I come not to your public pleadings, or your places of noise; not that I neglect those things that make for the dignity of the commonwealth, but for the mere avoiding of clamors and impertinences of orators that know not how to be silent."[26]

Δύσκολος says:

"My father, O Council, ever exhorted me to collect (συνάγειν) my mind and to keep it concentrated (συνέχειν) and not to allow it to wander (διαχεῖσθαι), to discern what things are essential in life and what not, and to hold fast to the one and to keep away from the other, to honor peace, to fly from tumults. These things, O Council, I have continued to do, not going often to the meetings of the Assembly, and this not through indifference to the commonweal, but because of the voices of the rhetoricians, who cannot be silent."[27]

Jonson seems to have been much interested in this character-sketch, for we find him using it again in another of his comedies—*Volpone*. In the second scene of the third act, Volpone, feigning illness, is visited by the loquacious Lady Politick Would-be. On seeing her enter, Volpone's first ejaculation is borrowed from Libanius:

Volpone's words are,

"The storm comes toward me."

The Greek is,

"But I tremble, seeing another flood (ῥεῦμα) coming toward me."[28]

Lady Politick has the habit of telling her dreams, a habit which Morose detests. When she starts to relate one of her dreams, Morose interrupts her with the words

> "O, if you do love me
> No more: I sweat and suffer at the mention
> Of any dream."

The wife of Δύσκολος tried his patience in the same way, for we read:

"But when she has exhausted every topic by the rush of her speech . . . and nothing yet appears, she tells me her dreams, inventing them . . . as it seems to me, for she never sleeps."[29]

22 Act iv, sc. 2.

23 P. 135, l. 26–p. 136, l. 7. The Greek words have no exact equivalents in English.

24 Act v, sc. 1.

25 P. 136, l. 7–12.

26 Act v, sc. 1.

27 P. 135, l. 21–p. 136, l. 2.

28 P. 141, l. 11–15.

29 P. 141, l. 11–15.

and again,

"I could not endure a talking dream."[30]

Interesting as an evidence of Jonson's learning, is his putting into the mouth of Volpone a reference to a saying of Archilochus, of which Jonson undoubtedly was reminded by a passage in Libanius.

Volpone says:

"Ah me I have ta'en a grasshopper by the wing."

The line which Jonson had in mind from Archilochus is,

τέττιγα πτεροῦ εἵληφας

The passage by which Jonson was reminded of this is as follows:

"It is fitting, I said to her, that you imitate the customs of the cicadas (τεττίγων) of whom only the male sings. Even he is annoying because he sings too much, but if the female sang too, you could not hear. But she, cutting in and taking the cue, said, 'These are the best cicadas, the friends of the muses, to whom talking is sweeter than to eat.'"[31]

Volpone, weary of her chatter, tries to silence her by remarking

"The poet . . . . . .
As old in time as Plato, and as knowing,
Says that your highest female grace is silence."

This, too, is from Libanius:

"If you will not listen to me, I said, have regard to the wisest poet when he says:"

O woman, silence adorns women.[32]

Lady Politick, unabashed, takes the cue:

"Which of your poets? Plutarch, or Tasso, or Dante? Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine? Cieco di Hadria, I have read them all."

So of the wife of Δύσκολος it is said,

"But she said at once 'And who is this poet, and who was his father, and of what district was he, and when did he begin to write and how did he die?'"[33]

And again,

"But the mention of the chorus leaders causes her to speak of tragedies. Thereupon she pours forth a torrent of words relative to those who invented tragedy, mentioning also those who brought them out and in what manner the literary form grew and what each man contributed."[34]

30 P. 137, l. 5. 31 P. 146, l. 9–14.

32 P. 145, l. 31. Libanius quoted the line from the *Ajax* of Sophocles, line 293.

33 P. 146, l. 5–6. 34 P. 141, l. 1–6.

"Alas," exclaims Volpone, "my mind's perturbed."

So Δύσκολος,

"I am not master of my mind. I suffer from dizziness, I suffer from vertigo."[35]

When Mosca enters, Volpone appeals to him for help,

"Oh,
Rid me of this torture, quickly, there,
My madam with the everlasting voice
. . . . . .
. . . . . such a hail of words
She has let fall."

The appeal of Δύσκολος to the senate is similar,

"Defend me for the sake of the gods, relieve me from the everlasting voice (φωνῆς ἀπαύστου) . . .[36] often struck as with hail (χαλάζῃ) I faint away.[37]

While Jonson's use of the Greek character-sketch is interesting as an instance of his indebtedness to the classics, its chief significance lies in the evidence thus afforded of the close relation that might exist between the drama and the character-sketch. This kinship Jonson was the first to recognize.[38] That he recognized it so readily was due in part to the analytic and expository quality of his mind, which led him to be interested more in the type than in the individual, and more in the exhibition than in the development of character. He saw that in spite of their apparently wide dissimilarity, the real difference between these two literary forms was mainly one of method in the character presentation. The drama presents character in action. The character-sketch portrays character in what may be called, with due apology, its statical relations. The former, by means of the counterplay of action upon action, makes the characters reveal themselves. The latter by setting forth the qualities or peculiarities which differentiate a type, shows characters fixed, statuesque, sepa-

35 P. 142, l. 23–24. 36 P. 141, l. 23. 37 P. 143, l. 18–20.

38 La Bruyère in the preface to his *Caractères, ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle* (1688), speaking of Theophrastus says;

"Les savans, fesant attention à la diversité des mœurs qui y font traités, et à la manière naïve dont tous les caractères y sont exprimés; et la comparant d'ailleurs avec celle du poëte Ménandre, disciple de Theophraste, et qui servit ensuite de modèle a Terence, qu'on a dans nos jours si heureusement imité, ne peuvent s'empecher de reconnaître dans ce petit ouvrage la première source de tout le comique." Page 5, edition of 1750.

rate from all that could lend them human interest. As a result of such limitations, the character-sketch was too often but a featureless and pale picture. It resembled the imaginary portraits that sprinkle the pages of such books as Lavater's,[39] in which every feature, eyes, ears, lips, brow, mouth are made to bear the same stamp.

Yet with all its manifest inferiority to the drama as a vital form of character presentation, the English character-sketch continued exerting more and more influence upon the drama as time went on. After Jonson's death the drama rapidly declined, while with equal rapidity the character-sketch became the most prolific literary form of the seventeenth century.[40] Moreover, its popularity continued even into the following century. During all this time its influence upon the drama is observable. Jonson's experiment in adapting the Greek character-sketch to dramatic treatment was repeated by later dramatists, who used the English character-sketch in the same way. Thus Goldsmith, to mention but a single instance, made one of Doctor Jonson's character-sketches[41] the basis of the character of *Croaker* in his *Good-Natured Man* (acted 1768).[42]

It is impossible, within the limits of this article, to speak further concerning the significance of the influence exerted upon Ben Jonson by the Greek character-sketch. If it has been pointed out with sufficient clearness that such an influence actually was exerted, the purpose of the writer has been attained.

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39 Johann Caspar Lavater, founder of the pseudo-science of Physiognomy, and author of the *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775–78). The popularity in the eighteenth century of such books as this of Lavater was probably due, at least in part, to the interest in types of character aroused in the preceding century by such phrenological character-books as *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Different Wits of Men* by Walter Charleton, 1669.

40 The *Ethical Characters* of Theophrastus, popularized by Casaubon's Latin translation in 1592, furnished a model of which English writers were not slow to avail themselves. I find titles of over one hundred and fifty character-books published within the century.

41 This was *Suspirius, the human Screech-owl*, a character-sketch which appeared in the *Rambler* for October 9th, 1750.

42 In the Life of Jonson, chapter xvii, Boswell says that the Doctor pronounced *The Good-Natured Man*

"to be the best comedy that had appeared since the *Provoked Husband*, and declared that there had not been of late any such character exhibited on the stage as that of Croaker. I observed, Boswell adds, it was the *Suspirius* of his *Rambler*. He said Goldsmith had owned he had borrowed it from thence."

JOSEPH TEXTE.[1]

PROBABLY from no other young author was France expecting so much as from J. Texte. Within the last few years of his life he had become known as the leading authority in France on outside literary relations. It is true, M. Texte was the pupil of M. Brunetière, but far excelled his master, by concentrating all his forces upon one study, comparative literature.

Joseph Texte was born in Paris in 1865, and belonged to one of the best families; his father was professor of history in the Collège Rollin and author of a *Histoire Moderne;* he died early, leaving young Texte and his mother alone, a sister having died shortly before. The young boy studied at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, taking the Prix d'Honneur de rhétorique, and in 1883 was admitted to the École Normale. He was of a most amiable and kind disposition, and soon won the respect of his teachers and his associates. He became especially known through his exceptionally strong moral character, a trait noticeable in all his writings through that earnestness of purpose, high moral tone and seriousness, not always characteristic of the modern French writers. Texte was an incessant worker and soon undermined his health. His judgments were always accurate and conservative, with possibly one exception; in his study of Elizabeth Browning he ventures to proclaim Aurora Leigh the great poem of the century; this is one of the few subjects in which he lost himself completely, forgetting his role of critic. In 1886, having failed *à l'agrégation des lettres*, he was sent to the Lycée de Rochefort-sur-Mer. Discouraged and in dispair he found great consolation in his teachers, MM. Perrot

1 The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtednes to Mme. J. Texte and M. René Durand, maitre de conférence á l'École Normale Supérieure, for information otherwise unobtainable.

and Brunetière, especially the latter, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness by a most fitting tribute in his *J. J. Rousseau*. Up to his death he considered M. Brunetière his most helpful and suggestive intellectual adviser. At the end of 1886 he was sent to Oxford, and there began work on a subject—*Les Puritains*—the conflict of the Puritan spirit and French and Italian influences, the variations of the Protestant idea in its attitude toward art. This he abandoned later on. On his return to France he was put in charge of English at the École Normale and École du Génie Maritime; from 1889–91 he taught rhetoric at Poitiers.

M. Texte first became known to the public by a series of articles in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, made possible by his friend M. Brunetière. Shortly after this he received an appointment to teach French literature at the University of Lyons. During these next years, 1890–92, he was toiling incessantly on the work which was to make him famous. In 1890 he wrote:

"Je crois à l'avenir de la littérature comparée et de la littérature européenne. Nous sommes las des autobiographies et monographies. Le cosmopolitisme est devenu l'un des traits de tout esprit puissant à la fin du XIX s."

Texte considered cosmopolitanism to be the liberation of the traditional cult of the French spirit for antiquity, the protest in the name of modern literatures against Classical influences. The unity of letters and the fraternity of peoples were his dream and his faith. One law underlies this great movement of ideas—*rester soi-même et pourtant s'unir aux autres*—is the problem for each man and each nation. Every literature passes through a period of concentration and expansion, and this accounts for all changes in literature. Upon this principle his writings are based, all dealing with one subject—the influences of literatures upon each other and their interrelations.

In his first work, *J. J. Rousseau*, etc., he endeavors to place himself as historian, seeking and explaining the birth and manners of the development of literary ideas through countries. In his second book, *Études de Litt. Europ.*, he endeavors to give examples of literary cosmopolitanism at work as a vital force, illustrating how, according to his ideas, this force ought to be observed, studied and treated.

In it he proves that cosmopolitanism, or internationalism, is a logical outgrowth of comparative criticism and that it will create a European literature in the future; that is, an international literary ideal. France has been late in coming to this study because: 1. it held too tenaciously to the antique; 2. of her scant knowledge of foreign languages; 3. of her organic inaptitude.

The literary historian can no longer neglect the synthetic point of view: the study of one literature by and in itself belongs to the past. This idea is undoubtedly taken from M. Brunetière, who as early as 1890 maintained that the particular history of literatures must be subordinated to the general history of literature of Europe.

M. Texte, in his comprehensive studies of modern literatures, has excelled his master, M. Brunetière, for he is the first man in France to apply the method, principles and theories advanced by M. Brunetière in his *L'Histoire des genres litt.*, 1890, in a practical way to literatures outside of the French, and to the interrelations and interinfluences of modern literatures. These studies have been successful in the main, with two possible exceptions, two studies that are hardly in harmony with the work as a whole—*Keats et le néohellénisme dans la poésie anglaise* and *Elizabeth Browning et l' idéalisme contemp.* It must be remembered, however, that this work was still experimental, not definitive.

His three articles in Petit de Julleville's *Hist. de la Litt. Fran.* (cf Bibliog.) are beyond doubt his best work and show better than any other his complete, comprehensive and systematic control of the method and spirit of comparative literature. These articles, published in book form and made accessible to students of literature in general, would be of inestimable value.

In 1896 the University of Lyons founded a chair of comparative literature for him. In 1897–98 he had charge of French literature in the École Normale. The Sorbonne called him to deliver a course of lectures on comparative literature, and was about to call him permanently to Paris when the fatal illness

overtook him. He struggled for more than a year, and in 1899, after having planned and practically gathered all his material for a book on Voltaire, he had to undergo a most dangerous operation. In September, 1900, he returned to his old home in Berikon en Argovie, where he regained his strength only to fall seriously ill upon his return to Lyons, and after untold suffering he died there in July, 1900.

Joseph Texte to-day, through his work thus far published, stands out as the first great scholar of France in the field of comparative literature. For him the first chair of comparative literature was founded at the University of Lyons, and just before his death a similar chair was to be created at the Sorbonne, and, as there has been no worthy successor of Joseph Texte thus far, this has not yet been realized.

As a critic M. Texte belonged to no school of criticism; in all his articles of review there is found no trace of dogmatism, no sign of hostility. His reviews in a few words give the merit and contents of the works, the remainder is devoted to a discussion of works that have not been consulted, and of lines not touched upon. As far as is known to the writer he was never involved in but one discussion or controversy; this was an answer to a most unfair and rather ridiculous review of his *J. J. Rousseau* by M. Souriau (cf. Bibliog.) The objections offered by Souriau were that M. Texte knew England better than France; that he accepted second-hand information; that he had too many preferences and even prejudices; too little sympathy for the eighteenth century; that he did not like the Revolution because he did not know it through documents or serious study; that he hardly knew the books he cited; that he dwelt too long on such an obscure writer as Muralt.—"It is better," he said, "to get a little new information on a great writer than to reveal a minor writer;" that every writer has a country and ought to stick to it, and that M. Texte would be better off in a chair of English than French literature. These criticisms M. Texte took up in a reply—*A propos de J. J. Rousseau;* later on he found occasion to square the account in a review of M. Souriau's work *La Préface de Cromwell.*

Unquestionably the best and fairest review of *J. J. Rousseau* is by L. P. Betz (cf. Bibliog.), who is one of the greatest living authorities on comparative literature in Europe, and hence was able to appreciate the significance and bearing of M. Texte's book. A very appreciative and scholarly article appeared in Mod. Lang. Notes by Mr. Wells in 1896. For the spirit and essence, method and breadth of Joseph Texte's work no better example can be found than his articles in *Petit de Julleville.*

As a teacher he was most helpful and inspiring. The principle he held before his students was: *s'intéresser au sujet plus qu'au parti qu' on en peut tirer.* A most glowing tribute from one of his students is to be found printed in the *Notice Nécrol.* (cf. Bibl.), pp. 127–128.

As an educator he held no mean position, having written several important articles on modern education. M. Texte was in favor of a modern education, but was not so radical as M. Jules Lemaître, following more the ideas of M. Brunetière. He believed that Latin was essential to an education, with English and German; that is, Classical and European. The writer and the public must have a better knowledge of national and European works than of those of antiquity. The hereditary qualities of a race must be preserved; France must maintain a contact between the thought of France and that of the world, for this is an age of free exchange of ideas among nations. The social or universal elements characteristic of French literature must be preserved, and this can only be done by making the future ideal, in substance, that of the Classical ideal, for as M. Brunetière has so well said, the most original part of Classical works is the impossibility of separating from them that which is properly and purely French, from that element in them which is universal. Thus M. Joseph Texte was what may be called a progressive-conservative.

France in the last decade has lost two most promising young men in Émile Hennequin and Joseph Texte, both in their thirties, and both already with an international reputation based on conscientious, serious and broad study.

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g. Le théâtre de Schiller et de Goethe en France au xviii. S.

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PARADISE LOST vii. 364-366.

This passage,

> Hither, as to their fountains, other stars
> Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
> And hence the morning planet gilds her horns,

has received but scant illustration at the hands of the commentators. Newton remarks that the sun is called *fons luminis* by Lucretius (5.281), with which Munro (on the passage) compares v. 293, while on 'golden urns' Stillingfleet quotes Aristophanes, *Clouds* 271, where, however, the expression is used literally. The general thought, apart from the imagery, is better illustrated by Manilius, *Astron.* 2. 8-11, where the poet is referring to Homer as the source of later poetry:

> Cujus de gurgite vivo
> Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
> Amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos,
> Unius fecunda bonis.

Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 9. 25-6.

Yet, after all, it must be admitted that these lines correspond better with the figurative sense in which the first two of the Miltonic lines are sometimes employed, and that they have no application to the third. The third, in fact, seems of a different order from the other two. 'In their golden urns draw light' is mythological in conception, while the following line, though still poetical, seems more precise. The 'her,' substituted in the second edition for 'his,' can only refer to Venus. 'Horns,' in this metaphorical sense, is applied by ancient writers only to the moon: thus κεραία, Aratus 732, 777, 779, 784, 787, 789, 793, 799; Cic. *Fragm.* ap. Nonius, p. 122.2; Varro in Plin. 8. 79; Avienus 121; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.433; *Æn.* 3.645; Ovid, *Met.* 1.11; 2.117, 344, 453; 3.682; 7.179; 10.296, 479; cf. 9.689, 784; 12.264. Shakespeare limits its application in the same way: *M. N. D.* 244, 246; *Cor.* 4. 6. 44; *Ant.* 4. 12. 45. Even Milton himself in other passages restricts himself to the ancient use: *P. L.* 1. 439; 4. 978; 10. 433. Hence it is not a little remarkable that he here makes an exception in assigning horns to Venus, while affirming that she draws her light from the sun. But the explanation is easily found if we remember that the phases of Venus, already predicted by Copernicus nearly three quarters of a century before, were discovered by Galileo in 1610. It was Galileo then, as we shall see, who first spoke of the horns of Venus as an observed phenomenon; it was Galileo who first saw its 'extremely slender horns' as morning star; and it was Galileo who, in one of the letters in which he announced his discovery at the very close of the year 1610, announced that the

planets—but not the fixed stars—were dark in themselves, and borrowed their light wholly from the sun. Moreover, Galileo expressly compares the form of Venus with that of the moon, first of all in the famous anagram of December 11, 1610, with its two meaningless letters at the end:

Haec immatura a me jam frustra leguntur o y,

which, according to his own later interpretion becomes

Cynthiæ figuras æmulatur Mater amorum.[1]

The intrinsic interest of the letters in which Galileo announces this discovery, the fact that they are not easily accessible in compends (the first is even sometimes said to be addressed to Kepler), and the literal correspondence with some of Milton's phrases, must be my excuse for printing them at such length. I know not where one can see a more fascinating exhibition of science in the making. I quote the letters in the Florence edition of 1842-56 (the italics are of course mine, save for the anagram and its solution).

The first is a letter from Galileo to Giuliano de' Medici, Ambassador from the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague, dated Florence, December 11, 1610 (*Opere* 6. 128):

'Intanto mando la cifra di un altro particolare osservato da me nuovamente, il quale si tira dietro la decisione di grandissime controversie in Astronomia, ed in particolare contiene in sè un gagliardo argomento per la costituzione dell 'Universo, e a suo tempo pubblicherò in deciferazione, ed altri particolari. Frattanto le lettere trasposte sono queste:

Haec immatura a me jam frustr leguntuar o y.'

The second is from Galileo to Father Cristoforo Clavio at Rome, dated Florence, December 30, 1610 (*Opere* 6. 130-1):

'Intanto non voglio celare a V. R. quello che ho osservato in Venere da tre mesi in qua. Sappia dunque, come nel principio della sua apparizione vespertina la cominciai ad osservare, e la vidi di figura rotonda, ma piccolissima; continuando poi le osservazioni venne crescendo in mode notabilmente, e pur mantenendosi circolare, sin che avvicinandosi alla massima digressione cominciò a diminuir dalla rotondità nella parte avversa al Sole, e in pochi giorni si ridusse alla figura semicircolare, nella qual figura si è mantenuta un pezzo, cioè sino che ha cominciato a ritirarsi verso il Sole, allontanandosi pian piano dalla tangente; ora comincia a farsi notabilmente *cornicolata*, e così anderà assottigliandosi sin che si vedrà vespertina; *e a suo tempo la vedremo mattutina, con le sue cornicelle sottillissime* e averse al Sole, le quali intorno alla massima digressione faranno mezzo cerchio, il quale manterranno inalterato per molti giorni. Passerà poi Venere dal mezzo cerchio al tutto tondo prestissimo, e poi per molti mesi la vedremo così interamente circolare, ma piccolina, sì che il suo diametro non sarà la sesta parte di quello che apparisce adesso. Io ho modo di vederla così netta, così schietta, così terminata, *come veggiamo l'istessa Luna* con l'occhio naturale; e la veggo adesso di diametro eguale al semidiametro della Luna veduta colla vista semplice. Ora eccoci, Signor mio, chiariti come Venere (e indubitatamente farà l'istesso Mercurio) va intorno al Sole, centro senze alcun dubbio delle massime rivoluzioni di tutti i pianeti; *inoltre siamo certi come essi pianeti sono per sè tenebrosi, e solo risplendono illustrati dal Sole* (*il che non credo che occorra delle fisse per alcune mie osservazioni*), e come questo sistema dei pianeti sta sicuramente in altra maniera di quello che si è comunemente tenuto.'

The third is a letter to Father Benedetto Castelli at Brescia, dated the same day, December 30, 1810 (*Opere* 6. 134-5):

'Sappia dunque che io, circa tre mesi fa, cominciai ad osservar Venere collo strumento, e la vidi di figura rotonda, ed assai piccola; andò di giorno in giorno crescendo in mole, e mantenendo pure la medesima rotondità, finchè finalmente venendo in assai gran lontananza da Sole cominciò a scemare della rotondità dalla parte orientale, ed in pochi giorni si ridusse al mezzo cerchio. In tal figura si è mantenuta molti giorni, ma però crescendo tuttavia in mole; ora comincia a farci *falcata*, e finchè si vedrà vespertina, anderà scemando le sue *cornicelle* fin tanto che svanirà; ma ritornando poi *mattutina si vedrà colle corna sottillissime*, e puro avverse al Sole, e anderà crescendo verso il mezzo cerchio sino alla sua massima digressione. Manterrassi poi semicircolare per alquanti giorni, diminuendo però in mole; e poi dal mezzo cerchio passerà al tutto tondo in pochi giorni, e quindi per molti mesi si vedrà, e *Lucifero* e Vesperugo, tutta tonda, ma piccoletta di mole. Le evidentissime conseguenze, che di qui si traggono, sono a V. R. notissime. . . . Ma Venere la vedo così spedita e terminata *quanto l'istessa Luna*, mostran-

1 Since writing this paper, I find that Orchard, *The Astronomy of Paradise Lost*, p. 133, has given the same explanation of this line, but apparently without direct knowledge of Galileo's writings.

domela l'occhiale di diametro eguale al semidiametro di essa Luna veduta coll' occhio naturale.'

The fourth and last is a letter to Giuliano de' Medici, dated January 1, 1611:

'E tempo che io deciferi a V. S. Illustriss. e Reverendiss., e per lei al Sig. Keplero, le lettere trasposte, le quali alcune settimane sono le inviai; é tempo, dico, giacchè sono interamente chiaro della verità del fatto, sicchè non ci resta un minimo scrupolo o dubbio. Sapranno dunque come, circa a tre mesi fa, vedendosi Venere vespertina, la cominciai ad osservar diligentemente coll' occhiale, per veder col senso stesso quello di che non dubitava punto l' intelletto. La vidi dunque sul principio di figura rotonda, pulita, e terminata, ma molto piccola; di tal figura si mantenne sin che cominciò ad avvicinarsi alla sua massima digressione, ma tra tanto andò crescendo in mole. Cominciò poi a mancare dalla rotondità nella sua parte orientale, ed avversa al Sole, e in pochi giorni si ridusse ad esser un mezzo cerchio perfettissimo, e tale si mantenne, senza punto alterarsi, finchè incominciò a ritirarsi verso il Sole, allontanandosi dalla tangente. Ora va calando dal mezzo cerchio, e si mostra *cornicolata*, e anderà assottigliandosi sino all' occultazione, riducendosi allora con *corna sottillissime:* quindi *passando all'apparizione mattutina, la vedremo pur falcata e sottillissima. e colle corna* avverse al Sole; anderà poi crescendo fino alla massima digressione, dove apparirà semicircolare, e tale senza alterarsi si manterrà molti giorni, e poi dal mezzo cerchio passerà presto al tutto tondo, e cosi rotondo si conserverà poi per molti mesi. Il suo diametro adesso è circa cinque volte maggiore di quello che si mostrava nella sua prima apparizione vespertina; dalla quale mirabile esperienza abbiamo sensata e certa dimostrazione di due gran questioni state fin qui dubbie tra i maggiori ingegni del mondo. L'una è che *i pianeti tutti son di lor natura tenebrosi* (*accadendo anco a Mercurio l' istesso che a Venere*); l'altra, che Venere necessarissimamente si volge intorno al Sole, come anco Mercurio; cosa che degli altri pianeti fu creduta da' Pitagorici, dal Copernico, dal Keplero, e da' loro seguaci, ma non sensatamente provata, come ora in Venere ed in Mercurio. Averanno dunque il Sig. Keplero e gli altri Copernicani da gloriarsi di aver creduto e filosofato bene, sebbene ci è toccato, e ci è per toccare ancora, ad esser reputati dall' università dei filosofi *in libris* per poco intendenti, e poco meno che stolti. Le parole, dunque, che mandai trasposte, e che dicevano

Hæc immatura a me jam frustra leguntur o y,

dicono ordinate

Cynthiæ figuras æmulatur Mater amorum

(Venere imita le figure della Luna).'

In reading the parenthesis referring to Mercury, one may be tempted to think that Milton used 'his' advisedly in the first edition; but this is hardly probable.

In considering the probability, apart from the internal evidence, that he often had Galileo's utterances in mind, we may recall Milton's statement in the *Areopagitica:*

'There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought;'

the lines (261-3) from the Fifth Book of *Paradise Lost:*

> As when by night the glass
> Of Galileo, less assured, observes
> Imagined lands and regions in the moon;

the lines from the First Book (287-291):

> The moon, whose orb
> Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
> At evening from the top of Fesole,
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
> Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe;

those from the Third Book (588-590):

> There lands the fiend, a spot like which perhaps
> Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb
> Through his glazed optic tube yet never saw;

and those from *Paradise Regained* (4. 40-42).

It was not till the year 1609 that Galileo heard of the principle according to which he immediately constructed a telescope magnifying three diameters, a power which he quickly brought to thirty-three diameters; and it was early in the next year, the same in which he published his discoveries of the phases of Venus, that he made known the mountainous configuration of the moon's surface. Milton, who knew the one fact, and had probably gathered it from Galileo's own lips in conversation, may well have learned the other at the same time. If so, he no doubt ascertained that Galileo's theory of borrowed light applied only to the planet, and not to the fixed stars; hence 'stars,' l. 364, would mean 'planets.'

One might think that Milton would have been familiar with Galileo's discovery before his Italian journey, but this was not the case, if we may assume *Lycidas* 168-171, following Jerram, to apply to the morning star, and may trust its negative evidence. There we have:

So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky,

the original of which Jerram assumes to have been *Æn.* 8. 589 ff. compared with Homer, *Il.* 5. 5-6. No more scientific is *Comus* 93-4:

The star that bids the shepherd fold
Now the top of heaven doth hold.

The same is true of *Lycidas* 30-31:

Oft till the star that rose at evening bright
Toward heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel.

On this last passage Jerram says:

'He was far more likely to have erred in company with the ancients than to have corrected their mistakes by the light of modern discovery.'

However this may have been in his earlier manhood, our present study may tend to show that it is not unqualifiedly true of his riper years. An intimation to the same effect seems to be conveyed by the word 'circlet' in *P. L.* 5. 166-9:

Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
With thy bright *circlet*, praise him in thy sphere.

This seems to denote the rotundity observed by Galileo, and would hardly have occurred in the Latin period.

As the general sense of the last line came from Italy, so did also the peculiar meaning of the verb 'gild.' Shakespeare seems to have been the first English author to use the word in this way, referring to the sun. Thus we have (*Rich. II.* 1. 3. 146-7):

And those his *golden* beams to you here lent
Shall point on me and *gild* my banishment.

Again (*Sonn.* 33. 3-4):

Kissing with *golden* face the meadows green,
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;

with which may be compared *M. N. D.* 3. 2. 391-3:

Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow *gold* his salt green streams.

