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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ADDISON'S *Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning.*

In the admirable bibliography in the Wendell-Greenough edition of Addison's *Essays* (Athenaeum Press Series, Ginn, 1905), *A Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning* is placed among the "Doubtful Works"; but the internal evidence seems to me to show unmistakably that the *Discourse* is by Addison. In addition to a general similarity of style, there are a number of passages tallying closely in form and thought with parts of the essays on Milton and on the Pleasures of the Imagination. Hurd (Addison's Works, Bohn Ed. v, 214) "guesses" that it was "drawn up by him (Addison) in his younger days, and that it was not retouched or at least finished by him. The reason might be that he had afterwards worked up the principal observations of this piece into his critical papers on Milton." The *Dictionary of National Biography* says merely that the *Discourse* "is regarded by Hurd as genuine." A. S. Cook (Addison's *Criticisms on Paradise Lost*, Ginn, 1892) notes that the second and third of the selections from *Spectator* 273, quoted below, had been anticipated in the *Discourse*, "if, as Hurd supposes, this paper was written in his younger days." As a matter of fact, *Spectator* 273 draws largely upon the *Discourse*, one passage being transferred almost *en bloc*, and others being condensed and polished. Moreover, the germ of Addison's theory of the secondary pleasures of the imagination is to be found in the *Discourse.*[1]

[1] Addison early developed a disposition to speculate on the pleasures of the imagination. Compare the following from the *Essay on the Georgics*, written when Addison was twenty-one: "Virgil . . . . . loves to suggest a truth indirectly, and without giving us a full and open view of it, to let us see just so much as will naturally lead the imagination into all the parts that lie concealed. This is wonderfully diverting to the understanding, thus to receive a precept that enters as it were through a by-way, and to apprehend an idea that draws a whole train after it. For here the mind, which is always delighted with its own discoveries, only takes the hint from the poet, and seems to work out the rest by the strength of its own faculties."

It is clear that the *Discourse* was a juvenile performance, which the author had no idea of publishing, and upon which he felt that he could draw at will. It did not appear until 1739, twenty years after the author's death. I append the most significant parallels:

Discourse.	*Spectator* 273.
"But as for the characters of such as lived in his (Virgil's) own time, I have not so much to say of him as of Homer. He is indeed very barren in this part of his poem, and has but little varied the manners of the principal persons in it. His Aeneas is a compound of valor and piety; Achates calls himself his friend, but takes no occasion of showing himself so; Mnesteus, Sergestus, Gyas, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character. Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum."	"Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Aeneas is indeed a perfect character; but as for Achates, though he is styled the hero's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all men of the same stamp and character. Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum." —*Virg.*

Discourse.	*Spectator* 273.
"He (Milton) has obliged all mankind, and related the whole species to the two chief actors in his poem. Nay, what is infinitely more considerable, we behold in him not only our ancestors but our representatives. We are really engaged in their adventures, and have a personal interest in their good or ill success."	"The whole species of mankind was in two persons at the time to which the subject of his poem was confined. . . . . . Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers . . . . not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in this poem. But what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors but our representatives."

Discourse.	*Spectator* 273.
"And here the first and most general advantage the ancients had over us, was that they knew all the se-	"There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the Iliad and Aeneid which gives a pecu-

Discourse.

cret history of a composure; what was the occasion of such a discourse or poem, whom such a sentence aimed at, what person lay disguised in such a character: for by this means they could see their author in a variety of lights, and receive several different entertainments from the same passage. We, on the contrary, can only please ourselves with the wit or good sense of a writer, as it stands stripped of all those accidental circumstances that at first helped to set it off. We have him but in a single view, and only discover such essential standing beauties as no time or years can possibly deface."

Spectator 273.

liar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment—I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Aeneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes and victories of Aeneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes or disappointments that befell him; or a Greek must have the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain that each of those poems have (*sic*) lost this great advantage, among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers or indifferent persons."

Discourse.

"Nothing can be more delightful than to see two characters facing each other all along, and running parallel through the whole piece; to compare feature with feature, to find out the nice resemblances in every touch, and to see where the copy fails, and where it comes up to the original. The reader cannot but be pleased to have an acquaintance thus rising by degrees in his imagination, for whilst the mind is busy in applying every particular, and adjusting the several parts of the description, it is not a little delighted with its discoveries, and feels something like the satisfaction of an author from his own composure. . . . When Phidias had carved out his Jupiter, and the spectator stood astonished at so awful and majestic a figure, he surprised them still more by telling them it was a copy; and to make his words true, showed them the original, in that magnificent description of Jupiter, towards the latter end of the first Iliad. The comparing both together probably discovered secret graces in each of them, and gave new beauty to their performances."

Spectator 416.

"In all these instances, this secondary pleasure of the imagination proceeds from that action of the mind, which compares the ideas arising from the original objects, with the ideas we receive from the statue, picture, description or sound that represents them. It is impossible for us to give the necessary reason, why this operation of the mind is attended with so much pleasure, as I have before observed on the same occasion; but we find a great variety of entertainments derived from this single principle, for it is this that not only gives us a relish of statuary, painting and description, but makes us delight in all the actions and arts of mimicry."

E. K. Broadus.

Harvard University.

ALL OF THE FIVE FICTITIOUS ITALIAN EDITIONS OF WRITINGS OF MACHIAVELLI AND THREE OF THOSE OF PIETRO ARETINO PRINTED BY JOHN WOLFE OF LONDON (1584–1588).

A. Machiavelli.

1. *I Discorsi di Nico- | lo Machiavelli, so- | pra la Prima Deca di | Tito Liuio. | Con due Tauole*, etc. *Nouellamente emmendati, & con somma | cura ristampati.* | Device of a flourishing palm tree with toads and serpents about the root, and in its branches the words: *Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla* | *In Palermo* | *Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli* a xxviij *di Genaio*, 1584. Preface by the printer to the reader with promise to publish more of Machiavelli same date and place. Carte xvi + 200. 8°.

2. *Il Prencipe di Nicolo Ma- | chiauelli, Al Magnifico Lorenzo* etc. | *Con alcune altre operette, i titoli delle quali trouerai nella seguente facciata.* | Device of the palm tree, etc., as in No. 1. *In Palermo* | *Appresso gli heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli* | a xxviij *di Gennaio*, 1584. | Always in the same volume with the preceding but with

separate numbering of leaves and sheets. No Preface to the Reader. Carte 0 + 80. 8°.

3. *Libro dell' Arte* | *della Guerra di* | *Nicolo Machia-* | *uelli Cittadino, et Se-* | *cretario Fiorentino.* | *Nouamente corretti* (!), | *& con somma diligenza ristampati* (!). | Device of the palm tree as in Nos. 1 and 2. | *In Palermo appres* | *so Antonello degli* | *Antonelli.* | No year. On the cancel title page, which in most editions takes the place of the original one, the wording of the title is changed, and device, place and publisher are omitted and replaced by MDLxxxvii. No Preface to the Reader. Carte i + 151 and an extra size Plate for Figura vii. 8°.

4. *Historie di* | *Nicolo Macchia-* | *uelli, Cittadino,* | *et Secretario* | *Fiorentino,* | *Al Santissimo,* etc. | *Nuouamente ammendate, & con somma diligenza ristampate,* | *con licenza de superiori* | Giolito's device | *In Piacenza appresso* | *gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito* | *de Ferrari.* | 1587. | Preface to the Reader with a reference to Antoniello's promise dated Piacenza, June 2, 1587. Pp. xii + 568. 12°.

5. *Lasino* | *doro di Nicolo* | *Macchiauelli,* | *con tutte laltre* | *sue operette.* | *La contenenza delle quali ha-* | *uerai nella seguente facciata.* | Lower part of Giglio's device | *In Roma* MDLxxxviii. | Preface to the Reader with a reference to Antoniello's promise dated Roma, May 20, 1588. 8°.

B. Pietro Aretino.

1. A general title for the entire volume is lacking.

1. *La Prima Parte de Ragiona-* | *menti di M. Pietro Aretino, co-* | *gnominato il flagello de* | *prencipi, il veritiero, el diui* | *no, diuisa in tre Giornate, la* | *contenenza de le quali si* | *porra ne la facciata* | *seguente.* | *Veritas odium parit.* | MDLxxxiiii. | Considerable space below. Preface by Barbagrigia to Reader dated Bengodi, October 21, 1584.

La Seconda Parte de Ragiona | *menti,* etc., as above, *Doppo le quali habbiamo aggiunto il Piaceuol* | *Ragionamento del Zoppino, composto* | *da questo medesimo autore per* | *suo piacere.* | *Veritas,* etc. | No year. Close Bengodi. *Commento* | *di Ser Agresto* | *da Ficaruolo sopra* | *la Prima Ficata del Padre Siceo.* | *Con la Diceria* | *de Nasi* | No year. Preface to Reader by L'Herede di Barbagrigia dated Bengodi January (!) 12, 1584. Pp. xii + 228, viii + 401, 0 + 142. 8°. The numbering of sheets is continuous throughout the volume.

2. *Quattro* | *Comedie del* | *Diuino Pietro* | *Aretino.* | *Cioè* | *Il Marescalco La Talanta.* | *La Cortegiana L'Hipocrito.* | *Nouellamente ritornate, per mezzo della* | *stampa, a luce, a richiesta de conosci* | *tori del lor valore.* | Head of Pietro surrounded by *D. Petrus. Aretinus. Flagellum. Principum.* in shape of a coin. | MDLxxxviii. | Preface with a reference to Barbagrigia's promise, but no place or date. Separate title pages with year for the last three comedies. Pp. xvi + 292. 8°.

3. *La* | *Terza, et* | *Ultima Parte* | *de Ragiona-* | *menti* | *del Divino Pietro* | *Aretino.* | *Ne la quale si contengono due ragionamenti* | *cio è de le Corti, e del Giuoco, cosa morale, e bella.* | Head, etc., as in No. 2. | *Veritas Odium parit.* | *Appresso Gio. Andrea del Melagrano* | 1589. | Preface with a reference to the promise of Barbagrigia dated from Valcerca January 13, 1589. Special title page for second part: *Il Ragionamento* | *del diuino* | etc. | *nel quale si parla* | *del Gioco con mora-* | *lita piaceuole.* | Head as in No. 2 and M.D.xlxxix (!) | instead of 1589. *Carte* iii + 203. 8°.

The problem of the real home and origin of the five fictitious Italian editions of Machiavelli of the years 1584–88 was first raised by Bongi,[1] who, realizing that they could not possibly have been printed in Italy, acutely conjectured from the peculiar lustre of the vellum of the binding of some of them that they must have come from England. At his instigation Alfred W. Pollard of the British Museum gave the matter some attention, as a result of which the following entries were made in the Museum Catalogue. Under *Discorsi*, 'The initial letters show that this book was printed at London by John Wolfe. The device on the title page was subsequently used by Adam Islip.' Under *Prencipe:* 'Printed like the *Discorsi* with the same imprint at London by John Wolfe.' Under *Arte:* 'Probably printed secretly at London by John Wolfe.' Under *Historie* simply: 'Probably printed secretly in London.'

[1] See: *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. 5, vol. xix, 1897, and my article in the November issue of *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxi, 1906.

Under *Asino*, the same entry. The three editions of Pietro Aretino have, as far as I am aware of it, apart from Bongi's conjecture that the second might have been printed in France or England, not only never been attributed to John Wolfe but not even been located in England. The Museum Catalogue makes no suggestion regarding the first and puts 'Venice?' after the second and 'Paris?' after the third, while Bertani,[2] the latest biographer of Pietro Aretino, adds Venezia to the firm appearing on the title page of the third.

My own interest in this question was not thoroughly aroused until last summer, when, during a visit to Richmond, Indiana, I happened to notice perchance in the choice private library of some friends of mine, that Figura VII of the *Arte* of 1587 must in all probability have been taken from Peter Whitehorne's English translation of Machiavelli's work, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and in the years of 1560–88 passed through no less than three editions. This prospective confirmation of the English origin of one of the five books gave me the conviction that a special investigation of the whole matter might yield more definite results than as yet had been obtained, and, relinquishing for the present my intention of continuing my study of Machiavelli in Florence and Venice, I came to London, where even my most sanguine expectations have been surpassed. My Richmond observation proved correct, a minute comparison and measuring of the type and the initial letters of other books printed by John Wolfe made it appear even more probable that he had issued the *Arte* and the *Historie* than that he had published the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe*, and the last lingering doubts, of which I could not rid myself because I had noticed a few of Wolfe's initial letters also with other London printers of the time, were suddenly dispelled by direct and irrefutable testimony.

Searching one day for information on the life and person of John Wolfe, in the unparalleled Reference Library of the Museum, I came across *Typographical Antiquities or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: containing Memoirs of our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books printed by them, from the year* MCCCCLXXI *to the year* MDC. *Begun by the late* JOSEPH AMES, etc. *Considerably augmented—by* WILLIAM HERBERT, etc.—*London*, MDCCLXXXV, etc., 3. vols. 4°. I eagerly turned to John Wolfe who occupies Vol. II, p. 1170–1189 and, after casting a glance on the few remarks about his person and noticing that he was surnamed Machivill, I began to peruse the titles of the books he had printed. Nothing under 1584, 1587 or 1588 that had any special bearing on the question in hand, but when I came to 1593 I felt a thrill of delight. *Philadelphus, or A Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History. Written by R. H.* Device a flourishing palm tree, with serpents and toads about the root, having this motto: Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla, etc., etc. Imprinted by him, 1593, etc.[3] The palm tree of the *Discorsi*, the *Prencipe*, the *Arte*, in a book duly accredited to John Wolfe six years before Adam Islip made the first use of it when it had become rather worn out! That settled John Wolfe's claim to the first three editions. But that was not all. At the end of the list of books the titles of which were given in full there followed the statement: 'He had also licenses for the following,' and twice more I had occasion to rejoice. Under 1587 it said, '*Historio* (!) *de* (!) *Nicolo Machiauelli Cittadino et Secretario Florentino* (!)' and 1588, *L'asine* (!) *d'oro dy* (!) *Nicolo Macchauelli* (!).' The fourth and fifth directly accredited to John Wolfe and not even printed secretly. The Machiavelli problem was solved. But something else a little farther on caught my attention, still in 1588: '*Dialogo di Pietro Aretino vel* (!) *quale si parla del graco* (!) *con moranta* (!) *Piaceuole*,' in which the title of the second part of our third work of Pietro Aretino may be recognized and immediately afterwards, '*Ragionamento nel quale M. Pietro Aretino figura quattro suoi amici che fanellano* (!) *delle corti del mondo, e di quella del cielo*.' This, to be sure, is not the title which our third work has now but that which the first part had in the old edition of Novara, 1538. John Wolfe, therefore, in this case evidently produced

[2] Carlo Bertani, *Pietro Aretino e le sue Opere secondo nuove indagini.* Sondrio, 1901, p. 363, note.

[3] The device shows some wear, proving that it was not used here for the first time.

the books he was going to reprint, not his own copy. Under these circumstances it may seem doubtful whether the '*Lettere di Pietro Aretino,*' for which he likewise received a license, were ever actually printed by him or not. The Museum does not seem to possess a copy that could be ascribed to him.

Applying to the Superintendent of the Reading Room, I learned through his courtesy that there also existed a diplomatic reprint of the principal source of Ames and Herbert's work, which fortunately covered the same period, viz.: *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640 A. D.*, etc. *Edited by* Edward Arber, etc, *Privately Printed. London* 1875 ff. 5 vols. 4°, from the second volume of which I transcribe for fuller information the following items:

18 Septembris [*i. e.* 1587]

John *wolf*. Rece*au*ed of him for printing*e* an Italian book*e* *i*ntitled *Historie di* Nicolo Machiauelli Cittadino et Secretario Fiorentino. Au*e*thorised *v*nder th[e] archbishop of Canterburies hand vi[d].

The statement '*Con licenza de superiori*' on the title of our edition is therefore not a fake; the Primate of England who, at that time, together with the bishop of London, exercised the supreme supervision on new publications, having sanctioned it.

xvii° die Septembris [1588]

John *wolf*. Allowed *v*nto him for his cop*ie*, to be printed in Italian | a booke *i*ntitu*l*ed *L'asino D'oro. Dy* (!). Nicolo Ma*cc*hauelli | *vpp*on Condicon that yt may be allowed hereafter [no sum stated] being*e* now*e* allowed *v*nder th[e h]andes of master Hartwell and master warden *c*oldock. |

The archbishop, therefore, was not specially consulted this time nor was he in case of the following works of Pietro Aretino.

xx° die Septembris. [1588]

John *wolfe* | *Item* allowed vnto him for his copie *v*nder th[e h]and*e*s aforesaid. *Quattro Comedie* D*el* Deu*ino*(!) Pietro Aretino [no sum stated.]

This entry was overlooked by Ames and Herbert in the compilation of their work, and establishes John Wolfe's title to the second work of Pietro Aretino. Finally:

xiiii[to] *o*ctobris [1588]

John *wolf*. Alowed vnto him for his cop*ie* *Dialogo* Di Pietro Aretino *nel quale riparla del groco* (!) *con moralita* R*aaceuole* (!). [no sum stated] vnder master Hartwell hand and Th[e] wardens.

J. *wolf*. Alowed vnto him for his copy. *Ragionamento. nel quale. Messire* Pietro Aretino *figura Quattro suoi* A*mici che fanellano* (!) *delle Conti* (!) D*el mondo. e di quella* D*el cielo*. [no sum stated] vnder master Hartwell and Th[e] wardens hand*e*s.

After this follows the license for Lettere di Pietro Aretino discussed above.

It remains for me to give some of the circumstantial evidence of type and initial letters, and, although the discovery of the device of the palm-tree on John Wolfe's *Philadelphus* of 1593 assures his title to the *Discorsi*, the *Prencipe* and the *Arte* of Machiavelli, they will not be excluded in the following.

1. *Discorsi* and *Prencipe:* The round characters of the Preface to the Reader as well as the italics of the body of the text and the two principal kinds of initial letters all recur, as must have been stated by Pollard to Bongi, *l. c.*, in the *Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* by Ubaldino, printed by Wolfe in 1581. Examples of one or both kinds of these initial letters, however, are also met with in books by several other printers, viz., in Giordano Bruno's *Explicatio Triginta Sigillorum* of 1583, probably done by Vautrollier; *An Answer to the Untruthes*, etc., printed by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman, 1589; Ubaldino: *A Discourse concerninge the Spanish Fleete*, etc.; imprinted by A. Hatfield, 1590; *The Florentine Historie*, printed by Thomas Creede for William Ponsonby, 1595, and *The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction* and *A Discourse Against Nicholas Machiavell*, etc., printed by Adam Islip, with whom we also found the palm tree, in 1599 and 1602.