Other examples are *T. G.* 5. 1. 1; *Hen. V.* 4. 2. 1; *Hen. VIII.* 3. 2. 411; *Tit. Andron.* 2. 1. 6; *Sonn.* 28. 12; cf. *Sonn.* 18. 6; *Lucr.* 25; *L. L. L.* 4. 3. 26; etc., etc. This sense of 'gild' is appropriated by Milton in *P. L.* 3.559, besides our passage, and perhaps in *Comus* 95; *P. R.* 4.53; cf. *P. L.* 3.572,625; 5.187. Chaucer (*Book of the Duchesse* 338) has the sun shining 'with many glade *gilden* stremes' where 'gilden' of course means 'golden,' and not 'gilded.'

The Italians thus use *indorare* and *aurare* (chiefly as *aurato*). Instances of *aurato* (cf. *aurea*) as early as Shakespeare are: Petrarca, *Sonn.* 187.1: 'Quando 'l sol bagna in mar l' *aurato carro*'; the same phrase Rinaldi, *Rime*, Venice, 1608, p. 191, and Baldi (1553–1617), *Naut.* 29; Baldi also has (68): 'Esce l' aurora, e con l' *aurato lume* Fuga dal ciel le mattutine Stelle;' (104): 'E già l' *aurata fronte* Discopria Febo mattutino,' Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 15.47 (suggests the Miltonic line): 'Il sol, dell' *aurea luce* eterno fonte.' Similarly of *indorare:* Firenzuola (his *Apuleio* first published Florence, 1549), *Opere* 3.25 (Milan, 1802), in his *Apuleio:* 'I raggi del Sole, spuntando per le cime de' più alti monti, cominciavano a *indorar* la campagna;' Matteo Francesi, *Rime Burlesche* (1555): 'E il sole appena gli alti monti *indora*;' Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9.62: '*S'indorava* la notte al divin lume;' and finally, nearest to Milton, Grazzini (Il Lasca, d. 1584), *Nanea* (authorship somewhat doubtful) 1.4 (*Mt.*): 'All'ora Che Febo *del monton le corna indora.*'

The French come later. Fénélon, *Télemaque* 3, has: 'Les rayons du soleil *doraient* le sommet des montagnes;' and elsewhere, l. 21, p. 337: 'Dès que l'aurore vint *dorer* l'horizon;' Littré cites two other instances from Lamartine. Wakefield (*Observations on Pope*, 1796, p. 298), has noticed that Pope, *Dunciad* 2. 11-12, imitates Milton:

So from the sun's broad beams in shallow urns
Heaven's twinkling sparks draw light, and point their horns.

He justly adds that the twinkling sparks, evidently the fixed stars, have no horns.

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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND GERMAN LITERATURE.

I (Continued).

LUDWIG MEYER von Knonau, the Swiss patriot (1769–1841), also relates[63] his first impressions of the American Revolution:

"Noch erinnere ich mich deutlich, dass die nordamerikanische Sache, Franklin, Washington und andre Männer, die sich hervorthaten, Teilnahme für sich erregten, und dass ich das Verfahren des brittischen Kabinettes misbilligen hörte, allein auf mein kindisches Gemüt hatte ein besonderer Umstand einen entscheidenden Einfluss, der auf ein paar Jahre hin mich ganz an Grossbrittaniens Sache fesselte. Ein schönes Blatt Schreibpapier von meinen Eltern geschenkt zu bekommen, war für mich eine grosse Freude. Als nun die Nachricht eintraf, das Volk habe zu Boston das Stempelpapier verbrannt, und vollends noch ein Kupferstich anschaulich darstellte, wie ganze Ballen dieses Papieres auf öffentlichem Platze verbrannt, und mit Gabeln und Feuerschaufeln gerüttelt wurden, so dass die brennenden Bogen in die Höhe flogen, war meine Stimmung entschieden. Leute, die solche Massen des von mir geliebten Papiers frohlockend zerstörten, hatten mich zum erklärten Gegner, und ich blieb ein solcher, bis allmählig der Ruf, den sich die Amerikaner erwarben, das Interesse, welches Franklin, ebenso Lafayette und seine Notstreiter erregten, vornehmlich aber die Rührung, welche die dem englischen Golde geopferten und auf den amerikanichen Kriegsschauplatz hingeführten Hessen und andre Deutsche hervorbrachten und dadurch die brittische Sache gehässig machten, mich allmählig umstimmten. Lange hatte mich auch die Abneigung gegen die englische Opposition auf die königliche Seite hingezogen."

What has been stated so far might easily lead us to think that German public opinion was unanimous on the question of the American Revolution. Nothing could be further from the truth. It would be strange, indeed, if Germany, so much divided in politics, religion and social conditions, had been a unit on this question. The Germans at that time hardly formed a nation, certainly not in a political sense; there were no common national interests, no national instincts. International questions were looked upon and discussed from the point of view of the individual. Schlözer at Göttingen stands out most prominently as an opponent of the American Revolution, but he had not a few followers who were as sincere, if not as energetic, in their condemnation of the Americans. W. L. Wekhrlin, the erratic Swabian journalist, but withal a friend of liberty, says in his *Chronologen* (vol. i):

"Die Amerikaner sind Rasende, welche bei heller Sonne mit der Fackel in der Hand umherrennen, den Tag zu suchen."[64]

In another place he says:

"Die Amerikaner jagen einem Schatten nach. Es wird eine Zeit kommen, wo sie Grossbrittanien beneiden werden. Nordamerika, ein Polyphem ohne Auge, schickt sich an, der Despotie das Fundament zu bereiten."[65]

This prophecy was destined to prove false, but other prophecies of Wekhrlin's, which have come true, show that he possessed remarkable political insight.

Häberlin, the famous professor of law at the University of Helmstedt, a champion of free political views, defended in his *Staatsrecht* the right of the German princes to dispose of their troops by treaties.[66]

J. G. Sulzer, the writer on æsthetics, a free Swiss living in the capital of Frederick the Great, writes to his fellow-countryman Zimmermann at Hanover (Jan. 19, 1777):

"Schon der amerikanische Krieg muss England höchst beschwerlich fallen. Es ärgert mich über alle Massen, den alten Franklin, für den ich sonst eine unumschränkte Hochachtung gehabt, unter den Häuptern dieses aufrührerischen Volkes zu erblicken. Es bestärkt mich immer mehr in meiner traurigen Beobachtung, dass auch die grössten Seelen unbegreiflichen Verblendungen unterworfen sind und dass der höchste und seltenste Grad der menschlichen Tugend darin bestehe, dass man gegen sich selbst, gegen seine Freunde uud gegen die Partei, zu der man sich hält, unparteiisch sei.[67]

Zimmermann replies (Feb. 22, 1777): "*Den alten Franklin soll man nie für einen guten Mann gehalten haben.*"[68] And that is the same

63 *Lebenserinnerungen*, ed. Gerold Meyer v. Knonau, Frauenfeld, 1883, p. 10.

64 Quoted by Biedermann in *Zt. f. dtsch. Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 492.

65 Ebeling, *W. L. Wekhrlin*, Berlin 1869, p. 67. In his *Physiognomische Fragmente* (*ibid.*, p. 407 f.) Wekhrlin mentions Washington and Pitt as having blond hair.

66 Biedermann, *l. c.*, p. 492.

67 Bodemann, *J. G. Zimmermann*, Hannover 1878, p. 261.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

man who in his book on Solitude speaks so highly of Franklin's intellectual and literary attainments. Zimmermann's sympathies were altogether on the side of England. In 1780 (March 28) he writes to a friend:

"Mein Gott, wie kommen Sie auf den Gedanken dass es England kein rechter Ernst sei, gegen Frankreich, Spanien und den amerikanischen Kongress mit Nachdruck zu agieren? . . . Indessen ist anitzt Englands Schicksal wieder in einer fürchterlichen Krisis. Was Amerika betrifft, kommt itzt alles auf die Einnahme von Charlestown an. Wenn diese gelingt, so müssen sich die Amerikaner, die ganz ruiniert sind, zu billigen Bedingungen verstehen. Auch sind anitzt amerikanische Agenten in London, die der Kongress abgeschickt hat, um zu sehen, ob man sich verstehen könne. Die Amerikaner schmachten unter einer entsetzlichen Schuldenlast, daher ist das Volk äusserst unwillig. Gelingt es mit Charlestown, so ist dies ein Stoss, der sie niederwirft. Alsdann wird mit einer Provinz nach der andern, und nicht mit allen zugleich in Unterhandlung einlassen (sic!) und auf diese Art auch besser zum Zwecke kommen. Aber wenn Clinton vor Charlestown unglücklich wäre, welches auch sehr leicht möglich ist, so kommt England wieder in Not. . . Wenn nur die Engländer mit den Amerikanern sich abfinden, und mit ihrer ganzen Macht auf Frankreich und Spanien fallen können, so geht alles so gut, als man es nach der gegenwärtigen Lage der Sachen wünschen kann; und das gebe Gott![69]

The celebrated Swiss historian Johannes von Müller looked upon England's defeat with much regret. He writes to his friend Gleim (Dec. 9, 1781):

"Bei dem Unglück des *vortrefflichen* Cornwallis habe ich bewundert, wie genau die gleichen Sitten und Massregeln, die (nach Demosthenes) Athen verdorben, England stürzen. Ich kann mich nicht auf alle einlassen, aber däucht nicht auch Sie, dass der Verfall der wahren Religion, die bei allen Völkern unter mancherlei Gestalten war, die Folge hervorbringen muss, dass diejenigen, welche den Tod für das Ende von allem halten, um Staat und Nachwelt nichts mehr wagen, und in allem nur sich und nur diese Minute des Daseins betrachten? Daher die allgemeine Erschlaffung, die unentscheidenden Treffen."[70]

In another letter (July 19, 1781) Müller attributes England's defeat to the decline of "*der alten englischen Tugend.*"[71]

Friedrich Köppen (1775–1858), professor of philosophy at Landshut and Erlangen, tells of boyish feuds about the American cause.[72]

"Während meiner Knabenjahre pflegten rauflustige Schüler unter den Parteinamen der Amerikaner und Engländer mit einander zu kämpfen, um den Sieg dieser beiden Völker zu entscheiden. Ich kann versichern, dass es lebhaft zuging, dass man Reden hielt, dass Lord Elliot, Rodney, Washington, in aller Mund waren, obwohl schwerlich ein Kämpfer die Zeitung gelesen oder in den Schulstunden davon gehört."

It is only natural to suppose that the boys who fought for the English cause had taken their cue from their parents and other grown-up persons around them.

Bodmer, the veteran poet and critic at Zürich, felt called upon to defend the Americans against their calumniators. He writes (in an undated letter of 1775 or 1776):

"Die Unterdrückten selbst halten meinen Brutus, Timoleon (the heroes of some of Bodmer's dramas), etc., für Rebellen. Und halten nicht unsere modernen Republikaner, die Engländer, die Holländer, die Schweizer die amerikanischen Kolonisten für todesschuldige Verbrecher—und warum?"[73]

In this connection attention might be called to a letter of Joh. von Müller written in 1781 in which a somewhat different view is expressed; Müller is urged by his friends to translate his *Schweizergeschichte:*

"hiezu sei der Augenblick, bei diesmaliger Begeisterung für Bundesrepubliken; Frankreich, Holland und Amerika würden es begierig lesen."[74]

Hamann, "the father of the Storm and Stress," an enemy of despotism and oppression,[75] seems to have taken little interest in American affairs. At least we must infer that from a letter to J. F. Reichardt, dated Königsberg, June 17, 1782:[76]

69 Rengger, *J. G. Zimmermann, Briefe*, Aarau 1830, p. 269.

70 Körte, *Briefe zwischen Gleim, Heinse und Joh. v. Müller*, Zürich 1806, ii, 304.

71 *Ibid.*, ii, 234.

72 *Vertraute Briefe über Bücher und Welt*, Leipzig 1823, ii, 19.

73 Josephine Zehnder, *Pestalozzi*, Gotha, 1875, i, 562.

74 Körte, *Briefe zwischen Gleim, Heinse und Joh. v. Müller*, Zürich, 1806, ii, 271.

75 Gildemeister, *Joh. Geo. Hamann*, Gotha, 1875, iv, 205 f.

76 *Schriften*, ed. Fr. Roth, Berlin, 1821-25, vi, 256.

"Ich lief ohne recht zu wissen warum in den Buchladen. Wollte eben so unruhig wieder forteilen, als man mir eine Neuigkeit anbot über Nordamerika und Demokratie. Das erste ist ganz gleichgültig für mich, und das zweite hatte auch nicht viel Reiz."

In 1785, however, Hamann shows some interest in American affairs. He reads Mirabeau's work entitled *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus ou Imitation d'un Pamphlet Anglo-Américain.* He writes in regard to it:

"Das englische Pamphlet ist im vorigen Jahre zu Philadelphia auskommen unter dem Namen eines Andreas Burke, der zuerst über die Errichtung des neu errichteten Ordens Lärm geblasen, der als ein erblicher Adel oder Patriciat das ganze demokratische Gebäude zu Grunde gerichtet haben würde."[77]

Lenz's sympathies, if we may draw a conclusion from his works, seem to have been anything but American. In *Der Waldbruder* the hero, Herz, wishes to join the Hessians against the Colonials. That he calls a

"Sprung auf die erste Staffel der Leiter der Ehre und des Glücks, der Himmelsleiter, auf der ich alle meine Wünsche zu ersteigen hoffe."[78]

Throughout the story there is not the least intimation that the Hessians fight in an unrighteous cause. Herz looks upon the Hessian service merely as a short road to success in life. But Herz, as has been clearly shown, is none other than Lenz himself.[79] In *Die Laube*, too, the hero sets out to fight against the Americans. It is not an unfair inference, therefore, to say that Lenz, the *Stürmer und Dränger*, looked upon the American struggle for freedom with the utmost indifference, and he may actually have thought of enlisting with the Hessians.

Anton Reiser, the hero of Moritz's well-known novel, while in Hanover, is called upon to deliver an oration on Queen Charlotte's birthday. On this occasion he reads an ode written by himself containing the following lines:

Georg!—rauscht
Harfen! tönt Jubelgesang von ganzen beglückten
Nationen laut!—Und verstumme mein Lied! Denn vergebens
Wagst du's, sein Lob, Georgens Lob zu erschwingen.
. . . . . .
Sicher in den Stürmen, die seinen Scheitel umdonnern
Steht Georg.—Wenn Völker toben—Doch du getreues
Volk deinem König, verhülle nur dein Antlitz, und weine!
Siehe nicht wie dein Bruder im fernen Lande sich auflehnt
Gegen seinen König . . . .[80]

It is only natural that the people of Hanover should have sympathized with the English government. Joh. D. Michaelis, the Göttingen professor mentioned above, allowed his son to join the Hessian troops as surgeon. His daughter Caroline writes (1778) in regard to this:

"die Bedingungen sind sehr vorteilhaft, und wenn er wieder zurückkömmt, so ist ihm eine Versorgung auf Lebenszeit gewiss."[81]

In 1782 Caroline accompanies Madame Schlözer to Cassel, where the latter expected to meet her husband.

"Im Hinweg wohnten wir auch in Münden einem merkwürdigen, aber traurigen Schauspiel bei, der Einschiffung der Truppen nach Amerika. Welch eine allgemeine, mannigfaltige, grausse Abschiedsszene. Was sie mir vorzüglich war, das lässt sich begreifen. . . . Der Gedanke machte mich unwillig, dass der Landgraf in Münden Menschen verkaufte, um in Cassel Paläste zu bauen."[82]

Later on in the letter she refers to the Hessian sovereign in the following complimentary way: "*ich sah mit allem Respekt gesprochen, das Vieh den Landgrafen.*" But Caroline went back to Göttingen in the company of the same Schlözer who defended the British cause with all the energy of conviction and called the Americans the most ungrateful of rebels.

Schlözer's statistical journal, entitled *A. L. Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist statistischen Inhalts* was begun in July, 1774, and continued until Feb., 1775.[83] In 1776 (Feb.) it was started again with the title *A. L. Schlözer's Briefwechsel, meist historischen und politischen Inhalts.* This continuation is often referred to as *Neuer Briefwechsel.* From 1782 until 1793, when it was discontinued, the paper was called *A. L. Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen.* In this journal Schlözer gave free expression to his

77 Gildemeister, *Hamann*, iii, 156, 235.

78 *Lenz und Wagner*, ed. Sauer, *D. N. L.*, v. 80, p. 193.

79 Sauer, *l. c.*, p. 175 n.; Gruppe, *R. Lenz*, Berlin, 1861, p. 164.

80 K. Ph. Moritz, *Anton Reiser*, Berlin 1786, iii, 131, 146.

81 Waitz, *Caroline*, Leipzig, 1871, i, 4.

82 *Ibid.*, i, 311.

83 Frensdorff in *A. D. B.*, v. 31, p. 584.

views on American affairs. His attitude in this matter was perfectly sincere. Some of his contemporaries thought that he was truckling to the authorities at Hanover, but that is highly improbable considering the bold stand he took on other occasions, especially in 1789, when he hailed the French revolution as the dawn of a new era. Frensdorff and Biedermann have shown clearly that Schlözer's condemnation of the American cause was perfectly consistent with his political views, advanced as they were, and with his ideas of popular liberty. It is interesting to know that Schlözer had met Franklin during the latter's stay in Göttingen (1766).[84] Moreover, Schlözer's journal was a constant protest against misgovernment and abuse of power not only in foreign countries, but in every part of the German Empire. Though the professors at Göttingen enjoyed freedom from press censorship, Schlözer fully realized that, in spite of this privilege, his journal might be suppressed at any moment, but even that could not intimidate him. The journal was actually suspended in 1793, by order of the Hanoverian government. His work in the interest of political liberty was early recognized. No less a man than Wilh. von Humboldt says of him in a letter to Joach. H. Campe: "*Schlözer, der um Publicität und politische Freiheit so viel Verdienst hat.*"[85]

Schlözer attacked the Americans in the lecture-room as well as in his journal. The physicist Sömmering, then a student at Göttingen, reports:

"Schlözer lese mit ausserordentlichem Applausus und zeige, dass die nordamerikanischen Kolonien die undankbarsten Rebellen seien."[86]

When the poem *Die Freiheit Amerikas* appeared in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, Schlözer suggested the reading "*der edle Kampf für Hancock und Contreband*" instead of "*für Freiheit und Vaterland.*" In his *Jan von Leiden* he changed the line to "*der edle Kampf für Freiheit und Schneider Jan.*"[87] Schlözer's position on the American Revolution was attacked by the geographer Büsching[88] and by G. Mauvillon, professor at the Carolinum in Cassel in a *Sammlung von Aufsätzen über Gegenstände aus der Staatskunst, Staatswirtschaft, etc.*, Leipzig, 1776. Schlözer's genuine interest in America may also be seen from the fact that he edited a German translation of Fenning and Collyer's work on America.[89]

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84 Cf. Frensdorff, *A. D. B.* 31, 584 ff.; Biedermann, *Zt. f. dtsch. Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, pp. 491 ff., *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* iv, 1194; Schlosser, *Geschichte des 18. Jh.*, Heidelberg, 1864, iv, 227, 229, 245, 247, where Schlözer's weak sides are brought out.

85 Leyser, *Joach. H. Campe*, Braunschweig, 1877, ii, 308.

86 R. Wagner., *Sam. Th. von Sömmering*, Leipzig, 1844, ii, 15.

87 Frensdorff, *l. c.* p., 587. 88 Schlosser, *l. c.*, iv. 245.

89 *Neue Erdbeschreibung von ganz Amerika. Nebst einem Anhang vom 5. Welttheile.* Aus dem Englischen des D. Fenning und G. Collyer. Herausgegeben von A. L. Schlözer, Göttingen und Leipzig, 1777.

CURRENT NOTES IN PHONETICS.

THE Vice-President for the Section of Physiology of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Prof. John G. M'Kendrick, opened the session at Glasgow on Sept. 11, with an address on experimental phonetics. One day of the meeting was set aside for the presentation of phonetic papers.

A recent number of the *Bulletin des Parlers Normands* contains further Calvados dialect notes by M. de Guer, a poem in the dialect of Caux, a dialogue in the dialect of Méry-Corbon, additions and corrections to the glossary of that of Bessin, the first portion of Section A of a lexicon of that of La Villette (Calvados), a poem in that of Verson, a specimen of that of Audrieu (Calvados).

At the Paris Exposition Mr. Poulsen of Copenhagen exhibited a new speech-recording instrument termed the telegraphone. An ordinary microphone transmitter is connected through any length of wire to a small electromagnet whose poles are adjusted close to a steel wire or steel tape. While the telephone message is arriving, the magnet is run along over the wire or tape. The magnet is then attached to an ordinary telephone receiver; upon running it again over the wire or tape the sound is heard in a high degree of perfection. The magnetic impulses from the magnet received from the transmitter probably produce some rearrangement of molecules in the steel

and thereby give a record which can be used to produce magnetic impulses again. The instrument is intended to record speech just as the telegraph tape records movements of a finger. The permanency of the telegraphone record still leaves something to be desired; the attendant at Paris said the records could not be relied upon to last more than two years. Its importance to phonetics lies in the truth and purity of the record made and in the simplicity of manipulation. The Edison phonograph is still the only available method of collecting speech records, but in many respects it is far from satisfactory.

Systematic collections of phonograms are preserved by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, by the Vienna Academy of Sciences in a special museum, by the Society of Anthropology of Paris in a similar museum,[1] and in other places. A. Graham Bell's valuable collection of musician's voices was destroyed by fire. The collection in Paris includes a systematic series of the principal dialects of China. The American collections are mainly of Indian song.

The collection of phonograms of languages and dialects is now being carried out on a large scale in America. Records of Indian song have been collected by FILLMORE, of Indian speech and song by BOAS, RUSSELL and others. A committee appointed last December by the Philological Association (Schmidt-Wartenberg), the Section of Anthropology of the Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci. (Russell) and the Modern Language Assoc. (Scripture) has under consideration the systematic collection and preservation of phonograms of various languages and dialects. Promises of coöperation have been received from various sources. The National Gramophone Corporation of New York has undertaken to make plates of the voices of persons for historical purposes; copies will be deposited in certain specified institutions and will be supplied privately to investigators but will not be sold to the public. As no commercial use of these plates will be made, the arrangement with the committee is a highly favorable and satisfactory one. The same company will prepare plates of any voices, languages or dialects the committee may desire, provided the persons are brought to the laboratory in New York and also provided the actual expense of manufacture is guaranteed. The net cost of making a mould and the first hundred discs is $50; a subscription for one hundred discs is therefore needed in each case. Some English discs have already been prepared without charge. Under direction of the committee the machine at the Yale Psychological Laboratory will trace off all such plates, prepare the blocks and send prints for study to all desiring them. M. Lioret of Paris has offered to prepare celluloid cylinders of any designated subject not of an unusual character. The Edison phonograph company will make mastercylinders at a small rate and furnish copies as usual. The formation of phonetic libraries of voice and instrumental records at the great universities will probably follow successful action by the committee.

Just what should be recorded on a phonograph on a given occasion will depend on the purpose of the collector. A collection for the study of dialects is not the only one that may be made. Racial psychology, individual psychology, the development of language in prose and verse are all important matters. To cover as many points as possible it is well to have the speaker: 1. make a few conversational remarks concerning such familiar topics as the weather or what he had to eat at breakfast; 2. read a piece of prose; 3. recite from memory a piece of prose; 4. recite a piece of verse; 5. repeat the alphabet (or a series of monosyllables including the typical sounds of his speech); 6. sing a stanza of a national song; 7. sing some separate notes; 8. repeat the syllable *ta, ta ta,* . . . a number of times; 9. repeat the syllable *ta* when the experimenter calls it into the phonograph (the experiment to be made several times); 10. repeat any syllables that the experimenter calls into the phonograph (to be done several times); 11. do the last three things again as quickly as possible. In this way speech and song under various conditions are recorded; the character of the voice is given in 5 and 7, the natural rapidity of repeating voluntary acts in 8, the natural

1 AZOULAY, *Sur la constitution d'une musée phonographique*, Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthropol. Paris, 1900 (5) I 222.

simple and complex reaction-time in 9 and 10, and the results of extra effort in 11. A measuring attachment to the phonograph renders it possible to obtain figures for the speed of speech, song and the psychological responses. After the record is made the phonograph cylinder should have spoken into it the place and the date of the record, with an indication of the surroundings, such as "open air," "furnished room," "lecture hall," etc. The person speaking should state: his name in full, date and place of birth, father's birthplace, mother's birthplace, any facts concerning language, education, occupation, diseases, accidents, etc., that may be of importance. The manipulator should add any observations that present themselves concerning the speaker, the naturalness of his attitude before the phonograph, the strength of his voice, his gestures while speaking, references to sources of further information concerning him, the preservation of other records by him, of his photograph, etc. Finally, there should be added the name and number of the equipment with a reference to a separate cylinder or some other record giving exact details concerning the phonograph; a new number should be used for every change in the apparatus. The apparatus record should contain the name of the phonograph, its number, a reference to a complete description of it, statements concerning the thickness of the diaphragm and the character of the speaking tube, the speed at which it is run, etc.

The Fourier analysis so frequently used by Hermann, Pipping, and others, for finding the components of a vowel curve has been employed at great disadvantage on account of the time it required. Even with the schemes and tables of Prof. Hermann the measurement and analysis of a single wave required two or three hours of constant labor by a skilled person. The harmonic analyzer constructed by Coradi (Zürich) from designs of Prof. Henrici (London) performs the analysis automatically when its indicating point is moved once forward and then backward along the wave. The high degree of precision required for such an instrument makes the cost from $250 upward for one giving six to ten partials.

According to the *Maître Phonétique* Profs. Jespersen and Nyrop have been made cheva-

liers of the order of Danebrog; a newly revived periodical, the *Bolletino di Filologia Moderna*, edited by Romeo Lovera, has undertaken the cause of language reform in Italy; summer courses in languages were again given this year in Marburg.

The question of an international language was laid before the union of national academies in Paris by a delegation from the *Touring Club de France* and was received with favor. The form of language recommended was Esperanto, which has already gained considerable ground in Europe.

The chief books on the new universal language Esperanto are

Leau: *Une langue internationale est-elle possible?* Paris, Gauthier Villars, 1900.

Couturat: *Pour la langue internationale.* Coulommiers, Imp. Paul Brodard, 1901.

Langue internationale Esperanto, manuel complet avec double dictionnaire, traduit par L. de Beaufront, 1 fr. 50.

Gaston Moch: *La Question de la Langue internationale et sa solution par l'Esperanto.* Paris: Giard et Brière.

Ekzercaro de la lingvo internacia Esperanto, by Dr. L. Zamenhof, 0 fr. 85.

Universala Vortaro de la lingvo internacia, by Dr. L. Zamenhof, 1 fr. 10.

In Schaefer's Textbook of Physiology the section on Vocal Sounds, by John G. M'Kendrick and Albert A. Gray, has twenty-two out of thirty-one pages devoted to an account of speech curves obtained by the various methods of experimental phonetics.

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MISTRANSLATION OF DANTE.

In the ninth paragraph of Dante's letter to Can Grande occurs the following: *Prima divisio est, qua totum opus dividitur in tres Canticas. Secunda, qua quælibet Cantica dividitur in Cantus. Tertia, qua quilibet Cantus dividitur in Rithimos.*

This letter is so important that I should like to call attention to an error which has been made not only by all Dante's English translators, but also by Boccaccio and Pietro Fraticelli. I refer to the word *Rithimos*.

Boccaccio, in his *Vita di Dante*, makes this statement:

"Dei quali tre libri [cantiche] egli ciascuno distinse per canti e i canti per ritmi, siccome chiaramente si vede; e quello [Dante] in rima volgare compose con tanta arte," etc., etc.

At first glance one would take it that Boccaccio meant two different things by *ritmi* and *rima*. It will be noted, however, that his statement to the word *siccome* is merely an echo of Dante. Mr. Paget Toynbee, in his Life of Dante (London, 1900), makes Boccaccio say: "Each of these three books he divided into cantos, and the cantos into stanzas." Mr. James Robinson Smith, in his Translation of Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*, renders the passage thus:

"The three books he again divided into cantos and the cantos into rhythms (*ritmi*) as may be clearly seen."

Evidently Mr. Smith was somewhat puzzled by the word *ritmi*—more puzzled than Mr. Toynbee.

Miss Katharine Hillard translates Dante thus:

"The first division is this: the whole work is divided into three cantiche; the second, each cantica is divided into cantos; the third, each canto is divided into rhythms."

Mr. Latham renders *rithimos* by "rhythms," and Fraticelli makes *ritmi* do. As for the Italian *ritmo*, see Dictionary of Tommaseo e Bellini, who have thought it worth while to remark anent this usage, "Qui pare intenda Terzine."

Let us now consult Trissino, who, in his translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquio*, renders the word *rithmus* in whatever form it may occur by *rima*, *rime*, or an accurate equivalent, in every case except one (I refer to the Oxford Dante, *De V. Eloq.*, II, xiii, 5): "In principio hujus capituli (writes Dante) quædam reseranda videntur; unum est stantia sive rithimus, in qua nulla rithimorum habitudo attenditur."

Trissino, whose strange phonetic spelling I have not kept, reads as follows:

"Ma nel principio di questo capitolo ci pare di chiarire alcune cose di esse; de le quali una è che sono alcune stanzie, ne le quali non si guarda a niuna habitudine di rima."

A careful reading of the *De Vulgari Eloquio* will show, I think, that Dante, too, means rime in every case except that above quoted from II, xiii, 5. I believe the word *rithimus*, or any of its forms, is found nowhere except in the *De V. E.* and the epistle to Can Grande.

To return to the latter, it was quite natural for Dante to use this word *rithimos* in the sense of *rime*, or rather of *terze rime*, because Latin (Classical Latin) has no word for rhyme. Dante misused the word *rithimos* as he has misused the word *inventores* and scores of others. It is, furthermore, not true that each canto is divided into "rhythms" for the very good reason that the English word rhythm is incapable of such a meaning. "Rima" (says Fraticelli, in a note to *Inferno* xiii, 48), è dal greco *ῥυθμὸς*." The same false etymology was in vogue at the time of Dante, and that we have ourselves erred is conspicuously evident in the word "rhyme."

I will add in conclusion that the passage quoted from Dante's letter to Can Grande is a good instance of the poet's scholastic desire to divide thoughts symmetrically, even when they seem incapable of such division. Comparison of Dante's own definition (*De V. E.*, II, ix),—"Stantiam esse sub certo cantu et habitudine, limitatum carminum et syllabarum compagem,"—with the structure of any canto of the *Divina Commedia* demonstrates, I think, that no canto can be divided into stanzas (stanzie), for the verses (*carmina*) are interlocked continuously in such fashion that each canto may be considered as one long stanza. I hope now to have shown that Dante by *rithimos* means neither stanzas nor "rhythms," but *rime*.[1]

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[1] Authoritative passages in *De V. E.* (Oxford edition).

II v 34
II ix 27 29 31 33
II xi 5
II xii 59 67
II xiii 1 2 7 & 8 16
18 24 26 35
37 39 44 47
52 64 67 84
86 88 90 99

Rime-scheme of *Inf.* viii, which is the same as in all other cantos of the Commedia.

a	1
b	2
a	3
b	4
c	5
b	6
c	7
d	8
e	9
d	10
e	11
d	12
e	13
f	14
e	15
f	16
g	17
f	18
8	19
etc.	etc.

COMMENDRY.

In *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, l. 688 (Hazlitt's *Rem. of Early Pop. Poetry of Engl.*, II.) occurs the mysterious word *commendry*. Readers of the poem will recall that the daughter of the King of 'Hungry' is in love with the Squire, who is one night ambushed and attacked by the treacherous Steward. In the fight the Steward is killed and, after his face has been disfigured, his body is laid before her chamber door. She naturally supposes the body to be that of her lover, and embalms it so as to keep it near her.

> Into the chamber she dyd hym bere;
> His bowels soone she dyd out drawe,
> And buryed them in goddes lawe.
> She sered that body with specery,
> With wyrgin waxe and commendry;
> And closed hym in a maser tre,
> And set on hym lockes thre.
> (684-690.)

In the corresponding passage of *The Squier* (*Percy Folio MS.*, iii. 266), the word does not appear at all. Moreover, no mention of it is made by Nares, by Halliwell, by Stratmann-Bradley, nor is it found in the *International*, the *Century*, or the *Standard Dictionaries*. But in the *Oxford Dictionary* the word is cited, with a reference to this passage only, and marked *Obs. rare*. No meaning is given. Ritson printed the text in his *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, but he did not include the word in his glossary.

The word seems, however, to be capable of a very simple explanation. The Princess wished to keep the body in aromatic spices, and might, perhaps, naturally enough select *cummin* in a *dry* state. *Cumin* or *cummin* takes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the form *comyn*, and in the sixteenth the form *commen*. The text of the poem in its present shape is a sixteenth century print. We know, furthermore, that *cummin* was very generally used as a spice in Europe in the Middle Ages, and that when employed medicinally it was ground and put into water or wine. Hence, possibly, the mention in this case that it was used *dry*. I cannot find that it was supposed to have special preservative properties, but its odor was probably more agreeable than that of a corpse.

Its cheapness, too, would allow a free use of it, the price per pound in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries being about two pence, or, at the present value of money, not far from thirty-five or forty cents (Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, i, 631).

Numerous examples of the adjective following the noun occur in the poem,—*lady fre* 16; *notes clere* 61; *forestes thicke* 237; *lady bryght* 426,—to select a few out of many. The use of a word like *dry* in such a situation is somewhat unusual, but it is no worse than the combinations that desperate rhymesters even now are guilty of.

The most serious objection to the proposed explanation appears to be that it is too fatally easy, and smacks too much of folk-etymology. But until some more rational meaning is suggested we may regard 'commendry' as a 'ghost-word,' and provisionally relegate it to the shades.

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SKELTON'S 'MAGNYFYCENCE' AND CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Skelton's morality of *Magnyfycence* has received, as will be acknowledged, very slight treatment at the hands of critics; yet it is, according to ten Brink, the most important in our language, if the *Satire of the Three Estates* be excepted. In it Skelton has abandoned the typical morality themes—the course of human life and the struggle of vice and virtue—for an issue more specific. He has chosen to represent the insecurity of state and power, in the person of *Magnyfycence*, and the rivalry of Measure and Fancy (moderation and extravagance), who seek the control of his actions and the direction of his household. This approach to the concrete does not fail to strike the commentator; but what generally has quite escaped notice is the personal reference of this "interlude." Yet it is antecedently more probable, more in accordance with Skelton's literary genius, that he should thus limit abstraction to aid a satirical, a personal allusion, rather than to favor a formal dramatic advance. This supposition is, as we shall see, also borne out by the text.

H. Krumpholz, in the only monograph[1] which exists, so far as I am aware, upon *Magnyfycence*, has expressed this conjecture, and so has ten Brink. But curiously enough, both put forward the idea merely as conjecture, and consider, if indeed a personal allusion be intended, that Henry VIII is aimed at.

It would seem, however, as I shall attempt to show, that this reference is actual and unmistakable, and that not Henry VIII but Cardinal Wolsey is the personage whom Skelton has in view. This will appear upon consideration of the following passages.

> 1. "Measure is mete for a marchauntes hall,
> But largesse becometh a state ryall.
> . . . . . .
> A lorde a negarde, it is a shame,
> But largesse may amende your name."
> *Magnyfycence*, ll. 387, 388, 393, 394.

Now Wolsey's mean extraction is one of the points which Skelton most frequently and bitterly satirizes.[2] No such references could have been made to Henry VIII, not even in connection with his title to the throne, for that, through his mother, was unimpeachable. It is hardly necessary to remark that the word 'ryall' was purely a general meaning here with no necessary reference to a king.

2. The limitation of the vice-virtue contest, confined as it is to the opposition of moderation and prodigality, is appropriately chosen in relation to Wolsey's known passion for pomp and splendor, the extravagant ostentation by which his court came near to rivaling the King's.[3]

3. The overbearing treatment of Measure by Magnyfycence (M. ll. 1732–1746) can be paralleled by many allusions to Wolsey's treatment of suppliants.[4]

4. The rage and fury of Magnyfycence (M. ll. 1638 f., ll. 1745 f.), drawn as if from life, agree also with similar satirical attacks on the Cardinal for his outbursts of frantic wrath.[5]

From these references, taken from those satires of Skelton which are known to be directed against Wolsey, it is plain that he attributes similar traits to the sect and the fictitious personage alike. This circumstance, together with the choice of subject, and the definite allusion to a mean extraction, seems to indicate that we have in *Magnyfycence* an unsuspected addition to the material of Skelton's most notable satires.

In addition three considerations suggest that we possess in this play the *earliest* indication of enmity. *Magnyfycence* was certainly written after 1515, for the death of Louis XII, who died in that year, is referred to (ll. 283, 285). There is not much point in a complimentary reference to a dead king unless made while his memory is yet green, so that probably the composition of *Magnyfycence* is not much later. Though not printed until after Skelton's death, it was probably composed with a view to immediate performance, according to custom; for, generally speaking, moralities and interludes were produced, not to be read, but to be performed. Accordingly, *Magnyfycence* would antedate *Colin Clout* (circ. 1519) so far considered the earliest of Skelton's satires which relate in any degree to Wolsey.

The relative moderation of the attack also inclines one to credit the play with an earlier origin. The latter circumstance perhaps helped the writers before mentioned to their supposition that Henry VIII was aimed at. That idea is a little surprising, for in so doing Skelton must have slighted the ties of a long continued patronage, extending back to the previous reign, no less than those which might be supposed to bind him to his former pupil. And had he thus intended, we might expect that he would have been speedily "out of princes' grace," which there is no satisfactory evidence to show.

One more conclusion may be drawn—that *Magnyfycence* stands as an early, if not the earliest, instance of the use of the drama as a means of personal and political attack. John Roo's *Lord Governaunce*, acted, according to ten Brink, in 1527 or 1528, is another early example of this usage. In this instance Wolsey suspected the attack and imprisoned those responsible. Possibly, he recollected *Magnyfycence*.

1 H. Krumpholz, *John Skelton und sein Morality play Magnyfycence*. Prossnitz, 1881.

2 See for example, *Colin Clout*, l. 587; *Speke Parrot*, ll. 480, 500; *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 619, 620; 490, 491.

3 *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, l. 398, etc.

4 *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 188, 595, 618. *Speke Parrot*, l. 501.

5 *Why Come Ye Not To Court*, ll. 420 f., 323 f., 644 f., 575 f.

Not mere conjecture, then, but good evidence exists to show that *Magnyfycence* has a satirical and personal motive, and that the victim intended is not Henry VIII but Wolsey, satirized here by Skelton apparently for the first time. It is worth noting, too, that as Wolsey both received the Cardinal's hat, and was appointed to the Chancellorship in 1515, his supremacy in church and state alike practically dates from this year; so Skelton's attack was not (if we accept *Magnyfycence* as the first manifestation) deferred so long as has been supposed upon the ground that the later *Colin Clout* should be so described.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Historia de Gil Blas de Santillana por Lesage, traducida por el Padre Isla, abbreviated and edited with introduction, notes, map and vocabulary, by J. Geddes, Jr., and Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1901.

The use, in modern language instruction, of texts not originally written in the language to be taught, but translated into it from some other tongue, has frequently been condemned by pedagogical authorities. It has been urged, with some reason, that pupils should be fed only on good literature, should be made familiar from the start with a pure, idiomatic style, and should imbibe through their reading something of the life and spirit of the people whose speech they are trying to acquire. Such texts have, nevertheless, sometimes done admirable service, in the early stages of study, on account of their simplicity of diction and their comparative freedom from rare and perplexing idioms. At the very outset, it is more profitable to the student to master inflectional forms, the ordinary constructions, and the commonest expressions than to meet an overwhelming variety of words and phrases. Now, when a translation offering this advantage is itself a literary masterpiece, and equals in local color any native work, it may surely be accepted without hesitation for use in the class-room. The chief objection to Father Isla's version of *Gil Blas*, as an elementary Spanish text, has been its length; in spite of this drawback, and the lack of a convenient edition, it has often made its way into school and college, to the satisfaction of teachers and the delight of pupils. The little volume prepared by Professors Geddes and Josselyn contains one hundred and sixty-three pages of narrative, judiciously selected from Books i–iii and vii–ix. We have here, among other things, the episodes of the robbers and their subterranean retreat, Doctor Sangredo, the Archbishop of Granada, the Duke of Lerma, and the interrupted wedding. In several places, where a proper comprehension of the sequence of events seems to demand it, a few lines of English supply the missing connection; the texture of Lesage's tale is, however, generally so loose that the omission of a chapter or a book or two rarely interferes seriously with the understanding of the next adventure. The editors have provided a map of Spain with an indication of the route taken by our hero, a short introduction (dealing with the author, the place of *Gil Blas* in French literature, and the controversy about its origin), copious notes, and a vocabulary. The value of these last features can be determined only by actual use. Some teachers will object to the assignment of so much space, in the notes, to the explanation of rudimentary matters of vocabulary, syntax, and idiom; but as this is a point upon which doctors disagree, it is perhaps wiser not to express a dogmatic opinion.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Outlines of the History of the English Language. By T. N. Toller, M. A., Professor of English in the Owens College, Manchester. New York, Macmillan Company, 1900. xiv, 284 pp.

Professor Toller's recent book is a not unwelcome addition to the ever-growing series of histories of our language. It gives us a new point of view—that of a lexicographer of Old English—; and, oddly enough, this view-point seems peculiarly adapted to revealing the

spirit, rather than the bones, of the language-history, to suggesting the skeleton beneath, while actually showing only the rounded 'outlines.'

The real subject of the book might be stated as 'The English Vocabulary in its relation to the character and the history of the English people;' for, although the forms of the language are by no means entirely neglected, it is the vocabulary which appeals most strongly to the author; and he tends to treat its history from the standpoint of the Foreign Office, rather than from that of the individual speaking Englishman. To quote his preface (p. v.), the author attempts

'to give some idea of the conditions under which language-material was gradually accumulated, was sifted and shaped, before the result was attained which we see in the present speech of England.'

These processes are for him largely conscious processes, to be traced to specific external influences. The 'conditions' involve the entire *Kulturgeschichte* of the race; the 'accumulation' suggests the lexicographer's painful gathering together of words from their various sources—indeed, so strongly is this 'source'-idea entrenched in the author's mind that he can speak (p. 2) of the 'material which is *drawn from Old English*, Latin and Greek,' as if Old English were still the remote 'Anglo-Saxon,' which, in the dictionaries of fifty years ago, stood for the ultimate in etymology; the 'sifting' is, in Prof. Toller's treatment, largely the work of visible, outward forces; and even the 'shaping' is made, in a very considerable degree, the product of environment, rather than the working out of inborn tendencies. Language as an organism, developing from within in accordance with the great laws which govern all language, has apparently little interest for the author; when he does touch upon this side of his subject, he never fails to be suggestive, but it is laws as explaining phenomena, not phenomena as illustrating laws, which he prefers to present to us. He never forgets that he is writing history—*a* history, in the most specific sense of the word; and for him history is one thing, science quite another.

To Prof. Toller a word means, in nine cases out of ten, a written word; his book is essentially a history of literary English, of language embalmed, rather than language vocal with life; so far is this true that, except for a few pages on Grimm's Law, introduced for the sake of showing that our language has relatives on the continent of Europe, and four pages (174 ff.) containing a few leading facts of Old English sound-history—just enough to suggest that English 'was shaped out of common Teutonic material'—the book contains no hint of the importance of phonology for an understanding of the phenomena of language. For the early period, the author's account of literary English falls little short of being an account of English literature—in fact, I know no other book in which the close interdependence, the essential unity, of life, literature, and language is so consistently depicted; but it is a little disconcerting to find (p. 170), at the end of twenty pages about the Old English prose-writers, the following words in explanation of their presence:

'A literature that contains so much as is given in the above lists may, taking all the circumstances into account, fairly claim to be spoken of as considerable, and may be expected to afford material from which a knowledge of the language in which it is written can be gained.'

One has wondered all along why all this pleasant reading about Alfred, Ælfric, and the rest; but, if this be the end, the means are certainly a little ponderous; and did the author really suppose his audience to require such extended proof that the Old English language is not a figment of the dictionary-makers?

No one would accuse Prof. Toller's style of belligerency—it presents, for the most part, the extreme of mildness; but it is none the less true that he is ever on the defensive. Though he has built a very substantial structure, he seems to be in constant fear that it will be knocked about his ears, and that any possibility of attack must be deprecated. His preface consists largely of a justification of his subject, a series of proofs that it is worthy of study; and there is hardly a chapter which does not contain, if not an apology for its presence, at least an explanation of its relevancy. This continual self-justification gives the book an air of timorousness which it does not merit, and which inevitably weakens its effectiveness, especially for use in teaching.

In fact, the style in which the book is written is perhaps its greatest fault; though occasionally clear and straightforward, notably in portions of the grammatical chapters, it is almost never strong and incisive, and is for the most part cumbrous, repetitious, and utterly devoid of rhythm, while the sentences are weighted down with a burden of modification which is beyond all propriety. This is carried so far that one leaves the book with a feeling that the author shrinks from a direct statement of fact or opinion; 'may' and 'might' have fairly rained on many of the pages; and statements are frequently so qualified as to be left mere suggestions. As a fair example may be cited a thrice-modified remark in introduction of a list of Old English verbs of Latin origin (p. 92, note 1):

'*Excluding two or three which are connected with the Church* the following are *nearly* the only instances of verbs that are *at all freely* used.'

But suggestion, rather than demonstration, seems to have been the author's ideal in his work; and it is perhaps by the presence of a slight haze that the atmosphere is most often brought to our consciousness—though there is a bracing air which is its own best witness. 'Atmosphere' is certainly a characteristic of the book; we are made to feel, by the process of suggestion, the attitude of the people toward their language at each successive stage of its development, and are made conscious of the inter-play of the different tendencies and forces of which the language at any epoch is a resultant. But we so often become impatient with the leisureliness of the author's method, and with the mountains of evidence, be it never so interesting, which he heaps up in the attempt to make his suggestions inevitable. Thus, when ten pages have been given to suggesting the spread of Latin learning in England before the Conquest, and twelve more to suggesting that many Latin words were adopted into Old English, one is a little taken aback at encountering twelve more pages—and very excellent pages—devoted to suggesting that Old English was in fact remarkably free from Latin influence. Or, after an extended discussion of the relations between English and the Celtic dialects, closing with a list of Celtic borrowings made as exhaustive as possible by the inclusion of a 'catch-all paragraph' from Prof. Skeat, one cannot but suffer a little cooling of his enthusiasm when he reads (p. 50),

'for our purpose the main value (of these lists) does not depend upon their being exact . . . There is no uncertainty in the conclusion that may be drawn from them, namely, that Celtic has only very slightly at any time influenced the vocabulary of English.'

If this were all, pray, why print the lists?

When applied to matters of grammar (Chaps. ii and x), the effects of Prof. Toller's suggestive method are often very happy; he follows the ordinary road of grammarians in a reverse direction, and derives Grimm's Law and suggests trifles like the mutation of vowels by a gentle induction, instead of stating them as the bases for rigid deductive processes. Of many linguistic facts—such as this very mutation—he does not even give us the names; he merely leads us to a more or less distinct realization of their existence. But one questions whether the book would not gain in effectiveness if the inductions were a little clearer, the conclusions a little more definitely stated; and wonders if the novice for whose initiation these linguistic chapters are so admirably adapted will be able to read the copious extracts from Old English—of which, however, translations are given in all cases.

Although the last three chapters of the book—that on Middle English, with its well-chosen quotations and its admirable comparative tables in illustration of the progress of the language; that on the Renaissance period, with its discussion of the entrance of the critical spirit among users of English; and the final chapter, which is almost a treatise on modern English prose style, closing with an apt characterization of newspaper fine writing as the Euphuism of to-day—are all excellent, each in its own way, it is the early period of the language which has chiefly claimed the author's attention, and fully two-thirds of the book are devoted to it. Old English is dear to Prof. Toller's heart, and it is pretty to see his zeal in setting forth the good points of the early language, and in defending it from imaginary assaults. He is so proud of its sturdy independence and native color, of its power of

resisting the intrusion of foreign words, of the Latin lore of the early scholars, and of the fact that all their learning could not vitiate their English. He is, indeed, so apprehensive lest the scarcity of Latin words in Old English be taken to imply ignorance that he devotes most of a chapter (v) to showing the extent of Latin learning in early England. He even finds consolation for the blighting effect of the Danish raids in the fact that they at least 'preserved the language from Latin elements' (p. 139).

When he discusses (p. 202), the terms 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Old English' as names for the earliest stage of the language, Prof. Toller is rational, if not very conclusive; but in his employment of them he is distinctly funny. He has evidently determined on the use of 'Old English' in the present volume, but an occasional 'A. S.' has crept in (pp. 36, 37, 38, 51, 226), perhaps from the author's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.' However, he more than makes up for this by his extension of the use of 'Old English' from language to life, from words to men. Thus we have (pp. 2, 22) 'Old Englishmen,' instead of 'Anglo-Saxons;' on page 92, we find the statement, 'Most of the work that language had to do in the old English times had to be done by old English material' (why not 'Old,' rather than 'old'?); and (p. 76) Latin is referred to as 'the language in which were written books that were read or composed by the old English scholars.' Dr. Martineau in his later years might perhaps have been spoken of as an old English scholar; Prof. Toller is certainly an Old English scholar; but Bede? Benedict Biscop?—the appellation is undeniably a novel one.

The treatment of Old English poetry as illustrative of tendencies in the early language is most excellent, even though one be not able to entirely escape the feeling that the author is poaching on the preserves of the historian of our literature; to Prof. Toller language and literature are one, and in the chapter (vii), in which he deals with a feature of the language—the early poetic diction—which is now extinct, he is highly successful, as elsewhere, in interpreting the real spirit of the language of a given period, in showing how truly it reflects the life and thought of the people. His quotations throughout the book are selected with much care and judgment; and they are of sufficient length and interest to be suggestive far beyond the limits of 'pure linguistics.' The use made of these quotations is often novel and ingenious: by extended comparison (pp. 112–120) of passages in the Old English *Andreas* with others from the *Beowulf* and other secular poems, the author illustrates the persistence of native and heathen imagery—the imagery of a race of ruthless fighters on the sea—even in the description of the deeds of a Christian hero in a far Eastern land; further passages from *Beowulf* are placed beside quotations from the Old Saxon *Heliand* to show that this permanence and conservatism of the poetic vocabulary is Germanic, not simply English. Again—though this feature is not wholly original—by the use of italics in two of the Old English prose passages (Chap. ix), the author shows the extent to which we are still served by the vocabulary of our ancestors before the Conquest; the italicized words are those which have since dropped out of the language.

Chapters xi and xii portray the gradual evolution of the modern language out of Old English; the steps of the process are well illustrated by extracts from fifteen important texts, beginning with a late entry in the Peterborough *Chronicle*, and closing with a pamphlet by Sir Thomas More. Each of these extracts is followed by a discussion of the points of development to be observed in its vocabulary and the forms of its words; comparisons are made with both Old and Modern English, and we are thus enabled to feel the currents as they increase and diminish in their flow through these four hundred years of our language. The rise of the French influence and the distinctions between the dialects of Middle English are set clearly before us by the use of tables, for example, that on pp. 230 f., which compares the forms of some fifteen words in the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, and Old English. An interesting comparison is that (pp. 264 f.) between Wiclif's and Tyndal's versions of parts of Mark xv; the points of contrast emphasized are two: those resulting from Tyndal's greater freedom from the idiom of his original, and

those which rise from Tyndal's having translated from the Greek, rather than the Latin.

I have spoken of its style as the greatest fault of Prof. Toller's book; but perhaps the utter lack of an index is a greater. There is indeed a table of contents; but it consists only of a reprint of the chapter headings; and though the paragraphs are numbered, there is no means of referring to them, no way—except a marginal summary—of discovering what each contains, or upon what page anything in the book is to be found. One who would seek, for example, a discussion of the verb *to be* would look in vain for any clue to its location. Citations from other authors—which are in the main admirable, especially in the notes to the earlier chapters, where the original Old English or Latin text is always given—are frequently unlocated (as pp. 43, n. 1; 45, top; 53, n. 1; 57, top; 59, n. 1; 128), and, though cross-references are occasionally met with in the text, they are quite as often omitted. In fact, the author seems entirely unconscious of the desirability of making his book easy of reference; he has at least failed to provide any means to that end.

I subjoin notes upon a few further points of detail which seemed to me worthy of remark; the figures refer to pages.

6. The colloquial *heuer* should be added to *heute*, as an example of the pronoun *he* in German.

13. '*Sartor Resartus*, p. 64;' in what edition? This reference may mean something to the author, but it is of little use to the reader.

16. The point of the discussion of 'humour' is lost through a failure to tie up the threads at the end; this is a good example of the author's tendency to dissipate his own effects; he begins excellently, but he does not keep his eye steadily on the *terminus ad quem;* in consequence, that which might just as easily be a victorious capture of a point often deteriorates into a mere interesting ramble.

20. 'The American and the Englishman still *for the most part* understood one another;' one wonders if Professor Toller has ever been in America, and, if so, whether he found himself so unintelligible as his words would suggest.

31. The 'relation' (of German) 'to the common Teutonic is like that of the latter to Latin;' the implication that 'the common Teutonic' is derived from Latin is unfortunate; a lexicographer should know the tendency of the novice to regard cognates as ancestors, and should have sought to counteract, not to strengthen it. On p. 185, there is, to one who is not on his guard, a similiar implication.

38 (line 2). The parenthesis '(cf. Lat. *lupus*)' belongs after *wolf*.

61 f., §13. Professor Toller here discusses the question of the Jutes and the probable character of their language; from the absence of the ending *-by* in Kentish place-names, he concludes that it cannot have been closely allied to the Scandinavian dialects.

73 ff. This translation from the preface to the *Pastoral Care* closely follows that in Sweet's edition, with a few changes in the direction of literalness; an acknowledgment would have been graceful.

77. Is not Winfrid, the great 'apostle to the Germans,' as worthy of mention here as Wictbert and Wilbrord?

79 ff. This exhaustive list of Old English words derived from Latin is unquestionably of value; but its ten pages seem out of proportion to the lesson drawn from them (pp. 91 f.), that 'the Latin material which made its way into general use was really inconsiderable.' The proper place for this list would be an appendix—perhaps most suitably an appendix to the author's Dictionary.

94, §8. In saying that 'foreign material was most likely to find a place among words connected with religion,' the author apparently forgets that the early monks were missionaries; in introducing Christianity to a strange and uncouth race, men have ever attempted to make its concepts simple, to bring the new religion as close as possible to the lives of the people,[1] and to make it real and tangible to even the rudest hearer. To this end its terminology must be made intelligible and so far as may be self-explanatory; and without doubt one of the things to which both Roman and Celtic missionaries devoted

1 On these points, cf. Gregory's instructions to Augustine, contained in his letter to Mellitus (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i, xxx), and Aidan's advice in council (*ibid.*, iii, v).

most affectionate care was this very invention of English expressions for religious and ecclesiastical ideas. The case was far different with the Norman clergy in the train of the Conquest; they came to a people already Christian, and no longer requiring—even had the new-comers been disposed for this—that the words of Gospel and Church be thus anxiously adapted to their unaccustomed ears. They came in the pride of a race proved superior by force of arms, bent on establishing a splendid Norman hierarchy to correspond to William's monarchy; and to this end what better means than a whole new ecclesiastical vocabulary—one now calculated, not to win the hearts of the people, to bring them near to their pastors, but rather to emphasize the distance between shepherd and flock, to show the superiority of the rich and cultured Norman clergy, with their speech drawn from Rome, to the native priests who used the every-day language of the common folk?

94 ff. The tables here, comparing Old with Modern English ecclesiastical and technical terms, are admirably suggestive of the great contrast, made prominent throughout the book, between the eclecticism of the Modern English vocabulary and the purity and conservatism of that of Old English.

155. Transpose, in the sentence beginning at line 5, 'original composition' and 'translation.'

175 f. A suggestion of the author's attitude toward the phonetic aspect of language may be gained from the fact that in giving lists of the vowels in Old English and in 'common Teutonic,' he furnishes no hint as to their pronunciation.

182 ff. The sections on declension, while full of material and of suggestion, would require much amplification by the teacher if they were to furnish anything more than a conviction of the two characteristic facts in the history of English inflection: 'continuousness of change and constancy of direction.'

204. While Professor Toller often suggests, he nowhere explicitly mentions the genius of the Northmen for self-assimilation in the matter of language; both Danes in England and Normans in France speedily relinquished the language which they brought for that which they found. The Northmen of the Viking age, with no home but the sea, no written literature, no stable institutions, nothing, in short, about which language should crystallize, seem to have felt that language belonged to the soil, and that settlement in a country involved adoption of its tongue; the spirit of adventure, the desire to turn their conquests to the best possible account, would also contribute to make them learn the language of the conquered. They learned it ill enough, doubtless—Norman-French was bad French, the English of the Danelagh bad English;—but the race-genius demanded that they learn it. Cnut and William were alike in wishing to be *English* Kings; Cnut's laws were written in English, he ruled his empire from his English capital, and his song about the monks of Ely is a part of English literature; while, according to Ordericus Vitalis, William made at least an effort to learn English at the age of forty-three. But the Normans coming to England were on a far different footing from the Danes; they were no longer Vikings, but had been French dukes for a century and a half—they possessed already a settled home, fixed institutions, stable wealth, and the conservatism which these bring; the 'Chanson de Roland' was sung before the troops on the day of Hastings, and the Normans felt themselves the bearers of a higher civilization, a superior culture, evidenced in no wise more clearly than by the language of which they were so proud; yet, even so, it was English that triumphed in the end—the Northman took the language of the soil.

205. Professor Toller fails to point out the reasons why Gaul adopted the language of Rome, while Britain did not. Southern civilization had been present in Gaul since the foundation of the Greek Massilia in the sixth century B. C.; and for six hundred years Gaul was one of the most important provinces of the Roman Republic and Empire, and was more intimately connected with Roman life than any other northern province. It adjoined Italy, and the currents of Roman trade and culture flowed freely throughout its extent; it was the home of a great number of colonists, its life centered on the Tiber. Britain, on the other hand, was the last-acquired province of

the Empire, the most remote and inhospitable, and the only one, excepting Dacia, from which the Roman troops and officials were voluntarily withdrawn; moreover, the island was never wholly subjugated. When the Anglo-Saxons came, it was to an independent Celtic land which had been under the temporary rule of a people from far over seas, whose influence had been largely external—something like the influence of England in Egypt to-day; the Britons had been cast off by the Romans, and thrown upon their own native resources. The Franks, on the other hand, came to a land Celtic indeed, but still an integral part of the Empire of which it had been a province for six centuries. Is it strange that they found a people more Latinized than did the Anglo-Saxons?