2. *Arte:* The italics of the text are identical with those of the Prefaces to the Reader in the *Asino* and the *Quattro Comedie* of Pietro Aretino and other books printed by Wolfe. The little ornament over the Proemio is found in the *Pastor*

Fido by Guarini, printed by Wolfe in 1591. The peculiar frame of the initial letter—a wrap is suspended above the centre—of the Proemio recurs in Stow's *Survay of London,* printed by Wolfe in 1598, pp. 60, 102 and 161. The initial letters of the several books are duplicated in Ubaldino : *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri,* printed by Wolfe in 1591, viz., Books III, IV, V and VII, on pp. 70, 54, 5 and 7.[4] Finally, and this is the most telling correspondence, the very peculiar ornamental strip of the close of the Proemio and Book I occurs once more in Stow's *Survay,* p. 450, top.

If the *Historie* were not given to John Wolf by the Registers, parallels of type could be adduced from the *Pastor Fido* and of initial letters from the *Vite delle Donne.* Thus everything tends to bear out the evidence of the palm tree and the Registers and to confirm John Wolfe's title to all the editions of Machiavelli.

As for Pietro Aretino's second work which is accredited by the Registers, I will only say that it is in type, number of lines on page, etc., exactly like the *Comedie* and the *Asino,* and shares one initial letter with the *Vite delle Donne,* another kind with the *Comedie* and *Asino,* and the device on the title page with the *Comedie.* It, therefore, cannot possibly have been printed in Venice.

3. The first volume of Aretino. Here John Wolfe's claim is based on correspondences of type, initial letters and other ornaments almost exclusively since there exist two more editions of the first and second parts of it with the same preface by the fictitious Barbagrigia and the same year and date. Very fortunately circumstantial evidence is abundant. For convenience sake I designate the Parts by Roman and the Giornate by Arabic figures. The italics are those of the *Arte* and the other books cited there, and the large initial letters those of the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe,* though, as was stated above, they were not confined to John Wolfe. The frame of the initial letter with the suspended wrap I, 1 is that of the *Arte* and the *Survay.* The frames of two kinds of initial letters not found in any other of the eight works under consideration likewise recur in the *Survay,* viz. : that of the Preface of Barbagrigia on p. 450, and those of II, 1 ; III, Proemio and III, Lettera on pp. 58, 94 and 147. Thus all initial letters can be duplicated from other books printed by Wolfe. But still more satisfactory evidence is offered by the recurrence of the characteristic large square ornament which serves to fill the vacant space at the close of several divisions of Aretino's volume at the close of the text of the often quoted *Survay.* Circumstantial evidence of such completeness cannot fail to carry a good deal of weight with it. It will be further strengthened in the second part of this paper, which will deal with John Wolfe's personality, the reasons for his not putting his name on these editions and his merits for the promotion of the printing of Italian books in England.

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[4] Again these two kinds of initial letters did not belong to John Wolfe exclusively, the frame of the first recurring in '*An Answer to the Untruthes,*' printed, as stated above, by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman, in 1589. The second in *The Florentine Historie,* also cited above, printed by Thomas Creede for William Ponsonby, 1595. The little ornament above the Proemio is found in practically identical shape in Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio,* Pariggi, M.D.LXXXII.

THE FRENCH NOVEL OF INTRIGUE FROM 1150 TO 1300. II.

One of the most interesting of romances, intrinsically and historically, is *Amadas et Idoine* (c. 1180).[15] The author has not looked abroad for his heroine. Idoine is a daughter of Burgundy, positive, energetic, commonsense, and of a vigorous morality. Amadas, having overcome Idoine's indifference, is called away home. His sweetheart is married by her father to the Count of Nevers. In her extremity Idoine summons the dread spinster Clotho and her sisters. The three frighten the Count into the belief that his countess has an awful malady.[16] The disappointed Amadas, meanwhile, has become raving mad, and

[15] *Amadas et Idoine.* p. p. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1863. Cf. *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall,* Oxford, 1901. Gaston Paris, p. 386 ff.

[16] Engigniés est, partant s'en tient, l. 2441. Cf. *Cligès,* l. 3329.

wanders *amont, aval, et hors et ens,* coming finally to Lucca. Idoine informs herself of his condition and his whereabouts, and asks her husband's leave to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The Count, who is a man of affairs, is perfectly willing. With her esquire Garinès, Idoine sets out for Rome and stops at Lucca. She brings Amadas to his senses, persuades him to be reasonable when he protests that he is unworthy of her, puts fine raiment upon him, and sees to everything like the capable woman she is. The poet reflects on the subject of women :

> Signor, je l'di, bien ai garant, 3570.
> . . . .
> Fols est, qui en nule se fie. 3608.
> . . . .
> Pour ce, si est de feme fine,
> Boine, loial, et enterine
> Une des mervelles du mont,
> Que mult tres peu de tex en sont.
> Une boine .c. homes vaut.
> . . . .
> De ces boines est Idoine une 3663.

So much accomplished, Idoine falls ill. About to die, so she thinks, she takes measures to keep Amadas alive. She confesses :

> "Par mon grant peciet amai
> Ains de vous, s'en soiés certains,
> Lonc tans .iii. miens cosins germains." [17]

Amadas promises that with this information he will not die, whereat Idoine contentedly appears to. She is entombed. A certain ring revives her.

Idoine throughout has been stern with Amadas :

> Que nus n'i puisse vilounie 6753.
> Noter, ne mal, ne felounie.[18]

She and Amadas get home to Burgundy, where she tells the Count she has seen St. Peter at Rome —"bele persoune me sambla"—and St. Peter has advised a divorce. The Count is in love with another woman and matters are amicably arranged.[19] Chrétien, although he must be allowed the palm of priority, has been distanced on his own ground. Fenice is too absorbed to show much imagination.[20] Idoine employs the Fates.

The author of *Amadas et Idoine* has equally failed to face the situation, for one reason because his is a story of love that will not be thwarted, only incidentally a novel of intrigue. But Idoine's resort to magic and the complacence of the husband in the case class the story with *Cligès* and *Éracle.* Another point in common between the three is, that however frivolous the handling of the intrigue may be, we are sufficiently admonished that women in love must not be *parceniers.* Who could imagine Fenice and Athenais and Idoine unfaithful to Cligès, Paridès and Amadas? Chrétien and his school seem blind to the logic of their code which might lead anywhere—*feme est li oisiax seur la rainne.*[21] It is strange how few stories of irresponsible intrigue are to be found in the Old French period ; *Joufrois* (c. 1250),[22] so far as I know, stands alone[23]—evidently the work of a man to whom women are fair and not fond enough.

Count Joufrois, of Poitiers, Don Juan of his region, hears of a beautiful lady kept by her husband under watch in an ancient tower, near a city. Joufrois comes to this city for the tourneys, and in the field before the tower displays great prowess. At night he keeps open hostel.

> Mais vos pas ne me demandez 1179.
> Si la dame del chastel vit
> Lo bel hostel que li cuens fit ?
> Oïl certes, tot a devise.

After Joufrois is gone—ne set qu'il fait qui feme gaite[24]—Lady Agnes of the Ancient Tower sends out a man to make inquiries. The man returns and the lady is pleased :

> "Va," fait ele, "je le cuit bien ; 1398.
> Qu'einz en mun cuer sor tote rien
> Pansoie je par devinaile
> Que ce estoit li cuens sanz faile.
> . . . .
> Biaus est et larcs et vigoros, 1405.
> Aperz et sages et cortois ;
> Ce ai oï dire maintes fois."

The Count comes back in the guise of a hermit,

[17] P. 175—the line numbering is confused.

[18] Cf. *Cligès*, 5251 ; *Chatelain de Coucy*, 3621.

[19] ll. 7367 ff. Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 2, 532—"Die Lösung der Ehe ist ganz modern."

[20] Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.

[21] *Dolopathos*, 4259.

[22] *Joufrois*. Herausgeg. v. Konrad Hofmann und Franz Muncker, Halle, 1880. Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 776.

[23] The Provençal *Flamenca* is similar. For a translation of the crucial dialogue, cf. Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur.* Leipzig u. Wien, 1900, p. 89.

[24] *Éracle*, 4601.

a gaberlunzie man.[25] He had reckoned upon the sure effect of his lance play and largess within eyeshot of the tower. The husband of the lady is won by the godly bearing of the hermit and is moved to treat his wife with less severity. "God pardon me," he says, "you may do as you please from this day forth." She doubts at first, but her lord is serious and she is shrewd. She answers:

> "Mais tant ai a pris ceste estage 1824.
> Que jamais non voil a nul jor
> Ensir de ceste aute tor,
> Car n'ai pas ceste seigle a pris."

The husband is insistent:

> "Ainz voil, qu'alez demain el jor 1842.
> Veoir l'ermite en sa maison
> Que ja ne verreiz si bien non."

The next morning, accordingly, the lady visits the hermitage (ll. 1853–2147). Afterwards, her husband asks if the hermit is not as represented. The lady answers yes:

> Quant cil l'oï, molt en fu liez. 2163.
> "Dame," fait il, "bien feriez
> Si sovenz li aliez veoir;
> Que grant pro i poez avoir
> De celui, qui toz nos chadele."
> Et cele dit, si fera ele,
> Puis que lui plaist, dorenavant.

Nothing is dodged in *Joufrois*, except the stricter ethics. The story is full of the "joy of life." Poitou, the country of Queen Eleanor, sent its contingents as well as Provence to the baths of Bourbonne where *celosos extremeños*, like Count Archambaut, took precautions in vain against wives like Flamenca.

We are assured that heaven and hell were very present to these people of the Middle Ages. Few of them seem to have realized those extremes in themselves. Hence perhaps their simplicities and their evasions in such serious matters as the personal relations of men and women. The *Châtelain de Coucy*[26] (c. 1300) is the only novel of the list in which there is any attempt at thoroughgoing analysis of the heart. The story by contrast seems modern.

Note the introduction of a man in love. The Châtelain de Coucy is enamored of the Dame de Fayel. He is announced at the castle:

> Dist la dame: "Il soit bien venus: 133.
> Or en r'alés à lui lasus
> Et si li faites compaignie,
> Et tant que g'iere appareillie."
> . . . .
> La dame s'est tost acesmée, 149.
> Car belle dame est tost parée.[27]

The lady appears. She remarks the châtelain's troubled look and suspects the cause.

> Lors dist: "Sire, je say de fit 186.
> C'aucune chose vous anoie:
> Se mes sires fust cy, grant joie
> Vous feist, s'en fusse plus aise.
> S'or n'i est cy ne vous desplaise.
> Il i sera une autre fois."

The châtelain speaks of his heart. The answer is:

> "Bien savés mes corps est liiés 218.
> Du fort lien de mariage;
> J'ay mary preu, vaillant et sage
> Que pour homme ne fausseroie."

They go to supper. The châtelain is abstracted. The lady:

> "Mengiés, je vous empri, 245.
> Et par la foy que devés mi,
> Faites uu poi plus li chiere.
> . . . .
> Vous fustes au tournoy l'autrier." 252.
> Dist la dame, "j'oy conter."
> —Haa! dame, vous volés parler
> D'autre chose que je ne voel."

The lady begins to think of her suitor's attractions. She hears him talked of; he is conspicuous at tourneys:

> La dame souvent ooit 349.
> Maint recort qu'al cuer li touchoit.
> Mès encor n'estoit pas ferue
> Du dart d'amours.

The châtelain makes a song to his lady. A minstrel sings it in her presence:

> Et quant sot que cilz l'avoit fait 417.
> Qui maint traval ot pour lui trait,
> Amours le cuer li atendrie.

[25] Cf. *Chatelain de Coucy*, ll. 6610–6650.

[26] *L'Histoire du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel.* p. p. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1829.

[27] Cf. *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry. Pour l'enseignement de ses filles.* A. de Montaiglon, Paris, 1854, ch. XXXI. D'une dame qui mettoit le quart du jour à elle appareillier, or, in the Tudor English translation, "I wolde ye knew an ensample of the lady that wolde have alwey a quarter of a day to arraie her."

The lord of Fayel is hospitable, unsuspecting. When the châtelain calls again, Fayel says :

> "Dame, prenés 455.
> Le chastelain et si lavés,
> Qui nous a fait très grant honnour
> Que ci fist ore son retour.
> Lors ont lavé et sont assis.
> . . . .
> De maintes causes ont parlé,
> D'armes, d'amours, de chiens, d'oisiaus.
> . . . .
> La dame n'ert pas enplaidie, 470.
> Ains fu d'une maniere coie.
> Et non pourquant ses iex envoie
> Simplement vers le chastelain,
> Esgarder ne l'ose de plain.

Fayel must be away to a case in court (un plait). He bids his wife entertain their guest. Hostess and guest play at *tables* and at talk. Wanting to know when he will see her again, the châtelain says :

> "Dame, j'entens que vous serés 667.
> A la feste où li grant plentés
> Ert des dames de cest pays."
> . . . .
> —Par Dieu, sire, vous dites voir 673.
> Ma dame de Coucy hersoir
> Me manda que je y alaisse,
> Ne pour nul soing ne le laissasse."

In the lady's heart common sense and passion have debated (ll. 777 ff.). But at this tourney the châtelain is very conspicuous. The heralds give him honor :

> La dame de Fayel ooit 1365.
> Les parolles dont joie avoit,
> Car li chastelains empresent
> Véoit, et dedens son cuer sent
> Que plus ne se poet destourner
> Que il ne li conviegne amer.
> . . . .
> Après souper avint ensy 1481.
> Qu'au boire sist par dalès ly.
> . . . .
> Tant ont là ensamble parlé 1500.
> Qu'environ eulz sont tout levé,
> Et lors d'ileuques se leverent.

They appoint a day for further talk, a Tuesday when Fayel will be abroad. The Tuesday comes, and the châtelain presents himself. They canvass the situation. Wariness must be theirs, they think. The châtelain suggests that a trusty maid might help them :

> La dame respont : "Une en say 2217.
> En qui très bien me fieray.
> . . . .
> Et sy croy qu'elle va pensant 2227.
> Un petitet no convenant
> Puis les joustes de l'autre fois."

A plan is sketched—secret doors, etc. The lady opens her mind to the trusty maid, her cousin Isabel. Isabel advises :

> "Miex ameroie estre dampneé 2357.
> Que par moy fuissiés acusée.
> Et non pourquant vous avés tort
> Que avés fait de ce acort :
> Car moult m'esmerveill par m'ame
> De vous qui estes haute dame,
> S'aves mari preu et vaillant
> Et sus ce faites un amant."

Lady Fayel defends her course, but says she will try her man the first time he comes to the wicket gate :

> "Adont le verrés-vous cesser 2406.
> De ci venir d'ore en avant ;
> Et s'il m'aime ne tant ne quant,
> Ne laira, quoy qu'à lui aviengne
> Que souventes fois n'i reviegne." [28]

Having found the door barred against him, the châtelain goes home and to bed, sick of disappointment. The lady is distressed at this upshot of her pleasantry. Isabel conveys word that nothing serious was meant. The châtelain writes a letter the answer to which (ll. 3049 ff.) fixes another day. This second time he is not long kept waiting. At break of day Isabel warns. The châtelain asks when he may hope to come again :

> A cel consel fu appellée 3611.
> La damoiselle, car senée
> Estoit, et de bons avis plaine ;

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[28] Cf. *Le Chastoiement des Dames.* Robert de Blois : Sämmt. Werke. Herausgeg. v. Dr. Jacob Ulrich, Berlin, 1895. l. 750 :

> S'il vous aime tant con il dist
> Ne laira por nul escondit
> Qu'il reviegne.

and *L'Art d'Amors* (Jacques d'Amiens), Dr. Gustav Körting, Leipzig, 1868, ll. 2051–2061 :

> La ou pues bien ton huis ouvrir
> ens le pues mettre et recoillir.
> . . . .
> encor te voel ie consellier :
> fai le un petit dehors muser.

> Si lor dist: "Qui la vie maine
> Qu'en pensée avés à mener,
> Son cuer convient amesurer
> Contre son vouloir à la fois,
> Car li cuers n'entent que ses drois."

"One ought," says Isabel,

> "Tous temps si privéement 3621.
> Ouvrer que mal-parliere gent,
> N'envieus, en sacent que dire."

Word will be sent, she adds,

> "Par lettres que feray parler 3651.
> En mon non sans nul mot sonner
> De ma dame pour riens qui soit,
> Pour le peril s'il avenoit
> Que li garcons euist perdu
> Les lettres."

Isabel knows her world. A jealous lady of Vermandois—

> Moult est la dame en grant esrour 3951.
> Et moult s'avise par quel tour
> Pora savoir sans lonc plait faire
> La verité de cest affaire—

sets a spy upon the châtelain's goings and comings. Hence it is Fayel who admits the châtelain when he knocks at the secret door one night. The visitor protests that he comes to see Isabel, who bears him out and is confirmed by her mistress—a very dramatic scene (ll. 4648 ff.):

> "Voir," dist li sires, "j'ay merveilles 4733.
> Je croy que siec sus mes oreilles,
> Ne sai que penser ne que dire
> Si bel vous savés escondire.
> . . . .
> Or chastelains, vous en irés."

From this point clever deception degenerates into vulgar subterfuge. Domestic peace at Fayel has vanished. The lord

> Sa fame remprosne forment 6212.
> Mès n'ose pas son maltalent
> Moustre par batre, tant est sage,
> Car elle estoit de grant linage.

It comes about that the châtelain joins a crusading party for the East. At the last moment the lady is refused permission to go. She has shown overmuch eagerness. The châtelain cannot now withdraw. In the East he dies. His heart, he commands, shall be given to Lady Fayel as memento of their loves. Fayel intervenes. The châtelain's heart is served as a choice morsel at table. The lady, convinced of what she has partaken, is overcome with grief and speedily dies. Fayel seeks distraction in travel, but can find none whatsoever. After a few months he dies.

Such a tragedy must, I think, seem startling after what we have been examining. It would appear that it required a good century and a half for the Celtic depth of feeling to gain any real hold upon French minds.[29] Speaking of *Flamenca*, M. Paul Meyer observes that it is a work of a period "à laquelle tôt ou tard viennent aboutir toutes les littératures : celle où le récit d'aventures, si inouïes, si varieés qu'on les suppose, ne suffit plus à exciter l'intérêt, où l'imagination n'ayant plus pour les faits extérieurs la curiosité du premier âge se complaît dans la description des sentiments intimes."[30] There are few such works in the Old French, and the *Châtelain de Coucy* is perhaps the best of them. *Sone de Nausay*, with all its genuine interest, lacks the form to give it currency. Chrétien was master almost to the end. If it is true that he wrote *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, we have but supported evidence of his genius. The story, to be sure, is mediocre. However, its author could please his public with a novel of wifely loyalty that was to find echo in the *Manekine* and *Octavian* more than a hundred years later.[31] *Escanor* is in direct descent from *Yvain*. Soredamor (*Cligès*) is the first of the conventionally coy *jeunes filles*,[32] and of the five heroines of intrigue here noticed Fenice, Athenais, and Idoine are "true lovers."

Doubtless in that century and a half liaisons were as usual at one period as at another.[33] We

[29] Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 57—"Est-ce Chrétien qui ne comprenait pas la légende Celtique?"

[30] *Le Roman de Flamenca*. p. p. Paul Meyer, Paris, 1865. p. xv.