219. *Dēad*, *hēold;* it is gratifying to note that Professor Toller now places the macron over the first vowel of these dipthongs, instead of over the second, as in his Dictionary.

266, note 1. Professor Toller has misunderstood the author: More, in saying 'No aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative,' is not stating a principle of correct usage, but is describing Tyndal's error in using *No* as answer to such a question.

There are slight misprints on pp. 41 (7th line from foot), where *influence* should be *inference;* 135, n. 2, *Prænda-lög* for *prænda-lög;* 177, *gamfto* for *samfto;* and 188, *patris* for *fratris*.

Throughout the book, there has been forced upon my mind a comparison with Professor Emerson's *History of the English Lauguage*, a book which I have used with my classes; it has seemed to me that a suggestion of this might not be without use to teachers.

Professor Toller views language primarily in relation to men—to their life and their writings; to Professor Emerson, language is an independent organism and is considered largely apart from those who employ it, except so far as their vocal apparatus is concerned. In the one case the written, in the other the spoken word is the basis of study. To Professor Emerson, the forms of words make the chief appeal; to Professor Toller, their meanings and their employment.

Professor Toller states facts about our language, tells *that* things are thus and so; Professor Emerson tells *why* they are so, states principles. His book may be described as an introduction to linguistic science by way of the English language—its attitude is that traditionally known as German; Professor Toller's book is English in method, and is more nearly a chronicle. Professor Emerson, to whom the language is interesting chiefly as illustrative of the great laws of language, naturally treats his subject topically, gives, as it were, vertical sections of the language-history, displaying one phenomenon at a time. To Professor Toller, on the other hand, language is primarily a reflection of national life and history; and he treats it chronologically, giving horizontal sections which exhibit the state of the whole language at suggessive points of time.

Each method has its advantages: Professor Toller's book is probably of more popular interest, and has more 'atmosphere;' but Professor Emerson's history will make the student stronger, will help him to a broader, firmer grasp of language as a whole, will teach him that it is alive, and give him a keen interest in the speech of those about him—the speech of those who are making language-history, here and now; while from Professor Toller's book he will be more likely to get the impression that our language has been made, that its history is a thing of the past, and that it is interesting chiefly in the pages of a Shakespeare, a Chaucer, or an Alfred.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Premières Lectures en prose et en vers . . ., selected by JULES LAZARE, London: Hachette & Company, 1900. 12mo. 103 + 26 pp.

UNDER the above title M. Lazare has included some thirty-five storiettes and half as many lyrics. A glance at the list of authors, where we find, among others, A. Karr, G. Paris, Diderot, Richepin, Voltaire, Stendhal, Victor Hugo, P. Arène and Lemaître, shows that the collector has gathered good things regardless of period or plan, yet the collection, intended for beginners, cannot fail to interest discrim-

inating readers, so well has the selection been made.

The seventeen lyric pieces begin with "Confiance" by de Chambrier, continue with selections from Hugo, Lamartine, Prudhomme, Richepin and others, and close, appropriately enough, with a skit by "Stop"—whoever that may be—for there is no preface, and there are not any notes. Aside from the obvious need of a word, if only two dates, about the less-known writers represented, this rather novel omission is not seriously felt. Still, one cannot help wondering whether the couplet (p. 67)

> Quand j'ai bu du vin clairet
> Tout tourne, tout tourne au cabaret,

is the parrot's own, as its somewhat irregular gait would imply, or whether it is the product of a poet's pen. And certainly the student would want to know more about the use of *pour* in "vous servez les pommes de terre pour une sauce blanche" (p. 87).

The "full" vocabulary does not quite justify its name: some words and expressions are omitted purposely, and, no doubt, properly; for example, memento, p. 13; corolles, p. 95; others have been overlooked for example, toque, p. 25; poularde, p. 66. The omission of "lieutenant," first mate (p. 54), is perhaps misleading, and "tunique" (p. 57) is a uniform (not an ordinary) coat.

The book is evidently intended for the natural-methodists as each prose piece is followed by a half dozen questions in French on its subject matter.

Typographically it is almost perfect—I have noticed the omission only of a period (p. 26) and an apostrophe (p. 78).

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FRENCH PHONETICS.

Historical Primer of French Phonetics and Inflection, by Margaret S. Brittain. Oxford, 1900, pp. xii–108.

In a short introduction to Miss Brittain's *Primer*, Mr. Paget Toynbee says that the book is designed to be an introduction to his Anglicized edition of Brachet's *Historical Grammar*,[1] and he intimates further that these two works, in conjunction with his own *Specimens of Old French*,[2] form a fairly complete historical course in the French language. Miss Brittain's *Introductory Primer* is a beautifully clean piece of work; the author has succeeded in condensing into a very small compass all that part of French historical grammar which is usually studied by advanced classes as an introduction to a more general study of Romance philology; namely, the phonology of the vowels and consonants and the morphology of the various inflections of the Old French language. In accomplishing this by no means easy task, Miss Brittain is not a whit behind her predecessors in clearness and accuracy, while the whole subject is relieved of much unnecessary material, and is put into such convenient and handy form as to be available for constant ready reference.

In such a condensation, however, there are always certain points whose omission is questionable, and the writer would call attention to the following cases where a little additional information seems necessary to avoid continual reference to the more complete historical grammars. The numbers refer to the paragraphs in Miss Brittain's *Primer*.

In the 'Introduction' (p. 1) no mention is made of 'Low Latin' as distinguished from 'Classical' and 'Vulgar Latin,' yet it is referred to in § 14.—13. The definition usually accepted for a vowel 'in position' or 'checked' is that such a vowed is 'one followed in the same syllable by a consonant;' thus a vowel in a monosyllable which ends in a consonant is considered as 'in position' even though its development is that of a 'free' vowel. Miss Brittain's definition would classify the vowels in such monosyllables as 'free.'—13–2 and 17. The group *s*+*l* should be included as not checking a preceding vowel, according to the example of *poile* or *poêle*<*poisle*<*peisle*<*pesle*<PENSILEM.—24. This is called 'Foerster's Law.'—25 note. *Frigidum*>*froid* is usually explained by the analogy of *rigidum*.—27 note. *Loup* is rather an etymological derivation from *louve* than dialectal; cf. the *Dictionnaire Général*.—33. For a fairly satisfactory explanation of *focum*.*jocum*, *locum*, and *cocum* cf. Baker: *French Historical Grammar*, London 1899, § 109.—35. It seems more logical to consider that free, tonic, open *o* before a nasal consonant diphthongized into *ue*, as in BONUM

1. Brachet and Toynbee: *A Historical Grammar of the French Language*, Clarendon Press.

2 Clarendon Press.

>*buen*, HOMO>*uem*, and that *bon*, *on*, etc., are atonic developments.—36 note. The theory supported by Suchier,[3] Uschakoff[4] and Herzog[5] of the uniform nasalization of the tonic vowels in the Old French period has received sufficient acceptation as to be at least worthy of mention.—52. It might be well to explain that the final syllable of a proparoxyton remained as mute *e*, when the penult fell later because of the secondary accent which it bore. —63–2. In accordance with the system of indicating the pronunciation used elsewhere *pan*, *tan*, *fan*, should read *pā*, *tā*, *fā*.—69. In the table on p. 39, and in § 7, p. 11, one finds the term 'guttural,' while elsewhere the preferable term 'palatal' is made use of.—95 note. Another case where the sixteenth century substitution of *s* for *r* has affected the modern orthography is *besicles* for *bericles*; cf. the *Dictionnaire Général*.—125. Meyer-Lübke's theory of the development of *-arius*>*-airo*>*-ęro*>*-ier* seems to me preferable to that advanced by Cohn[6] and adopted by Miss Brittain, for words in which *-arius* is preceded by *i* would be reduced rather to *-arius* than to *-iarus* because of the great numerical supremacy of words in *-arius*.—133–134. Latin *c* and *n* final fall when the word so ending is in atonic position, otherwise they remain, cf. *non* >*nen* tonic, and *ne* atonic.—161. On the origin of the use of *mon*, etc., before feminines beginning with a vowel, cf. Herzog, ZRP., xx, pp. 84–85.—174. A more logical theory for the loss of the *b* from the ending of the imperfect indicative is that of proportional analogy to the future, proposed by Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, p. 493. The only misprint I have noticed is *e* for *l* in § 55, 2.

At the end of the *Primer* are careful and complete indices of the subject matter and of the French words discussed. The material which Miss Brittain presents in her work should enable any student of ordinary ability to read Old French intelligently, and to understand the grammatical foundations of the language.

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3 Suchier: *Allfranzösische Grammatik*, Halle, 1893, §§ 35–49.

4 Uschakoff: *Zur Frage von den nasalirten Vokalen*, Helsingfors, 1897.

5 Herzog: ZRP, xxii, pp, 536–542.

6 G. Cohn: *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorlitterarischen Französisch*, Halle, 1891, pp. 274–291.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NORTHANGER ABBEY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the sixth chapter of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, where her fair heroines are warmly praising the merits of Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, the following conversation takes place:—

". . . . oh! I am delighted with the book! I should like to spend my whole life in reading it, I assure you; if it had not been to meet you, I would not have come away from it for all the world."

"Dear creature! how much I am obliged to you; and when you have finished Udolpho, we will read the Italian together; and I have made out a list of ten or twelve more of the same kind for you."

"Have you, indeed! How glad I am! What are they all?"

"I will read you their names directly; here they are, in my pocket book. 'Castle of Wolfenbach,' 'Clermont,' 'Mysterious Warnings,' 'Necromancer of the Black Forest,' 'Midnight Bell,' 'Orphan of the Rhine,' and 'Horrid Mysteries.' Those will last us some time."

"Yes; pretty well; but are they all horrid? Are you sure they are all horrid?"

"Yes, quite sure; for a particular friend of mine, a Miss Andrews, a sweet girl, one of the sweetest creatures in the world, has read every one of them."

It might be supposed that Miss Austen, in her evident satire of the Udolpho class of fiction, invented the above suggestive titles of contemporary romances. As a matter of fact, they were all actual romances which appeared at London between 1793–1798. In the latter year *Northanger Abbey* was written, though not prepared for press until 1803 and not published until 1818. The following references to various magazines and reviews of the day will afford further information concerning the romances cited:—

The Castle of Wolfenbach; a German Story. By Mrs. Parsons. 2 vols. 1793.

See *Critical Review*, x, (n. s.,) pp. 49–52.

Clermont. A Tale. By Regina Maria Roche. 4 vols. 1798.

See *Critical Review*, xxiv, (n. s.,) p. 356.

Mysterious Warnings. By Mrs. Parsons. 4 vols. 1795.

See *Analytical Review*, xxiii, p. 659.

The Necromancer: or the Tale of the Black Forest. Founded on Facts. Translated from the German of Lawrence Flammenberg by Peter Teuthold. 2 vols. 1794.

See *Crit. Rev.*, xi, (n. s.,) p. 469;

also *Monthly Rev.*, xvi, (n. s.,) pp. 465–466.

The Midnight Bell, a German Story, founded on Incidents in Real Life. 3 vols. 1798.

See *British Critic*, xii, p. 304; *Monthly Mirror*, vi, pp. 34–35; *Monthly Rev.*, xxvi, (n. s.), p. 340; and *Analyt. Rev.*, xxvii, p. 644.

The Orphan of the Rhine. A Romance. By Mrs. Sleath. 4 vols. 1798.

See *Anti-Jacobin Rev.*, i, p. 603; and *Crit. Rev.*, xxvii, (n. s.), p. 356.

Horrid Mysteries, from the German of von Grosse. By P. Will. 4 vols. 1796.

See *Analyt. Rev.*, xxv, p. 678.

A glance over the lists of New Publications, printed by several of the reviews about the end of the eighteenth century, will verify the fact that Jane Austen could have made her satirical array of titles even more ridiculous without drawing upon the imagination. Part of her generation must have been content to feast upon such alluring literary fare as *Santa Maria, or the Fatal Pregnancy*, and *The Bride's Embrace on the Grave, or the Midnight Wedding in the Church of Mariengarten.*

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COGNATES OF GERMAN dreck.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—For German *dreck* Kluge adduces only one authenticated cognate from the other Germanic dialects, namely, ON. *þrekkr*. If I am not mistaken, there is a well attested cognate extant also in Anglo-Saxon. In *Bas. Hexam.* vii we read . . . *hy beoð tolysede ungeleaffulice swa swa forrotad* ÐREAX *on hyra unðeawum*. Again we have in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* xxxv, 150 . . . . *se fotcops awende wundorlice to* ÞREXE. A third instance of the word is found in Wright-Wülker 376,13 *caries þreahs*. This should, I think, dispose of Prof. Skeat's doubt as to the propriety of his rendering 'rottenness' in the passage just quoted from Ælfric. The word is absent from Sweet's *A.-S. Dictionary*.

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TWO SUGGESTIONS FROM BOCCACCIO'S VITA DI DANTE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—If Milton has (*P. R.* 4. 240) 'Athens, the eye of Greece,' Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*, §7) speaks of 'Atene, la quale fu l'uno degli occhi di Grecia;' both are no doubt derived from Justin (5. 8. 4): 'ex duobus Græciæ oculis,' when he is referring to Athens and Sparta. Other parallels in Latin (to say nothing of the Greek) are: Cic., *Nat. Deor.* 3. 38. 91; *Ad Attic.* 16. 6. 2; *De Lege Manil.* (*De Imp. Cn. Pomp.*) 5. 11; *Catull.* 31. 1.

There is a remote suggestion of Shak., *Sonn.* 107. 13, 14; Milton, *Ep. on Shak.*, in the following from the *Vita*, §6, where Boccaccio is speaking of Giovanni del Virgilio's Epitaph on Dante: 'Pensando le presenti cose per me scritte, come che sepoltura non siene corporale, ma sieno, siccome quella sarebbe stata, perpetue conservatrici della colui memoria.'

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BRIEF MENTION.

Prof. Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr., of the Romance Department of Boston University, who last year was made a Doctor of the University of Paris, with highest honors (mention très-honorable) being the second American to receive the new degree, established as a French equivalent for the German Ph. D., has just been awarded a prize of five hundred francs for his *Étude sur la Phonétique Italienne* by the joint Commission of the five Academies composing the Institut de France. These prizes, originally established by the distinquished French scholar and writer Volney, have been given for the most remarkable linguistic works, and especially for treatises on comparative grammar, such as those of Max Müller, Miklosich and Bopp.

This *Étude sur la Phonétique Italienne* (Paris, Albert Fontemoing) consists of one hundred and seventy-five large octavo pages, with two hundred and thirty-two photographic reproductions of vowel and consonant tests made upon an aluminum cylinder revolving by clock work, and is a distinct contribution to the subject of experimental phonetics in general, and in particular as applied to Italian. The tongue positions are most accurately shown by means of a large number of cuts reproducing experiments made with the artificial palate, along the same lines as the well-known ones made by Prof. Grandgent in his 'German and English Sounds.' With the exception of the Abbé Rousselot's work in 'La Parole' and 'Les Principes de Phonétique Expérimentale,' no such thorough analysis of experimental methods has as yet been published.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1901.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND GERMAN LITERATURE.

II.

WIELAND'S *Teutscher Merkur* does not take a firm and consistent stand in regard to the American Revolution. On the whole, it is astonishing how little information about American affairs the paper contains. In vol. i (1773, p. 279) Wieland refers to England's difficult position as regards her American colonies without expressing any special sympathy for the colonies, but he recognizes the far-reaching results of a possible revolution; in vol. ii he devotes a whole page to the affairs of the East Indian Company (pp. 302–3), but does not even mention America; in vol. iii he writes eleven lines (p. 296) on an Indian uprising against the Spanish in South America; the affairs of the English colonies are not mentioned in this volume, nor in vol. iv. In vol. v (1774, p. 379) there is a brief reference to the refusal of the Americans to import tea that was taxed and to pay any taxes levied without their own consent. In the remaining three volumes, published during 1774, no political news is given. In 1775 (vol. xii, p. 189) Wieland writes:

"Wenn man die Amerikaner nicht entschuldigen kann, dass sie sich wider ihren Mutter-Staat aufgelehnt haben, so muss man doch auch gestehen, dass sie ihren Widerstand mit den scheinbarsten Bewegungsgründen und mit solchen Ausflüchten zu beschönigen wissen, die gar leicht alles auf ihre Seite bringen könnten. Auch ist nicht zu leugnen, dass es ihnen weder an Mut noch Einsichten fehlt, ihre Empörung durchzusetzen."[90]

This certainly cannot be called unqualified approval of the American cause. But in the same volume Wieland compares the declaration made by the colonies to other nations to the finest orations of Demosthenes and Cicero.[91] In 1776 (vols. xiii–xvi) we have a number of brief accounts concerning the American war, more than in any other year, but they are confined to the statement of facts or rumors.

In 1777 the political review was written by Chr. W. Dohm, the well-known advocate of the political emancipation of the Jews. In vol. xvii (pp. 78–91) he gives a detailed account of the situation in America and of England's difficulties in suppressing the rebellion. He calls the American struggle

"the greatest political event of the seventh decade of our century and perhaps, in the eyes of posterity, of the whole century."

He seems to be thoroughly alive to the importance of the war, but on which side are his sympathies? It is not easy to tell. In the course of the article he says (p. 88):

"Für einen teutschen Patrioten muss es eine angenehme Idee sein, dass die von teutschen Fürsten überlassenen Truppen bisher sehr glücklich angekommen sind, und die Hessen nur in einer von der Opposition erdichteten Nachricht geschlagen worden."

In vol. xviii of the same year Dohm says (pp. 67–68):

"Eben da man die Nachricht erwartete, dass Philadelphia übergegangen sei, ist eine andere eingelaufen, dass Washington den Geist der Freiheit und des Mutes seinen Amerikanern—die man vielleicht zu früh für blos zusammengelaufenes Gesindel halten wollte—wieder eingehaucht und bei Trenton einen nicht unerheblichen Vorteil erhalten habe. Dass unsere Hessen sich, wie es ihrer würdig ist, gezeigt haben, und dass nicht ihre Tapferkeit, sondern nur ihre Zahl der feindlichen gewichen sei, ist bewiesen."

A little further on (p. 69) Dohm says:

"Schon sind unsere teutsche Truppen wieder in Bewegung. . . . England's Bedürfnis derselben ist erstaunend gross."

No expression of disapproval regarding the soldier-traffic; on the contrary, Dohm expresses confidence in the bravery of the German troops, and satisfaction at their success. Schubart, too, in his *Teutsche Chronik*, is gratified at the news of Hessian bravery and success in America, though his poems clearly show his sympathy for America and his contempt for the soldier-traffic.

On p. 73 of the same volume Dohm writes:

"Die abscheulichen Mordbrennereien in den Schiffswerften und Kaufmannsmagazinen, besonders in Bristol—sind wahrscheinlich auf

90 Cf. *Amer. Germ.*, iii, p. 348.

91 Cf. *Amer. Germ.*, ibid., p. 348.

Rechnung der Amerikaner und ihrer englischen Freunde zu schreiben; eine Art Waffen, deren diese Verteidiger der Freiheit sich schämen sollten."

One is almost tempted to take the phrase *Verteidiger der Freiheit* ironically, considering the connection.

From 1778–1782 the *Teutsche Merkur* contains no political news, probably because the readers were more interested in literature and book-reviews than in politics.

In a brief review of J. A. Remer's *Amerikanisches Archiv* (1778, v. xxii, p. 28), the reviewer, doubtless Wieland, says:

"Diese Schriften, die für die Verteidigung der Amerikanischen Freiheit geschrieben sind, haben nicht allein den Vorteil der bessern Sache für sich, sondern, etc."

How must we explain this inconsistent, halfhearted attitude of men like Wieland, Schubart and Dohm? It is not sufficient to say that these men lacked strength of character, though that would be true of Wieland and Schubart. The real reason is again to be sought in the political condition of Germany, as pointed out above, in the lack of political training, of common national interests, in the confusion of what is politically right and wrong, advantageous and disadvantageous, in the attitude of the princes who sided with England.

The peace of Versailles brought joy to many hearts in Germany as well as in America. Caroline Michaelis, whose brother, as we have seen, had joined a Hessian regiment, writes:[92]

"Die Meiners hat mir die erste Friedensnachricht gebracht. . . . Wie wohl ist mir, sie (die Freude) auch so allgemein um mich herum verbreitet zu sehen. Ich bin nicht allein, die einen Bruder erwartet. Es kommen mehr Brüder, es kommen Väter und Söhne und Geliebte zurück."

The Hessian soldiers and officers about to leave for America, or just returning, attracted universal attention. I believe they are rather common figures in contemporary plays, at present I can give only a few instances. The Silesian play-wright, Stephanie (der Jüngere), in his comedy *So muss man Füchse fangen*,[93] introduces one Alexander Falkenklau, *ein amerikanischer Parteigänger, der im amerikanischen Kriege Kaperei getrieben, und schwer Geld zusammengebracht hat* (act iii, sc. 5). Falkenklau, a second Horribilicribrifax, is accompanied by his "soldier and servant" Horn. The latter had been a recruiting agent of the Dutch East India Company, later he donned a Hessian uniform, passing himself off as a Hessian soldier. He meets Colonel Falkenklau, who has just returned from the American war. By gross flattery Horn wins favor with Falkenklau, and makes the colonel believe that he has personally witnessed the latter's deeds of prowess (act i, sc. 4). This is some of the conversation passing between them:

Act ii, sc. 1. Falkenklau: "Ha! wenn ich aber auch an das Metzeln denke, so ich erst in Amerika angerichtet, so zitt're ich vor mir selbst. Hast du wohl von dem Tage gehört, da ich mit meinem elenden Kaper drei Schiffe in Grund borte?

Horn: Was sollt' ich nicht! ich flog ja selbst mit dem einen in die Luft, und schwamm hernach vier Tage auf offner See herum, bis ich Unterkommen fand. . . . Und hernach dort am Delaware, wo Sie, glaub' ich, ein paar Tausend niedermetzelten, und so viele im Morast umkommen machten, dass man Sie hernach den Würgengel nannte."

Later Falkenklau says of himself (sc. 8):

"Ich bin Alexander Falkenklau; ein Mann, der in Nordamerika so bekannt ist, wie der Nord-Nord-Wind. Ich bin dort zahmen und wilden Bewohnern gleich schreckbar geworden. Denn Untergang ging vor mir her, und Verwüstung folgte mir auf der Ferse. Kein Feind konnte vor mir bestehen, so wenig als vor dem Blick eines Basilisken. Man zittert itzt noch, wenn man mich dort nur nennt. Und bin ich hier noch nicht so bekannt, fehlt es, bei meiner Tapferkeit! nur an Gelegenheit, mich bekannt zu machen. Dies muss ich vorläufig von mir sagen, damit man weiss, mit wem man zu thun hat, denn ich habe ein Geschäft vor, das mir itzt so wichtig ist, als in Amerika das Totschlagen."

In sc. 13 Falkenklau calls himself *das Schrecken Amerikas*.

In the comedy *Das Loch in der Thüre*, Stephanie presents to us a poor nobleman, Herr von Klings, who, pointing at his uniform, says (act i, sc. 7):

"Sehen Sie, den Rock kann ich einmal nicht mehr ausziehen, der muss nun schon in der Welt, entweder mein Glück oder mein Unglück machen. Wo ist das aber zur Stunde thunlicher als dort, wo man eben Leute braucht, die sich allenfalls wollen totschlagen lassen. Ich will nach Amerika."

92 Febr. 6, 1783; cf. Waitz, *Caroline* I. 6.

93 *Sämmtliche Schauspiele*, Wien, 1787, vol. vi.

His friend advises him to marry a rich girl, but he knows of none, and does not wish to wait quietly without any definite plan,

"denn die Leutchen in Amerika könnten den lieben Frieden erbeten, dann sässe Herr von Klings ganz auf dem Trockenen."

This nobleman, without money, calls to mind what the historian Schlosser relates in his autobiography regarding the troops of the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst quartered at Jever before their departure for America and after their return:

"Lauter lustige und mitunter geistreiche Leute, Studenten, verdorbene Kaufleute, Adelige, die das Ihrige durchgebracht, Leute von allen Zungen und aus allen Ecken des deutschen Vaterlandes sammelten sich unter den Fahnen."

Some of these men, he says, employed their spare time in New York and Canada in acquiring useful information and in continuing the studies they had begun at home.[94] Matthisson, in his *Erinnerungen*,[95] tells of a former schoolmate who, after wrecking his life through dissipation, sought refuge with a Hessian regiment about to sail for America.

But to return to Stephanie. In the play *Die Wildschützen* (Wien, 1780), the scene of which is laid in Suabia, not very far from Ulm, Stephanie shows how the common people looked upon military service in America. Veit, a poor peasant, has been caught poaching. His angry lord wishes to make an example of him. He is condemned to do military service and to be sent to America. His faithful wife, Gertrud, visits him in the village jail.

Gertrud: Weisst Du's noch nicht? Wir bleiben ja beisammen.

Veit: Beisammen! Beisammen! Gott sei Dank. O liebstes Weib! Nun ist mein Unglück um die Hälfte leichter. Wie denn?

G. Du musst Soldat werden und er schickt uns übers Wasser, und ein paar tausend Meilen weit hör' ich, in ein Land—ich weiss nicht, wie's heisst.

V. Amerika vielleicht?

G. Ich glaube—richtig! Dahin.

V. So weit?

G. Aber wir bleiben ja beisammen Veit!

V. (nach einiger Zeit) Holla! Das ist wohl gar nach der Insel Phanien?[96] Von der ich als Bube so viel hörte. Mein Vater zählte eine Menge Bekannte, die alle dahin gegangen sein. Er sagte oft, wenn er nicht Weib und Kinder gehabt hätte, wär' er auch mitgegangen. O! dort ist's gut sein, man bekömmt Häuser und Feld, so viel man will, und lebt so glücklich, als in einem Lande der Welt. Lass's gut sein, bestes Weib! Das ist ein Glück für uns, dort wollen wir erst recht anfangen zu leben.

G. Wirst Dich wohl betrügen, lieber Veit! Wenn's das wäre, würd'st Du ja nicht als Soldat hingeschickt.

V. S'ist schon richtig. Sie führen itzt Krieg, und da werden eine Menge deutscher Soldaten hineingeschickt.—Das ist gut, Weib! Das ist gut. . . . Siehst Du, wenn der Krieg aus ist, bitt' ich um meinen Abschied, den werden sie mir hernach schon geben; wenn Friede ist, braucht man ja nötiger Bauern als Soldaten, und lass mir Äcker anweisen und lebe mit Dir und meinen Kindern glücklich.

G. Ja, wenn's nur so geht.

V. Was sollt's nicht? Bauern braucht man überall und nötiger als sonst wen. Sie haben ganze Scharen vor 30 Jahren hineingeholt, wie mir mein Vater erzählt hat, aber keinen einzigen Junker. Feld soll Dir dort im Überfluss sein, und der beste Boden, den man sich denken kann, wer nur arbeiten will, nun, nun, und arbeiten kann ich, arbeit' gern, das weisst . . . Stell Du Dir vor, was wir da noch für wohlhabende Leute werden können."

When Veit finds out that he is not to be sent to America after all, he is dissatisfied. He says to his wife (act iii, sc. 4):

"tausendmal lieber dort (Amerika). Ich hätte doch Hoffnung gehabt, wieder Bauer werden zu können, aber hier muss ich zeitlebens Soldat bleiben! . . . Ich sag' Dir's, auf der Insel Phanien wär's besser gewesen. Was wären wir dort mit der Zeit vor Leute geworden."

A recruiting officer a little later says to Veit who has been pardoned (act iii, sc. 8):

"Schade, mein Sohn! dass Ihr nicht an mich gekommen seid, Ihr hättet Euer Glück in Amerika gemacht. Man hätte Euch nach Ende der Trubeln, wenn Ihr dort hättet bleiben wollen, ein Eigentum angewiesen. Ihr wär't ein gediehener Mann geworden."

In none of the plays just quoted do any of the characters show any sympathy for the American cause. The soldier-traffic is treated as something perfectly legitimate and natural.

Perhaps the most interesting play showing the attitude of the German middle classes towards the American cause and the Hessian service is *Das Räuschgen*, a comedy by C. F. Bretzner (Leipzig, 1786).[97] Fritz Busch, major

94 Georg Weber, *Fr. Chr. Schlosser*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 7 f.

95 Wien, 1845, i, 181.

96 Note of Stephanie: So nannte und beurteilte der Gemeine Mann in der Pfalz und Schwaben vor 30 Jahren Pensilvanien, wohin er von den sog. Neuländern angeworben wurde.

97 Cf. Kürschner, D. N. L., vol. 138.

in the Hessian army, is expected home from America. Held, his servant, enters to announce to the major's old father the arrival of the son. The latter has been in America for six years.

Act iii, sc. 5. Busch (the father):

"Es muss Euch wahrhaftig recht weit ums Herz geworden sein, als Ihr wieder den vaterländischen Boden betratet. Denn manchmal ging's doch verzweifelt heiss zu. Wie war Euch zu Mute, als Ihr das erste Land wieder sahet?

Held: Wer kann das beschreiben! Sowie wir das Mutterland erblickten, schrie alles: Willkommen, willkommen, Vaterland! . . . Was hätte mein Herr zuweilen drum gegeben, wenn er an einem heissen Tage, wenn uns die Amerikaner warm gemacht hatten, so einen deutschen Labetrunk gehabt hätte.

Busch: Aber sag mir, war mein Sohn immer brav, immer mutig?

Held: So einen Mann giebt's nicht mehr! Seiner Tapferkeit, seiner Bravour und seinem Mute haben die Engländer vieles zu danken. Die Amerikaner können an uns denken, mein Seel! wir haben sie tüchtig gepfeffert, das muss Ihnen jeder sagen! . . . Beim beschwerlichsten, forciertesten Marsche, wenn's durch dick und dünn ging, wir uns durch Wälder und Wüsteneien durchhauen mussten, oftmals den Feind im Rücken, nichts zu brechen und zu beissen hatten, war er beständig mutig und auf'm Zeuge; munterte durch seine Lebhaftigkeit und Thätigkeit alles auf und rettete manchen braven Kerl, der ohne sein Zuthun pritsch gewesen wäre! . . . Einmal gerade vor der Eroberung von New York wurden wir detachiert, ein Magazin wegzunehmen. Wir waren ohngefähr 500 Mann und hielten den Feind für noch einmal so stark! Alle Hagel, Herr! wie hatten wir uns geschnitten! Der Feind war beinahe 3000 Mann, und ehe wir's uns versahen, war unser kleines Korps umzingelt. . . . Mein Herr occupiert mit einem unglaublichen Mute eine Anhöhe, die die Feinde tüchtig besetzt hatten, erobert ihre Batterie, haut ein, delogiert und verdrängt sie von ihrem Posten; erobert ihr Geschütz und rettet dadurch unser ganzes Korps. . . Ich sah, wie er zuerst auf die feindliche Batterie sprang, seinen Soldaten zurief: Mutig, Kameraden! hieher, meine Kinder! haut ein! Wir siegen! . . . Und seine Grossmut, Herr Busch, seine Menschenliebe, seine Herablassung gegen jedermann. . . Manchem braven Hausvater hat er das Seinige erhalten, und dem hätt' ich's raten wollen, der ohne die äusserste Not ein Haus—nur einen Stall in Brand gesteckt hätte.

Busch: Das lässt euch auch Gott raten! In Brand stecken, Mordbrenner agieren.

Held: Krieg ist Krieg, Herr Busch, und Not kennt kein Gebot! Order muss pariert werden! Freilich blutet dem rechtschaffenen Manne das Herz, wenn's zu dergleichen Excessen kommen muss: aber das darf den Soldaten nicht kümmern; das wird dem Fürsten ins Gewissen geschoben, der verantwort' es, wenn er kann. . . . Werden Sie nicht böse, Herr Busch; das bringt der Krieg mit sich, und das muss der verantworten, der ihn angefangen hat; der Soldat wäscht seine Hände und thut seine Pflicht."

Held then relates how the major at one time was ordered to set fire to a farm-house. A beautiful young woman appears and implores the major to spare her sick father, a Quaker. The house is burned down, but the major takes care of the old man; on his death-bed the latter begs the major not to desert his daughter.

Busch (iii, 6): "Es ist mir doch nicht recht! es geht mir doch im Kopf herum, dass ich meinen Konsens dazu gab, dass mein Sohn mit nach Amerika ging. Ein braver Kerl kann er freilich geworden sein; aber Häuser anzünden! sengen und brennen! Ob ihm das einmal für genossen ausgehen wird? Freilich heisst's Kriegsgebrauch; der Chef soll für den Riss stehen, dem schieben wir's ins Gewissen: aber, lieber Gott! so ein beschwertes Gewissen möcht' ich sehen, das alles zu verantworten."

To atone in some degree for his son's deeds Busch sends a handsome present to an old man with five grandchildren, whose son had fallen at Saratoga, and whose daughter-in-law had died of grief.

The conversation between Busch and the major is especially significant.

Act iv, sc. 10. *Busch:* "Aber mein Sohn, jetzt überleg' ich's erst, dass es ein grosses Glück ist, Dich wieder zu haben: die Herren Rifflemans sind gute Schützen und sollen so richtig auf den Kopf treffen, dass es nur eine Freude mit anzusehen sein soll? Ist's wahr? Haben sie Dir brav warm gemacht?

Major: O ja, mein Vater, sie haben uns manchmal tüchtig zu schaffen gemacht. Überhaupt sind die Amerikaner brave Leute, eine recht tapfere Nation!

Busch: Da hast Du recht, mein Sohn: es sind brave Leute! und es geht mir noch immer im Kopfe herum, dass mein Sohn mit wider sie gefochten hat. Wider eine Nation, die für die Rechte der Menschheit, für ihre Freiheit, für ihr Vaterland ficht, sollte von Rechts wegen kein rechtschaffener Mann den Arm aufheben.

Major: Ah! lieber Vater, da gehen Sie zu weit! Der Soldat darf nicht so philosophieren; der geht hin, wo Krieg, wo Ruhm und Ehre zu erringen ist, und wohin sein Fürst ihn ruft. Gerecht oder ungerecht: das kümmert ihn

nicht; er ist tapfer, thut seine Pflicht und überlässt das übrige den Grossen im Kabinette.

Busch: Aber wenn die Grossen im Kabinett ungerechte Kriege anfangen, freie Männer in Banden schlagen, Menschheit und Völkerrecht unterdrücken, um eines schalen Gewinnes willen Tausende morden lassen: soll da der brave, rechtschaffene Kerl seinen Arm dazu leihen? soll er morden helfen, weil man ihn dafür bezahlt? Pfui, wenn ihr das Ruhm und Ehre erringen heisst.

Major: Alles, wie man's nimmt, mein Vater! Recht der Natur und Freiheit tönen herrlich im Munde der Gelehrten und Philosophen, sind aber in der That nichts als Chimären. Haben wir nicht die auffallendsten Beispiele, dass gerade solche freie Staaten oft die unglücklichsten sind. Ein kleines Uebel muss immer grössere verhüten. Aber, mein Vater, wir kommen zu tief in den Text; der Krieg ist nun einmal in der Welt, und wir werden ihn sobald nicht hinausphilosophieren.

Busch: Hast recht, lieber Sohn; du hast ihn ja nicht angefangen.

The old Quaker's daughter turns out to be the major's wife, who has accompanied her husband to Germany. Probably the first American woman on the German stage, she quickly wins over her father-in-law with her charming presence. *Liebes gutes Weib!*, the old man exclaims (iv, 17), *Ich hoffe, Du sollst's nicht bereuen, Dein Vaterland um eines deutschen Mannes willen verlassen zu haben.* There is also a charming scene between the little American boy, the major's son, and his German grandfather.

Held's views are typical of the rank and file of the German mercenaries: blind obedience to their superiors, and unreasoning loyalty to the princes, the responsibility is not theirs.[98] Major Busch is not very different in that. He patronizes the Americans by practically saying they do not know what is good for them. The old father has sympathy for the Americans, he takes an ideal interest in their struggle, but, after all, it is only a matter of sentiment, it does not influence his actions: he permits his son to join the Hessian troops, and is well pleased to hear that his son acquitted himself bravely. To be sure, he speaks of qualms of conscience, but when his son ridicules this talk about natural rights and liberty, he is quite contented.

A few brief references to America taken from contemporary plays may be added. F. L. Schröder, the great reformer of the German stage, a fertile playwright and skillful adapter of English plays, has a scene in *Der taube Liebhaber* (act i, sc. 9), in which a servant reads the newspaper to his master.[99] He comes across the following passage:

"London, d. 15. Oct. Gestern morgen zwischen 12 und 1 Uhr ward Herr Laurens, Präsident des Congresses, im Tower gefänglich eingezogen."

The play was printed in 1781. Henry Laurens of South Carolina, commissioner to Holland, was captured by the British, and imprisoned in the Tower in 1780.[100] This report, therefore, may have been literally taken from a German newspaper.—H. F. Möller, in a play entitled *Wilkinson und Wandrop* (Frankfurt a. M., 1779), the scene of which is laid in an English possession, mentions the capture of an English ship by an American privateer (act i, sc. 9).

America was then, as now, the place of refuge for men who had made a failure of life or who tried to get out of the clutches of the law. In Iffland's *Jäger* (1785, act iii, sc. 13) a farmer, who has lost house and cattle in a lawsuit, deserts his family and goes to America. In Goethe's *Stella* (act i) Lucie claims that her father left them to go to America. In Grossmann's comedy, *Nicht mehr als sechs Schüsseln*, the son of a *hofrat* wishes to go to America. His father angrily replies: "Wo der Auswurf der Europäer hingehört,"[101] an idea which is just beginning to disappear from the minds of many educated Germans.

Christoph Kaufmann, "the apostle of the Storm and Stress," thought at one time of emigrating to America, as he was without means of support.[102] A. M. Sprickmann, another eccentric representative of the Storm and Stress, writes:

"Alles ist verdreht und nirgends Genuss für den ganzen Menschen, wenn nicht in Amerika Friede mit Freiheit kömmt—freier Bürger auf eignem Acker, das ist das einzige! da ist

98 Kapp, *Soldatenhandel*, pp. 89, 207; *Amer. Germ.* iii, 380.

99 *Dramatische Werke*, ed. E. v. Bülow, Berlin, 1831, vol. i.

100 *B. Franklin's Works*, ed. Bigelow, vii, 127 n.

101 Quoted by Henneberger in *Zsch. f. dtsch. Kulturgeschichte*, 1858, p. 748.

102 Düntzer, *Chr. Kaufmann, Der Apostel der Geniezeit*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 108.

Beschäftigung für Körper, für Gefühl und Verstand zugleich—alles andre, Wissenschaft und Ehre und was wir sonst noch für schöne Raritäten haben, ist alles einseitig und barer Quark.[103]

The mother of F. L. W. Meyer, Schröder's biographer, entrusted a large part of her capital to an old friend of the family. The latter left for America and was never again heard from (about 1777).[104] The physician E. L. Heim, when a young man, wanted to go to Malabar to make his fortune. His brother Ludwig writes to him (Feb. 2, 1772):

"Est-ce que vous n'avez jamais pensé aux Amériques septentrionales? C'est un pays riche, fertile, abondant. On y vit dans les colonies anglaises à notre façon. Le trajet est court et on n'y risque rien du climat."[105]

The influence of the American Revolution upon German literature must not be overestimated. The authors of the article in *Americana Germanica* state (p. 358):

"Contemporary with the stirring events in America, there is to be noticed the outbreak of a fiery revolutionary spirit in German poetry, the direct connection of which with the American movement can in no wise be doubted."

The authors do not make it clear what this direct connection consists in. Is it cause and effect? That would be impossible.

Some of the poems cited, like Stolberg's *Zukunft*, Schubart's *Freiheitslied eines Kolonisten*, Goeckingk's *Golddurst*, contain open references to the American Revolution; others, however, though written in praise of liberty and in defiance of the tyrants do not, on that account, owe anything to the American Revolution. Stolberg's poem *Die Freiheit* appeared in the *Musenalmanach* of 1775, but was composed as early as 1770, some time before the American Revolution.[106] Schiller's poem *Der Eroberer* appeared in 1777, but every line of it, in thought and form, shows the influence of Klopstock, whose "slave" Schiller then was. Schiller here out-Klopstocks Klopstock. His contemporaries recognized this at once. Haug, who published the poem in his *Schwäbisches Magazin*, says:

"Von einem Jünglinge, der allem Ansehen nach Klopstocken liest, fühlt und beinahe versteht."[107]

The day of judgment appointed for the "wicked kings" is vividly described in the eighteenth book of the *Messias*, one of the earliest scenes composed by Klopstock, and one of which he was especially proud.[108]

Contempt for, and hatred of, the conqueror is often met with in Klopstock's earlier odes. *Der Lehrling der Griechen* (1747), the first of Klopstock's published odes, contains the lines:

Den (Lehrling der Griechen) ruft, stolz auf den Lorbeerkranz,
Welcher vom Fluche des Volks welkt, der Eroberer
In das eiserne Feld umsonst.

In the ode *Für den König* (1753) Klopstock says:

Weh dem Eroberer,
Welcher im Blute der Sterbenden geht.

Cf. also the odes *Petrarca und Laura* (1748), *Friedrich der Fünfte* (1750), *Kaiser Heinrich* (1764), and the prose composition *Gebet eines guten Königs*.[109] Minor[110] has shown how wide-spread this motive was in the literature of the eighteenth century.

Klopstock praised liberty long before the American Revolution. In the ode *Das neue Jahrhundert* (1760), written in memory of the Danish revolution of 1660, which broke the power of the aristocracy and established royal absolutism, the following lines occur:

O Freiheit
Silberton dem Ohre!
Licht dem Verstand und hoher Flug zu denken,
Dem Herzen gross Gefühl!
. . . . . .
O Freiheit, Freiheit! nicht nur der Demokrat,
Weiss, was du bist,
Des guten Königs glücklicher Sohn,
Der weiss es auch.

The same spirit of liberty and hatred of tyranny appears in Herder's poem *An den Genius von Deutschland* (1770).

"Der freien Deutschen Blick, so kühn und blau und hell,
Wie lang soll er dem Tanz—Marcell
Der Blick des Sklaven—Sklaven sein?
Die konnten einst die Welt befrein!

103 Sauer, *Die Sturm und Drangperiode*, p. 28; D. N. L., vol. 79.

104 Cf. *Zur Erinnerung an F. L. W. Meyer*, Braunschweig, 1847, I, 48.

105 G. W. Kessler, *Der alte Heim*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 106.

106 Cf. Erich Schmidt in *A. D. B.*, vol. 36, p. 351.

107 Schwab, *Schiller's Leben*, Stuttgart, 1840, p. 51; Brahm, *Schiller*, I, 75.

108 Hamel, *Klopstock's Werke*, ii, 341, 361; Lappenberg, *Briefe von und an Klopstock*, p. 101.

109 Schmidlin, *Klopstocks Werke ergänzt*, I, 231 f.

110 *Schiller*, I, 149.

Die lassen, Knaben, sich entmannen
Von Knabenwütrichen, die noch,
Die kläglichen Tyrannen!
Selbst tragen Vormundjoch!

Der freien Deutschen Geist, wie lange soll er sein
Ein Mietlingsgeist? Soll wiederkäun,
Was andrer Fuss zertrat!"

Ramler has a passionate *Ode an die Könige* in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* of 1772. It bears the date of 1760, and refers to the Seven Years' War.

O ihr, verderblicher, als der entbrannte
Vesuv, als unterirdische
Gewitter! Ihr, des magern Hungers Bundsverwandte,
Der Pest Verschworene!
. . . . . .
Ihr Könige, wie wird es euch nicht reuen,
(Wo nicht die fromme Reue fleucht,
Durch Wohllust, falsche Weisheit, laute Schmeicheleien
Des Höflings weggescheucht,)

Dass euer Stal unmenschlich Millionen
Urenkelsöhne niederstiess,
Und keiner, satt des Unglücks, seine Legionen
Das Blutfeld räumen hiess!

The members of the *Göttinger Hainbund* are largely indebted to Klopstock for their ideals of liberty, and for their hatred of tyranny. Voss writes to Brückner (Sept. 2, 1772), describing the celebration of Klopstock's birthday:

"Wir sprachen von Freiheit, die Hüte auf dem Kopf, von Deutschland, von Tugendgesang; du kannst denken wie! . . . mit vereinten Kräften wollen wir den Strom des Lasters und der Sklaverei aufzuhalten suchen. . . . Gott wird uns helfen, denn Freiheit und Tugend sind unsere Losung."[111]

Bürger wrote his powerful lines, *Der Bauer an seinen Durchlauchtigen Tyrannen*, in the summer of 1773, half a year before the Boston Tea Party.[112] Voss's hatred of the nobility was based not on theories, but on bitter personal experiences.[113] Nor did Fritz Stolberg's inspiration come from the American Revolution. That may be seen from the fact that, as a boy, he wrote an ode to liberty (either in 1760 or, more probably, in 1766).[114] In the ode *Die Freiheit*, published in 1775, he says:

O Namen, Namen festlich wie Siegesklang:
Tell, Hermann, Klopstock, Brutus, Timoleon!

In his *Freiheitsgesang aus dem zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* he mentions Hermann, Tell, Luther, Klopstock. We see it is Klopstock and the old Germanic liberty, Plutarch and the heroes of antiquity that inspire him. Switzerland is to him the land of liberty.[115]

Let it be remembered, moreover, that previous to the American Revolution there had been a protracted struggle for popular rights in Württemberg, that Joh. Jak. Moser had spent five long years on the Hohentwiel as a martyr to Suabian liberty (1759-64).[116] If we add to all this the powerful influence of Rousseau, it is clear that the American Revolution had no share in producing the revolutionary spirit in German literature.[117] But after the American Revolution had once broken out, it was only natural that it should arouse the greatest enthusiasm among many, as it tried to project into actual life some of the ideas about which German poets were writing and dreaming.

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111 Biedermann, *Deutschld. i. 18. Jh.*, iii, 173 f.

112 Grisebach, *Bürgers Werke*, Berlin, 1894, p. xxvi.

113 Herbst, *Joh. H. Voss*, Leipzig, 1872, i, 48, 111.

114 Menge, *F. Stolberg*, Gotha, 1862, i, 9 n.

115 Janssen, *F. L. Stolberg*, Freiburg i. B., 1882, p. 10. Cf. also p. 377 for Stolberg's later views of America.

116 *A. D. B.*, xxii, 379-80; Scherer, *Gesch. d. dtsch. Litteratur* pp. 502-3.

117 Cf. also Sauer, *Die Sturm- und Drang-Periode*, p. 32, in Kürschner, *D. N. L.*, v. 79.

REMARKS ON THE CRITERIA OF USAGE, with Especial Reference to Kind of (a), Sort of (a).

As Dr. Fitzedward Hall observes in discussing the word *Reliable*, to present evidence for the availability and repute of a locution is not to advocate its use; and I am no advocate of these phrases. At the same time, I am satisfied that the evidence in their favor is much more authoritative, much more cumulative and progressive, than is commonly allowed: indeed, for present and future English, their limited validity must undoubtedly be admitted. *Kind of* (*a*) seems to be older than *sort of* (*a*), *sort of* being apparently still only or chiefly used with plurals long after *kind of* (*a*) had emerged, the whole class being later than the reciprocal form, *men of all kinds* or *sorts*. *Manner*, *style*, *type*, *form* and the like had presumably the same general progress, some or all of them occurring even without the geni-

tive sign. Oliphant calls the use of *kind of* in Shakespeare, *T. G. V.* iii, 1, 262, "a new use of kind like the French espèce."

It should always be remembered that linguistic usage is neither moral nor statute law, but only a more or less variable common law: in other words, usage is a fashion whose constraints and penalties are generally analogous to those of other fashions. Some of its features are virtually indefeasible, while others are, in the life of a language, almost incidental and capricious: grammatical structure illustrates the one, vagaries of colloquialism the other. The demarcation of usage, the creation and preservation of a definitive standard of detail, is, under man's various freedoms, inconceivable: the apprehension and observance of any standards depend on the faculties of an educated taste and the substitution of that taste for personal habitudes as well as for misleading statistics, however pretentiously compiled. Nothing exhibits the freedom of man less than mathematics, and nothing exhibits it more than conduct: of the vicissitudes of conduct, fashion is the most whimsical manifestation; and fashion in language is saved from hopeless eccentricities only by the irrepressible recognition of its essential significance and by the several dependences thereby entailed. The significances of speech, being non-mathematical, are never precisely apprehended, and, by compensation, its delinquencies are never quantitatively punished: as we can never count on the revelations of speech fully realized with its contained emotion, so we have not to dread the punishment of violations distinctly forbidden and definitely assessed: we have only to anticipate losses to ourselves enforced by ourselves, analogous to those involved in other forms of conduct that do not encroach upon the rights and privileges of our neighbors.

Accordingly, no final tests of usage have even been formulated; and those who concur in the generally accepted principles consciously or unconsciously diverge in their application. Abstractly admitting the three canons of usage, ordinary speakers and writers continue to rely on the accident of habit and the chance of defence under challenge: general literarians, who patronize every collateral subject they touch, make usage a favorite field for the confident advocacy of ignorant predilections; while professed grammarians, and especially professional rhetoricians, for the most part base their recommendations on data of very unequal and very inadequate pertinence or cogency. The first class of volunteer authorities usually deliver themselves very positively under a supposed inspiration to elevate the English of the daily press: the second group, well exemplified in the author of *Words and Their Uses*, divert real strength from creative or critical literature, for which they are equipped and adapted, to appraisements without commission: the third class show at their best in deluded discoverers who advertise a definite number of pages of a definite number of authors as the impregnable bulwarks of their self-authenticated survivals. A fourth class, consisting of one man—the late Fitzedward Hall—is enabled to pronounce on the propriety and the validity of usage by the results of exhaustive investigation, not undertaken to prove any preconceptions or even to urge any conclusions, but naturally asserting and recording and, by ready verification, resurrecting, correlating, and interpreting the characteristic features of English expression as a whole.

Obviously, the confidence inspired by a careful examination of the whole record by a man of unique competence during a lifetime of absolute devotion cannot be conceded to the reported results of special jobbing in routine by an ordinary bookmaker: we have no guarantee that such a man has chosen enough authors, the right authors, or the right portions: he is only too likely to be unobservant or to be diverted from certain phenomena towards others: he may not possess the special discriminations needed for a significant report; and his possible correctness in some details is made questionable by his evident aberration in others. Besides their meagre and arbitrary provision of data, in itself an absolute disqualification, these authorities can rarely rid themselves of an inconsistent recourse to a superficial and suicidal logic whose errors unfit them for grammatical or rhetorical functions. And, finally, a mere ratio of occurrences is at best cogent only according to the nature of the occurrences. As long as usage has un-

doubtedly licensed expressions apparently contrary to ultimate logic, a variant on an accepted locution may be provisionally validated by proving it so fully in accord with general analogies that it might have been, and may yet be, warranted as the preferred choice or one of the reputable choices, under laws that work by natural, and not by necessary, selection. This is the true recognition of genius in a language, by which it is not only what it now is but also what it is becoming. A growing idiom, however young, is not to be denounced as an outlaw or pointed at as a monster.

All that is here implied can be adduced to sustain many locutions condemned by the authorities now referred to. For example, the phrases *kind of a*, *sort of a*, exhibit a use of the article analogous to others fully accepted; this use has not even the theoretic improbability of certain pleonasms that were once allowable; and they are justified by the increasing "consentience" of modern writers; and the fact that "careful writers" do not succeed in evading them is perhaps the most forcible attestation of their claims to actual usage, however they are disclaimed by the "advertent" attitude of the same writers under challenge. This contrast between usage and opinion precipitates the dilemma whether an author is authority for the usage he uses or the usage he advocates—a dilemma illustrated by Cardinal Newman's hatred and use of *is being*—a dilemma calculated to confute some windy statistics and to reverse the easy sentences of some offhand judges. Most standard writers have a very inadequate, a very misleading, or a very erroneous, account to give of their own usage and that of others, whatever be the degrees of their actual conformity to discriminating and discriminated usage; and nothing could be more entertaining than a show of these doctrinaires bound to the mouths of their own canons.

It is an adequate answer to grammarians and rhetoricians who stigmatize uses as illogical to prove that they are actual uses; but it is a satisfaction besides to expose the crudity of their reasoning. Nothing in grammar is clearer than the distinction of subject and object, as functions of the noun; yet in many tongues neuters have no subject-form, the accusative being used also as a nominative. Indicative and subjunctive are distinguished as actual and potential; yet even in the same tongue each mood is at times used for the other, and there is only a superficial similarity in the modal uses of different tongues. *I spent no more than I could help*, seems to mean *than I could not help;* and *I cannot but try*, is interchangeable with *I can but try*, as is *ever so* with *never so*. Even a double negative is illogical only on questionable premises: in general grammar, it is not the application of two negatives to the same assertion that implies offset, but only the direct application of one negative to the other. To condemn a collocation as illogical simply by assessing the combination of its individual terms under the conception of a period different from that of its composition is a confusion of standards at wide variance with any reassuring logic. Logic is only consistency: consistency depends on original significance and content as compared with exposed or converted content; and no established collocation can, merely by its present suggestions, be fairly judged as radically illogical, though such suggestions have often been urged as reasons for the retirement of a superfluous veteran. A capital instance of survival is *not at all*, which ought to mean *somewhat* but does mean *altogether not:* with it we may compare *I don't think so*, *I never remember*, and *all that glitters is not gold.*

In the phrases *kind of a*, *sort of a*, the appearance of *a* is not illogical by any final test: if it were, other appearances of this article would equally discredit themselves, as they do not. We cite: "fruit called (an) orange:" "catch (a) cold:" "becomes (a) general:" "rascal of (a) boy:" "reputation of (a) witch:" "form of (an) association:" "in the nature of (a) chaplain:" "something of (a) humorist:" "the theory of (a) husband:" "but (a) very little impression:" "the character of (an) old fellow:" "a bit of (a) poet:" "the part of (a) man:" "fine figure of (a) man:" "more of (a) man:" "shadow of (a) chance:" "show of (a) case:" "type of (an) adventurer:" "in the way of (a) special:" "oh! for (a) shame:" "a better husband than (a) friend." Many of these intrusive articles go very far back in the history of English:[1] on the other hand, some

[1] It should perhaps be noted that Prof. Einenkel has recently traced the introduction from the French of the indispensable idiom by which one may boast of being 'a devil of a fellow.' See *An English Miscellany* (Furnivall Memorial Volume), p. 68, and *Anglia Beiblatt*, xii, 61. J. W. B.

of them can be explained as true individualizers and not as due to mere interchanges of position or to duplication of construction.

I have made no ratio of usage in these locutions, nor have I any complete record for any author or work. I have no sympathy with the physiology that interprets temperament from relative blushes and pallors, numerically noted on a given occasion or on several given occasions, unless the degrees of cause and effect in each motive, emotion, and circulation be measured, unless the occasions be established as fully typical, unless conscious effort to express, repress, or suppress be assessed, unless habit, tendency or condition, regardless of special stimulus, be allowed for. A writer's habit, however unintelligent, is indeed some contribution to the fact of actual usage; but any given writer's habit, if conscious or conventional, is no contribution to the essential theory of that usage; and his general "carefulness" in the mechanical observance of automatic formulæ is not to be urged to attest the validity of these formulæ as against other locutions not to his taste or outside of his procedure. The fact that such writers are almost certain at times to use variant expressions establishes the progress of such variants; and their use proximately proves the writer's inability to differentiate the expressions in argument, when his irregularity is called to his attention. Thus the inadequacy of statistics is at once brought into question: the man who hesitates is lost; and the conscious or unconscious licenser, whose variations, once begun, grow with his productions, distributes himself proportionately amongst the various sides till he breaks down the force of his evidence for any as against the others; nor has the ratio of occurrences any cogent significance without impossible assessment of the period and the circumstances. The special exercise of conscious "carefulness" may retard or revise the natural use of expressions towards which he has been growing: a few occurrences in his later writings, as compared with many of the other form in his earlier work, would clearly show his tendency toward the newer fashion; and, in any case, one variation without readiness to resist or power to explain weakens his testimony on the point. Furthermore, the cumulative testimony of literature for a given locution is not nearly so strong in the number of relative occurrences in any given author as in the diffusion of it amongst writers in general—a test analogous to the influence of every social fashion, in accordance with which people generally will on a certain occasion do that for which the special occasion will not frequently arise in the case of any individual. Therefore, a complete record of any current author of standard excellence would be at once inadequate and superfluous; and to attempt a statistic of all would be overwhelming. I risk nothing in saying that all the writers of today that are otherwise classed as the best exhibit evidences of growth in *kind of a*, *sort of a*, and that not one even of the "careful" writers evades these phrases, if his expression in extent and in style suggests their use. There are, indeed, other ways to express the notions —as by the indefinite article alone and by the indefinite pronouns—but, as a general thing, where our phrases would naturally occur, the other phraseology is apt to seem an overconscious deviation or correction; and such instances are not in point, because mere predilection or stylistic preference cannot affect the ultimate grounds of correctness in natural collocations that are personally disfavored or abandoned. Small importance, then, is to be attached to the habit of any writer, if that writer can be proved guilty of recognized lapses, lapses defended as some great writers have defended unquestionable vulgarisms of their own. Finally, those who wish to satisfy themselves how far the most confident grammarians and rhetoricians are competent as historians or logicians can test their doctrines on the English subjunctive either by the theory or by the practice of English writers, including the grammarians and rhetoricians themselves; and they can verify the ordinary teaching of these authorities on the "universal present," a form of assertion which in natural English rarely conforms to the instruction of the doctors. Such investigation will disclose a parrotting chorus of error, their philosophy of the subjunctive being neither philosophy nor usage, and the utmost truth in the other doctrine being the persistence of a few stock expres-

sions. Linguistic fates are scornful, and it would be cruel to cite illustrations: on the other hand, it is a consoling reflection that the truly great masters are the least dogmatic, and freely yield to the influence of locutions condemned—and used—by their subalterns. These masters either themselves use these locutions or, without stigma, cite them and others even stranger to present analogy.