[31] Cf. *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre*, by Philip Ogden. Johns Hopkins Diss. Baltimore, 1900. Other legends of good women, as wives, were much read, *e. g.*, *Le Comte de Poitiers* and *La Violette*, cf. R. Ohle: *Ueber die romanischen Vorläufer von Shakespeare's Cymbeline*. Leipzig Diss., 1890.

[32] Soredamor is inspired of Lavinia in the *Roman d'Énéas*, but Lavinia is not consistently modest. Cf. *Énéas*, p. p. Jacques Salverda de Grave, Halle, 1891. ll. 7857–9268.

[33] Cf. *La Satire des Femmes dans la Poésie Lyrique du Moyen Age*, by Theodore Lee Neff. Chicago Diss., Paris, 1900. pp. 68–88.

can discern that they were regarded throughout in the North of France with a certain moral earnestness. Romances of intrigue were infrequent. When undertaken, extraordinary circumstances were dwelt upon and the lovers were apt to marry. A plot of that character was sometimes only incidental. Or, as in the case of the *Châtelain de Coucy,* the story was of a sort to be deterrent in effect.[34] The tone of the châteaux may have been not seldom that of the chevalier de la Tour Landry: "Il n'est ou monde plus grant trayson que de decevoir aucunes gentilz femmes, ne leur accroistre aucun villain blasme." The chevalier wrote in his old age. Jean de Meun, with his viude chambre fait dame fole,[35] speaks as a young man.

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THE SUBSEQUENT UNION OF DYING DRAMATIC LOVERS.

In *The Modern Language Review,* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 54, Mr. G. C. Moore Smith calls attention to what he considers as the probable source of a couplet in *Romeo and Juliet,* Act IV, sc. 3, ll. 57–8, where Juliet says:

> "stay, Tybalt stay;
> Romeo, I come! this do I drink to thee."

Mr. Smith cites the last line of Marlowe's *Dido* as perhaps suggesting these last words of Juliet. The line is as follows:

> "Now, sweet Iarbas stay! I come to thee (*kills herself*)."

It is true that the words of these two speeches do resemble each other in a rather striking manner, but it will be observed that the motifs are not quite the same. In the first place, the word "stay" in Juliet's speech is not spoken to her lover, but in Dido's speech the same word is addressed to the one beloved of the unhappy queen. Again, while the words of Dido are really her last, those of Juliet are only apparently, or rather perhaps possibly, so. While Dido means that she will presently join her lover in another world, Juliet thinks only, it may be, of meeting Romeo in the tomb, where, at the end of her death-like sleep, they will unite and set out at once together for Mantua. It is not to be denied, however, that Juliet has some misgivings as to the effects of the potion, but she can hardly think, in spite of the fact that she places a dagger by her side as a precaution, that she and her husband are to be united in death at the tomb, much less in a future world.

A closer parallel to Dido's line, at least as far as the motifs are concerned, is to be found in a speech of Ferdinand, in the final scene of the catastrophe of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe,* in which the hero, after Luise, his lover, has already died of poison, and after he himself has swallowed the fatal draught, says:

> "Luise!—Luise!—Ich komme."

A somewhat similar motif is found in the last scene of the catastrophe of Victor Hugo's *Hernani,* ll. 2151–53, where the lovers, after they have drunk their poison and have come fully to realize the fact that they are soon to die together, say, in the midst of intense physical suffering:

> "Vers des clartés nouvelles
> Nous allons tout à l'heure ensemble ouvrir nos ailes.
> Partons d'un vol égal vers un monde meilleur."

There is an idea underlying these tragic catastrophes that is common to many romantic dramas, the idea being a contribution from Mediæval Christianity; and this idea is the belief that tempest-tossed and star-crossed lovers, who go down in defeat in their unequal conflict in this world, will be victoriously united in another world. This idea is much akin to that of martyrdom, and is not to be considered therefore as wholly tragic. Such romantic heroes feel as if they come forth more as conquerors than as victims, and easily console themselves for their stormy and troubled earthly life by the fact that they die together, both cherishing the hope that they are about to be finally and forever united. Hernani, in Hugo's *Hernani,* ll. 2155–58, says to his dying sweetheart:

> "Oh! béni soit le ciel qui m'a fait une vie
> D'abîmes entourée et de spectres suivie,
> Mais qui permet que, las d'un si rude chemin,
> Je puisse m'endormir ma bouche sur ta main!"

[34] Cf. *La Chastelaine de Vergi. Romania,* XXI, pp. 165–193.

[35] *Roman de la Rose,* l. 9903.

When the revengeful old Duke Gomez witnesses their joyous and hopeful death, he exclaims:

"Qu'ils sont heureux!"

Their sufferings cease, and Doña Sol declares that they are only sleeping in their bridal bed in heaven.

Instead, then, of these great dramatists borrowing individual words or even phrases from one another, is it not more probable that they all go back to that Mediæval, Christian, and Romantic idea of heroic lovers being united in a future world. If therefore one of the lovers dies a little before the other, will not the latter naturally say, "stay," or "I come?" or, if they are about to die together, will they not be likely to say, "we will set out together to an upper and better world?"

Some one may object, answering that even Antigone experienced a feeling of triumph in her death, realizing that she had obeyed a divine rather than a human law, and that therefore the idea of martyrdom is Ancient as well as Mediæval, Pagan as well as Christian, Classical as well as Romantic. Still, it may be further argued, there was perhaps no thought in the mind of the ancient dramatic lovers of a happy and eternal union in another world.[1]

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[1] Addendum.

Since writing the above article, I have discovered a still closer parallel to Dido's line, which strengthens, I think, the probable correctness of my interpretation of the parallels in question. In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iv, sc. 14, ll. 50–54, Antony thinking Cleopatra dead, says:

"I come my queen . . . Stay for me:
Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand,
And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze:
Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops,
And all the haunt be ours."

Again, Cleopatra about to apply the aspic to her breast, says, Act v, sc. 2, ll. 283–287:

"Methinks I hear
Antony call . . . Husband, I come."

J. D. B.

A RABBINICAL ANALOGUE TO *PATELIN.*

In the Introduction to his translation of *Patelin*, Dr. Holbrook expresses the view that the plot of that farce was doubtless not created. The following analogue is presented as a contribution to the investigation of the source of the plot. It is a parable by Jacob of Dubno, commonly known as the Dubner Maggid, on Deuteronomy xxxii, 18. Translated, it reads thus:

"Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee." The Parable: Reuben owed Simeon a certain sum of money. And Reuben came to Levi and besought him to give him counsel how to shake off his creditor, for Simeon was pressing him hard. And he gave him counsel that he pretend to be crazy. "When Simeon comes to thee begin thou to chirp and pipe and to leap about in dances." He did so, and when Simeon saw that he was crazy he desisted from him. Later, Reuben came to Levi and asked him for a loan for a few days; which he granted. When the time for payment arrived, Levi came to Reuben to dun him. And Reuben began to chirp to him as he had done to Simeon, as told above. Levi raised his stick on him and struck him many a blow and said: "Lo, thou wicked man, this counsel *I* gave thee. Did I then advise thus with respect to me?" The Explanation: The virtues of forgetfulness with which God has favored man, have long been explained. For if there were not in him the characteristic of forgetfulness, man would not build a house or take a wife [*i. e.*, undertake anything permanent]; as saith the Master of the Law, Rambam (blessed be his memory): "If there were no fools the world would be destroyed." And man goes with this forgetfulness and forgets his creator and his former; and there is no wickedness greater than this. And this is the meaning of "Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful": He begat in thee the trait of forgetfulness that thou mightst forget things; and with compassion did the Holy One (praised be He) thus, to bring about thy welfare and thy continuance. And thou with this forgetfulness with which thou art endowed, goest and forgettest the God that formed thee.

Here we really have two analogues—one in the parable and one in the explanation. A second, and more fanciful, explanation affords a third parallel. It is nowhere recorded, as far as I know, but one may hear it in the synagogue in connection with this parable. It states that God taught man how to elude the devil by unconcernedly whistling and chirping, and man has utilized the instruction to elude Him.

In rating these analogues we must be careful to remember two things—that Jacob Dubno died in 1804, and that the *maggidim,* or traveling preachers, are prolific in the invention of parables to this day. It is therefore just possible that our parable is entirely a creation of Dubno's. On the other hand, we have grounds for believing that it is not. Dubno undertook to explain the difficult passages in the Pentateuch by means of parables. He therefore made it his business to collect these wherever he could find them—in the Talmud and the Midrash as well as in popular tradition. Jewish life has favored the preservation of folk tales, for it is still Medieval. The Renascence did not penetrate the Ghetto. In fact, the student of history coping with the problems of Medieval culture, would spare himself a considerable amount of uncertain speculation if he went to live for some time in a typical Jewish community, for there he would find the Medieval ideals in actual operation.

Owing to the exclusiveness of the Russian Ghetto it is not likely that the French farce should have made its way there all the way from France—certainly not as a play, for until recently the Jews abominated the theater, and only those tolerate it now who have been affected by modern civilization. It is still less likely that the orthodox Rabbi Jacob should have become personally familiar with the farce or its imitations.

If other versions of the story could be discovered among Jewish legends, or if the source of Dubno's parable could be traced in older Hebrew literature, the plot of *Patelin* would be fairly well established as a popular and wide-spread Medieval tale. However the whole question is an uncertain one, and this contribution is presented for what it is worth, in the hope that it will lead to further investigation.

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RICHARD STRAUSS' *SALOME* AND HEINE'S *ATTA TROLL.*

The recent performances of Richard Strauss' music-drama in Germany have served to call attention again to Oscar Wilde, whose *Salome* (1893) Strauss used as his text. Hermann Sudermann also gave to the world eight years ago the same modern and romantic motivation of the execution of John the Baptist, in the desire of the enamoured Salome to avenge not only her slighted charms but also the failure of her arts of seduction. It is more than probable that Sudermann in the composition of *Johannes* had before him Wilde's work of five years previous, for while it is quite in keeping with the spirit of modern literature that attempts should be made to represent Salome, one of the chief characters in the biblical episode, as something more than a mere passive tool in the revengeful plotting of Herodias, it seems by more than mere chance that Wilde and Sudermann should agree in the same manner of motivation.

The idea, however, was not original with Oscar Wilde. Professor Francke (*Glimpses of Modern Culture*) has called attention in this respect to Heine's *Atta Troll.* Here pass in romantic rout before the poet's eyes certain satanic women of legend and history. Last of all comes the one which fascinated Heine most.

Wirklich eine Fürstin war sie,
War Judäas Königin,
Des Herodes schönes Weib,
Die des Täufers Haupt begehrt hat.

Dieser Blutschuld halber ward sie
Auch vermaledeit; als Nachtspuk
Muss sie bis dem jüngsten Tage
Reiten mit der wilden Jagd.

In den Händen trägt sie immer
Jene Schüssel mit dem Haupte
Des Johannes, und sie küsst es;
Ja, sie küsst das Haupt mit Inbrunst.

Denn sie liebte einst Johannem—
In der Bibel steht es nicht,
Doch im Volke lebt die Sage
Von Herodias' blutger Liebe—

Anders wär' ja unerklärlich
Das Gelüste jener Dame—
Wird ein Weib das Haupt begehren
Eines Mannes, den sie nicht liebt?

War vielleicht ein bischen böse
Auf den Liebsten, liess ihn köpfen;
Aber als sie auf der Schüssel
Das geliebte Haupt erblickte,

Weinte sie und ward verrückt,
Und sie starb in Liebeswahnsinn—
(Liebeswahnsinn! Pleonasmus!
Liebe ist ja schon ein Wahnsinn!)

Nächtlich auferstehend trägt sie,
Wie gesagt, das blutge Haupt
In der Hand, auf ihrer Jagdfahrt—
Doch mit toller Weiberlaune

Schleudert sie das Haupt zuweilen
Durch die Lüfte, kindisch lachend,
Und sie fängt es sehr behende
Wieder auf, wie einen Spielball.

According to Heine, the woman enamoured of John is not Salome but Herodias. The perverted and disgusting *Liebeswahnsinn* of this Herodias is reproduced in its exact details and ascribed to the daughter in Wilde's *Salome,* but it finds no place in *Johannes.* We have been accustomed to look upon these two women as equally guilty of the death of the prophet, and it is no more strange that the deeds of the one, should, by conscious poetic license (in Sudermann's *Johannes,* both women try to seduce John), be ascribed to the other, than that their names and subsequent history should be confused by Josephus (*Ant.* lib. 18. cap. 7), Nicephorus (*Hist. eccles.* lib. 1. cap. 20), and Metaphrastes (*Vitæ Sanctorum*).

This love element, introduced into the story is probably entirely of nineteenth century romantic origin. The editors and commentators of Heine, even if they have attempted it, have not yet given the form and source of the popular legend which he quotes. It does not seem to have existed in the older authorities on the legends of the martyrs and saints. I have searched for it in vain in the Apocryphal Gospels and Epistles, in Josephus, in the writings of the Ante-Nicene, Nicene, and Post-Nicene Fathers, in Tillemont's *Mémoirs pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles* (1706), in the *Acta Sanctorum,* and in Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints.* The only passage of which Heine's

"Und sie fängt es sehr behende
Wieder auf, wie einen Spielball."

is a reminiscence, is where Eusebius Emesenus speaks of Salome playing with the head of John the Baptist as with an apple. (*Καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτσῦ δέδωκα τῷ κορασίῳ ἐπὶ πίνακι, καὶ ὡς μήλῳ προσέπαιξεν. Oratio de adventu et Annuntiatione Joannis apud inferos.*)

In view of the well-known fertility and perversity of Heine's imagination, it is likely that he invented the *Sage* pure and simple and assigned a fictitious source. There is all the more ground for this belief by reason of the fact that Heine did exactly this thing in at least one other notable instance. The solution of the problem of the Flying Dutchman's release from his curse is in Wagner's drama taken bodily from Heine's *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski,* VII. Wagner acknowledged this indebtedness as quoted by Elster, *Heines Werke,* Bd. iv, S. 9. In the same place Elster gives the results of investigations which proved that the sources assigned by Heine for this solution were entirely fictitious.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Orígenes de la Novela. Tomo I. *Introducción. Tratado histórico sobre la primitiva novela española,* por D. M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO de la Real Academia Española. Madrid: Bailly-Baillière é Hijos, 1905. 8vo, dxxxiv pp.

I.

It is no exaggeration to say that this volume is one of the most remarkable contributions made in our time to the history of Spanish literature. Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's qualifications are incontestable; he is versed in many other literatures besides that of his own country, and has thus acquired the means of applying the comparative test; he seems to have read almost everything, and to have forgotten next to nothing; he covers immense tracts of difficult ground with enviable sagacity and surefootedness; and his diverse learning enables him to illuminate every aspect of his subject with ingenious and suggestive parallels. Probably he alone is competent to criticize his own work effectively. I must be content to give a general idea of its scope and value, and even this is no easy task.

After defining the relation of the Greek and Latin romances to the Spanish novel, the author at once enters upon his main theme by tracing the transmission of the Oriental apologue to the Spanish Arabs and Jews, its circulation in Spain, and its diffusion throughout Western Europe. This is a singularly useful piece of work, and it has the further merit of being the first adequate presentation of a literary development which has hitherto been obscured by fantastic theories. For the first time we are on solid ground. Unlike Royer-Collard, Señor Menéndez y Pelayo does not "disdain a fact"; he abounds in clear and definite details, and, though the inclusion of every additional fact increases the probabilities of error, his accuracy is rarely at fault. He indicates the subterranean course of *Kalilah and Dimnah* from the immemorial East to mediæval Spain ; he follows the broadening European stream from the age of philosophic mystics like Ramón Lull and warrior-statesmen like Juan Manuel to the humaner, more ironic days of La Fontaine ; and he vitalizes the dry bibliographical minutiæ which form the basis of the exposition. Equally interesting are the analysis of *Barlaam and Josaphat,*[1] and the spirited description of the astonishing adventures and transformations undergone by a romance which was destined to stimulate the genius of men so far apart in temperament and time as Judah ben Samuel the Levite, Ramón Lull, Boccaccio, Lope de Vega, Calderón, and Lessing. This is followed by a critical disquisition on Pedro Alfonso's *Disciplina clericalis,* the ultimate source of Sancho Panza's story about Lope Ruiz' goats in *Don Quixote* (Part I, chap. xx)—a tale which entered vernacular literature in the *Novellino* (No. 30), and has become a universal favorite in nurseries through the version given by the Grimms in their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (No. 86). Like every other critic, Señor Menéndez y Pelayo is at his best when dealing with the writers whom he most esteems. Examples of this are seen in his disquisition on Abu Bakr ibn al-Tufail (the Abubacer of the Schoolmen), whose philosophical romance so strangely anticipates the idea of Gracian's *Criticón,* and in the section which deals with Ramón Lull. The latter indeed amounts to an admirable monograph on an author with whose philosophical views few modern readers are likely to be in sympathy ; but, however that may be, the picturesque figure of the passionate pilgrim is placed in the true historic perspective, and delineated with uncommon force. With this should be mentioned some curious points of contact between the characters of Abu Zaid of Sarûj and Guzmán de Alfarache (a pure coincidence, for we may be tolerably sure that Mateo Alemán never heard of Hariri); a concise but exhaustive survey of the *literatura aljamiada,* so amusingly overrated by the enthusiastic Estébanez Calderón ; and an appreciation of Don Juan Manuel which constitutes a capital chapter in the history of comparative literature. The sketches of the Archpriest of Talavera and of Fray Anselmo de Turmeda (a gifted sinner who deserved to be saved from the oblivion into which he had fallen), are full of life and color. The ensuing chapter on the Romances of Chivalry—which appear, like the picaresque novels, to have some early exemplars in Arabic (p. xliii)—brings us into the full current of European literature, and the consideration of it may be reserved for another chapter.

Meanwhile, it will be convenient to note a few possible addenda or suggestions. T. W. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories,* or *Jātāka Tales* might be consulted in connection with some traits of *Kalilah and Dimnah* mentioned on p. xvi. The reprint of Stark (Athens, 1851), and Vittorio

[1] The Græco-Christian form of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is conjecturally assigned (p. xxviii), on the authority of Zotenberg, to the seventh century. The chronological point has no special bearing on Spanish literature ; but, on general grounds, it may be worth while to direct attention to the present Dean of Westminster's striking discovery that the *Apology* of Aristides, long regarded as lost, is interpolated in the text of *Barlaam and Josaphat* immediately after Nachor, the impostor who poses as Barlaam, appears on the scene. See Joseph Armitage Robinson, *Texts and Studies: contributions to Biblical and patristic literature* (Cambridge, 1891), vol. I, pt. 1.

The *Apology* was written during the reign of Hadrian, and yet, until 1891, no scholar had ever detected any differences between the diction of this interpolated passage and that of the rest of the text, though the latter was written—*ex hypothesi*—some five centuries later. This may not seriously invalidate Zotenberg's conclusions as to the date of composition, but it should be a warning to those who undertake to decide questions of literary chronology and attribution on stylistic grounds. The practice has been, and is, much too common among students of Spanish literature.