The examples already cited seem sufficient to establish a theoretic basis for the use of the article involved in the phrases; and their practical growth is easily exemplified by modern authors, any list of whom is a list of authorities for the phrases. It is not at all true, though commonly taught, that the indefinite article points out an individual member of a class, except in a sense that makes such individual a concentrated representative of the class; and, as singular and plural are only different aspects of the object in reference to divisibility, such individualization is of no moment whatever. Every indefinite, as applying to no one object in particular, implies necessarily a plurality of reference: hence, the indefinite article, whatever be its special uses, cannot essentially limit its noun to a concrete individual. Moreover, the essence of the abstract idea is that common factor of characteristics that is necessarily and by definition a unit or an identity: yet the abstract noun, so far as it is truely abstract, does not permit the indefinite article even in tongues where it requires the definite article. Indeed either article and no article at all may exhibit the generic sense; just as *any* may mean *every*, and may take a plural correlation either in pronouns or in comparisons. The objection to *kind of a man* applies equally to *kind of man*, so far as the number of *man* is concerned; and it has already been shown not to apply at all to either combination: grammatically, *a people*, *the people*, *this people*, *these people* are equally singular and equally plural: *a gallows* is a reciprocal to *these kind*, without reference to the contextual relations of the latter: *a few* is as plural as *few*; and we even say *this kind of one*.

While, generally speaking, the articular and unarticular forms are used interchangeably, so far as I know attention has never been called to the fact that the articular form is never used unless the phrase when converted permits the article: thus we say *this kind of a book*, because we can convert into *a book of this kind;* but we do not say *this kind of a weather*. As commonly used, *kind of* does not permit *the* before the following noun, because it is an approximating term; but, when used as designating strictly a class or category, *the* is pertinent, as Lamb might have said "the prettier the kind of *the* thing is," where he did say *a*. As already indicated, the presence of the article intensifies the indefiniteness, and it is particularly suited to emphasize approximation or resemblance; though this intensification cannot, of course, extend to the colloquialism exhibited in *kind of sad*, an Americanism beginning to appear in English books.

Any ultimate grounds for the exclusion of the indefinite article from these phrases would need support from general grammar; but general grammar has no such support to give: in nothing do various languages show their genius more than in their articular idiosyncrasies, and the historic periods of any one language show almost equal inconsistency. Evidently the phrases in question are now in for their day; and remonstrance or deprecation, however well-founded, cannot alter facts. Regardless of statistics, I believe the facts to be as I have stated them; and I prefer the endeavor to establish conclusions by the interpretation of characteristic features rather than by a computation of items. The mistaken reliance on statistical methods, as it seems to me, is only too evidently undermining the meditative and emotional study of all phenomena; and the substitution of statistics for sympathy and imagination is not only obscuring the impulses of interpretation but actually displacing the ordinary applications of common sense. Language and literature in particular are suffering fatally from this supersedure; for it is the peculiar aspiration of this age of evaporated sensibility to display its feelings in schemes and analyses. An age of statistics develops enterprises of great moment, but not of great pith, numerous talents but no comprehensive genius, figures of gigantic proportions but void of character: it counts what it can, but never misses what it eliminates: it substitutes calculation for interpretation, and is not even aware that security of computation is not the joy of appreciation.

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*ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON OLD SPANISH CONSOGRAR, CONSAGRAR, *CONSANGRAR.*[1]

Sed buenos mensageros, e ruego vos lo yo
Que gelo digades albuen Campeador:
Abra y ondra e creçra en onor,
Por *conssagrar* con los yffantes de Carrion.
Poema del Çid, 1903–6.

Diego Gonçalez odredes lo que dixo:
"De natura somos de los condes mas lipios,
"Estos casamientos non fuessen apareçidos,
"Por *consagrar* con myo Çid don Rodrigo."
Ibid., 3353–6.

The word *consagrar*, which occurs only in these two passages in the sense of 'to become related to by marriage,' has always puzzled the editors of the *Poema*, and has never yet, I believe, been correctly explained. In the early edition of T. A. Sanchez[2] we find *consograr* in both passages. F. Janer,[3] prints *conssagrar* in the first passage, with foot-note: "Con acierto Sanchez y Damas Hinard corrigen: *consograr*." In the second passage he writes *consograr*. A. Bello,[4] has *consograr* in both passages; in his glossary he defines the word thus:

"Consograr, emparentar con alguna persona, contrayendo matrimonio con hijo o hija suya, o dándole un hijo o hija en matrimonio, 1944, 3414, Alejandro 312."

Here it should be said that the exact nature of the relation entered into by the two kings in the *Alexandre*, stanza 312, to whom the expression *consogravan* is applied, is not apparent from the context; this passage cited by Bello can, therefore, prove nothing as to the force of the word in the *Cid*. E. Lidforss,[5] prints *conssograr*, *consograr*.

Now there are two serious objections to be urged against the reading *consograr*. In the first place, it involves a very improbable correction of the unique manuscript. The text of Menéndez Pidal has *conssagrar*, *consagrar*, as quoted above; if there were the slightest doubt regarding the letter *a* in the codex, the editor in question would certainly have mentioned the fact. And it is very hard to believe that the scribe has erred twice in writing this rare and peculiar expression. In the second place, the reading *consograr* does not give the right meaning. In the poem, when the Infantes of Carrion marry the Cid's daughters, the relation into which the Infantes and the Cid enter with regard to each other is described by the verb *consagrar*. *Consograr*, on the other hand, means "durch Verheiratung der *beiderseitigen* Kinder *Gegen*schwiegerältern werden."[6] The extension of the signification of *consocerum* in its Roumanian derivatives will certainly not be taken as an indication that the same phenomenon occurred in early Spanish.

Consograr is said by A. Restori[7] to be derived from *cum*+*socerari* (given without asterisk). I do not find *socerari* in Du Cange nor in the index to the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, and I am inclined to question its existence. At any rate, the best ultimate starting-point for the derivation of *consograr* is certainly *consocerum*, which is a well-attested Latin word. G. Körting[8] gives only the Roumanian descendant of *consocerum*, to which might be added Italian *consuocero*, and Spanish *consuegro*, Portuguese *consogro*, with the verbs formed therefrom (or possibly derived from an Iberian Latin **consocerare*).

A. Restori prints the reading *conssagrar*, *consagrar* in the passages under discussion, and derives the form from "*cum*+*sacrare da sacrum*."[9] Later on it will be shown that the *consagrar* of our text is not, as Restori thinks, identical with the modern *consagrar*, the formation of which will be discussed now. Körting, mentioning the French *consacrer* as a derivative of *consacrare*, which he unnecessarily marks with an asterisk, says: "In den übrigen Sprachen ist *consecrare* als gelehrtes Wort vorhanden." The Romance forms of *consecrare* present certain difficulties which seem to deserve further explanation. The forms which I have noted are early Italian *consagrare*, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese and Old Pro-

1 In preparing these notes for publication I have profited much by the kind criticism of Prof. Sheldon.

2 *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo xv*, Vol. i, *Poema del Cid*, Madrid, 1779.

3 *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. lvii, *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo xv*, Madrid, 1864.

4 *Obras completas*, Vol. ii, *El Poema del Cid*, Santiago de Chile, 1881. In this edition the lines are numbered 1944, 3414.

5 *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, Lund, 1895.

6 Tolhausen, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

7 *Le Gesta del Cid*, 1890, p. 219.

8 *Lateinisch-romanisches Worterbueh*, Panderborn, 1901.

9 *L. c.*, p. 219. The formula is, of course, inaccurate, since the word goes back directly to *consacrare*.

vençal *consagrar*, Old Catalan *consegrar*, Italian *consacrare*, Modern Provençal *consacra*, Old and Modern French *consacrer*, Old French *consecrer*. It will be observed that, if sound-development were taken into consideration alone, the first two forms given would have to be called popular, since they present the vulgar vowel *a* in the root-syllable and have also suffered the popular development of intervocalic *cr* to *gr*. The same may be said of the Old Catalan *consegrar*, which at first sight seems to show a learned retention of the *e* in *consecrare*, but which, according to H. Suchier,[10] merely furnishes an example of the confusion, regular in Old Catalan, of *a* and *e* before the accent. Still, in spite of these correct developments, it would scarcely be justifiable to infer that *consecrare* remained in popular use in some localities from the earliest times to the period when the Romance literatures made their appearance. The meaning of the word, on the contrary, seems to mark it as one of those numerous clerkly expressions associated with the services of the Church, which kept finding their way into the popular speech for several centuries after the acceptance of Christianity in Romance countries. Assuming, then, as Körting seems to do, that all the forms of *consecrare* in Romance were borrowed from the literary language, and not handed down from antiquity by oral tradition, how are we to account for the seemingly *popular* developments which they present? The vowel *a* of the root-syllable surely points to an ecclesiastical Latin pronunciation of *consecrare* with *a* instead of *e* in the second syllable, the rule observed by the vernacular in the pronunciation of recognized compounds being followed, during a certain period, by the learned language as well. The development of intervocalic *cr* to *gr* might lead one to suppose that the word became popular before the sixth century, at which time, at least in Gaul, this sound-change probably took place. But this does not necessarily follow, since the learned language in the early middle ages was affected by many of the vulgar consonant-developments. All the forms with *gr* may accordingly go back to the clerical *consagrare*, which existed in Gaul in the seventh, probably even in the sixth century. The date of the popularization of the word in Gaul, and probably in Spain, is earlier than that of the introduction of French *consacrer*, Provençal *consacra* (showing partial correction), which doubtless occurred after the third quarter of the eighth century. In like manner, Italian *consacrare* is a later correction of *consagrare*. The French *consecrer*, another late learned affectation, did not succeed in replacing *consacrer*, and went out of use.

Restori is undoubtedly right in preferring the reading of the MS. to the emendation *consograr*, but his identification of the *consagrar* of our text with the modern Spanish *consagrar* is open to serious objection. It is surely improbable that an expression meaning literally 'to consecrate' should have acquired in these two passages, and nowhere else, the meaning *to become related by marriage*. It should be especially noticed that *consacrare* (*consecrare*) and its modern derivatives are *transitive*; and I have been unable, after patient search, to find any evidence for a similar change in the construction and signification of *consecrare* (*consacrare*) anywhere, either in Latin or in Romance. Considering the religious character of the marriage ceremony, it is of course not impossible to imagine that the expression *to consecrate* [*the bond of wedlock*] *with one* should have developed to express the idea *to become related by marriage to one*. But until some unquestionable evidence can be produced for this remarkable transfer of meaning, it must be considered highly improbable. Indeed it was precisely this semasiological difficulty that caused the editors to approve almost unanimously the emendation *consograr* above discussed.

Since both these explanations of our text are clearly unsatisfactory, I have ventured, in the Old Spanish Seminary at Harvard conducted by Dr. J. D. M. Ford, to present a new one. I propose to derive the MS. form *consagrar*—if this form be accepted—from **consanguinare*. This gives exactly the right meaning, namely; *to consanguinate with*.[11] The formation of **consanguinare* in Latin is as natural as that of **consangrar* in Spanish; cf. *illuminare*, *exstirpare*, etc., compounds formed directly from substantive stems. I have no direct proof

10 *Dkm. prov. Lit. u. Spr.*, 1883, p, 564.

11 For the English word, see Murray's *Dictionary*.

of the existence of the word, although Du Cange quotes *consanguinitare* from a glossary, where it is defined as signifying *sanguini* [for sanguine?] *propinquitare*. **Consanguinare* should give, according to phonetic laws, *consangnar*, later *consangrar*. The loss of the second *n* in our text may conceivably be due to dissimilation, or to the influence of *consagrar*< *consacrare*. I would call attention, however, to the carelessness with which the letters *m* and *n* (very often represented only by a nasal dash over the preceding vowel) are used in the unique manuscript of the *Poema del Çid*. The following examples, taken from Menéndez Pidal's edition, will illustrate this point:[12] *etro* for *entro* (47), *Marti* for *Martin* (141 ‡), *pagava* for *pagavan* (186 ‡), *mebrados* for *membrados* (315 ‡), *etrar* for *entrar* (665 ‡), *destellado* for *destellando* (762), *laças* for *lanças* (834 ‡), *deseparaua* for *desemparaua* (910 ‡), *ded* for *dend* (1063 ‡, 2134), *dozitos* for *dozientos* (1164), *ale* for *alen* (1896), *era* for *eran* (2267 ‡), *capo* for *campo* (2343), *tatas* for *tantas* (2400 ‡), *ebayr* for *embayr* (3011), *ondrasse* for *ondrassen* (3155 ‡), *relumbra* for *relumbran* (3177 ‡), *lipios* for *limpios* (3354), *veçido* for *vençido* (3484 ‡). The omission of the nasal dash before a consonant being common in the codex, I suggest that we should *restore* **consangrar* in both the passages quoted above. Accepting this form, we may quite readily explain it as a Romance development (*con*+*sangre*+*ar*), and the exisience of a Latin **consanguinare*, though of course still quite possible, may be doubted.

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ISIDOR 17, 7.

In the OHG. Isidor translation the passage *ipsa pluralitas personarum* is rendered *dhiu selba maneghiu chinomidiu* (Hench, *Q. and F.* 72, 17, 7; Braune, *ahd. Lesebuch*, 13, 44). Conjectures as to the correct reading have been made by Sievers, Weinhold, Hench and Kögel as follows:

dhiu selba maneghiu chinomideo (Kögel, Hench); *dhiu selba maneghiu chinomidîn* (Weinhold, Sievers). In view of the fact that a few lines above we find as a translation of *per pluralitatem personarum* the OHG. *dhurah dhero heideo maneghîn*, I would suggest the emendation *dhiu selba maneghîn chinomideo*.

None of these three readings are free from objections. Hench (*Q. and F.* 72, 95) regards *maneghiu* as an abstract feminine, nom. sing., and *chinomidiu* as a copyist's mistake for the gen. plural *chinomideo*, and refers to examples of feminine abstracts in *-iu* given by Kögel. We find, however, only five such nouns in *-iu*, *-u* and four in *-o*, and these are all in isolated monuments. Sievers further points out (P. B. B. 5, 144) that against seventeen abstract fem. in *în* occurring in thirty-one passages in Isidor any nominative in *-iu* is out of the question, and that *-în* must be regarded as the sole form of the abstract fem. nom. with Isidor.

On the other hand, Sievers's suggestion that *maneghiu* be treated as a strong inflected adjective after *dhiu* and that *chinomidiu* be regarded as a mistake for *chinomidîn*, fem. abstract, is commented upon by Hench (*Q. and F.* 72, 95) as follows:

"*maneghiu* als st. Nom. eines adjectivums nach *dhiu selba*, wie Weinhold, Is. 8, 120, Sievers, Beitr. v. 144 f., es auffasst, wäre doch eine höchst seltene ausnahme[1] in der Prosaliteratur des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts."

It necessitates, moreover, a translation that departs farther from the Latin than is usual with Isidor.

To the reading, *dhiu selba maneghîn chinomideo*, there is the objection that we must assume two mistakes on the part of the scribe occurring in two successive words; but this emendation is the most acceptable as regards the Latin original, and the grammatical difficulties which the other readings present seem to disappear. Hench in his introduction (p. xviii) has shown that the Paris Codex is a copy. If the original had the reading *manegîn*, we can understand how a copyist might write *maneghiu*; and after this form in *iu* the mistake of writing *chinomidiu* for *chinomideo*, as suggested by Hench, would easily follow.

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12 The ‡ indicates that the missing nasal dash was inserted later by a corrector.

1 Cf. *dhea dhrifaldiu heilacnissa*, Ms. for *trinam sanctificationem*.

FEWTER.

THIS word is tolerably common in the romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It signifies some kind of support for a spear, which was brought into use only when the knight was about to charge, serving to steady his aim, and perhaps add force to the thrust.

To him rides with his spere on fewter festened. *W. of Pal.* 3593.
A spere in fewter he foldes. *Av. Art.* xlii, 7.
A fair spere in fewtyre he castes. *M. Art.* 1366.
In fewtir thai kest scharpe speris. *Wallace*, iv, 447.
In the rowme of ane renk in fewtir kest he. *Rauf Coilzear*, 809.

I have met with the English word nowhere but in the old romances (in which I include the *Wallace*). Chaucer does not use it, using *arest* instead (*R. R.* 7561; *K. T.* 1744).

In Old French it is common. See *Orson de Beauvais*, 3511; *Ordre de Chevalerie*, 7204; *Chev. d. l. Charette; Rom. de Renart* x, 734; Froissart, *Dit dou Florin*, 137.

Du Cange (s. v. *fellrum*) cites *lances sus fautres*, *Guiart* (A. D. 1214) and one or two other romances, and *fautre* or *feltre* seems to be the old French form. If the etymology from *feltrum* (and not from *fulcrum*) be correct, it must have been a felt-lined socket, and the change from that term to *arest* or *rest* would seem to imply a change in the article itself.

Now we know pretty well, from contemporary drawings, the shape and mode of holding the lance. In the twelfth century it seems to have had a plain smooth shaft; but in the thirteenth we find the shaft swelling out above the gripe, so as to give a firmer hold. In the fifteenth we find the *vamplate*, a flaring disk of metal, fastened on the shaft just above the gripe. The lance was held under the arm, and gripped with the hand close to the body, the butt standing out clear behind. Now when the vamplate was used, it was brought against the knight's cuirass; but before its use, some contrivance was necessary to confirm the lance, as the mere gripe of hand and arm could not withstand the impact of the charge. Hence the *fewter*, and then the *arest* or *rest*.

The *arest* was a metallic projection from the right side of the breast-plate (as we may see in Meyrick's *Antient Armour*) which supported the lance in some way. The *fewter*, if a socket, must have received the butt of the lance, and the question is, how was it attached, and where? The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it, "the rest or support for a lance . . . . attached to the saddle of a knight." That it could have been attached solidly to the saddle seems impossible, for the illustrations show the lance held well above the saddle, and the butt standing out free behind. It might possibly have been attached to the saddle or the cuirass by a chain or thong, and slipped over the butt before charging. Meyrick gives no help, for he supposes (in Glossary) the *fautre* to have been some kind of "armour for the thighs," a notion which his very citations show to be absurd. Godefroy (s. v. *fautre*) defines it: "arrêt fixé au plastron de fer pour recevoir le bois de la lance;" and I incline to this definition.

I have written this probably too long note, in the hope that it may catch the eye of some one who can explain exactly what the fewter was, and how it was used.

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DID HROTSWITHA IMITATE TERENCE?

THE generally accepted opinion about the dramatic work of Hrotswitha is well phrased by a recent writer on the beginnings of our dramatic literature. This writer speaks of Hrotswitha as

"turning the unholy leaves of Terence with one hand, while she kept the other on her beads, assimilating so much of his style and phraseology as to enable her to produce a few comedies after the external likeness of his own."

Her comedies are "plays written from an open Terence." Are these plays of Hrotswitha written after the models Terence furnished? Is there any such imitation on Hrotswitha's part as the historians of our early literature assert?

χριστὸς πάσχων, a Greek play of perhaps the twelfth century, professedly in imitation of Euripides, is still extant. A recent editor has made out a long list of passages and phrases which the unknown author of the play borrowed from various Greek dramatists, and

above all from Euripides. No one has thus specified the indebtedness of Hrotswitha. M. Magnin, in his learned notes on the six plays, does not call attention to a single thing in any one of them that is reminiscent of Terence. He does, however, find things that remind one of Shakespeare, and even of Voltaire. In all that has been written about Hrotswitha and her six plays, it would be difficult to find a reference to any definite trace of Terence's influence that anybody has discovered in her work.

But to turn to the plays themselves. Hrotswitha's are in prose, Terence's in verse. Not only is there no reminder of the metre of Terence in the prose of Hrotswitha, but M. Chasles pointed out what seems to be the fact that, while Hrotswitha tried to write prose, she fell now and then into the rude Germanic rimes—that were in the tenth century beginning to take the place of the earlier alliterative verse—of her own region and period.

Hrotswitha's plots and her management of them are entirely different from Terence's. Terence usually respects the unity of time, and that of course makes it necessary for the first scenes of his plays to be given up pretty largely to ancient history. Hrotswitha entirely disregards the unity of time—and the other two, for that matter—and plunges at once into the midst of things. Then, too, Terence's plots are trivial but complex; while Hrotswitha's are important but simple.

Hrotswitha's material is of an altogether different sort from that of Terence. The stories of her plays are all of them furnished by the sacred annalists of the Christian faith. They are as different from the material Terence uses as the moral atmosphere of Gandersheim was different from that of Terence's Rome.

One finds in Hrotswitha a considerable variety of personages, but none of them is one of Terence's six or eight stock types of character.

The wit of the Roman poet, his philosophic remarks about men and things, his rhetorical effects—all these Hrotswitha might have imitated. They are not difficult to copy. Humor and pathos, apt characterization and dramatic sense, all these are found in Hrotswitha. But they are things Hrotswitha could not have imitated, even if she had found them in Terence. It is impossible to copy them. Terence and Hrotswitha both wrote plays, each wrote six, and there the similarity ends.

Now is there any reason for believing that Hrotswitha thought she was imitating Terence? that she was conscious of his influence? If she had any acknowledgements to make to Terence, the natural place—indeed the inevitable place—for her to make them was in the address to her learned patrons. But there is not a word about Terence there. To God alone—the true *largitor ingenii*—she acknowledges indebtedness. In the address to the reader, however,—a sort of apology for being engaged in such profane business as playwriting—she refers to Terence, and from this reference has come no end of vague assertion about Hrotswitha being a servile copyist of that poet. Now what is this reference? She mentions—and strongly deprecates—the habit holy men have of reading Terence. She intimates that there is far less danger of imitating him in one's way of writing than in reading him. But she makes it perfectly clear that by imitating him she means using the same literary form, that is, the dramatic, and she hopes to show that a form which has been employed by Terence to set forth the degradation of woman may be useful in quite a different fashion. It is impossible to imagine how anybody could make this address to the reader mean that Hrotswitha was a disciple of Terence and that she took him for her model.

When one first reads these plays of Hrotswitha one finds it hard to believe that they are genuine. To ascribe them to some fifteenth century Chatterton is the easiest way of accounting for them. At about the date of the pretended discovery of these manuscripts there was springing up in Germany new interest in Classical literature, and the Latin dramatists especially had great vogue and exerted great influence. It is not hard to believe that some ingenious literary person might have attempted by a clever fraud to show his contemporaries a striking example of the tremendous influence of Terence at the very midnight of the dark ages, and in the most unlikely quarters. But that will not do. For there is no Terence in these plays, and there certainly would have been had they been

written for the purpose just described. Besides, the original manuscripts are still preserved, and have successfully withstood the scrutiny of scholarship for some four centuries. And, finally, one cannot imagine any reason why the learned Celtes—poet of reputation as well as scholar—who discovered the manuscripts, should have manufactured them. Had he manufactured them there would undoubtedly have been Terence enough in them.

Hrotswitha was a really great original genius, great because original. She stands alone, without ancestors and without heirs. Her work is inexplicable, but still significant, for it looks forward and not backward. It is a prophecy, which we have seen fulfilled.

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ANGLO-NORMAN FRENCH.

The Dialogues of Gregory the Great translated into Anglo-Norman French by Angier, by TIMOTHY CLORAN. Strassburg: printed by J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1901. 84 pp.

THIS publication, dedicated to Professor Gröber, is preliminary to an edition of the whole Anglo-French translation of Gregory's remarkable work, of which we already have some other old translations, notably the French one published by Foerster in 1876. In its arrangement it follows pretty closely the plan followed by P. Meyer in the article in which he published the verse translation of the Life of Gregory, made by the same writer, and contained in the same manuscript (*Romania*, xii, 145–208). We have first a chapter on the text, containing introductory remarks on the manuscript and the author (in which Meyer's statements are summarized with a few additions), and also several extracts from the manuscript, as specimens of the work. Then comes a comparison of the translation with the Latin original (pp. 31–39), a chapter on phonology (pp. 40–53; the heading used is "phonetics," a word which I prefer to use in a different sense), one on morphology (pp. 54–63), about two pages on the order of words, followed by some remarks on metre (pp. 67–71), after which the written accents (black and red) used in the manuscript are discussed, a specimen of the text with indication of the accents being also given (pp. 72–78). The whole ends with two word-lists (pp. 79–84), one of "mots savants," the other of the most noteworthy words and forms wanting in Godefroy. The discussion of the language, modeled as it is on Meyer's treatment, does not give a complete view of the phonology or the morphology of the text, but it makes the impression of careful observation, and adds a number of details to the linguistic features already noted by Meyer. There are several misprints, and sometimes the arrangement of, for instance, the examples is not the best possible. Such things are not surprising when we remember the inevitable difficulties which stand in the way of accurate printing in English in a foreign country. Perhaps also an occasional inelegance, or even some obscurity of language may find its explanation in these circumstances.

The following details are not all of much importance. I select them for mention, partly because in such work as this minute accuracy is desirable, though not always attainable, and partly because some of them may need attention in the complete edition of this long work (over nineteen thousand verses) which I hope may be published before long. P. 1, note 2. The statement as to the first leaf of the manuscript is presumably correct, but since it is not in accordance with Meyer's (*Rom.*, xii, 145, n. 2), it would have been well to say that this slight correction was made. P. 2. The words "in the year 1212" may be thought to be a correction of Meyer's date (1201), but it is the latter which is found in the place referred to. Pp. 4–6. After the words used on p. 4 one naturally assumes that the "supplementary details" which follow are new, but this is not correct for the theory of a revision to which the red accents are due. The matter is put correctly on p. 75. On p. 4 it is also said that *oi* (=*a* + Romance *i*), which is not infrequent in the Dialogues, is not found in the Life, but *oie* (= *habeam*) is mentioned by Meyer (*l. c.*, p. 201, §21), though not in §2 (p. 193). Only eight cases of feminine rhyme (a a a a) are said (p. 5) to occur in the translation of the *Veni Creator*, but why are lines

21–24 (*pere: salvere*, etc.) ignored? For this translation it was perhaps well not to print the easily accessible Latin text in full, but the translation as printed raises a doubt whether the Latin text was compared. In line 9 (p. 6), *serein* looks suspicious, the corresponding line in the Latin being *Tu septiformis munere*. Is *serein* a misprint for *setein* (cf. Godefroy, s. v. *septain*)? But *setein* is not in either of the word-lists, where we should in that case look for it. How the sixth stanza came to be worded as it is can hardly be understood without the Latin, which also shows that the punctuation given is wrong (read rather, *Par toi sachons, ço nos donges, lu pere*, etc.). P. 8. In the second line on this page the rhyme calls for *mie* rather than *meie*. P. 12, line c 22, *vi* is a misprint for *oi* (better *oï*). P. 14, line a 21, *la pape* need not be changed to *li pape;* cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, ii, §369. P. 15, note 1, *soloit* seems to be a misprint for *solvit*. Pp. 17–20. Most of this passage was printed by Meyer in his *Recueil* (2e partie, pp. 341–343); apparently this earlier publication was not used for correcting any possible errors in reading the manuscript or for revision in other respects, as, for instance, of punctuation. I mention a few of the differences: leaf 32 d 19 *lu*, Meyer *ja;* ib. 35 (M. has a foot-note); 33 a 5 *n'en*, M. *nen;* 33 b 29 *home* (misprint? the verse is mentioned in §56, but it is not quite clear whether it is considered metrically regular or not), M. *honte*. This is the only passage of considerable length where such a comparison can be made; the result in this case indicates a fair degree of care in the work of preparing for the printer all the specimens of the text given. P. 23, line a 29, *pejors*, why printed with *j*? P. 27, line 108 b 6. The correction made spoils the rhyme, and the necessity for changing the manuscript reading is not apparent.

In the second chapter (comparison with the Latin original) we are not told what Latin text is used for comparison, nor are any references to that text made either by book and chapter, or by page. The addition mentioned (p. 32) as the only one of importance is made in the chapter of book iv, which in the Benedictine edition of 1705 is no. 48; it is iv, 50, in Foerster's text. As to the Lazarus passage, in which, as it seems, the Anglo-French version omits the first part of the story, and begins with the scene in hell, there is some difficulty in fixing the corresponding place in the Latin, for the latter has two Lazarus passages not far apart, the former of which (Bened. iv, 29; Foerster iv, 30) give only the words of the rich man in hell (mitte Lazarum . . . . in hac flamma) contained in Luke xvi, 24, while the latter (Bened. iv, 33; Foerster iv, 34) begins with Luke xvi, 19, and goes through verse 28 (with some omissions). Presumably it is the latter. Both passages are in the prose translation published by Foerster, and both are in the Anglo-Saxon translation recently published by Hecht.