Puntoni's edition of the *Directorium humanæ vitæ* (Pisa, 1884)—which includes the prolegomena omitted by Stark—are worth giving on p. xvii. By a slip of the pen Raimond de Béziers' version of *Kalilah and Dimnah* is said (p. xx) to be in French instead of in Latin. On p. xxxv, the year of Pedro Alfonso's birth is stated to be 1062, and unquestionably this is the date generally accepted —probably on the authority of Labouderie, who gives it in his edition of the *Disciplina clericalis* (Paris, 1824). It may be right, but it seems quite possible that Labouderie took the date from a passage in the preface to Pedro Alfonso's *Dialogi.* The question is whether this is correctly given in the printed editions of the treatise; it reads as follows in the British Museum codex of the *Dialogi contra Judæos* (Harleian MSS., 3861):—

> "Hora etiam baptismatis preter ea que premissa sunt credidi beatos apostolos. et sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. Hoc autem factum est anno a natiuitate domini M^{mo}. C^{mo}. VI^{sexto}. era M^{ma}. C^{ma}. XL^{ma}. IIII^{ta}. mense iulio. die natalis apostolorum petri et pauli."

As it stands this means that Pedro Alfonso was baptized in 1106, or 1144 of the Spanish Era. In the printed editions, however, "era M^{ma}. C^{ma}." is transformed into "ætatis meæ anno"; it might be possible to decide the point by collating other manuscripts of the *Dialogi.*

On p. xxxv, a place might be found for *La Estoria del rey Anemar e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam,* edited by F. Lauchert in vol. VII of *Romanische Forschungen.* Burton's version of the *Arabian Nights* (p. lix) appears to be little more than a brutal plagiarism from John Payne, whose translation is overlooked. Too much importance is, I think, given to King Sancho's *Castigos* (pp. xliii and lxxi): it is impossible to avoid an uneasy suspicion that, as in the case of Alfonso the Learned, Sancho has very little responsibility for some of the writings to which his name is attached. The origin of the mistake concerning the *Libro del Oso* (p. civ) has been explained by Mr. G. Tyler Northup in *Modern Language Notes,* vol. xx, p. 30. The omission of the edition of the *Corvacho,* alleged by Panzer to have been printed at Seville in 1495, is probably justified (p. cxii); Salvá is doubtful as to the existence of the edition which, according to Ménendez and Gallardo, was published at Toledo in 1499 by Pedro Hagenbach. However, this is an unimportant matter. But the highest compliment one can pay Señor Menéndez y Pelayo is to scrutinize his work with microscopic eyes: he is to be judged by no ordinary standard.

II.

In his fourth chapter, which is of wide and exceptional interest, Señor Menéndez y Pelayo indicates the antecedents of the romances of chivalry, beginning with the *Chanson de Roland* and Turpin's false chronicle. With a fine adroitness he threads his way through a labyrinth of perplexing details, and brings Spain into literary relation with the rest of Western Europe. Collateral questions are exhaustively discussed, and many an obscure point is made clear. It may be remarked in passing that, though Gaston Paris did at one time, as the author notes (p. cxxix), believe the first five chapters of Turpin's false chronicle to be the work of a Spanish monk attached to the monastery at Santiago de Compostela, he modified his opinion nineteen years later; his review of the third edition of Dozy's *Recherches* in *Romania* (vol. XI, pp. 419–426) records conclusions very similar to those arrived at by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo. The writer pleads ingeniously in support of his favorite thesis that the assonant prose of the Maynete legend in the *Crónica general* points to the existence of a Spanish poem independent of the French. The argument may not be convincing, and, in fact, it is admitted (p. cxxxv) that there are considerable difficulties in the way of accepting it; but the hypothesis is ably presented, and is worth bearing in mind. The components of *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* are duly examined, and the relation between *Doon de la Roche* and the *Historia de Enrrique fi de Oliva, rey de Iherusalem, Emperador de Constantinopla* is clearly defined (pp. cxxxvii–cxxxviii). No doubt Wolf's analysis of the latter book in *Ueber die neuesten Leistungen der Franzosen* is less valuable now that it was before Gayangos reprinted the Spanish text; but almost everything from Wolf's pen repays perusal, and this analysis should be mentioned in a note together with the informing study *Ueber die Oliva-Sage* in the Viennese Academy's *Denkschriften* (vol. VII, pp. 263–268). The legends of the Charlemagne cycle, which come next in order,

are no less interesting to students of English than to students of Spanish literature. The prose *Fierabras le geant*, translated into English by Caxton in 1485 and into Spanish forty years later under the title of *Historia de Carlo Magno y de los doce Pares*, was utilized by Calderón in *La Puente Mantible*, just as Lope de Vega utilized *I Reali di Francia* in *La Mocedad de Roldan*. These and other derivatives from the French, as well as the prolific Italian developments, are treated in the masterly pages leading up to the off-shoots of the *Roman de Troie*, of the Apollonius story, of *Partonopeus de Blois*, of *Floire et Blancheflor*, and of *Amis et Amiles*. P. cliii conveys to me the rare sensation of discovering that I have chanced to read the forty-five chapters of a Spanish book—the *Historia del rey Canamor y del infante Turian su fijo*—which has escaped the author (whose loss, in this matter, is to be envied rather than regretted). By a slow but most skilfully contrived transition, the writer passes to the diffusion of the Breton legends in the Peninsula, and in his fifth chapter attacks the formidable problem of *Amadís* and its origins.

Every page of this discussion deserves to be read with the closest attention, and, long as it is, one wishes it were longer. Everything connected with *Amadís de Gaula* is obscure and perplexing; after a minute examination (pp. cc–ccxxi) of the evidence brought forward to support the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal, Señor Menéndez y Pelayo formulates eight provisional conclusions at which he has arrived. It may be convenient to state these conclusions in a condensed form, and to denote points of agreement, doubt, and dissent.

1. *Amadís* is a very free imitation of the Breton prose romances, chiefly of *Tristan* and *Lancelot*.

There will probably be no great difference of opinion on this point: I understand that the indebtedness of *Amadís* in this respect will be made clear in a study now passing through the press.

2. *Amadís* existed before 1325, the year in which Alfonso IV ascended the throne of Portugal. This monarch suggested an alteration in the Briolanja episode, and the fact that a change was made implies the existence of an earlier text which may be referred conjecturally to the time of Alfonso III, or Alfonso the Learned.

It may be objected that the identification of the Infante Alfonso is uncertain. On p. ccxi, Señor Menéndez y Pelayo writes:—

"El infante de quien se trata no puede ser otro (y en esto conviene todo el mundo) que don Alfonso IV, hijo primogénito del rey D. Dionis á quien sucedió en el trono en 1325, y que desde 1297 tuvo casa y corte separada de la de su padre."

The phrase "en esto conviene todo el mundo," is perhaps too sweeping. Madame Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in the *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (II Band, 2 Abteilung, p. 222) seems equally positive that the Alfonso in question was the son of Alfonso III, and brother of King Diniz. This would throw the date back to before 1312, and possibly earlier than 1304. It is safer to suspend judgment concerning these identifications, and the deductions drawn from them.

3. The author of the text put together during the reign of King Diniz was possibly—even probably—João de Lobeira who flourished between 1258–1286, and wrote the two fragments of a poem which reappears as Leonoreta's song in *Amadís* (Book II, chapter 11).

This is extremely plausible. Yet perhaps Professor Baist's suggestion—that the song is a late interpolation in Montalvo's text—deserves more consideration than it receives on p. ccxiv. It is only fair to observe that, though Señor Menéndez y Pelayo combats this theory, he does not absolutely reject it.

4. In default of data, we cannot say positively in what language the original *Amadís* was written. But, as Montalvo speaks of having "corrected" (not *translated*) the first three books, the probability is that there were several versions of the text in Portuguese and Spanish.

No doubt there were—in Montalvo's time. But two capital questions are left undecided. Did the Peninsular *Amadís* derive from a French original, and, if so, was it first translated or adopted by a Spaniard, or by a Portuguese? I am inclined to think that, though Herberay's statement may be inaccurate, there is more foundation for it than Señor Menéndez y Pelayo is disposed to allow (p. ccxvi). The existence of a lost French original appears intrinsically probable, and, if it did exist, it is just as likely to have been translated or adapted by a Spaniard as by a Portuguese.

5. *Amadís* was known in Castille from the time of López de Ayala and Ferrús : this text consisted of three books only.

This, I think, may be admitted without any reserve.

6. The assertion of Gomes Eannes de Azurara that *Amadís* was written by Vasco de Lobeira in the reign of King Fernando of Portugal deserves no credence.

Clearly not. Fernando died in 1383 : Vasco de Lobeira was knighted in 1385. The inference that he wrote *Amadís* in his boyhood is absurd in the face of it.

7. The report of a manuscript *Amadís* in Portuguese, existing in the Aveiro archives, is vague and unsatisfactory.

It certainly is. But, even if it were correct, it would throw little light on the main point. The same may be said of the Portuguese *Amadís* which is reported to have existed in the Vimiero archives. Assuming that both manuscripts ever existed, there is nothing to show their dates.

8. The only existing form of *Amadís* is Montalvo's Spanish text, the earliest known edition of which appeared in 1508. A passage in the preface proves that the book was written after 1492, for it alludes to the capture of Granada. To the three existing books of *Amadís*, Garci Ordóñez de Montalvo added a fourth, probably written by himself.

It is true that no edition of *Amadís* has as yet been found older than the Zaragoza edition of 1508, now in the British Museum. But the future may have bibliographical surprises in store. Ersch and Gruber, as well as Ebert, speak of an incunable edition,[1] and there is no reason to assume that they spoke without any warrant. For the rest, the passage in the preface is decisive only as regards the preface : the text itself may have been finished before 1492. The name of the arranger seems to be as uncertain as everything else connected with *Amadís.* In the 1508 edition it is given as Garci Rodriguez [de Montalbo]; in the reprints of *Amadís* it appears as Garci Ordoñez ; and, in some editions of the *Sergas de Esplandián,* the writer is called Garci Gutierrez.

Admirable as is Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's presentation of the case, a few minor details suggest comment. Is it strictly accurate to describe Macandón (p. cciii.) as page to King Lisuarte? Was he not rather a stranger who, when advanced in years, found his way to Lisuarte's court? It seems doubtful if the episode in which he is concerned should be dismissed as insignificant (p. cciii.), for it constitutes the crucial test of the love of Amadís and Oriana. The inference that Montalvo used at least three *antiguos originales* for the Briolanja incident (p. ccix.) may be correct; but it might be argued that the third text was Montalvo's own arrangement. By a simple oversight Brian de Monjaste is said to appear for the first time in the fourth book of *Amadís* (p. ccxxxii.) ; "don brian de monjaste, cauallero muy preciado, fijo del rey Ladasan de Spaña" is mentioned in Book II., chapter lxiij of the 1508 edition. But these and other similar trifles may be set right by a few penstrokes. It would be strange indeed if there were no slips in a work of such dimensions ; it is astonishing that they are so unimportant and so few. The temptation to follow the author in detail through the rest of this chapter, which includes an excellent discussion of the Palmerín question (now finally answered in Mr. Purser's convincing book) is considerable ; but it must be resisted, for I have already trespassed too much on the hospitality of these columns. The study of the sentimental novel in such examples as the *Siervo libre de amor* of Rodríguez de la Cámara, Fernandez de San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor,* and the anonymous *Cuestión de Amor* is followed by a discussion of the historical novel as exemplified in Guevara's *Marco Aurelio,* which is incomparably the best ever written on the subject. The same may be said of the charming essay on Montemôr, which finds its place in the eighth (and, for the present, the last) chapter ; the school of prose pastorals, from Sannazaro and Bernardim Ribeiro to Gálvez Montalvo, is reviewed with a fulness of knowledge and a warm appreciation which will be admired even by those who cannot approach the one nor share the other.

I have marked a few corrigenda and omissions.

[1] *Allgemeine Encyclopädie . . . .* herausgegeben von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber (Leipzig, 1819), vol. III, p. 298 ; Maximilian Pfeiffer, *Amadisstudien : Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Alexanders-Universität, Erlangen* (Mainz, 1905), p. 2, note 1.

On page cxxxv, *note,* for "tomo XVI" read "tomo XVII, pp. 513–541, tomo XIX, pp. 562–591, y tomo XXII, pp. 345–363." Joly would refer Benoit de Sainte-More's *Roman de Troie* to 1184 rather than to 1160 (p. cxlv). Guido delle Colonne appears to have compiled the *Historia Trojana* at the suggestion of Mateo della Porta who died in 1272; it may therefore be presumed that he began the work somewhat before this date (p. cxlv). The relation of the *Conde Partinuples* to the Icelandic *Partalopa Saga* and the Danish *Persenober* is shown by Eugen Kölbing in *Die verschiedenen Gestaltungen der Partonopeus-Sage* (*Germanistische Studien,* vol. II, pp. 55–114 and 312–316): a reference to it might be useful on p. cxlviii. Robert Kaltenbacher in *Der altfranzösische Roman, Paris et Vienne* (Erlangen, 1904) reprints the Catalan text of 1495 and the Spanish text of 1524; the story was translated by Caxton in 1485 (p. clii). An early version of the Swan-children legend in *Dolopathos* deserves mention on p. clvi. The Lansdowne MS. 362 in the British Museum proves that *Florence de Rome* was current in England during the thirteenth century. The serviceable list of books recommended on p. clx should be completed by the addition of Professor Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures* and *Studies in the Arthurian Legend,* Professor Anwyl's contributions to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie,* and Mr. Alfred Nutt's remarkable essays in Professor Kuno Meyer's edition of *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living.* On p. clxvi others besides readers of English will look for a reference to Mr. Nutt's indispensable *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail. Tristán de Leonís,* as stated on p. clxxxiv, has been ascribed to Philippe Camus (to whose publications Mr. Foulché-Delbosc refers in the *Revue hispanique,* vol. XI, pp. 587–595); the Spanish *Tristán de Leonís* derives apparently from the French of Luc, Seigneur du Château de Gast. As an illustration of the rapid diffusion of *Amadís* in Italy (p. ccxxxix), a sentence from a letter written by Bembo to Ramusio on February 4, 1512, is worth quoting:—"Ben si pare che il Valerio sia sepolto in quel suo Amadigi" (Vittorio Cian, *Decennio della vita del Bembo,* p. 206). The vogue of the book in France is shown by M. E. Bourciez in *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II.* Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's work was probably already in print before Maximilian Pfeiffer's *Amadisstudien* (Mainz, 1905) was available; otherwise it would have been included on p. dxxvi, for it contains one or two bibliographical details usually overlooked. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether the first two parts of *Palmerín de Inglaterra* were translated into English before 1596 (p. cclxxv): Mr. Purser, indeed (*op. cit.* p. 391) is not altogether satisfied that they were printed before 1609. Lastly, on p. cdlxxvii, "Wilcox" should be "Wilson."

Possibly some of these suggestions may be utilized in the second edition which is certain to be forthcoming before long. Meanwhile, all students of Spanish literature will rejoice in the possession of a book which is at once a monument of learning and a masterpiece of artistic exposition.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

London.

Histoire de la Mise en scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen-Âge, par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1906. 8°, 304 pp.

The present work is a prize essay printed by the Belgian Academy, who are responsible for the choice of its subject. In this instance, they aimed less at favoring original research than at obtaining a consistent and systematic survey of the somewhat scattered results of the latest investigations. In this Mr. G. Cohen has fully succeeded, and reference to his essay will palpably lighten the labors of future students of the mediæval drama by providing them at once with the necessary facts and authorities. The author may thus pride himself on having made a valuable addition to the extant literature on the subject.

As its title implies, his work deals less with the texts themselves than with the rubrics settling the details of stage management and stage business, and with documents of every description throwing light on the external history of the mystery plays. It is divided into three books: I. *La mise en scène dans le drame liturgique,* describing the chanting of sequences and scenes in connection with services inside the church. II. *La mise en scène dans le*

drame semi-liturgique, mainly confined to the Norman *jeu d'Adam,* which was acted just outside the porch. III. *La mise en scène dans les mystères,* covering the whole huge mass of French vernacular mysteries down to the Renaissance. The amount of materials surveyed in the last book is such, that we should have welcomed another subdivision into early and late plays, as the mainly spectacular and courtly shows arranged on behalf of, or in honor of, princes and noblemen in the fifteenth century were, on Mr. Cohen's own evidence, gotten up in a style quite different from that of the earlier plays managed by the clergy and city guilds. In fact, the *secretz, feintes,* and other machinery formed so prominent a feature of these entertainments, that they nearly belong to the same kind as the masks so ably discussed by Mr. Brotanek in his well-known work.

Throughout Mr. Cohen's three books, we get a careful account of whatever details have come down to us throwing light on the scene (church or square) where the plays were enacted, on the stages, the screens, the costumes and other paraphernalia used, on the class from which the players were drawn and the rehearsals that they had to go through. In the two first books, where the subject is well-defined and limited, all these particulars fall easily into their places, while in the third they bulge somewhat chaotically, owing to the amount of heterogeneous matter to be digested. Our author's attitude is on the whole sensible and sound, though I should have liked him to assume a less patronizing tone towards the artists whom he disdainfully styles *acteurs maladroits.* Why on earth could not a gifted citizen, guided by proper training and attention, and sustained by the consciousness of a high social and religious function do in the Middle Ages what many underbred and underpaid courtesans can nowadays perform on provincial stages of the continent? I have myself seen an elderly Flemish farmer act and sing his part in a religious procession and mystery with a composed and fervent zeal that could not have been excelled.

Although acquainted with Mr. E. K. Chambers' book on the mediæval stage, Mr. Cohen makes no mention of that writer's theory on the possible influence of the heathenish folk-plays on the Christian stage. The current account of the growth of the mystery out of the sequence has appealed to the sense of symmetry of contemporary scholars with such force that they have overlooked the possible grafting of foreign slips upon the main stock, and have shut their eyes to the many points of likeness between the Teutonic folk-plays and the mysteries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Since the appearance of Mr. E. K. Chambers' volumes, these points, though not easy to clear up, can no more be entirely neglected. One circumstance supporting Mr. Chambers' views is pointed out by Mr. Cohen himself when he writes: "Les échafauds comprenaient, comme nous venons de le voir, des constructions en bois, et, en avant des mansions, une plate-forme réservée aux évolutions des acteurs. Cet espace libre s'appelait le champ, la terre, le parc ou parquet. C'est le 'deambulatorye' des Anglais."

"Tous ces termes, comme on le voit, rappellent un temps où il n'y avait pas encore d'échafauds et où le jeu se faisait sur la terre, dans un parc, sur une pelouse" (pp. 88–89).

If the origin of the mysteries had been merely liturgical, the names applied to the stage and its parts should have shown a trace of it. The folk-plays were and are still performed on greens or meadows, and such names as field, ground or close (*champ, terre, parc*) point decidedly to the folk-play, and away from the church. However, the evidence is far too scarce and vague to allow us unduly to press this point. Real and counterfeit animals (asses, horses, dragons) are a prominent feature of the folk-plays and reappear in the mysteries, seeming to form a connecting link between the two kinds. Mr. Cohen might have entered into a closer discussion of Mr. Chambers' views, instead of simply stating that the feast of the asses was *not* imagined for the ass's sake (p. 31), and when mentioning the *serpent monté avec art* (54) ought at least to have briefly alluded to the numberless dragons and monsters that aroused and in Belgium still arouse the wonder of children young and old at folk-plays and processions.

The *forte* of Mr. Cohen's work lies in his knowledge of manuscript sources and miniatures, which he has successfully searched for testimonies on the players' costumes and on the connection between the evolution of the pictorial arts and that

of the stage. Here he has fully availed himself of the wealth of materials treasured in the libraries of Belgium and France, and while following in the footsteps of Louis Male, has unearthed a plentiful supply of fresh evidence, and put it before us in a clear and convincing manner. This book is thus another step forward in the right direction.

Its interest and usefulness are enhanced by half-a-dozen appropriately chosen photographic plates.

P. Hamelius.

University of Liège.

RECENT STUDIES OF *The Pearl.*

The Author of The Pearl, Considered in the Light of his Theological Opinions. By Carleton F. Brown. Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* xix, 1. Baltimore, 1904. 8vo, pp. 39.

The Nature and Fabric of The Pearl. By William Henry Schofield. Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* xix, 1. Baltimore, 1904. 8vo, pp. 62.

Pearl Rendered into Modern English Verse. By S. Weir Mitchell. New York, The Century Co., 1906. 8vo, pp. 57.

Pearl, a Fourteenth-Century Poem. Rendered into Modern English by G. G. Coulton. London, David Nutt, 1906. 16mo, pp. viii, 51.

This noble West-country poem, the work of an unknown pietist contemporary with Chaucer and Langland, will henceforth receive increased attention. On the linguistic and the metrical side it has already been studied with some care, though much is still to be learned. As literature we are only beginning to perceive its importance. Whatever be the view taken of its purpose, we shall all agree in pronouncing it, as a record of thought, highly interesting and significant, and as a work of art, by no means lacking in skillful workmanship, in vivid coloring, in warm life. The editions announced by Professors Emerson, Holthausen, and Osgood will render the poem easily accessible to a wide body of scholars and readers.

Dr. Brown, after discussing the problem of authorship, and without great effort disposing of the Huchown and Strode theories, takes up the author's Biblical knowledge and theological opinions. He certainly makes it much more than "moderately clear" that the poet was an ecclesiastic (p. 126). On the theological side, Dr. Brown shows clearly that the poet was aiming his argument, like Bradwardine, at the Pelagian thought then current, while he was opposed to Bradwardine in asserting "that the rewards of the heavenly Kingdom are equal." Dr. Brown's argument is convincing.

Professor Schofield has not, we fear, been equally successful in maintaining his contention, which is that *The Pearl* is neither elegy nor autobiography, but is merely a conventional debate and vision setting forth a subtle theological argument. That the framework of the poem is that of a vision, and that the debate effectively expounds and defends the equality of heavenly rewards, no one will doubt; but that this *excludes* the possibility that the poem is based on a personal experience is still, we think, an open question. Mr. Coulton has referred (p. vii, note) to those ecclesiastical conditions which would allow the poet, if he was a member of a minor order, to marry. That the poet nowhere calls Pearl his daughter (p. 158, note), or that she addresses him with "Sir," is not important. He distinctly says (l. 233),

> Ho watȝ me nerre þen aunte or nece,

gaining by the circumlocution a rime for *Grece, pryse, spyce*; and if we bear in mind that she was now transformed into a girl old enough to be a bride of the Lamb, there is nothing in her address inconsistent with filial devotion or love. The rebuke of l. 290,

> Wy borde ȝe men, so madde ȝe be?

is addressed to men in general. With regard to the line (243),

> Regretted by myn one, on nyȝte,

it seems a perfectly fair and plausible inference that the mother of the child was dead (p. 160); Mr. Gollancz may indeed have gone too far in supposing her to have been unfaithful; but in any case the poet's failure to speak of her can hardly be thought of as "a grave artistic fault." The relation of father and child had been especially

close; no other supposition will account for the sentiment of such lines as 9–24, 49–56, 164, 231–4, 242–5, 280, 364–6, 1172–6, 1183–8, 1206. The personal note in these lines indicates either a reference to an actual loss, or an extraordinarily vivid imagination on the part of this writer of allegory. As for his use of the conventional vision, it is no more strange than Boccaccio's use of the conventional eclogue in writing of his five-year-old daughter, Violante, or Milton's use of the conventional pastoral figure in writing of Edward King. Both Boccaccio and Milton managed to express genuine feeling; so, to our thinking did the author of *The Pearl.*[1]

Of the 1212 lines of the poem, Dr. Mitchell translates only 552, omitting such lines "as add little of value, or such as, in the larger gap [589–1140], deal with uninteresting theological or alle, gorical material." While for the most part employing tetrameter (except in stanza 2, which is wholly in pentameter), he does not attempt the complex verse of the original, but contents himself with three different sets of rimes *a b a b* for each stanza. He frequently resorts, moreover, to circumlocutions which are not quite faithful, at least to the atmosphere of the original. Mr. Coulton, on the other hand, renders the whole poem into a modern form which keeps surprisingly close to the original, generally preserving even the word-echoes which bind the stanzas together. Comparing the two translations, we may say that while Dr. Mitchell's is more pleasing as modern poetry, Mr. Coulton's is somewhat more literal. Both translations, however, possess decided merit. Neither translator has apparently made use of Holthausen's emendations in *Archiv* xc, 143–148, some of which must be accepted. Some details are noted below; references are to lines:

37. "That spot that I in speche expoun," M. translates "That place I sweeten with gentle rhyme"; this is not happy.

44–48. C. comes nearer the sense. M. misinterprets *wonys* in 47.

51. Why does C. render *hert* by "brain?"

115. *Stremande* is not well rendered by "quivering" (M.).

[1] Dr. Osgood appears in general to share this opinion; cp. his abstract in *Publ. M. L. A.* xxi, p. xxiv.

196. C. is content with vowel-rime (seen : stream).

254. M. changes *graye* to "blue." This is unnecessary and misleading.

278. In C. "each word" makes the sentence grammatically wrong.

302, 308. C. translates *louez* "loveth, loving." Obviously the meaning is "believes"; Gollancz reads *levez.*

337. M. here comes nearer the original.

492. "Too high a fate." M. is here preferable as a real translation.

526, 619. C. "Gait" would be better than "gate."

531. M. should have retained "full strong."

552. C. "Seems" would be better than "think."

672. C. changes needlessly to "*and* right."

688. C. "No" were better omitted for Mn. E.

771. C. translates *þyng* by "king."

1045. C. Better "or" for Mn. E.

1046. C. "God Himself was" would be better; cp. 1076 and the translation.

1116. C. "Drew" better.

1166. C. translates *meruelous* by "swirling." "Wondrous waters" is better, being both alliterative and literal.

Finally, Dr. Mitchell's beautiful "Afterword" forms a pendant worthy to stand by the side of Tennyson's Prefatory Lines, and, as we like to think, sounds the dominant note of the poem:

> A little grave, a nameless man's distress,
> And lo! a wail of lyric tenderness,
> Unheard, unseen for half a thousand years,
> Asks from love's equal loss the praise of tears.

Clark S. Northup.

Cornell University.

Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Tome I. Genève, Jullien, éditeur, 1905. xvi-324 pages.

The "Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau" was founded in Geneva on the sixth day of June, 1904.

Before this date the promoters of the enterprise had sent out circulars inviting persons that might

be interested to join the society. The replies received from all quarters and from all countries seemed very encouraging; they came from scientists like Berthelot and Möbius, from critics and scholars like Brunetière and Morf, from original writers like Tolstoi and Rod. Tolstoi, for instance, wrote: "*Rousseau a été mon maître depuis l'âge de 15 ans.—Rousseau et l'évangile ont été les deux grandes et bienfaisantes influences de ma vie.*"

The ultimate and chief purpose of the Society is, according to the words of its President, M. Bernard Bouvier, professor at the University of Geneva: *préparer l'édition de Genève du citoyen de Genève.*

A few months before the formation of the "Société," the city of Geneva, acting upon the request of Rousseau scholars, had decided to devote a special room of the public library to what is now called "Les Archives Jean-Jacques Rousseau." Students will find there: 1) all the manuscripts (which are obtainable) of Rousseau; 2) the different editions of his separate and collective works; 3) pictures of Rousseau and of people he knew, of places where he lived, of scenery which he has described; 4) various documents concerning Rousseau's personality, and his relations with his contemporaries; 5) the literature on Rousseau.

As there are other places where manuscripts of Rousseau are kept, especially in Neuchâtel (Switzerland), which has the richest collection, and in Paris (Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés), some documents, which are unpublished, will necessarily have to be procured in facsimiles.

To avail himself of the advantages of the "Archives," the student will, of course, have to go to Geneva. But it is the intention of the Society to keep all its members regularly informed as to the progress of the Rousseau researches. With this purpose in view, they will publish every year a volume which will be called *Les Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, the first of which has now appeared.

The committee has endeavored to make it such as to appeal to the general literary public, and not to Rousseau students exclusively. There are, first, a few articles which are not of a merely documentary character. The paper on "Rousseau et le docteur Tronchin" is a praiseworthy attempt to be impartial in discussing the relations of the two men; the author is a descendant of the famous physician of Geneva.

M. Philippe Godet, in "Madame de Charrière et J.-J. Rousseau" publishes, among other valuable information, some passages of a witty defense of Thérèse Levasseur by Madame de Charrière. A woman defending another woman is rather unusual, but we can understand it very well when we remember that Madame de Charrière hated Madame de Staël, who had shortly before attacked violently, and without real proofs, the widow of Rousseau. Madame de Charrière was only too glad, therefore, to step forward in defense of the illiterate woman who could not reply herself; and under the guise of a generous action, to tear into pieces her young rival.

Those who are interested in Rousseau's music will find information in regard to his theories in the article contributed by Istel, the author of a book on the subject: "La partition originale du Pigmalion de J. J. Rousseau." According to Istel, the author of the partition is really Rousseau, who made in it an attempt to bring about a kind of compromise-opera: sharing the general prejudice that the French language is not adaptable to singing, he causes Pigmalion to recite his part, while the whole musical part of the play is performed by instruments.

Other contributions will especially appeal to a smaller circle of readers. Lanson publishes very interesting results of researches made in Paris regarding the condemnation of the *Contrat Social* and *Émile*. Contrary to the traditional belief (and to Rousseau's own opinion as expressed in the "Confessions"), it would seem that Rousseau's danger, if he had stayed in France, would not have been imaginary. He might have escaped prosecution had he consented to publish anonymously. But since he insisted upon signing his name, he forced his friends to let the law take its course; he took away from them and from the government the possibility of pretending that they did not know who the author of the book was, and of leaving him undisturbed. Rousseau's idea was that it would be hypocritical not to sign his name. But, even if he had not, the public would have found out in other ways that he had written

Émile, and it would have been simply good policy to take into consideration the peculiar conditions of the time ; it was merely a question of observing a conventionality which in so many cases before had favored the spreading of new ideas. Moreover, one might perhaps ask why Rousseau accepted at all the protection of high officials as he knew that, strictly speaking, they would have to disobey the law in order to stand by him. If he did not want to compromise with the law, why did he ask others to do so ? Rousseau thought of looking at things from a concrete point of view ; he was no doubt sincere, but nevertheless mistaken. Lanson maintains also that when Rousseau returned from England to France he was spied upon everywhere and thus had some legitimate ground for complaint.

We take pleasure in mentioning particularly the contribution of M. Théophile Dufour, an enthusiastic and conscientious Rousseauist. He publishes: 1) a very useful list of Rousseau's writings that did not find their way into editions of the works, but were printed separately ; and 2) several "pages inédites" from the Geneva manuscripts.

Among other documents printed for the first time by the "Annales" may be quoted : the complete text of the "Fêtes de Ramire," from manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale (the chief interest of this play is that it brought Rousseau into contact with Voltaire for the first time); a letter relating a visit to Rousseau in 1771, rue de la Plâtrière, in Paris ; marginal notes of Voltaire in his copy of *Émile*.

A résumé of the true story of the remains of Rousseau, is contributed by G. Valette, together with a letter of Berthelot, who had been commissioned in 1897 to examine the body, in the Panthéon. The old story of the profanation of Voltaire and Rousseau's remains, that was started about 1826, is thus definitely dismissed as being without any foundation.

The book closes with a bibliography and "Chroniques."

If I have given a detailed account of this first volume of the *Annales*, it was in order to show the value of the publication. It will be, of course, indispensable to every Rousseau student. And as far as we know the volumes to follow may be even more interesting. The Rousseau movement seems to gain ground continually. M. Bernard Bouvier tells us that in Geneva alone four students are preparing dissertations on Rousseau, and that several plays, having Rousseau as central character, are awaiting representation in Paris. In many European universities special courses on Rousseau are announced.

Americans ought to do their share in making this revival profitable. Of all French writers Rousseau cannot fail to interest them specially, for does he not represent —and with what force !— the Protestant spirit which stirred up France in the eighteenth century, and in a way inspired the French Revolution ? Rousseau proposed to France and to the whole continent of Europe the individualism which Anglo-Saxon nations have developed to such a great extent. It was either de Voguë or Brunetière—I do not remember now which—who said that, hard as it was to acknowledge, the ideas which pervaded France during the whole nineteenth century were of Swiss origin through Rousseau :—Swiss is altogether too narrow ; Protestant would be more adequate.

So far, we notice that only two American Universities have subscribed to the *Annales*. It is to be hoped that we shall see many more on next year's list.

A. Schinz.

Bryn Mawr College.

Die Kasseler Grimm-Gesellschaft 1896–1905. Erster Geschäftsbericht, erstattet von Edward Lohmeyer. Kassel: 1906. 8vo., 35 pp.

Some time ago, in this journal, (*M. L. N.*, June, 1904, p. 175), Philip S. Allen complained, in general, of the prevailing German methods and, in particular, of the *Kleinere Schriften* of Jacob Grimm (which, by the way, constitute eight, not six volumes, 1867–1890), as containing the very sweeping of his minor utterances. "For the broom of the German editor like that of the crossing-sweeper is thorough, and the activity of either is apt to result in some tidy piles of waste." It would be unscientific to gather from this any

rash generalization as to sweeping critical statements, but the very subject of my little notice calls for some refutation of the above-mentioned complaint. *Est modus in rebus* one is urged to quote. Certainly there ought to be a limit, set by taste, relevancy, and intrinsic value, to the serving, by publication, of everything that came from the pens of, *e. g.*, Felix Liebrecht, Reinhold Köhler, Francis J. Child, to mention some folklorists. But Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, and Ludwig Uhland are of a caliber, so representative and prototypal in character, as to justify the publication of even the minutest details of their life and its literary utterance. These founders and classics of the science of Germanics (here used equivalent to *Germanistik*) have a rightful claim on our attention to even the minutiæ of their existence. To deny this would mean putting them on a level with men of a more ordinary type. There can, therefore, really be no questioning the scientific appropriateness, beside some considerations of a subtler character, of what the Kasseler Grimm-Gesellschaft is doing and aiming at in collecting everything it can lay hold on of literary or other kind, of books and manuscripts, of letters printed and unprinted, pertaining to, directly or indirectly, the Brothers Grimm. It is indeed very gratifying to learn that the collecting activity of the society is also directed to Ludwig Grimm, a brother of the 'Brothers,' whose delicate engravings are the delight of every one interested in the *Romantik* and its time. Perhaps the interest may be extended to a fourth member of this remarkable family, Herman Grimm, the dear man, the foremost German essayist and one of the greatest of the last century. Herman Grimm, and since his demise, Reinhold Steig have, so far, given to the society the most substantial help, and it was the former, also, who strongly recommended that the aim of the Grimm-Gesellschaft should be, not only to collect, but to edit, scientifically and completely, the total extant correspondence of the two brothers. It is to be insisted that *nothing* be omitted from this corpus of letters. It might be well to contemplate, in addition and at present, the publication of the artistic work, etchings, pencil-drawings, etc., of Ludwig Grimm, especially since both Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were frequently drawn by their brother.

It is quite in order that the Grimm-Gesellschaft should be domiciled in the capital of Hessen, the dear home country to which all the members of the Grimm family felt loyally and forever attached. The annual contribution is only one mark. Consequently, in order to enable the execution of its scientific plans, the society ought to either increase its membership from the present one hundred persons into many thousands, or to combine, with a less increase, a raising of the annual fee, so as to be more proportionate to its scientific ends. To be sure, however, it remains with the Germanists, not of the German countries only, who are ploughing largely with the calves inherited from the masters of olden times, to give material aid to this undertaking. For membership address: *Vorstand der Kasseler Grimm-Gesellschaft* in *Kassel, Landesbibliothek.*[1]

Karl Detlev Jessen.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Étude sur les Rapports Littéraires entre Genève et l'Angleterre jusqu'à la publication de la Nouvelle Héloïse, par Williamson Up Dike Vreeland. Genève: Librairie Henry Kündig, 1901. viii-198 pages.

In view of the recent publication of Tome I of the *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (*Genève*, 1905), this dissertation by Professor Vreeland of Princeton deserves careful attention. Although a few years old, it is of special interest as an American contribution to the Rousseau studies which are being pursued with renewed enthusiasm at Geneva and elsewhere.

As he states in his Preface, Dr. Vreeland's purpose is to examine the theory which M. Joseph Texte has popularized in France. This theory, supported by French and English critics, including M. Brunetière on the one hand and on the other

[1] Subscriptions to the Grimm Society (25 cents a year) and contributions to its funds may be sent to the editor of the German department of the *Modern Language Notes.* Such subscriptions or contributions will be duly acknowledged in the columns of the *Modern Language Notes.* Every professor of German and every admirer of Grimm's *Fairy Tales* will be welcome to membership.—(*Editor's Note.*)

Mr. John Morley and Sir Leslie Stephen, is that there are distinct traces of English influence in the "Caractère genevois" and consequently in the genius of Rousseau.

In his effort to determine what grounds there might be for such assertions in regard to the genius and the works of Rousseau, the writer recognizes three factors: (1) Rousseau was born in Geneva and passed his childhood there among the bourgeoisie,—a class, however, which does not easily undergo foreign influence; (2) He had the opportunity of seeing some Englishmen, and some French and Swiss who knew England, by whom he might have been influenced; (3) He read translations of English books and descriptions of England, those of Muralt, Prévost and Voltaire, and from these may have drawn some of his ideas.

The first part of the dissertation comprising almost three-fourths of the entire subject-matter, is devoted to a detailed discussion of these factors. The chronological study of Texte's book, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme Littéraire* (Paris, 1895), pages 106–107, which is given in this connection, points out inaccuracy in his quotations from the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* glaring chronological errors in his statements with regard to the Bibliothèque Britannique and the "Debating-Clubs" at Geneva, and the general lack of sufficient data for his conclusions. These observations cannot fail to afford satisfaction to those who have sought in vain among Texte's pages for convincing proofs of his assertions which tacitly deprive Rousseau of a great deal of originality in his own works.