In the chapter on phonology perhaps the most noteworthy thing is the influence of continental French spellings, and the apparent or real rhyming for the eye which is sometimes found. This makes it harder to tell what the real pronunciations were. P. 47. In § 19 I read with surprise that "*e* before a nasal is phonetically equivalent to *a* + nasal." No examples are given, and a hasty survey of the verses so far as printed does not bear out the statement. One might compare what Stimming says on p. lv of his edition of the Anglo-French *Boeve de Haumtone*. P. 50, § 26. It looks for some of the examples as if a reference to Meyer, p. 196, n. 2, would be better than that to p. 197, 9. I pass over several other points, only remarking that sometimes this chapter seems not to distinguish clearly between spelling and pronunciation where it would seem easy to do so (cf. §30).

In the morphology is noteworthy the accented feminine pronoun *lei* (also written *le*), while a feminine *es* = *elles*, noted by Meyer in the Life, seems not to occur in the Dialogues. A list of "presents in inorganic *c*," and another of the numerous present subjunctives in *-ge* are given; a large number of the latter had already been noted in the Life.

The remaining sections I must examine even less in detail. That on the order of words is unsatisfactory, bearing marks of having been very hastily written. I note the example *por les norrir* at the end of § 51. In the pages on metre it is said (§ 54 b) that the particle *ne* may or may not stand in hiatus, but nothing is said of a difference in treatment of the two

words *ne = nec* and *ne = non*. In § 55 (the first of the two paragraphs with this number is meant) it seems to be supposed that *eurent* in three syllables is the usual and regular form for *habuerunt* in the Old French of France.

The chapter on the accents (the heading shows the singular, "accent") takes up a subject which Meyer had refrained from studying fully, as it could be better treated in connection with the Dialogues than with the Life. The discussion which we have here makes a good impression, and its general result (that the accents are put in "to facilitate the reading," being "used to prevent the confusion of letters when close graphic connection might obscure one of them," and if the accentuation of the spoken language comes into consideration it is only subordinate) seems reasonable.

The word-lists are welcome. Doubtless a certain number of additions could be made. I miss, for example, *defunct* (mentioned on p. 48), *dialecticiens* (p. 14, line 10 a 34), and *setein* (see above). *Interpreteison* is mentioned, and the spelling *intrepreteison* (p. 14, line 10 a 36) might be added. Under *seurondierre* it might be well to refer to Godefroy, s. v. *sevrónde* since this is the heading for his article and he has no *souronde* (as in Diez and Körting).

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Molières Stegreifkomödien, im besonderen *Le Médecin Volant*. Von MARY VANCE YOUNG, Ph. D., Instructor in Romance Languages, Smith College. Sonderabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache und Litteratur*. Band xxii. Heft 5 and 7.

La Satire des Femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge. Par THÉODORE LEE NEFF. Paris, 1900. Pp. x, 118. Chicago Dissertation.

Two studies in French Literature by American students. The second a dissertation presented to an American university, the first, quite surely, a dissertation presented to a German faculty. The one written in French, the other in German. Truly the vernacular is falling into disfavor.

The article in the *Zeitschrift* is a creditable addition to the work now being done in literary history by American women. The subject is the early farces of Molière. Miss Young prefaces her main topic with a summary of what is known about Molière's plays which have disappeared, and tabulates the whole number, together with the sponsors for their existence. She also presents conjectures regarding their contents and sources. The two farces which have been preserved are discussed with greater detail. Prototypes of *la Jalousie du Barbouillé* are found as far back as the *Sept Sages* of the twelfth century—a somewhat unnecessary statement, for there can be no probable connection between the mediæval poem and the Renaissance farce. Molière himself must have followed an Italian mask comedy, as the author goes on to say. An interesting point that is raised touches on the color of the Barbouillé, which seems to be not white, but black. Miss Young argues that the notion was borrowed from the disguise of the devils in the old mysteries, whose black faces were more associated with laughter than with fear.

The most important part of the paper is the study of the origin of the second farce, *le Médecin volant*. Comparisons are made with Spanish, Italian, English and French plays on the same subject, and the conclusion is reached that all these presentations of the theme are not related to one another, but are independently derived from a lost Italian farce which took its material from some unimportant descendant of a Decameron story (story 2 of the Ninth Day). This supposed Italian comedy would have been composed during the first year of the seventeenth century by an actor, Bergamin, who relied for his popularity on his changes of voice. Convincing arguments support this assumption. Fairness and thoroughness characterize the whole study.

Dr. Neff's dissertation offers the same traits of care and labor, but the results reached are not so satisfactory. His dissertation is seriously handicapped by its title. There is no considerable amount of satire on woman in the lyric poetry of mediæval France, and the attempt of the author to extend the signification of the word "lyric" (page 1 of Introduction) cannot change the facts. What he has used as material is the shorter narrative and didactic verse, fabliaux and the poems bearing on the failings of the sex. This material has been faithfully tabulated and its spirit

well interpreted. Possibly a more systematic grouping of the attributes found in the poems might have been made, such as those pertaining to the body, others which are mental and so on. Many of the successive headings do, indeed, bear an intimate relation to one another.

Dr. Neff is evidently interested in the wider range of his theme, the standing of woman in the Middle Ages (cf. pp. 101–108), as revealed by the literature of the time. For this the satirical poets do not give him the proper view. They are looking for defects, even the best of them, and apparently do not abide by the truth in their endeavors to be witty or humorous. Consequently their testimony, if we may so dignify their diatribes, should be controlled by the words of more impartial observers.

Fair-minded authors did not abound in the Middle Ages. Poets composed in those days with too great consideration for the audiences whose favors they wished to win. Consequently their work is conventional and quite untrustworthy from the standpoint of the historian of society. It is this kind of objectiveness which makes Dr. Neff's task a hard one. He must decide in the case of every poem the purpose of the composition, the market for which it was intended. He has begun with the kind of poetry which confessedly takes the extreme view. It is not likely that he will glean much from the writers of a more conservative type. Yet it is essential for him to consult them in order to arrive at any just conception of the position of the mediæval woman. We may, therefore, venture the hope that he will not be deterred by the unpromising nature of his quest, but will broaden his field of inquiry and establish the attitude of French mediæval literature towards the subject for which he shows so much enthusiasm.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

The Development of the Nature-Sense in the German Lyric. A Comparison of the Two Great Lyric Periods. By Arthur B. Cooke, Ph. D. *University of Virginia Studies in Teutonic Languages:* No. 3.

The sub-title of the dissertation before us indicates the real nature of the investigation: it is a collation of the treatment of nature as found in representative MHG. and nineteenth century lyrical poets, without any attempt to trace the development of the nature-sense during the intervening centuries. It claims to be suggestive rather than exhaustive "along the larger lines of tendency" (p. 6). But since the publication of Biese's *Entwickelung des Naturgefühls* (one of the four (!) contributions to the bibliography of the nature-sense with which Dr. Cooke seems to be acquainted) what need is there of an essay of this kind, unless it is intended for the general reader? Then, however, German and certainly MHG. quotations should be translated in the text. To the general reader the essay will be of interest and value in pointing out the attitude towards nature in the two periods under the following headings: The Seasons, Birds and Flowers, The Heavens, Mountains, Sea and Storms, Personification of Nature, Man's Mood Reflected by Nature, Nature as Background, and Landscape. But as a genuine contribution to our knowledge on this subject it is of little value, except that it classifies from a different point of view and multiplies the illustrations in the third chapter and especially the twelfth of Biese's work.

The author apparently begins the second great period with Klopstock (p. 93), thus ignoring all preceding poets, Günther included. That does not excuse him, however, when speaking of the Hartz mountains (p. 58 ff.) for overlooking Friedrich Stolberg's poem *Der Harz* (1772)—a poem full of genuine appreciation of these mountains, the beauty of which had been noted in books of travel long before 1775, Dr. Cooke's quotation from Biese (p. 355) in support of this date notwithstanding. We beg to call his attention to *Des Herrn Tiscals Calvisii zu Stendal Beschreibung seiner nach dem Hartz vorgenommenen Reisse* 1738 and Johann Georg Sulzer's *Einige Beobachtungen welche ich auf einer Reise von Magdeburg nach dem Oberharz gemacht*, 1746, in which Sulzer recommends walking-tours in the Harz to those who wish to see beautiful views. A still more grievous fault of Dr. Cooke's is his failing to mention, not to say quote (p. 61), Stolberg's beautiful apostrophes to the ocean, *An das Meer*, *Die Meere* (1777), which are of the greatest moment in the "Development of the Nature-Sense." See Keiper, *F. L. Stolbergs Jugendpoesie*, p. 48 ff. In fact Stolberg,

one of the most important men in the history of the nature-sense, is nowhere quoted. The author is concerned with nineteenth rather than eighteenth century poets, otherwise he could not have failed to note, when treating of the personifications of the moon (p. 76), Klopstock's reference to the moon as "Gedankenfreund" (*Die frühen Gräber*, 1764), or Hölty's attitude towards the moon (*An den Mond*, 1773). When he says on page 80: It is this "pervading spirit" in man and nature . . . which was well-nigh unknown even to the eighteenth century poets, he makes a sweeping statement which needs considerable modification. For what would he say of Herder and Stolberg whose works and letters certainly evince this close communion with nature? If the essay is to trace the development of the nature-sense, it should have spoken at length "of the flight from humanity to Nature" (p. 89), noticeable long before Goethe (cf. Hagedorn, *Die Landluft;* Uz, *Der Weise auf dem Lande;* Kleist, *Sehnsucht nach der Ruhe:* "Ein wahrer Mensch muss fern von Menschen sein") and finding its fullest expression in Rousseau. In fact, the transfer of emphasis from man to nature, characteristic of the eighteenth century, is not sufficiently accentuated in the essay before us.

In minor matters, too, it bears the stamp of inaccuracy and want of thorough scholarship. When the author translates from the German he occasionally commits gross errors in his over-anxiety to render the original closely; he translates "eine individuelle Auffassung der Landschaft *fehlt* völlig" by *fails* (p. 8), "*Verquickung* des Landschaftsbildes" by *quickening* (p. 26), "*brach* die Bahn" by *broke* the road (p. 58), etc. His use of English cannot always be commended; he says on p. 5, "the influence is confined to nation nor time;" p. 23, "this vein lingers into the modern period;" p. 65, "a corresponding depths in man," etc. The essay is also marred by many typographical errors, not only in MHG. (pp. 21, 39), and German quotations (pp. 15, 22, 32, 38, 41, etc.), but also in the English text, where some of them prove very annoying: p. 38, 'popular' for 'poplar;' p. 40, 'He' for 'His,' etc.

In conclusion we wish to say that dilettante efforts of the kind before us, instead of helping to a better understanding and fuller appreciation of the nature-sense at the various periods in the history of culture, tend to bring into disrepute all true and valuable investigations of this subject. Only the latter should be encouraged.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

a. *La Grammaire* and *Le Baron de Fourchevif*, two comedies by Labiche, edited with introduction and notes by HERMAN S. PIATT, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Illinois. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1901.

b. *Trois comédies d'Alfred de Musset*, edited by KENNETH MCKENZIE, Ph. D., Instructor in French in Yale University. Boston, Heath and Co., 1901.

c. *Extraits de l'Histoire de France de Jules Michelet*, edited with introduction and notes by C. H. C. WRIGHT, Instructor in French, Harvard University. Boston, Heath and Co., 1901.

d. *Le dix-septième siècle en France. Lectures historiques.* Edited by DELPHINE DUVAL, Professor of French in Smith College, and H. ISABELLE WILLIAMS, Instructor in French in Smith College. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1901.

e. *Une Ville flottante par Jules Verne* abridged and edited with notes and vocabulary by C. FONTAINE, Director of Romance Language Instruction in the High Schools of Washington City. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1901.

THE list of French text-books published in the United States during the first part of 1901 contains no striking title, and the selection of books to be reviewed is therefore somewhat difficult.

The first one we shall speak of does not present any special feature. There are several editions of *La Grammaire* and there was no immediate need of another one. The two comedies are mere farces, especially the second, and in spite of copious notes trying to point out and to clear up the funny passages, it is doubtful whether the student catches the jokes and enjoys them.

Prof. Piatt has taken a great deal of trouble to help pupils to understand the text he offers to them. His introduction consists only in a short talk, "heart to heart," with the young reader. It is refreshing, entertaining and seems to be a commendable way of introducing a text. However, the editor might have warned students not to regard these comedies as representative specimens of modern French plays. He might also have added a short biography of the author, a few remarks about his standing in French literature, and a criticism of his literary work, but, after all, as both selections are not standard plays of Labiche, it is perhaps just as well not to have done so.

The lines are not numbered; they should be, even in plays, for it simplifies the task of the teacher in referring to preceding passages.

The editing has been done pretty carefully, but the second edition should be free from the following misprints.

It would be advisable for future editors of French text-books to drop the hyphen after *très*, especially at this epoch of reforms when the very existence of the French hyphen is threatened.

The dropping of hyphens after *très* was decided by the French Academy in 1878 and is now universally adopted. Notice that it is omitted once in the book on p. 113, l. 4.

a. *La Grammaire.* On p. 7, l. 13, the two sentences after the word, *Parlé*, should be printed in heavier type; p. 13, l. 3, supply a hyphen after *annoncez;* p. 29, l. 1 and p. 32, l. 2, supply an exclamation point after *comment* (cf. the Calman Lévy edition); p. 31, l. 10, *la* should be *là;* p. 31, l. 11, *aux quelles*, *aux-quelles;* p. 34, l. 17, supply a comma after *non;* p. 39, l. 7, *là dedans*, *là-dedans* (cf. p. 71, l. 11; p. 109, l. 2; and p. 125, l. 18); p. 47, l. 3, *j'etais j'étais;* p. 47, l. 9, supply a row of dots at the end of the line (cf. the Calman Lévy edition); p. 50, l. 10, *s'asseoie* should be *s'assoit;* p. 51, l. 12, *port*, *porte;* p. 52, in the stage direction under l. 6, supply a comma after *bas;* p. 53, l. 7, *de* should be *des;* p. 57, note 29, *Chambre de Députés*, *Chambre des députés;* p. 61, note 107, supply a hyphen after *êtes*.

Although the notes are numerous, the present reviewer knows by experience that these passages need to be explained: p. 18, l. 18, *le portefeuille;* p. 23, l. 6, *c'est une tâche;* p. 29, l. 16, *d'un juteux;* p. 31, l. 1, *à qui en as-tu donc?* p. 40, l. 9, *décocher un mémoire*.

A few notes call for criticisms: p. 57, note 28, the definition of *conseiller général* is unsatisfactory (cf. p. 128, note 18). P. 60, note 93, the expression *pan coupé* (last line of p. 34) should have been explained in the introductory note on stage directions, or the first time it was used, p. 7, l. 7, for it is met with at least five times before p. 34 is reached. P. 61, note 89, *l'aplatir*, *to finish him*, seems to be too strong (cf. p. 31, l. 9, where Labiche used *confondre*, *to silence*). P. 61, note 120, I fail to catch the comical application of which the editor speaks. I think he strains the meaning and attributes to Labiche an idea which he never had. *Arroser la classe agricole* simply means *to treat the members of the Agricultural Society*.

Le Baron de Fourchevif. P. 67, the direction after the first line of scene 1 should be: *Adèle, assise* . . . (cf. the Hachette edition). P. 91, l. 8, drop the hyphen after *dis* (cf. p. 115, l. 5); p. 102, l. 7, supply a row of dots after *jeunesse*. The editor has followed here the text of the Calman Lévy edition, but the text of the Hachette edition is easier to understand. P. 109, l. 10, note 16 should read 61; p. 111, l. 13, *sacrilége*, *sacrilège* (cf. the modernized spelling of *complètement*, p. 71, l. 8); p. 129, note 52, *bonhommes* should be *bonshommes*. P. 127, note 16, *ça grimace;* the translation in the Hachette edition is more satisfactory: "It does not sound well." P. 129, note 37, the editor might have added that *manger la soupe* is colloquial, inelegant; that would have explained the protestation of the next line and the rectification two lines below.

The book is presented under the usual green garb of the French texts published by Ginn & Co., and looks very attractive.

b. This seems to be one of the most carefully edited books of the year. The introduction of about twelve pages shows a thorough mastering of the subject, and covers the ground very well. It gives the student such an acquaintance with the personality of de Musset that he can read the author's works with intelligence. The three plays selected by the editor are *Fantasio*, *On ne badine pas avec*

l'amour, and *Il faut qu' une porte soit ouverte ou fermée*. The second comedy is found in Kuhns' edition (Ginn & Co.). To the best of my knowledge this is the first American edition of the other two plays. The third has been edited in England by Gustave Masson (Hachette). The notes are few but sufficient for advanced students for whom the book is intended.

The edition is slightly marred by the following misprints: p. 4, l. 4, the *c* of *Courtisans* should not be capitalized (cf. p. 3, the first stage direction, or the Charpentier edition); p. 28, l. 14, *a merveille* should be *à merveille;* p. 34, l. 9, and p. 79, l. 14, drop the hyphen after *très* since it is dropped everywhere else in the book; p. 36, l. 16, *marchait, marchais;* p. 46, l. 15, supply a hyphen before *moi;* p. 57, l. 26, *affilées* should be *affilés;* p. 67, l. 26, supply a hyphen after *pouvez;* p. 87, l. 32, *martyr* should read *martyre*. The words *seigneur* and *monseigneur* used as vocatives and not initial begin sometimes with a capital, sometimes with a small letter. The excuse of the editor, I suppose, is that he followed the text of the Charpentier or the Lemerre edition, but he might have taken it upon himself to make the spelling of both words uniform throughout the play.

c. The title on the cover of this book is an oversight that will be corrected on the next binding. It is properly given on the titlepage. The introduction is a little short, as it seems likely that Michelet is unknown to students as well as to many teachers. A better selection might have been made. In the choice of the last extract—the longest, almost half of the book—*Le Collier de la Reine*, the editor seems to have been looking for a sensational passage rather than for one representative of the style of the great writer.

Some of the misprints are glaring: p. 5, l. 20, *nous l'avons* should be *nous t'avons;* p. 7, l. 28, *supreme, suprême;* p. 18, l. 10, *réuissirait, réussirait;* p. 25, l. 24, *vit, vit;* p. 26, l. 25, *person, personne;* p. 35, l. 11, *un ligue, une ligue;* p. 38. l. 19, drop *ex* at the end; p. 38, l. 32, *nons* should be *non;* p. 41. l. 24, *Guémené, Guémenée* (cf. p. 67, l. 7); p. 43, l. 3, supply a hyphen after *blancs;* p. 43, ll. 3 and 4, *circons-tances* should be divided *circon-stances* (cf. *Dictionnaire Larousse*); p. 43, l. 17, *une jour* ought to read *un jour;* p. 51, ll. 12 and 13, *cons-tituait* should be divided *con-stituait;* (cf. *Dict. Larousse*); p. 55, l. 28, *Genêve* should be *Genève;* p. 63, l. 16, *fut, fût;* p. 66, l. 4, *S. James, St. James* (cf. p. 78, l. 13); p. 69, l. 7, *présente, présenta;* p. 70, l. 7, *domain, domaine;* p. 75, l. 27, *regulière, régulière;* p. 78, l. 9, *troublé, trouble;* p. 84, l. 24, *trompe, trompé;* p. 91, l. 6, *quoiqu'il, quoi qu'il;* p. 99, l. 15, *extaordinaire, extraordinaire;* p. 115, note 2 of p. 29, *Ypswich, Ypswick* (see text); p. 119, note 1 of p. 52, *Toulousaine, toulousaine* (see text); p. 120, note 2 of p. 55, *Génève, Genève*; p. 122, last line but one, *piq-uancy* should be divided *pi-quancy*; p. 124, note 1 of p. 67, *Saint Vast* should be *Saint-Vast*; p. 124, note 6 of p. 67, *Eprémesnil* is spelled *Épré-mesnil* in the text.

Mr. Wright's edition of Anatole France's *Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* (Holt and Co.) is far superior to the present one.

d. The present reviewer is rather loath to give his opinion of this book lest he should be accused of lack of chivalry towards the editors. He hopes they will forgive him for daring to express his views on their last publication, since he is actuated in his criticisms by the desire of helping them to improve their text in the second edition.

He agrees with them on the desirability of putting such a book into the hands of students to prepare them for a better understanding of the writers of the most important century in the history of French literature.

Their book is, *si parva licet componere magnis*, a counterpart of Prof. Crane's *La Société Française au 17e siècle*, a very good book which is unfortunately seldom found in the hands of students on account of its high price.

As the title shows, the latter is especially devoted to the social side of the history of that century, while the former regards the subject from the purely historical point of view.

The editors have shown good judgment in the various selections, a work which must have required a great deal of time and patience, and since they have forgotten to add a table of contents, it may be given here:

Portrait de Henri IV, Capefigue, p. 1.

La Bataille d'Ivry, Augustine Gombault, p. 2.
L'Édit de Nantes, Augustine Gombault, p. 3.
Caractère de Henri IV, Sainte-Beuve, p. 4.
Portrait de Richelieu, Capefigue, p. 11.
Luxe de Richelieu, Arvède Barine, p. 12.
La Fronde, Paul Lacroix, p. 15.
Mazarin, Mignet, p. 17.
Éducation et jeunesse de Louis XIV, Voltaire, p. 18.
Fêtes magnifiques, Voltaire, p. 23.
Louis XIV gouverne par lui-même, Victor Duruy, p. 27.
Théorie de la monarchie absolue, Alfred Rambaud, p. 28.
La cour et Versailles, Alfred Rambaud, p. 30.
La reine Marie-Thérèse, Imbert de Saint-Amand, p. 34.
Le mariage de Madame de Maintenon, Imbert de Saint-Amand, p. 38.
L'Appartement et la vie de Mme de Maintenon, Imbert de Saint-Amand, p. 41.
Mme de Maintenon à Saint-Cyr, p. 43.
Révocation de l' Édit de Nantes, Victor Duruy, p. 46.
Tableau des Dragonnades, Claude, p. 50.
Mémoires du duc de Saint-Simon, p. 52.
Les réfugiés français et leurs industries, Eugène Bersier, p. 56.

The first criticism concerns the title which is half misleading. As one may see by looking over the list given above, the book indeed contains descriptions of some of the most interesting events of the seventeenth century, which, as the editors put it in their Prefatory Note, combine literary excellence with historical value, but they were written by authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Claude and Saint-Simon excepted. No doubt the selections are taken from standard authors of these two centuries, and are better than any which could have been taken from the seventeenth century. But unless I am mistaken, on opening the book after glancing at the title, the reader expects to see the seventeenth century judged by writers of the same period.

Secondly, one is disappointed to find no introduction at all. The edition should have a historical summary of the seventeenth century, interspersed with a few literary facts, forming a link between the various events described in the book and giving at least a semblance of unity to the whole work. Such an introduction could easily be added in the second edition, and the editors will find a first-class model in Professor Crane's book, cited above.

To help the editors further in improving the book, the following misprints—far too numerous for veteran editors, since Miss Duval is the compiler of a well-known *Histoire de la littérature française* (Heath & Co.), and Miss Williams is the co-editor of *Histoire d'un merle blanc* d'Alfred de Musset (Holt & Co.) —are brought to their notice: p. 1, l. 13, *montagues* should be *montagnes;* p. 2, l. 7, *Ligne*, *Ligue;* p. 3, in the heading and the title, *Edit*, *Édit* (cf. p. 46, title); p. 3, l. 2, *j'aurais* should be *j'aurai;* p. 3, l. 2, *song*, *sang;* p. 3, l. 22, *demeurèrent*, *demeurèrent;* p. 3, l. 23, drop the comma after *termina;* p. 4, l. 19, *contrant* should be *contraint;* p. 5, l. 27, *exeprimer*, *exprimer;* p. 6, l. 15, *Mèdicis*, *Médicis;* p. 7, l. 7, *gracês*, *grâces;* p. 8, l. 16, *Etat*, *État;* p. 9, l. 2, *évènement*, *événement;* p. 9, l. 6, *qui'il*, *qu'il;* p. 9, l. 12, *le*, *la;* p. 9, l. 20, *à*, *a;* p. 9, l. 23, *Elisabeth*, *Élisabeth;* p. 10, l. 1, *écriret*, *écrira;* p. 10, l. 17, *près*, *prés;* p. 10, l. 29, supply a comma after *siens;* p, 11, l. 12, *Tome II* should be *Tome XI;* pp. 8, 9, 10 and 11, the editors were wrong in not keeping italicized the expressions which are italicized in Sainte-Beuve's article. They followed the same policy throughout the whole book. Some arguments are much stronger and more easily caught when the main expressions are italicized. P. 13, l. 2, the word *étrangers* has been omitted although it seems necessary; p. 13, l. 4, *état* should be *État* (cf. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *passim*); p. 13, l. 11, *s'attachérent*, *s'attachèrent;* p. 13, l. 21, *language*, *langage;* p. 13, l. 21, *hôtel*, *Hôtel;* p. 13, l. 29 and p. 14, ll. 1, 3 and 6, the editors have kept the old spelling of *diamans* because it was spelled that way in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, yet they do not explain this peculiar form in their notes. See also *appartemens* p. 12, l. 18. Why then did they modernize the spelling of *monuments* on p. 14, l. 27, belonging to the same article? p. 14, l. 3, *emaillé* should be *émaillé;* p. 14, ll. 6 and 17, *Cardinal*, *cardinal* (cf. p. 14, l. 10); p. 14. l. 13,

tur, *sur;* p. 14, l. 13, *Au-dessus*, *Au-dessous;* p. 14, l. 16, supply a comma after *Louis XIV;* p. 14, l. 19, drop the period after *grands;* p. 14, ll. 23 and 24, *Saint*, *saint;* p. 14, l. 28, *de rentes* has been omitted after *25,000 livres;* p. 14, l. 29, *près* is omitted before *trois;* p. 15, l. 22, supply a comma after *reine;* p. 16, l. 6, *de Sédan à Rethal* should be *de Sedan à Rethel;* p. 16, l. 24, *sontenue*, *soutenue;* p. 19, l. 18, *ce temps-là*, *ces temps-là;* (see *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, Vol. 14, Garnier Frères); p. 19, ll. 24 and 25, *eut*, *eût;* p. 20, l. 4, *firent*, *fit;* p. 20, l. 22, *respecté*, *respectée;* p. 21, l. 8, supply a hyphen after *quelques;* p. 21, l. 18, *bague*, *bagues;* p. 21, l. 29, *prit*, *prît;* p. 22, l. 20, *a*, *à* and drop the hyphen after *tout;* p. 22, l. 21, *en*, *on;* p. 23, l. 6, *Madame*, *madame;* p. 23, l. 10, supply a comma after *fit;* p. 23, l. 15, *Tures*, *Turcs;* *l'Enghien*, *d'Enghien;* p. 23, ll. 23 and 27, *emblêmes*, *emblèmes;* p. 24, l. 9, *ornées*, *ornés;* p. 25, l. 8, *Périgni*, *Perigni;* p. 25, l. 13, *antiquités*, *antiquité;* p. 25, l. 22, supply a comma before *d'or;* p. 26, l. 10, supply a comma before *s'éleva* and a period at the end of l. 11; p. 26, l. 13, *ornés* should be *ornées;* p. 26, l. 28, drop the comma after *premiers;* p. 27, l. 3, *connaîtra* should be *connaître;* p. 27, l. 21, drop the comma after *donnés;* p. 28, l. 4, *recommenda* should be *recommanda;* p. 28, l. 6, *travait*, *travail;* p. 28, l. 24, *le*, *la;* p. 29, l. 18, supply a comma after *limite;* p. 29, l. 23, *déja* should be *déjà;* p. 29, l. 27, *Etats*, *États;* p. 29, l. 29, *Machievel*, *Machiavel;* p. 30, l. 13, *sujects*, *sujets*; p. 30, l. 20, *deveues*, *devenues;* p. 31, l. 27, drop *ont*; p. 32, l. 10, *douzes* should be *douze*; p. 33, l. 6, *fachés*, *fâchés*; p. 33, l. 17, *sénicures*, *sinécures*; p. 34, l. 13, *diadême*, *diadème*; p. 34, l. 21, *bouté*, *bonté*; p. 34, l. 21, *coujugale*, *conjugale*; p. 35, l. 16, *pendants*, *pendantes*; p. 36, in the title, *Marie-Therese*, *Marie-Thérèse*; pp. 38, 39, 40, etc., drop the dot after *Ume;* p. 40, l. 8, *problêmes*, *problèmes*; p. 41, l. 18, supply a comma before *dit*; p. 44, l. 4, drop the comma before *être*; p. 45, l. 29, *nons* should be *nous*; p. 46, in the title and in the headings of the whole article, *Revocation* should be *Révocation*; p. 48, l. 16, supply a comma before *eut*; p. 49, l. 16, *put* should be *pût*; p. 49, l. 17, drop the comma after *pied*; p. 49, l. 30, *fut* should *fût*; p. 50, l. 2, supply a comma after *peintres*; p. 50, l. 15, *on* should be *ou*; p. 50, l. 16, *logeaient*, *logeait*; p. 52, in the title and the headings of the whole article, *Memoires* should be *Mémoires*; p. 52, ll. 3 and 6, *dévôt*, *dévot*; p. 53, l. 13, *ou*, *où*; p. 55, l. 11, *irrémediable*, *irrémédiable*; p. 57, l. 12, *dévancés*, *devancés*; p. 58, l. 15, a line should never end with an apostrophe except in such words as *grand' mère*, etc.; p. 59, l. 28, replace the comma by a semicolon; p. 60, l. 9, *scholastiques*, *scolastiques*; p. 62, l. 10, *ig-norée* should be divided *i-gnorée*; p. 63, l. 11, *Sédan* should be *Sedan*; p. 65, l. 1, *ins-piration* should be divided *in-spiration*; p. 65, l. 24, *eut* should be *eût*; p. 67, l. 2, supply a comma after *après*; p. 67, l. 15, supply a comma after *Elbeuf*; p. 67, l. 21, *embassadeur* should be *ambassadeur*; p. 67, l. 24, *Anglais*, *anglais*; p. 68, l. 9, drop the hyphen between *peut* and *être*; p. 69, l. 22, *réalite* should be *réalité*; p. 70, l. 19, *developpa*, *développa*; p. 71, l. 6, *répressailles*, *représailles*; p. 71, l. 13, *refermait*, *renfermait*; p. 71, l. 17, *embassadeur*, *ambassadeur*; p. 72, l. 29, *Emile*, *Émile*; p. 73, l. 2, *Electeur*, *Électeur*; p. 73, l. 6, *edit*, *édit*; p. 73, l. 15, *Elizabeth*, *Élisabeth*; p. 44, ll. 16 and 21, *ou*, *on*; p. 74, l. 20, the punctuation may be improved; p. 74, l. 23, *Saintes* should be *saintes*; p. 75, l. 1, supply a comma after *dire*; p. 75, l. 11, *succés* should be *succès*; p. 76, l. 3, *qualite*, *qualité*; p. 76, l. 4, *dégré*, *degré*; p. 77, l. 1, the semi-colon should be replaced by a comma; p. 78, *oioseau* should be *oiseau;* p. 81, l. 7, *Lafayette* should be *La Fayette*; p. 81, l. 24, *violà*, *voilà*; p. 82, l. 2, *Travait*, *Travail.*

Page 84, note 18 of p. 2. Three more examples of the omission of *pas* are found on p. 10, l. 26, p. 11, ll. 1 and 4; p. 51, l. 12, *plancher* has here the meaning of *ceiling;* (cf. *Molière's L'Avare*, act ii, scene 1); p. 87, note 20 of p. 9, *Ecrivain* should be *Écrivain*; p. 90, note 21 of p. 15, *Fréderic*, *Frédéric*; p. 90, note 6 of p. 16, *Sédan à Rethal*, *Sedan à Rethel*; p. 92, note 19 of p. 19, supply an apostrophe after *qui n*; p. 94, note 16 of p. 29, supply a hyphen after *Philippe*; p. 94, note 26 of p. 29, *Etats* should be *Etats*; p. 95, note 3 of p. 31, supply a hyphen after *Marly*; p. 98, note 19 of p. 49, the editors might have added that Louis XVI. was not the grandson of Louis XIV., but the grandson of Louis XV., who was himself

the great-grandson of Louis XIV.; p. 99, note 28 of p. 58 should have been placed at the beginning of the notes, for the word is met for the first time on p. 2, l. 7; p. 102, note 29 of p. 72, *Electeur* should be *Électeur*; p. 102, note 12 of p. 73, *Elizabeth*, *Élisabeth*.