The detailed investigation of the relations between Geneva and England from the time of the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century discloses a great many interesting facts which afford abundant food for thought to those disposed to sympathize with the view of Rousseau held in France in consequence of Texte's book. Although discussion of the literary influences which prevailed in a by-gone century is of an essentially theoretical nature and the documentary evidence is liable to be too general and often elusive, the testimony given here, including a number of previously unpublished letters to Jean-Alphonse Turrettini, is very enlightening and the conclusions drawn, if not convincing from a scientific point of view, are none the less strongly persuasive.

The last chapter of this part of the dissertation deals with the authors from whom Rousseau may have drawn. Although an important chapter, it is perhaps the least satisfactory in that it fails to give an exhaustive list of the authors Rousseau had read before he wrote the *Nouvelle Héloïse.* Addison and other contributors to the *Spectator,* of whom Rousseau himself speaks in the *Confessions* (*e. g.*, Livre III "Le *Spectateur* me plut beaucoup et me fit du bien") are passed over without mention. Dr. Vreeland speaks only of books which were written with the intention of revealing England to France (especially those of Muralt and Voltaire). In confining himself to these he seems to disregard the fact that Rousseau may have drawn as well and more profitably from English authors. Richardson is the only one of the latter who is taken into account.

The second part of the dissertation is devoted to a discussion of the alleged debt of Rousseau to Richardson and the similarities between the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Clarissa Harlowe.* There would be abundant material for a large-sized book on this question alone. Therefore, Dr. Vreeland, in the few pages devoted to it, could scarcely do more than indicate the problem and the conclusions that would probably be reached after a thorough investigation.[1]

If, possibly, the attitude against Texte is here a little too pronounced, the conclusions reached seem eminently impartial and true. Briefly stated they are these: Rousseau borrowed from Richardson the epistolary form of his novel which *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Pamela* had made the fashion. The striking resemblances in the plan and in several of the characters of the two books are of minor importance as they are rather of an external

[1] We are surprised to find that Dr. Vreeland mentions only Sir Leslie Stephen's essay on "Cowper and Rousseau," published in the *Cornhill Magazine,* 1875, and reproduced in *Hours in a Library,* Vol. II, which deals only indirectly with the subject under discussion, while he fails to mention the essay on "Richardson's Novels" by the same author, reproduced in Vol. I of the same work which bears upon the very point in question. It seems to us that the contentions of Mr. Stephen in the latter essay do not harmonize with Dr. Vreeland's statements on pages 153–154.

nature. Dr. Vreeland considers that the greatest service rendered by Richardson to Rousseau was the awakening of his revery, the inspiration to write a book which should have no precedent in France. But the most characteristic feature of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the love of nature and simplicity, is of Rousseau himself, and in having chosen the form which best suited the expression of his noble theories his merit is not diminished and his personal glory remains entire.

HELEN J. HUEBENER.

Bryn Mawr College.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. SOMMER'S ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF A NEW MANUSCRIPT.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—The bulk of critical material in Arthurian subjects is now so large that the need of a good bibliography grows daily more evident. This fact is brought forcibly to mind in reading Dr. Oscar Sommer's article in the December *Notes*, entitled "An Unknown Manuscript and two early printed editions of the Prose Perceval."

The MS.—B. N. f. 1428—which Dr. Sommer there identifies as the *Prose Perceval* was already identified as such in 1896, by Wechssler in his article: *Die Handschriften des Perlesvaus* (cf. *Zeitschrift für rom. Philologie*, XX, 80 ff.); and it has since been briefly compared with the remaining MSS. of the romance (cf. my study: *Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 3–19). If Dr. Sommer will consult these references and the note by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XXII, 297, he will find further that, in addition to the MSS. he himself mentions, four other MSS. are extant; one of which, Hatton 82 of the Bodleian library, represents an extremely clear version of the text. How singular then his remark is: that "at least . . . a dozen prominent scholars . . . have during the last thirty years devoted their attention, directly or indirectly, to the romances of the Holy Grail, but none of them has challenged M. Potvin's statement"—that the Brussels MS. is unique! (Dr. Sommer says "Mons" instead of "Brussels," but he is evidently confusing the well-known *Perceval* MS. with that of the *Prose Perceval* or rather *Perlesvaus*, for the latter is the generally accepted name.)

With respect to the two printed versions adduced by Dr. Sommer, these too have been previously identified and discussed (cf. the bibliography given above). It is interesting to note that the Grimms (*Altdeutsche Wälder*, Cassel, 1813, vol. I) and Sir Frederick Madden (*Syr Gawayne*, p. xix) were acquainted with the romance (to be sure only as *Sainct Greall*) in this printed form—in fact, Sir Frederick mentions the edition of 1516. A number of copies of both editions (1516 and 1523) were sold at good prices between 1784 and 1836 (cf. F. Michel, *Roman du St. Graal*, Bordeaux, 1841). Copies of both are not only in the British Museum, as Dr. Sommer informs us, but also in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Of the 1516 edition three copies are said to be in private hands; the copy originally belonging to Guyon de Sardière was brought to America some years ago by Mr. Kerr of New York and is now in the private library of Mr. Pierrepont Morgan.

I formerly believed that the printed versions were derived from B. N. f. 1428 (cf. my study, p. 18), but subsequent researches have convinced me that they were taken from a codex in which the *Perlesvaus* was part of a romance-cycle (cf. Brugger, *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache u. Lit.* XXIX, 138). This would account for certain changes found in the printed texts; notably the ending of the first of the "last branches" (cf. *Notes*, p. 226), which is seen on comparison to be similar to that of the Hengwrt MS., the last words being: "Ceulx de la terre les appellerent sainctz hommes."

That Mr. Ward should "have failed to recognize in the *conqueste* the text of Perceval le Gallois" (Dr. Sommer of course means the *Perlesvaus* and not as the name implies the poem of Crestien) is an oversight easily explained in view of the mass of material Mr. Ward had to handle. I hope to treat these matters, together with several others, in the revised edition of my study.

WILLIAM A. NITZE.

Amherst College.

Tudor Pronunciation of *ǫu* < O. E. *ū*; *ǭa* < O. E. *ā*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The diphthonging of O. E., M. E. *ū* was in late M. E., and early Mn. E. *ǫu*, before it passed into the present *au;* true, we continue to write *e. g.*, 'house' but we pronounce the German 'Haus.' How current this *ǫu* sound was in the days of Henry VIII may be illustrated by the following apparent crux in Wyatt. In his sonnet beginning (*Tottel's Miscellany*, p. 39):

> "My galley charged with forgetfulnesse,"

the fifth line reads:

> "And euery houre, a thought in readinesse."

In Flügel's text from the ms. (*Anglia*, xviii, 464) the line reads:

> and every owre a thought in redines.

Wyatt is translating Petrarca's sonnet 156 (cxxxvii):

> "Passa la nave mia colma d'obblio,"

where line five reads:

> A ciascun remo un pensier pronto e rio.

Evidently (*h*)*owre* 'hour' is no rendering of *remo* 'oar.' Yet we can scarcely assume that Wyatt, an excellent Italian scholar, blundered in his interpretation of the original. Nott amended to: "At every oar." No emendation, however, is needed; O. E. *ār*, M. E. *or*, *ore*, *hore*, etc., 'oar,' and M. E. *ūre* (O. Fr. *ure*), *oure* 'hour,' must have sounded so much alike in Wyatt's day that one might easily be written for the other. In both words the *h-* is parasitic.

J. M. Hart.

Cornell University.

Margutte and the Monkey.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—A very interesting instance of Luigi Pulci's use of beast lore, excellently illustrative of his originality in adaptation, appears in the account of the death of Margutte, in the *Morgante*, xix, 145–149.

While Margutte is sleeping, Morgante pulls off and hides Margutte's boots (called *stivaletti* and *usatti*). Margutte, after waking, hunts for the boots. Stanzas 147 and 148 are as follows (in the edition of G. Volpi, Firenze, 1900, vol. ii, pp. 274–275):—

> "Ridea Morgante, sentendo e' si cruccia:
> Margutte pure al fin gli ha ritrovati;
> E vede che gli ha presi una bertuccia,
> E prima se gli ha messi e poi cavati.
> Non domandar se le risa gli smuccia,
> Tanto che gli occhi son tutti gonfiati,
> E par che gli schizzassin fuor di testa
> E stava pure a veder questa festa.
>
> A poco a poco si fu intabaccato
> A questo giuoco, e le risa cresceva;
> Tanto che 'l petto avea tanto serrato,
> Che si volea sfibbiar, ma non poteva,
> Per modo egli pare essere impacciato,
> Questa bertuccia si gli rimetteva:
> Allor le risa Margutte raddoppia,
> E finalmente per la pena scoppia."

This episode was evidently suggested by some form of the account of the method of monkey-catching which appears in the Italian bestiaries. The substance of the account, as it appears in the bestiaries, is given by M. Goldstaub and R. Wendriner (*Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, p. 281) as follows:

"Der Affe hat einen stark ausgeprägten Nachahmungstrieb, welchen die Jäger benutzen, um durch eine List ihn . . . zu fangen: vor den Augen des Affen versuchen sie, ganz enge Stiefelchen anzuziehen; nachdem sie Dies mehrere Male gethan haben, lassen sie die Stiefelchen stehen und verbergen sich in einem Hinterhalt. Der Affe kommt nun herbei, zieht die Stiefelchen an, und so am Entwischen verhindert, wird er von den Jägern ergriffen."

Ernest H. Wilkins.

Harvard University.

The Archives of Southern France.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The recent article[1] on the projected union of the notarial with the departmental

[1] *Archives notariales, leur réunion aux archives départementales . . . . par F. Pasquier*, Besançon, 1905.

archives that M. Pasquier addressed to the assembly of French archivists has brought up the question whether the general condition of the latter would permit the archivists to receive this increment to their already heavy burden. Having had occasion to work in the archives of some of the principal cities of provincial France, I took advantage of the opportunity to get some idea of the value of the various deposits as well as of their arrangement and classification. As a result of this investigation, I may say that the archives of the Midi are generally richer than those of northern or central France—they have naturally suffered less from the ravages of the Revolution—and they are usually classified in a more satisfactory manner.

This, of course, does not cast any reflection on the learning of the archivists of the North, for it must be admitted that some of the most scholarly archivists are to be found in this section of the country. On the contrary, the very fact that the archivist has been productive in lines of research furnishes often the explanation for the backward condition of the archives; for, instead of going through the drudgery of classifying and arranging for the benefit of the rare *chercheur* the vast array of documents entrusted to his care, he naturally prefers to devote his time as far as possible to work in which he is personally interested. One need not be surprised then to find that there are certain archivists who are unable to to give much accurate information regarding the contents of their deposits. And I might add that in one of the important cities of the Province, I found an assistant substituting for the regular archivist during his vacation, who confessed his inability to read any document of earlier date than the eighteenth century!

A very brief discussion of the condition of the deposits in some of the cities to which I refer may not be out of place here. At Bourges, I was quite disappointed to find the archives of a rather limited extent. The *Etat Civil*, which comprises the records of births and deaths, consists of but a few dozen volumes. In addition, I was informed that the *savants* who are acquainted with the scattered information contained in the departmental archives are very reluctant to communicate it to anyone who may not be an inhabitant of Berry.

At Limoges the archives are being well systematized under the direction of the learned archivist, M. Alfred Leroux. Furthermore, a handsome building has been constructed to contain this rich deposit.

Toulouse, however, makes the best impression of all. There are in this city four exceedingly rich and exceptionally well-classified deposits. These deposits are the *Etat Civil*, which is at the Donjon of the Capitole, the parliamentary and notarial archives which are both at the *Palais de Justice*, and the departmental archives at the *Préfecture*. Toulouse is the first provincial city to gather together the precious notarial documents, which in other places are to be found in great confusion in the attics or basements of the notaries' offices. Furthermore, the indefatigable archivists, M. Pasquier, M. Macary, and M. Roques, have prepared numerous tables and indices, so that rarely is any time spent in fruitless search by one who consults the deposits in their charge.

Narbonne possesses probably the richest communal archives of any city of the Province. Inventories of the greater part of these documents have already been published in several bulky volumes to which an index of names of persons and places is being prepared by the present librarian of that city. But in the near-by Montpelier, these communal deposits are of little importance. However, this is more than made up for by the rare wealth of the departmental archives which, though as yet not well arranged, possess a fund of information on the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Revolution is especially well represented at Nîmes. But it is greatly to be regretted that in this city measures regarding the union of the notarial and departmental archives have not been taken. In the office of one notary[2] alone, I found an immense collection of *liasses*—evidently a complete list of records extending back to the middle of the fifteenth century—stowed away in great confusion.

The archives of Arles were destroyed by fire about 1536,[3] and what has accrued of importance since then has been for the most part transported to

[2] Maître Degors.

[3] Cf. *Les Annales de la ville d'Arles, depuis* . . . . 1482, *jusqu'à l'année* 1587. *Ex libris Laurentii Bonnemant presbyteri Arelatensis*, 1780. This MS. is in the library at Arles.

the departmental bureau of Marseilles. Still some very interesting documents are yet to be found in the private collections purchased by the city; and the scholarly librarian, M. Henri Dayre, is ever ready to place himself at the complete disposal of the *chercheur*. But if the necessary information is not to be found at Arles, one has only to consult the extensive deposits at Marseilles, which are being rapidly evolved from chaos into order through the untiring labor of the brilliant archivist, who cannot be adequately thanked for the services he is ever ready to lend.

The four rich deposits at Lyons differ from those at Toulouse in that the notarial system is as yet non-existent, while, of course, there is no parliamentary section. As a matter of fact, three of these deposits overlap one another and could well be brought together; and especially as it is always difficult to gain entrance to the *Hôtel-Dieu* and the *Charité*. Regarding the classification of these four deposits, it may be said that, although efforts are being made in that direction, they are yet in a somewhat chaotic state.

And finally at Dijon, the want of careful arrangement is often evident, for, notwithstanding that many volumes of Inventories have been published, it not unfrequently occurs that a *liasse* indicated therein is either misplaced or removed from the archives.

J. L. Gerig.

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Peler le Geai.

(Note to La Fontaine's Fables.)

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—M. Delboulle, in his *Les Fables de la Fontaine*, mentions a parallel between the *Miserere* of the Renclus de Moliens and *La Cigale et la Fourmi*. There is in the *Carité* another parallel, not noted in the Regnier edition of La Fontaine, which should be added to M. Delboulle's collation, pp. 63–67, under *Le geai paré des plumes du paon*. The Renclus gives evidence of familiarity with this fable in a form which justifies La Fontaine's use of *geai* as the traditional French title of the story, in preference to the *choucas* first advanced by Baïf and Ménage and approved by Regnier (*La Fontaine, Œuvres*, I, p. 298).

The passage of the *Carité*, clxxv-clxxxii, discusses the redemption of the world by Mary, through the birth of Christ; the Virgin is in combat with Satan, who has taken the form of a *gai*, and crept into the forbidden nest, *i. e.* the world or the human heart, clxxv, vv. 10–12:

> Bien sot ou li gais se repust;
> Tout desnicha quanke il pust,
> Et cascun jour le plume et poile.

clxxvi, vv. 1–4:

> Li gais Adan, Evain honi,
> Ki dist k'il seroient oni
> A le majesté souveraine
> S'il manjoient dou fruit bani.

But Eve by her sin admits the *gai* into the nest, whence he is driven by the Virgin and the birth of Christ, clxxvii, 8–12:

> Quant en si bas fu ostelés
> Li rois dou pais souverain;
> Adonkes fu li gais pelés,
> Li orguilloüs li pielés;
> Le virge le mist en pelain.

The Renclus expresses his admiration for the Virgin who accomplished this great thing with one dart, a ray of humility, clxxviii, vv. 10–12:

> Oïl! se pareille ne sai.
> Li gais ki en fu al essai
> Ne crient plus dart dont on le fiere.

The Renclus now explains, clxxix, vv. 1–6:

> Le gai apel nostre aversaire,
> Et ses engiens se plume vaire;
> Sathans est vairs com vaire plume.
> Por divers engiens de mal faire
> Son ni et son propre repaire
> Claime ou cuer ki d'orguil fume.

But the precedent of shooting at the jay established by Mary, is followed by the ancient saints, who, clxxx, vv. 7–9:

> Le cachierent fors a un fais.
> Jadis fu pelichiés li gais
> Quant li peneant le despisent.

Even though the world has changed and, v. 11,

> Au gai pres tout ont faite pais,

the Renclus cites the example of the Magdaleine, who, clxxxi, vv. 1–3,

. . . . anicha
Chest gai ; mais puis le pelicha
Le dame et prist aspre venjanche.

The idea then of this sustained metaphor is that Satan, disguised under brilliant plumage gains admittance to the human soul. Mary strips him of these feathers, and drives him out in disgrace. In the fable the jay thus gains admittance among the peacocks, who similarly reveal the fraud and drive him out in derision. The Renclus is adapting the fable to his theme.

Let us add that *pelichier,* doubtful to Van Hamel, is certainly *peler.* If "le sens paraît être plutôt : chasser hors du nid," the fact is due to the terseness of the passages in question ; for in the author's mind *peler le gai, i. e.* 'to see his real character,' was tantamount to his expulsion. The two operations go on side by side through the passage.

A. A. Livingston.

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Huggins's Orlando Furioso Again.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—An attempt (in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* xx, 199 f.) to determine the authorship of an eighteenth century translation of the *Orlando Furioso,* claimed for both Wm. Huggins and T. H. Croker, lacked completeness because I had been unable to find 'Part of O. F.', translated by Huggins. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. Paget Toynbee, and especially of Mr. H. A. Wilson, the Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford, some of the missing evidence has been supplied.

That Huggins did not issue a new edition in 1757, but merely a new title-page and 'Annotations,' which would be bound up with any sets remaining in stock, is confirmed by the existence in the library of Magdalen College of a copy, in a contemporary morocco binding, of the edition of 1755, in which the original title-page has been cut out, and that of 1757 inserted, while the 'Annotations' are bound up in a separate volume with the 'Part of O. F.' and Zappi's 'Sonnets.' Moreover, the first volume contains two autograph letters, one dated 'January 1, 1755,' and signed 'The Translator,' and the other dated 'Rupert-Street, April the 2d' [1755], addressed to the President of Magdalen College, and signed 'Tem. Hen. Croker.' Croker speaks of 'these Morocco Volumes,' and proceeds : 'Pardon me in sending my Mite if such a trifle as these Sonnets are worth your own or your Library's Acceptance. The former I don't doubt of your Goodness receiving : the latter, I believe, is unsuited, but it springs from a mind, that would do all acts that could show my gratitude to my most worthy friend, W. Huggins.' That the 'translator' who signed the first letter was Huggins, is shown by some verses, in the same hand, which begin

'Mansion Rever'd accept with aspect mild
The toilsome studies of thy faithful child';

and by an inscription, in a different hand, which runs :

'D. D. Ariosto Anglius, Gulielmus Huggins Armigr de Headly Park in agro Hantoñ. Istius Collegii olim Socius.'