The notes from the top of p. 67 to the end of the book should be renumbered; the numbers of the lines given in the notes do not agree with those of the text. Note 29 of p. 66 should be note 2 of p. 67, and so on.

The book is of a convenient size, but the cover is a little delicate in shade and easily soiled. I prefer the greenish tint of *Contes fantastiques*, edited by Professor Jones.

e. Teachers of elementary French classes should be thankful to M. Fontaine for providing them with so many interesting easy texts. *Une Ville flottante* is the last addition to the long list of books of that kind edited by him.

The editor seems to think that American boys and girls do not care to know anything about Jules Verne, for he does not give them a single line of biography.

The only objection teachers may have is that the book contains many nautical expressions which their students will never meet again.

There are a few slight misprints: P. 7, l. 17, *fut* should be *fût*; on p. 12 the editor has paid no attention to an error in the text. On l. 1, the traveler asks his friend Fabian: "c'est bien vous que j'ai entrevu, *il y a quelques jours?* (The italics are mine.) Fabian answers, l. 3: "c'est probable," but l. 17, he says: " . . . le Godavery, qui m'a débarqué *avant-hier*." Besides, on p. 1, l. 1 and on p. 2, ll. 7, 22–28, we have the date of the day on which he thought he caught a glimpse of his friend, March 19, 1867; and on p. 8, l. 22, "le 26 mars" is given as the date of the departure. The editor might have taken it on himself to rectify this slight error of the author.

P. 31, l. 25, *côtée* should be *cotée*, and the word is not found either in the notes or in the vocabulary; p. 32, l. 8, and in the vocabulary, *après-diner*, *après-dîner*; p. 33, l. 3, *Etats*, *États*; p. 36, l. 22, *du Drake*; if *du* is not a misprint, it should be explained in the notes; p. 45, l. 7, supply a comma before *que*; p. 46, l. 27, *fût* should be *fut*; p. 50, l. 29, and in the note, supply a comma before *la*; p. 51, l. 6, *entracte*, *entr'acte* (cf. p. 48, l. 25); p. 51, l. 31 p. 53, l. 27 and in the vocabulary, *c'est à dire*, *c'est-à-dire*; p. 53, l. 27 and in the vocabulary, *hauts fonds*, *hauts-fonds* (cf. p. 55, l. 18); p. 60, l. 13, *ins-truit* should be divided *in-struit* (see *Dict. Larousse*); p. 63, l. 18, *pub-lique*, *pu-blique*; p. 65, l. 27, we read *de Harry*; throughout the book it is *d' Harry*; p. 71, l. 2, *longe-ant* should be divided *lon-geant*; p. 72, l. 8, supply a comma after *dis-je*; p. 72, l. 17, supply a comma after *moi*; p. 77, l. 2, *l'* should be *s'*; p. 82, l. 22, and in the vocabulary, *calembourgs*, *calembours*; p. 92, l. 29, supply a comma before *me*; p. 96, l. 22, replace the period by a comma after *cabine*; p. 103, l. 9, drop the hyphen after *à demi*; cf. p. 77, l. 25 and p. 87, l. 1; p. 109, l. 16, supply a hyphen before *la*; p. 110, l. 30, *verandahs* should be *vérandahs* (cf. vocabulary and p. 112, l. 2); p. 111, l. 18, *ins-tallé* should be divided *in-stallé* (cf. *Dict. Larousse*); p. 116, l. 1, *rencontrai-je*, *rencontré-je*; p. 116, l. 10, supply a comma before *la*. The note p. 31 of l. 26 on Greenwich is insufficient to explain l. 16 of p. 37. It would be a Herculean task to find out whether the vocabulary is complete or not. The words I looked up were found in the vocabulary except in one instance cited above: *cotée*; *gauch-er-êre* should be *gauch-er-ère*; *sandwich*, *m.* should be *sandwich*, *f.* (cf. p. 34, l. 7, . . . les sandwiches *consommées* en un an . . .); *brêche* should be *brèche; carêne*, *carène;* under the word *échappement*, *scapement* should be *escapement* and *tuyan*, *tuyau; entreé*, *entrée; faché*, *fâché; frais*, *frais; parceque*, *parce que; tandisque*, *tandis que; cloison*, *Lima* (see *Dict. Larousse*), *rencontre*, *ténèbres* are feminine, not masculine; *écubier*, *effluve*, *poumon* are masculine; add m. (masculine) after *personne*, *nobody; quelque chose*, *something; sillaye*, and f. (feminine) after *banquise* and *exception; part*, *m.*, *sick*, should read, I suppose, *part*, *f.*, *share*. Although I have no authority at hand, I think Calcutta is feminine, not masculine.

A last criticism is that M. Fontaine has kept the punctuation of Jules Verne's text, every sentence of which seems to end with an exclamation point.

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PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: a Study of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch, by OSCAR KUHNS. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1901. 268 pp. 12mo.

THE first attempt at the comparative study of the Pennsylvania German was made by Haldeman in his *Pennsylvania Dutch, a Dialect of South Germany with an Infusion of English* (1870, published in Philadelphia, 1872). In 1889, when the reviewer published his study, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect*, tracing the relation of the Pennsylvania German to the dialect of the Rhenish Palatinate, there was practically no general historical account of the Pennsylvania Germans which he could consult. Seidensticker's *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte* (1886), was too limited in its scope, and Gibbons' *Pennsylvania Dutch and other Essays* (Ed. 2, 1874), was but a sketch of life among the Pennsylvania Germans at the present time. Since then an extensive literature has grown up, treating the early German settlers, not only of Pennsylvania but of New York, Maryland, Virginia and other states as well. This activity is due largely to the efforts of two newly organized societies: The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (founded 1886), and the Pennsylvania German Society (founded 1891). The Maryland Society has published among other papers, a *History of the German Element in Virginia*, by Hermann Schuhricht. The Pennsylvania German Society, on the other hand, has pursued a definite plan, formed soon after the organization of the society, taking up the history of the Pennsylvania Germans topically and chronologically, and has issued many extended studies bearing more directly upon the Germans in Pennsylvania.

While most of this work has been done by local historians or antiquarians, it presents nevertheless a most creditable array of facts relating to the early German settlers of this country. As the detailed treatment of separate periods and subjects has progressed a number of attempts have been made to give to the public a general survey of the whole field or of the Colonial period in certain parts of the field. An early sketch was published in German by Franz Löher in his *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati and Leipzig, 1847). This was followed by Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika* (Leipzig, 1868), and Eickhoff, *In der neuen Heimath* (2nd ed. 1885). The more recent German immigration was treated by Gustav Körner in *Das deutsche Element in den Vereiniten Staaten*, etc., 1818–1848. Then followed in English a number of books dealing with the Palatines and Pennsylvania Germans: Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines* (New York, 1897), treating of the Palatines, who settled on Livingstone Manor, and following them on their wanderings through Schoharie and the Mohawk Valley, and finally to Pennsylvania; Beidelman, *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Easton, 1898), dealing with the history, settlement and life of the Pennsylvania Germans. Cobb's book was a readable sketch but lacked in historical insight and command of the sources. Beidelman's book attempted too much and omitted much that was germane to the subject, and is hence of little practical value for the historian.

Within the last year two other books have appeared, treating of the Pennsylvania Germans: one by Miss Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, 1900), giving a historical sketch of the early German settlements in this country from the founding of Germantown by Pastorius to the Revolution, drawing its material from well-known sources but containing practically nothing new; the other by Oscar Kuhns, with the title as given above. This work by Prof. Kuhns is the first good book on the general subject of the Pennsylvania Germans; it is clear, comprehensive, and, for the purposes of the general reader, adequate. The author is himself a Pennsylvania German and has written the book as a labor of love, feeling like others, who know, the inadequacy of previous accounts. The method of treatment is comparative and the material is drawn from the best and latest sources. While previous writers on the subject had been content, in dealing with the history of the Palatinate, with such books as Häusser, *Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz*, Kuhns has found the newer and richer

sources in Riehl's *Die Pfälzer* and *Culturstudien;* Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit;* Dändliker's *Geschichte der Schweiz* (1893–95); Höfler's *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube in Oberbayerns Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (new ed. 1893); E. H. Meyer's *Deutsche Volkskunde* (1898); Loserth's *Der Communismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert* (1894); Mannhardt's *Festschrift zu Menno Simon's 400jähriger Geburtstagsfeier* (1892); Müller's *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (1895).

Kuhns' work includes the following chapters: "The Historic Background," giving a clear historical perspective of the causes which forced the Germans to migrate to America in the eighteenth century; "The Settling of the German Counties of Pennsylvania," presenting the main facts concerning the various settlements and laying particular stress upon the Swiss German settlers in Lancaster county; "Over Land and Sea," recounting the privations and sufferings of the immigrants during the sea voyage in the eighteenth century; "Manners and Customs of the Pennsylvania German Farmer in the eighteenth century," giving an interesting summary of the characteristic features of Pennsylvania German rural life, language, literature and education and defending the Pennsylvania German against the charge of indifference to education; "The Religious Life," presenting a clear statement of the origin and relation of the German sects; "In Peace and War," a brief outline of the part played by the Pennsylvania Germans in the Revolution, and an appendix, "Pennsylvania German Family Names," in which the author has condensed the results of an original and more extended investigation.

The chapter on the Pennsylvania German farmer, although treating a familiar subject, is an interesting contribution, in that it traces the usages and customs and in some cases utensils to their original home in the Rhenish Palatinate or in Switzerland. One can see here how the peasant instinct,schooled through many generations of soil-tillers in those lands, which were early touched by Roman agriculture (a fact that the author and his predecessors generally seem to have overlooked) asserted itself anew in Pennsylvania, seeking out the fruitful lime-stone land and the fertile bottoms with such persistency as to push the Scotch-Irish settler beyond the Susquehanna into the Cumberland Valley. Brief mention is made of the Conestoga wagon, the bank barn, the houses with their inscriptions as in Germany, the care of horses, and many other topics. It will doubtless sound very modern to many readers to hear the following description of irrigation employed by a Swiss farmer in Lancaster County in 1754. The passage is quoted from Governor Thomas Pownall:

"I saw some of the finest farms one can conceive, and in the highest state of culture, particularly one that was the estate of a Switzer. Here it was I first saw the method of watering a whole range of pastures and meadows on a hillside, by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from springs was conducted, so as that when the outlets of these troughs were stopped at the end, the water ran over the sides and watered all the ground between that and the other trough next below it. I dare say this method may be in use in England. I never saw it there, but saw it here first."

There has recently appeared, probably after the author had finished his manuscript, an elaborate description of the parts of the Conestoga wagon in an article by Thomas Wilson, entitled: "The Arkansas Traveller" (*Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, Jan. 1900). We note also that the author has, perhaps discreetly, passed over the discussion of the origin of the Swiss barn ("Swisser barn") and the bank barn, and the relation of the two types, a question of much importance in tracing the origin of Pennsylvania architecture. A fuller discussion of the German houses in Pennsylvania would have necessitated some mention of the different types still surviving, as for example in Easton, Bethlehem and Lititz, and likewise of the building material used in the different localities, such as the plastered house of the Schuylkill Valley as contrasted with the plain limestone house of Lancaster. The account of such titles as "king" applied to the peasant landholder, "King Herr," "King of the Octorara," reminds us of another class of early German magnates in Pennsylvania, namely the iron kings,a notable representative of whom was "Baron" Stiegel, who was for a long time

before and during the Revolution the guiding spirit in and around Manheim, and whose story reads like a romance.

In the case of folklore the author has not had time or space to discriminate and enter into detail. The observation of signs and seasons in sowing and planting and other matters of daily routine is not confined by any means to the eighteenth century. As late as 1900 the reviewer heard one of the most prosperous Germans of Cumberland County say that he did all these things, even setting vinegar, with strict observance of the phases of the moon. Then, too, the practice of powwowing ("brauche") is quite as much in vogue now in parts of Pennsylvania as it was in the eighteenth century. Only two years ago a storekeeper near Ephrata had such an extensive practice as powwower that he went to Reading, where he was said to have made $50 a day. It is but a few weeks since a suit was reported from Allentown in which a man sued a practitioner in this art for not having saved his cow, notwithstanding the fact that the 'Doctor' had required the plaintiff's wife to disrobe and walk around the cow a proper number of times. Furthermore many practices touching the phases of the moon and others are not exclusively Pennsylvania German. The reviewer recalls, for example, the practice of "warning" to a funeral, the sowing, planting and butchering (or "hog-killing") by the phases of the moon and similar customs as in vogue in his native state Delaware.

In a comparative treatment it would have been interesting to indicate the influence of the Germans on their Pennsylvania neighbors or *vice versa*, for example how the Germans have pressed into Welsh settlements and preserved intact their dialect, while the original Welshman is unable to speak a syllable of his mother tongue. At the recent anniversary of the Welsh at Gwynedd the reviewer, who had been invited to give an address in German, while a native Welshman was asked to speak in Welsh, called for a showing of hands and found that, while eleven of the audience understood German address, the only one who understood the Welsh language was the Welsh speaker himself. In the case of Pennsylvania German proverbs the English has, as might be expected, contributed to the German stock, which was brought over.

In discussing the conservatism of the Pennsylvania German farmer one should state that his conservatism is far less persistent in the method of tilling the soil. These Germans are quite up-to-date in introducing the latest forms of improved farming implements such as the mower, self-binder, steam thresher, hay-fork and others.

In the list of Pennsylvania German dishes we note the omission of one cheese still a great favorite in the Harrisburg market, that is *hofferkäs*.

The author has succeeded in giving an intelligible account of the general features of Pennsylvania German speech. We do not quite approve his calling it a "patois." Then again such general statements as that cited in Paul's *Grundriss* i. 538–540, scarcely reach the minute characteristics of the provincial dialects. The statement that *pf* (initial) was "simplified" to *p* is philologically misleading; the usual statement is that *p* was not mutated to *pf* in this dialect. The combination *nn* in such words as *finne* is, of course, due to the assimilation of *d* in the combination *nd* of *finden*. In the chapters on fruits, trees and flowers we should have expected some reference to the great cherry groves planted along the roads in parts of Pennsylvania, to the extensive botanical vocabulary in the dialect of these people, and particularly to earlier works dealing with American flora, such as Joh. David Schoepf's *Materia Medica Americana*, etc. (Erlangen, 1787), and *Reise durch einige der mittlern südl. vereinigten nord-americanischen Staaten* . . . 1783–1784 (Erlangen, 1788), or to Fr. Ad. Jul. von Wangenheim's *Beschreibung einiger nordamericanischen Holz- und Buscharten, mit Anwendung auf teutsche Forste* (Göttingen, 1781). Similar omissions might be pointed out in the chapter "In Peace and in War," for example, J. E. Rosengarten's *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, and Lowell's *The Hessians . . . in the American Revolution.*

Much might be said of the chapter on "German Family Names," but that would be more in place when the larger study on that subject appears. It has been a pleasant task to dwell

thus on the book of Prof. Kuhns, because it is such a good one and must become, for the general reader, the authoritative statement for some time to come. We cannot recommend it too highly to those who wish a correct and suggestive account of the early history and life of the Pennsylvania Germans.

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MIMIR-NICKELMANN.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—In the light of Prof. Walz's searching article (Mod. Lang. Notes, 1901, p. 89), Hauptmann has clearly made a systematic study of Germanic mythology. Walz accounts for the wisdom of the Nickelmann by calling attention to the fact that the gift of prophecy was attributed to water sprites. He cites Golther, *Germ. Myth.*: *Denn die Wassergeister wissen, wie alle Elbe, die Zukunft voraus.* This characteristic is purely incidental here.

It is very probable that Hauptmann had Mimir in mind, and another passage in Golther may account for the wisdom of the Nickelmann, *Myth.* p. 180:

"Die Germanen dachten sich darunter (Mimiaz-Mimir) einen urweisen Wasserriesen. Seine Söhne, die Flüsse, strömten zu den Menschen, Wer ihrem Ursprung nachging, wo Mimir sein *Haupt* barg, der stand am Urquell alles Wissens. Der *alte, erfahrene*, kunstreiche Wald und *Brunnengeist* beriet selbst Odin.

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ENGLISH easle 'ashes.'

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—Permit me to draw attention to a strange oversight in the NED. In 1891 the editors recorded as obsolete an *easle* 'hot ashes or cinders,' and among the forms of the word they quoted *isyl* as peculiar to the fifteenth century. This *isyl*, however, we meet again as the subject of a new entry in the January issue of 1901 under *isel, izle, not* characterized as obsolete by the asterisk, and this time the meaning given is 'a spark, an ember.' No reference whatsoever is had to the lengthy treatment of the word under *easle;* in fact, two of the quotations for *easle* reappear under *isil*, as does the compound *isylcake* from the *Promptorium Parvulorum.* The quotation from *Salesbury*, which in this Journal I had pointed out as missing under *easle*, is now to be found under *isel.*

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NOTES ON SPANISH ACCENTUATION.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—In 1888 the Spanish Academy formulated certain rules for the use of the written accent in Spanish. As these rules are the only authority we have, it would seem that we must follow them implicitly until such time as they may be supplemented or changed. This is, however, not done in texts published in Spain, in those edited in this country, or in the publications of the Academy itself. I therefore append a few notes which I have made regarding certain differences in usage. For the sake of uniformity and exactness these differences should be reconciled, a thing which can only be done by a rigid application of the rules of the Academy.

The points which I raise are taken from a comparison of the following books:

Gramática de la lengua castellana, por la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1895; Echegaray, *Ó locura ó santidad*, Madrid, 1898; Ramsey, *A text-book of modern Spanish*, New York; Traub, *The Spanish verb*, New York; Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, Madrid, 1896; Galdós, *Doña Perfecta* (ed. Marsh), Boston, 1897; Moratín, *El sí de las niñas* (ed. Ford), Boston, 1899; Alarcón, *El capitán veneno* (ed. Ford), Boston, 1899; Velásquez, *A new pronouncing dictionary of the Spanish and English languages*, New York, 1901.

Shall accents be used on capital letters? In the absence of any definite statement in the grammar of the Academy, we may take it for granted that they should be indicated in such cases, since this is the usage which generally obtains in the Academy's publications. A good example of such use may be found on p. 54 of the grammar, where the accented form is so frequent, that no doubt can remain as to the intention. The same is true of the forms on p. 29, although the omission of the accent in

the feminine plural shows that mistakes may be expected.

This latter is especially true of books printed in Spain with less care than are the publications of the Academy. In *Ó locura ó santidad* a much looser use of accents on capital letters is noticeable. On *A* the accent is lacking as a rule. This is shown, for instance, on p. 7, where it is entirely omitted in the stage directions, as is generally the case throughout the play. But the use of the accented form, as, for example, at the bottom of p. 53, shows a reversion to the proper usage, again met with on p. 87.

The text is so carelessly printed that the same differences are met with in the case of the other capitals. For instance on p. 60 (near the bottom) we find *Unica*, and on p. 42, *Angel*, the accent being omitted in both cases. On the other hand, on p. 33 (middle) we find *Él*, and the same word on p. 86 shows the proper type.

In the case of names of characters which are printed entirely in capitals, the accents are omitted throughout. That this is not in accord with the usage of the Academy may be seen on p. 264 of their grammar, where ARRÓJASE and DEJÓ are accented. This usage has not been consistently followed in *El sí de las niñas*, where on p. 72 ULTIMA is printed, and on p. 62 SIMON has no accent, while on p. 57 we find SIMÓN, the general type. On the title-page the accents are all inserted. In *El capitán veneno*, the accents are given throughout. In *Doña Perfecta* (Marsh), the capitals appear never to have been accented; perhaps following the Spanish edition.

Reverting to the instances spoken of above, in *El capitán veneno* the accentuation of capitals is rather thoroughly carried out, despite an occasional lapse like that on p. 15, l. 26, where we find *A mí*. But the same cannot be said of *El sí de las niñas*, for here *A* is generally unaccented. On the other hand, several words may be found with the accents properly inserted; for example, *Ése*, 48, 31; 19, 24, *Él* 35, 1; 49, 17; 52, 24. These latter would seem to indicate an adherence to the accented forms, overlooked for *Á*.

The use for *ha* temporal is confused by the fact that this word is accented in Ramsey, § 878. This is not in agreement with the grammar of the Academy, where on p. 149 the unaccented form is indicated. Moreover, nothing is said of an accented form *há* in the chapter on accent, pp. 364–368. In *El sí de las niñas* the accent is not used. Thus, although *há* is given in the new Velasquez, the unaccented form is preferable.

Another class of words is of interest, as showing an apparent conflict between the Academy's rule, and their application of it; such are the verbs *reir*, *oir freir*, and their compounds, *desleir*, and the like. These words are not accented in the Academy's grammar, although the rule for the accentuation of a weak vowel, when it is tonic and does not form a diphthong with a contiguous strong one, is clearly given on p. 365. The words in question are accented in Ramsey (§ 1148) in their simple forms, but curiously *hazmerreir* has no accent (§ 254). In Traub the verbs are all accented. The usage in the texts varies much. In those printed in Spain the omission of the accent is general, and the American editions of *El capitán veneno* and *Doña Perfecta* follow the same rule. Notwithstanding, on p. 7, l. 33 of *El sí de las niñas*, *oír* appears, and on p. 15, l. 22, we find *reír*. In the new Velasquez these words are not accented, and yet the *i* is clearly given as tonic in the phonetic notation of the indications for pronunciation.

Now in all these words, the accentuation of the termination is clearly called for, unless they are exceptions to all other verbs and have the accent upon the stem. This I can find no authority for, nor is it a pronunciation which I have ever heard. Therefore, since *raíz*, *oístes*, *oísteis* and the like are thus written, *oír*, *reír* and *freír* are likewise clearly indicated.

It is a very general custom to use the accent upon *ser* when the latter represents the verbal noun. This seems to be without authority, and I find no allusion to it in the grammar of the Academy. It may well be queried, If the accent be used in this case, why not use it on all infinitives used substantively? In the vocabulary of *El capitán veneno*, *ser* is given in its unaccented form. The reverse is true, however, in almost all other instances, and the accent is commonly used, especially in all books printed in Spain.

Ti is another word commonly accented, but which is not so given in the grammar of the Academy (p. 53). It is usual in its accented

form in all the Spanish-printed texts, and this usage is quite generally followed in all American editions. In *El sí de las niñas*, I find two examples, both accented (p. 4, 19; p. 42, 14); while in *El capitán veneno* it is unaccented both in the vocabulary and on p. 26, l. 16. In *Doña Perfecta* (Marsh) the form *tí* is usual. In Ramsey (§ 33) *ti* is not indicated as one of the pronouns which may be accented, while in § 290 it is given the accent—a usage repeated in § 299. This pronoun is accented in the new Velasquez.

In other cases pronouns have the accent, in order that they may be distinguished from their homonyms. This is unnecessary for *ti*, since there is no other word with which to confuse it.

Aun presents another difficulty, for we are told (grammar, p. 366) that this word is unaccented when coming before a verb, but has the accent when it follows. The usage when there is no verb expressed in the phrase is not clearly shown. Still we may infer that in the last mentioned case it is unaccented from the example on p. 181, which reads *no tengo yo tanto, ni aun la mitad*. In Ramsey (§ 272) *aún* is accented only when it follows the verb, which seems to be the best solution.

In the grammar of the Academy (p. 117) *dí* is given as the preterite of *dar*, while *di* is the form given for the imperative of *decir*. Thus a desirable distinction is made in these two forms, but one which unfortunately is not followed by either Ramsey or Traub, who use the accent in both cases. This latter accentuation is common in all Spanish printed texts, and has been followed in most American ones; for example, in *El sí de las niñas* (p. 42, l. 26) we read *Díme*. Thus we have another case like those of *sér* and *tí*, where a common Spanish custom is adopted by American editors, although not having the authority of the Academy.

It may seem that these notes are elementary, but owing to the wide divergence in usage, and to the fact that different forms are used by the same editor, it has seemed well to call attention to a few points which can and should be reconciled.

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BRIEF MENTION.

THE "Yale Bicentennial Publications" (Charles Scribner's Sons) constitute the contribution of a number of Yale's Professors and Instructors to the recent celebration of the University's two hundredth birthday. These volumes will, according to their range of topics, find readers variously divided into groups. The volume herewith brought to notice will, however, surely have a wider 'public' than its specializing title might imply: *Chapters on Greek Metric*, by Thomas Dwight Goodell, will attract first the student of classical antiquity, and then the student of 'barbarian' or European antiquity who is also the student of literary art in the "modern" world. Prof. Goodell has a place among his own authorities, as his Index shows, and this is right, for his paper on "Quality in English Verse" (1885) has won recognition. The student of English verse is, therefore, prepared to turn to Prof. Goodell's book for fruitful suggestions touching modern systems of versification. He will not be disappointed. The chapter on "Rhythm and Language" is true to its title, and is therefore as general as an English-speaking writer can make it, that is to say that every specific appeal to 'speech-consciousness,' and every demonstration of fact and experience is likely to be English. Here, for example, is a statement to witness: "For simplicity our attention in this chapter has been confined to English; but the principle is probably universal" (p. 92). In the chapter on "Rhythm in Greek" the illustration of irrational quantity, the ἄλογος syllable, is illustrated by "what happens in English verse" (p. 112). We may also be reminded, at another point, that "there is probably no parallel in English verse." The illustrations of 'conflict' in English (p. 164) give an indication (no more than an indication) of the declared method of "modern experiments." One misses at this point reference to the arguments of Professors Hale and Humphreys as well as to 'authorities' on English metrics. A thorough study of 'conflict' in English would throw clearer light on Classical versification than has yet been suspected even by Prof. Lindsay. It is to be hoped that this new book will contribute much to the growing fashion among students of metrics to embrace a wider observation of related phenomena.

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