The translator of Zappi's sonnets seems thus far to be Croker, though I hope it will not seem unfair to call attention to his characteristically vague language ; he does not plainly say he translated them. It would be interesting to know why the *DNB.* ascribes this translation to Huggins.

The most important evidence, however, is the 'Part of Orlando Furioso. Translated from the Original Italian. By W. Huggins, Esq ; 1759.' After the title-page comes a Letter to the Reader, as follows :

Candid Reader,

Permit me to assure you, upon the word of a gentleman, and the faith of a christian, I have most strictly prohibited myself the inspection of the copy of those Cantos in my former book, which another, through most earnest solicitations, was, too weakly, by me admitted to be concerned in ; for fear of being thrown into any similitude of turn or identity of rhime.

But, it can scarcely be imagined, one, who, by his immense labours in translation of a most sublime and favorite poem, proceeded to the finishing forty Cantos, could stand in need of any *aid* for three whole ones and four fragments ; and, that, from a person instructed by myself in the A B C of the language. So far from such effect, it has been absolutely the reverse ; for where I have, after comparison, found casually some resemblance, I have set to making alterations, where it was

feasable, for the better, but, when I have, at last, discovered it either impracticable, or too laborious to do so, and might, possibly, be for the worse, I have judged it proper to desist: not conceiving it necessary to quit a main path, which lay so natural, it could scarce be avoided, to jump over rocks or through brambles because another had stepp'd thereon before me.

The motive for suffering another to appear as the editor, with the high honours which were conferred upon him therefrom, together with an infinitude of favours done, must be as little interesting to the publick, as is the return which has been received.

The cause, which was productive of this new rendering, will need no Oedipus for its solution, on perusal of the initial and final mottos * annexed to the studies of

Your friend
and well-wisher,
W. H.

Headley Park, Hants
June 23, 1758.

The 'three whole ones and four fragments,' which follow, are: Canto xxi, sts. 1–56; Canto xxii; Canto xxv, sts. 1–67; Canto xxvi; Canto xxvii, sts. 1–104; Canto xxxiii, sts. 1–95; and Canto xl. Canto xl ends on p. 56, where is the second of the two mottoes referred to in the Letter to the Reader. Then follow:—Extract from the Ingenious Dedication of a Poem; Inscriptions relating to Ariosto; some translations of 'Italian Quotations in my Book of Annotations'; Errata for Cantos xxii and xxv; and a translation of Canto xxxvii, sts. 1–96. Mr. Wilson comments: 'All after p. 56 seems to be a supplement to the preceding portion, perhaps first added in 1759, as the "Part of O. F." appears to have been originally issued before the end of 1758 . . . . The new rendering of part of Canto xxxvii which follows what Huggins calls the "final motto" may have been added to meet some further claim on Croker's part, which had been unknown to Huggins or overlooked by him when he issued his "Part of O. F." in 1758.'

Although the question of the authorship of this translation of Ariosto is a relatively small one, it has been a real puzzle, so that it is a satisfaction to know clearly and explicitly that Croker's part was trifling, and that the honor both of its conception and of its execution belongs to William Huggins, Esq., of Headly Park, Hants.

Edward Payson Morton.

Indiana University.

Alexander Scott's *A Rondel of Luve.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—It has not been noticed, I think, that Alexander Scott's *A Rondel of Luve* is practically identical with Sir Thomas Wyatt's poem beginning *Lo! what it is to love.* Except for its Scottish dialect, a change in the order of stanzas, the omission of one stanza, and a few slight differences in phraseology, Scott's *Rondel* is word for word that of Wyatt.

Wyatt's poem is found in the Egerton ms. 2711. It appears in no other manuscript, and is not in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557). It can be found in Nott's edition of the poems of Surrey and Wyatt (London, 1815), Vol. ii, p. 191; in the several imprints of the Aldine Edition; and in its original form in Flügel's transcript, *Anglia,* xix, pp. 187–188.

Scott's *Rondel* is among the poems attributed to him in the Bannatyne ms. (1568). It has been printed in almost every collection of Scott's works. For list of occurrences see the Scottish Text Society's edition of Scott's poems (Edinburgh and London, 1896), p. 169. To this list should be added EETS. Ext. Ser. 85, and J. H. Millar's *Literary History of Scotland* (New York, 1903), p. 211.

There is a certain interest in the fact that even the limited selections of Hailes, Sibbald, Irving, Ross, Eyre-Todd, and Millar include the *Rondel.* Irving finds it "not destitute of what may be termed prettiness"; Millar considers it "as favourable a specimen of his (Scott's!) quality as any other."

All this is tribute to Wyatt. That the poem *is* Wyatt's no one can doubt after he has compared the two versions.

Albert H. Licklider.

Johns Hopkins University.

* These mottoes are (1) 'Simulatum tollitur auxilium.' (p. 1.) (2) 'Imaginaria evanuit gloria.' (p. 56.)

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THE CONCORDANCE SOCIETY.

At the recent session of the Modern Language Association at Yale University, the following paper was read by Professor Albert S. Cook. As a result, the Association gave its approval to the project, and a time was appointed for a meeting of those interested. The Society was then organized on the basis of the proposed Constitution, with officers as follows:

President, Albert S. Cook, Yale University.

Secretary, Charles G. Osgood, Jr., Princeton University.

Treasurer, Curtis Hidden Page, Columbia University.

A circular will soon be issued, giving further particulars. Meanwhile, intending members are requested to send their names to any one of the officers. About forty names have already been received.

Address.

The greatest impediment to literary research is the lack of means for disclosing, in detail, the substance and form of individual pieces of literature. It requires but a glance of the mind to see that when Dr. McKenzie's Petrarch concordance is published, the study of Elizabethan lyric poetry will be greatly facilitated. The results of study are the formation of judgments. All judgments imply comparison. All comparisons imply the confrontation of at least two facts or series of facts, using facts in a broad sense. All confrontation of facts implies either a tenacious memory on the part of the student, or the means of discovering and adducing particular facts, or classes of facts, at brief notice. Now none of us have memories tenacious enough for all the facts that we need to have at disposal. Hence the necessity of catalogues, indexes, and dictionaries. We all welcome Littré, or Grimm, or the New English Dictionary, because they afford such convenient means of verifying our impressions, of recalling dimly remembered knowledge, and of gaining and correlating new stores of linguistic and literary phenomena.

The student is as powerless before a huge aggregate of conglomerate facts as the refiner before a hundred-ton mass of gold ore. The student, like the refiner, is in search of something which to him is precious; but before he can obtain it from the enormous bulk before him, rich perhaps with various metals, it must first be broken up, and eventually comminuted, before the quicksilver of his mind can lay hold on the rich metal, and form with it the desired amalgam.

We have all sorts of devices for presenting certain classes or orders of facts to the inquirer. Such a device is a treatise on syntax, or a book like Schultz's *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, for example. What we need is more works which shall contain, within the compass of a single volume, the ordered materials from which the elements of a score of such systematic treatises can be extracted. In other words, we need more indexes and concordances.

It might be said that the pieces of literature themselves are the repositories of such materials; but so is the hundred-ton rock the repository of the gold. Surely the process of comminution has its place and its value in the total labor. Perhaps indexes laying more stress on categories—indexes which requires a higher order of ability to produce them—might be regarded as of more value than mere concordances, mere alphabetical arrangements of words, and this view does indeed deserve more attention than it has hitherto received; but precisely because concordances require less concentration of thought, they are easier to make, and hence can be more rapidly multiplied; moreover, just as the dictionary plan, the alphabetical arrangement of book-titles in a single catalogue, seems to be steadily gaining converts among librarians, so there will always be much to say for this simplest of plans in cataloguing the contents of books.

Such compendiums have their value for nega-

tive as well as positive uses. It is sometimes of as much importance to decide that a certain thing is not so, as that something else is so. Professor Gildersleeve well illustrates this in his address, *The Spiritual Rights of Minute Research*, where the following passage occurs:

'Many years ago one eminent scholar said to another, "Such and such a preposition does not occur in Isocrates." The second eminent scholar said, in substance, "Fudge! . . . I will find you dozens before morning"; and having edited Isocrates, he thought he knew whereof he affirmed. But he lighted a candle, like the good woman in the good book, and swept the house of Isocrates, and sought diligently, and did not find it, and frankly acknowledged his mistake. Now an exhaustive *Index Isocrateus* would have settled the matter in a minute, and there would have been an end of controversy. It was a thing well worth knowing, as it turned out, though I do not think that either the eminent scholar, Bekker, or the eminent scholar, Haupt, ever asked himself what it meant. Indeed, the meaning was not revealed until many years afterwards, when it appeared that the absence of that preposition was, if I may allow myself the bull, a feather in the cap of that conventional creature, Isocrates, or, to be strictly classical, another sprig in his wreath of dried parsley or celery, as you choose. It is not an hilarious task to be sent on a search through the whole range of the Attic orators in order to verify the suspected non-existence of a certain final particle.'

If you will pardon another quotation, I will end this portion of my remarks with a few sentences from an address of my own, delivered at Vassar early in the present year:[1]

'But isn't there a difference, after all, between knowing and knowing, between knowing as merely recognizing and knowing as possessing the inmost secrets of a word—the whole range of its melody, the whole hideousness of its cacophony, the whole train of shadowy forms which it evokes, stretching on and on with various degrees of palpability and evanescence, some bold and distinct, and others melting, like the faintest curl of a summer cloud, into the viewless air? But if we are to attain this—this sense not only of the word in itself, but of its contrasting values, and what we may call its combining power—we must have a much more extensive and perfect apparatus than at present. For this purpose we need concordances of many more authors, and lexicons of some—the means of confronting, not merely word with word, but context with context, passage with passage, poem with poem. There is before me at this moment talent and industry enough to make priceless additions, in the course of two or three years, to our resources for exploring and evaluating the treasures of our tongue, and for providing teachers of literature with instruments for conveying to the minds and hearts of their students the most delicate, the most precious, the most vital products of all civilization. The tasks are comparatively simple; the most that they demand is industry and a devoted spirit, such industry and devotion as have linked inseparably, for all time, the name of Bartlett with the name of Shakespeare, and the name of Ellis with that of Shelley.'

And now to a more immediate consideration. Professor Palmer, of Harvard, whose edition of his namesake, George Herbert, will make his name well known to English philologists, as his translation of the *Odyssey* has given him an honorable place among Hellenists, and whose profession of philosopher will exonerate him from any suspicion of caring for mere details irrespective of their significant relations, has, he tells me, collected all the concordances to English writers that he can obtain. But those that he has he finds all too few for his purposes, as those that I have been able to procure I find all too few for mine. We suppose that our experience is a common one, and that many workers, not alone in English, but in the allied subjects, would be glad to have Wordsworth, and Keats, and many other English authors, treated as Shakespeare and Shelley have been. He thought that probably many competent persons would be glad to compile such concordances, if there were a reasonable chance of their being accepted by publishers; and that publishers would more often be willing to undertake such works, if there were a reasonable prospect of seeing the cost of their ventures returned. He thought that pub-

[1] *The Higher Study of English* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), pp. 95–6.

lication might be much facilitated if a Concordance Society of, say, a hundred members, could be sure of an annual income of perhaps five hundred dollars, which might be devoted, under the direction of an Executive Committee, to the providing of subventions toward bringing out such concordances to English writers as might be deemed worthy. With this end in view, the matter has been mentioned to individuals of his acquaintance and mine, among such as could be easily reached, with the result that some thirty persons have signed the following pledge :

'If a hundred persons can be found to subscribe an equal amount, I promise to subscribe five dollars a year towards the maintenance of a duly organized Concordance Society, the object of which shall be to assist, by means of subventions, in the publication, but not in the preparation, of such concordances to English authors as shall have been approved by a committee of such Society, it being understood that the first annual payment shall not be due until such Society shall have been organized, and that subscribers will be under no obligation to purchase the concordances which may be issued.'

Considering how few people have been approached, it seems not unreasonable to hope that at least a hundred members for a Concordance Society might be found if an organization could be effected. To this end I would present for discussion the following draft of a constitution for such a proposed Society, in the hope that the project will commend itself to those who are present, and that an organization may be brought to pass before the meeting of the Association is over :

CONSTITUTION.

I.

This Society shall be known as The Concordance Society.

II.

Its purposes shall be to provide subventions toward the publication of such concordances and word-indexes to English writers as shall be considered sufficiently meritorious and necessary ; to formulate plans for the compilation of such works ; and to assist intending compilers of such works with suggestion and advice.

III.

The officers shall consist of a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected at an annual meeting of the Society, which shall be held in conjunction with the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America. The three officers named, with two additional members also to be elected annually, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Society, whose duty it shall be to decide upon the concordances which shall receive subventions, the amount of the subvention in each case, and the terms upon which the subvention shall be granted.

IV.

Any person may become a member of the Society upon payment of the annual dues, which shall be fixed at five dollars, and payable on May 1 of each year. From the sum thus accruing, the necessary expenses of the Society shall be defrayed, and the subventions provided. The accounts shall be submitted by the Treasurer at the annual meeting of the Society.

V.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society, provided that a notice of the proposed amendment shall have been mailed to members at least one month before the date of such annual meeting.

MARLOWE, *FAUSTUS* 13. 91–2.

Professor Tupper's suggestion, in *Modern Language Notes,* for March, 1906, that Marlowe's well-known lines,

> Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes ?
> And burnt the toplesse Towres of Ilium?[1]

with which he compares *2 Tamb.* 2. 4 and *Troil. and Cress.* 2. 2. 81–2, bear a certain resemblance to a passage in Lucian's Eighteenth Dialogue of the Dead, is worthy of consideration, though perhaps the resemblance is a little less striking if one compares the newer version by the Fowlers (Clarendon Press, 1905). Here the passage stands :

[1] So in ed. 1604.

Her. This skull is Helen.

Me. And for this a thousand ships carried warriors from every part of Greece; Greeks and barbarians were slain, and cities made desolate.

Her. Ah, Menippus, you never saw the living Helen, or you would have said with Homer,

> Well might they suffer grievous years of toil
> Who strove for such a prize.[2]

But the connection between Helen and the 'thousand ships'—the total in Homer is 1186—might have been derived by Marlowe from a variety of sources. Thus, for example, he might have found it in Chaucer, *Tr. and Cr.* 1. 57–63:

> It is wel wist how that the Grekes stronge
> In armes with a thousand shippes wente
> To Troyewardes, and the citee longe
> Assegeden neigh ten yeer er they stente,
> And, in diverse wyse and oon entente,
> The ravisshing to wreken of Eleyne,
> By Paris doon, they wroughten al hir peyne.

Or it might have come from the Ovidian imitations by the fifteenth-century Angelus Quirinus Sabinus (*Ep.* 3. 74–77), an argument being the word *facies.* Paris is speaking to Œnone:

> Et magnos, video, cogit mihi rapta tumultus,
> Armatæque petunt Pergama mille rates.
> Non vereor belli ne non sit causa probanda:
> Est illi facies digna movere duces—
> Si mihi nulla fides, armatos respice Atridas.

A possible source would be Ovid, *Met.* 12. 5–7:

> Postmodo qui rapta cum conjuge bellum
> Attulit in patriam; conjurataque sequuntur
> Mille rates gentisque simul commune Pelasgæ,

or even Orosius 1. 17. 1: 'Raptus Helenæ, conjuratio Græcorum, et concursus mille navium.'

If we turn to the Greek, we might think of the (Pseudo-?) Euripidean *Rhesus* (260–261):

> Lay it in Helen's hands—the head of her kinsman who worked us woe,
> Who sailed to the strand of Troy's fair land with a thousand keels;

but better still is Euripides, *Androm.* 103–6:

> No bride was the Helen with whom unto steep-built Ilium hasted
> Paris;—nay, bringing a Curse to his bowers of espousal he passed,
> For whose sake Troy, by the thousand galleys of Hellas wasted,
> With fire and with sword destroyed by her fierce battle-spirit thou wast.

[2] Cf. *Il.* 3. 156–7.

As for the 'thousand ships' of the Grecian fleet, mentioned without allusion to Helen, they are found as early as Æschylus (*Agam.* 45). He is followed by Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 9–10, 140; *Iph. Aul.* 172–4; *Orest.* 352–3. In Latin literature there are Varro, *R. R.* 2. 1; Virgil, *Æn.* 2. 197–8; 9. 148–9 (allusion); Propertius 2. 26. 38; Ovid, *Met.* 12. 37; 13. 93, 182; *Her.* 13. 97; Seneca, *Tro.* 27. 274, 708–9, 1008; *Agam.* 430; Sabinus (also above), *Ep.* 1. 106. And this list is not complete.

Coming to the second line of the couplet, we might think of Virgil, *Æn.* 2. 624–5 (cf. for the lofty towers vv. 460 ff.):

> Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
> Ilium, et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia,

with the fine simile which follows. See, however, Spenser, *F. Q.* 3. 9. 34. 3–4:

> And stately towres of Ilion whilome
> Brought unto balefull ruine . . . .

and 35. 1–5:

> Fayre Helene, flowre of beautie excellent,
> And girlond of the mighty conquerours,
> That madest many ladies deare lament
> The heavie losse of their brave paramours,
> Which they far off beheld from Trojan toures.

Shakespeare's context for his line is worth a moment's consideration. The passage is (2. 2. 77–83):

> And, for an old aunt, whom the Greeks held captive,
> He brought a Grecian queen, whose youth and freshness
> Wrinkles Apollo's, and makes pale the morning.
> Why keep we her? the Grecians keep our aunt.
> Is she worth keeping? why, she is a pearl
> Whose price hath launched above a thousand ships,
> And turned crowned kings to merchants.

This no doubt goes back, eventually, to Dares, chap. 3 ff. Hesione, Priam's sister, had been carried away by Telamon. The Trojans demand her return, but in vain. Thereupon Paris is sent with a fleet against Greece, but merely abducts Helen.

I subjoin a few scattered sentences from Dares: (3) Telamon primus oppidum Ilium intravit; cui Hercules virtutis causa Hesionum Laomedontis regis filiam dono dedit. . . . (4) Telamon Hesionam secum convexit. Hoc ubi Priamo nuntiatum est, patrem occisum, cives direptos, prædam avectam, Hesionem sororem dono datam, graviter tulit tam contumeliose Phrygiam tracta-

tam esse a Graiis. . . . (5) Antenor, ut Priamus imperavit, navim conscendit, et profectus venit Magnesiam ad Peleum. . . . Antenor dicit ea quæ a Priamo mandata erant, graios postulare ut Hesiona redderetur. . . . Peleus . . . jubet cum de finibus suis discedere. . . . (9) Posthæc Alexander in Græciam navigavit. . . . (10) Fanum invaserunt, Hèlenam inviolatam eripiunt, in navem deferunt. . . . Interea Alexander ad patrem suum cum præda pervenit, et rei gestæ ordinam refert. (11) Priamus gavisus est, *sperans Græcos causa recuperationis Helenæ sororem Hesionam reddituros.*'

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ANCIENT WORDS WITH LIVING COGNATES.[1]

(1) Skr. *ṣkoṇī́s* : Latin *hūmānus.*

This word, defined in the smaller Petersburg lexicon by (1) schaar, menge, gefolge, dienerschaft and (2) die erde, land, lacks, according to Uhlenbeck, a satisfactory explanation. For its second signification an explanation lies to hand. Latin *humus* 'ground' is now universally regarded as a cognate of Skr. *kṣā́s*, from a base variously written as (1) *ĝðhom*, (2) *ghzem*, and (3) *ĝhsōm* | *ĝhsem* | *ĝh(s)m̥* by Uhlenbeck, Walde and Prellwitz (s. v. χθών) in their lexica. For *kṣoṇī́s* I write a base *ĝhsow*, extended by a suffix *nəy* (with *əy* from *āy*, see Collitz in *BB.* xxix, 81 fg.). Latin *hūmānus* comes from the same base, extended first by the suffix *mā(y)*, and second by *no.* For the suffix variation cf. Skr. *pāṇís* and Latin *palma* 'palm.' For the late literature and untenable theories regarding *hūmānus*, see Brugmann in *IF.* xvii, 166 fg., and Prellwitz in *BB.* xxviii, 318. The vowel-color of *humus* may be due to original *u* (from *ĝhsumos*), or be a Latin infection from *humanus.*

How are the bases *ĝhsem* and *ĝhsow* to be correlated? Just as *treme* (Lat. *tremit*), *trepe* (Lat. *trepidus*), *trese* (Skr. *trásati*); more nearly as *dreme* and *drewe* in Skr. *drámati, drávati* (see Brugmann, *Kurze vgl. Gram.*, § 367).

It remains to account for the sense of menge, schaar. Have we a sort of collective, '*humanitas?*' or shall we resolve the base *ĝhsow* into a simplex *ĝhes,* to which various determinatives have been affixed?

(2) Skr. *sahásram,* χέλλιοι, Latin *mīlia.*

The base *ĝhes* 'swarm, multitude' has also been found for these words. The *sa-* of *sahásram* has been interpreted as 'one,' and I was myself the first to explain *mīlia* as a cognate, from *sm̥* + *hīlia,* with the phonetics, not of tantosyllabic *-mh-* but of heterosyllabic *m-h,* with felt composition.[2]

I no longer believe that *mīlia* certainly belongs with χίλιοι. It might be derived from *sem* 'one' (why not *sem* 'together?') as σμῆνος 'swarm'

[1] I have not thought it necessary to print Romance forms of the Latin words treated.

[2] It pleased Sommer in *IF.* xi, 323, to gird at this explanation, in favor of his postulated *smī ĝzhlī*, which seems not to have met favor outside of his personal circle of friends. At any rate, Prellwitz and Kluge in their lexica (s. vv. χίλιοι and *tausend*) pass it by. This manner of speech seems the stranger, because *ibid.* xi, 8 he accepted Thurneysen's explanation of the *-nf-* of *inferi* as due to an analogical feeling for composition, a sort of 'recomposition' by analogy. Of course we do not know how far the Romans had a consciousness of *sem* 'one,' but from semel, simplex and the like it is likely they had some such consciousness. It is also not impossible that primitive Italic had *(h)ilia* and *sem-(h)ilia* in use at the same time, and if *diribes* is for *dis-(h)abes, sem-(h)ilia* is a supposition that might be allowed even to those not ignorant of the history of the Italic dialects. If I now accepted the correlative of *milia* with *sahásram,* I should still say that we cannot prove *ĝzhlī* from *milia* and nothing else; and should still believe that *sem-(h)ilia* was liable, because of the pull of the historic Latin accent, to reduction to *sm-(h)ilia.* This I believe, because *sacēna* is old sacral Latin for *scēna,* and because the historic accent caused consonant shortening in mamilla alongside of mamma, and vowel shortening in conscrĭbillo beside scrībo. [Stolz, *Lat. Gram.*,[3] § 40. 3, gives the pair mūto, mŭtōniatus]. In such cases 'recomposition' or 'rederivation' are always active forces, and the sporadic occurrence of such changes is due to the interference of the psycho-phonetic laws. In any language with a stress accent there must be some pull of the accent, and the "Schwundstufe" of the primitive speech, due to this accent, could not be uniformly carried out to suit the schematic gradation series, because words are rarely so far reduced as to lose touch with their cognates: I refer to such phenomena as Skr. *sannás,* ptc. to sad.

(? cf. Lat. *manus* 'band') is said to be, plus a formans (cf. ἴλη 'troop,' if from *wislā*); or still better from *s(e)m* 'together' + *i-s-li* (*ey-s-li*): then (*s*)*mille* would mean 'a going together,' whence 'troop,' and (*s*)*milites* would mean 'comites, troopers.' Thus *mille* is cognate with ὅμ-ιλος 'company': for *mille* but *milia*, note ὅμιλος but Aeolic ὅμιλλος. Prellwitz tentatively suggests that ὅμ-ιλος, not ὅ-μιλος, may be the proper division, and compares Skr. *samayás* 'a coming together': he might later have explained ὁμοῖος 'zusammen-treffend, encountering,' with hostile sense, as quasi * *sameyas*.

It is not certain, either, that *sahásram* and χέλλιοι belong together. Perhaps *sahásram* means 'the big hundred' (cf. Kluge, *Woert.*, s. v. *tausend*, and Miss Stewart in *BB.* xxx, 242, note 2) and belongs with *sáhas* 'might.' But if we maintain the correlation of χίλιοι and *sahásram*, it may be that we should posit compounds like * εννέ-ἑχειλοι, * δεχ-εχειλοι (for the retention of the rough breathing cf. the phenomena mentioned by Brugmann, *Gr. Grammar*, §§ 83. 2; 105. 1), whence, by recomposition, ἐννεάχειλοι, δεκάχειλοι. [Assuming * ἑχειλο- (or even * ἑχειλο-) and -χειλοι, it would be no wonder if the interpretation *one* thousand and -thousands became fixed in mind and that ἑ- (or even ἑ-) was then analogically picked up by ἕκατον; ἕκατον might, however, come direct from * ἕνκατον, along the physiological lines stated in Brugmann, *op. cit.*, § 57, 8, especially if we take into account the phonetics whereby common phrases are greatly compressed; *e. g.*, French (*ma*)*msel*, Eng. *bymby* (= by and by)].

If we retain the cognation of χέλλιοι and *sahásram*, it would seem desirable to establish a root *ĝhes*. This may perhaps be inferred from the following, in which *ĝhes*, with the sense 'ferit; urget, premit,' seems to lurk; Skr. *sa-hásram* 'co-press, co-swarm,' χέλλιοι 'press, throng,' Slavic *žesto-* 'durus' (*i. e.*, stipatus, pressus).

(3) Skr. *hastás* 'hand'; Lith. *pa-žastìs* 'achselhöhle.'

To the base *ĝhes-* we might also refer Skr. *hástas* 'hand,' ἀ-γοστός 'hollow of the hand, palm,' Lith. *pa-žastìs* 'achselhöhle'; ἀ-γοστός would mean 'im-pressus,' or, if for * ἀ-γοστός 'compressus,' *i. e.*, the solid part of the hand below the split fingers; the definition 'impressus' better suits *pa-žastìs*, but whether 'impressus' or 'compressus' be the definition, α from *m̥* explains why we have γ and not χ; in Skr. *hástas* either the sense 'palma' has been generalized to 'manus,' or *hástas* means 'id quod ferit.' Lat. *hasta* 'telum quo feritur' and (glossic) *harit* 'ferit' invite identification with this group. If so, we must write our root *ĝhĕ̄s*, with a grade *ĝhəs*. Then with *harit* 'ferit, pavit' we may associate the Slavic base *žas-* 'facit ut paveat.' Writing the base as *ĝhē(y)s* lets us bring together Gothic *usgaisjan* 'erschrecken' and O. Bulg. *žasiti* 'schrecken': here also *hæret* 'catches, is caught, sticks, lingers' (see for the semantic development the author in *Am. J. Phil.* XXVI, 180; 191, note 4), and Celto-Latin *gæsum* 'hasta.' A further grade-form *ĝhŏ̆(w)s* appears in Lat. *haurit* 'strikes; sheds, spills' (see for the meaning Thurneysen in *KZ.* XXVIII, 157). He who remembers that Lat. *cædit*[3] 'strikes, cuts,' belongs with English *sheds* 'spills,' can easily account for the prevailing sense of *haurit*. [For the further sense of 'drinks, quaffs,' I think of English *drains* 'empties, drinks up'; for the alternation *ĕ̆(y)* | *ŏ̆(w)* see the author, *op. cit.*, xxv, 371.]

I do not connect Lat. *hostit* glossed by 'ferit' with *ĝhes*, for the reason that I shall undertake in another connection to prove that *hostit* is a Latin denominative to *hostis*.

(4) Latin *hostis*, ξένος 'guest-friend.'

I have never believed any confidence could be put in the cognation of these words until the following explanation of them suggested itself to me.

[3] When Walde, lexicon, s. vv. cædo and scindo, declares that both vocalism and meaning demand their separation, I cannot follow him: *cædere* means 'schlagen,' of course, but so does κόπτειν, and yet both mean 'secare,' just as we might expect from the condition of the neolithic age (see this author, *l. c.*, xxv, 388). Granted that *scindit* prevailingly means 'findit' and *cædit* 'secat,' yet Lucretius's (1. 533) findi in bina secando lets us catch sight of the primitive conditions when the neolithic man was chipping flints. As to the conflict in vocalism, when Walde admits that *scindit* may be an extension from the base *skhē(y)*, he gives his entire case away, for so may *cædit*.

If we go a step further than the theories now obtaining, we may divine back of the preposition ἐξ, Latin *ex*, a form *eghes* (or *eghos*) that either was or functioned as an adverb (gen.-ablv.): see the lexica of Prellwitz and Walde, s. w., ἐξ, *ex*, *egeo*. I explain *hostis*, defined as 'extraneus, peregrinus' rather than as 'guest-friend,' as from *eghos-stis* 'out-stander' (with *-stis* as in *testis*, from *ter-stis* 'third-stander,' see *Class. Rev.* xx, 255). In ξένϝος ξ is all that remains of the doubly reduced *eghes*,[4] and I divide ξ-ενϝος 'extra-inhabitans,' explaining -ενϝος as from the preposition ἐν + ϝος, a root-noun to *wes* 'to dwell,' meaning 'in-habitans.' The *es*-stem we should expect in -ενϝος has given way to the *o*-stem, but of this phenomenon there are many examples in Sanskrit compounds (cf. Wackernagel, *ai. Gram.*, II, § 41, b. α). The same variation is found in ἄγγελος, Skr. *ángiras-* 'messenger,' for which no very convincing etymology has been found. I suggest that *áñgiras-* is a compound of *an-* (cf. ἀνά, ἀν-) + *-griras-*, dissimilated to *-giras-*, a derivative of *jráyati* 'goes, rushes.' This leaves us in some difficulty with the ε of ἄγγελος, unless we should assume that in an inflective stage ἀγγιλες-ι was assimilated to the following ε.

(5) German *gabel*, Latin *habet*.

A little excursion into Mexico this summer brought to my attention the word *tenedor* 'gabel' from *tenger* 'tenere, habere,' and made me wonder if *gabel* and *habet* were cognates. The idea, I find, is not new, but the parallel of *tenedor* and *tenger*, so far as I know, has not been advanced in this connection. I do not think that *gabel* was developed when the meaning of the base was 'to have,' nor even 'to hold,' but in the earlier stage when the sense was 'to seize.'

(6) Latin *tenet*.

The current examples in the handbooks for the treatment of the *kþ*-sounds give *s-* as the Latin representation of *kþ-*. None of the examples is convincing, the most so being *sitis* 'thirst' and *situs* 'decay, mould.' Lat. *tenet* 'holds, has' looks very like a cognate of κτάεται, same meanings, κτῆμα 'possession,' from a base *kþē(y)*. In this case there is no necessary conflict of *t-* with *s-*, for in the words *sitis* and *situs* the succession *þ-t* in successive syllables may have worked a dissimilating influence upon *þ-*.

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[4] [Pott, *Etym. Forsch.*, II, 1, 363, also found ἐξ- in ξένος. Proof-note.]

SOME FAUSTUS NOTES.

It has been very truly said that there is not, in the history of modern comparative literature, a figure so well known as that of Faust.

From the various references to Faust in the works of his contemporaries we can trace the career of that remarkable man from 1505 to 1538 with considerable accuracy and completeness, while the date of his death is approximately established by a statement in the writings of Johann Gast who, in 1548, spoke of Faust as being then dead. The 1592 Dutch translation of the German *Volksbuch* makes bold to give the exact night in which he was snatched away by the devil, viz., October 23, 1538. The English *Wagner Book* (1594) gives it in the more general terms of "An. 1540." If to these references concerning the historical Faust we add those pertaining to the literary character of Faust, we find that during the period from 1587 to 1777 comparative literature contains no less than two hundred and seventy-eight references to this remarkable personage.[1]

Among the numerous problems connected with the study of the Faust story is that which bears upon the origin of the name John Faustus.[2] Without entering upon a discussion of this question, the writer would call attention to the fact that the name by which Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, designates the real, historical Faust is "Magister Georgius Sabellicus Faustus Junior," and this appellation, the learned Abbot says, is the one which Faustus himself gives as his true name.

[1] See Tille, *Die Faustsplitter in der Litteratur des* 16. *bis* 18. *Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1900.

[2] See the able article, "Faust and the Clementine Recognition," by Dr. E. C. Richardson in vol. VI of *The American Society of Church History*.

The next historical document in point of time which contains a reference to Faust is the account book of the Bishop of Bamberg for the year 1519–1520; but in this book he is referred to simply as "Doctor Faustus ph[ilosoph]o." In 1529, however, the "Protokoll der aus Ingolstadt Verwiesenen" recorded him as "der sich genannt *Dr. Jörg Faustus* von Heidelberg." Camerarius (1536), Begardi (1539), Meusel (1540), Gast (1548), and several other writers of this period mention Faustus but only by his last name. The name John (Joannes) first occurs in the "Locorum communium collectanea: A Johanne Manlio per multos Annos, pleraque tum ex Lectionibus D. Philippi Melanchthonis," etc. (1563), in which Melanchthon states: "Noui quendam Faustum de Kundling, quod est paruum oppidum, patriæ meæ vicinum. . . . . Ante paucos annos idem *Joannes Faustus*," etc.

This passage is a significant one, because the author of the English *Wagner Book* (1594) abandoned the statement in his model text, the English *Faust Book*, that John Faustus was "borne in the town of Rhode, lying in the Prouince of Weimer in Germ[anie],"—and quotes in its stead the words of John Wier, who is repeating Melanchthon's statement that the man was "John Faustus born at Kundling."

The above mentioned passage from Melanchthon is interesting for this reason also, namely, that in it occurs the first mention of the dog which was wont to follow Faustus about.

This new element in the Faustus story was undoubtedly borrowed from the stories relating to Cornelius Agrippa. He was always accompanied by two black dogs, (and by 1566 it was reported that Faust also had "zween Hund, die waren Teuffelen").[3] Curiously enough, no dog appears either in the German *Volksbuch*, the English *Volksbuch*, or in the English *Wagner Book*, although in the latter work one of Faust's attendants (Wagner) is accompanied by an ape.

In 1570 the name Doctor *George* Faustus crops up again, but that is its last occurrence. The next most interesting document is the *Chronica von Thüringen und der Stadt Erffurth*, written in 1580, but describing the events of the year 1550. The reader will recollect that in both the English and the German Faust Books, Faust writes out his compact with the devil in his own blood. It has been supposed[4] that this element in the Faust story first appeared in the 1587 German *Volksbuch*; but in the above-mentioned Erfurt chronicle, the historian relates as a matter of fact how a certain Dr. Klinge, who was then alive in Erfurt, had once paid a visit to Doctor Faustus for the purpose of turning him from his evil ways and converting him to Christianity. Doctor Faustus answered him, however: "Ich hab mich aber so hoch verstiegen, *und mit meinem eigenen blut gegen dem Teufel verschrieben*, dz ich mit leib und Seel ewig seyn will: wie kan ich denn nu zurück? oder wie kan mir beholfen werden?"

Here, then, and not in the German *Volksbuch* of 1587, or in the English of 1592, occurs the first mention of the compact written in blood, between Faust and the devil.

It is a matter of literary history that the *Stationer's Register* contains an entry for February 30, 1589 (not 1588 as it is often quoted), relating to the licensing of a "ballad of the life and deathe of Doctor FFaustus, the great Cunngerer," and this entry has hitherto been regarded as the earliest reference in English literary history to the story of Doctor Faustus. The present writer would call attention, however, to the fact that as early as 1572, Ludwig Lavater's *Von Gespansten* (1569) appeared in English, under the title, "Of ghostes and spirites," and on page 170 of the second part are the words, "what strange things are reported of one *Faustus*, a German, which he did in these, our days, by inchauntments?" This was seventeen years before the entry of the Faust ballad, and twenty years before the appearance of the English Faust Book.

Tille[5] records no less than twenty-two references to Faust, in English literature between the years 1594 and 1694. The present writer would add thereto the following *Faustsplitter*.

In the *Epigrams by J. D.*[6] occur two skits

[3] See Manlin's *Loc. Com. Deutsch.*

[4] See Richardson, *Faust and the Clementine Recognitions* (cp. above, p. 39, note 2).

[5] Tille, *Faustsplitter* (cp. above, p. 39, note 1).

[6] These epigrams by Sir John Davies appeared in manuscript as early as 1596–1598. See Malone's edition of *Marlowe's Works*, page xxxix.

entitled *In Faustum,* which refer to the deeds of the famous conjuror. In Jonson's *Tale of a Tub,* act IV, scene 5, are the following lines :

> *Puppy.* "My name's Ball Puppy, I have seen the devil among the straw. O for a cross ! a collop of Friar Bacon, *or a conjuring stick of Doctor Faustus !* spirits are in the barn."

An interesting passage is found in Jonson's *Staple of News,* act IV, scene 2, where Gossip Tattle remarks : "My husband, Timothy Tattle, God rest his poor soul ! was wont to say, *there was no play without a fool and a devil in't,*" an allusion, no doubt, to that pleasing episode in the Interludes which always appealed to the "hobnailed spectator," when the fool used to get up onto the devil's back and "beate him with his coxcombe till he rore." The passage quoted above from the *Staple of News* is most suggestive of a scene in the English *Wagner Book* (1594)[7] where Faustus, after punishing a certain knight, "reard him vp vppon his feete, *& then got vpon his backe,* and so rid twice about the Chamber." In this same scene of the *Staple of News* (act IV, scene 2) is the curious expression, "would have made a horse laugh," and that phrase occurs for the first time, so far as is known, in the English *Wagner Book,* chapter 6.

Another reference to Faust which Tille has omitted is found in Shadwell's comedy, *The Sullen Lovers* (1688), where Sir Positive-At-All remarks : "Why I will discover lost spoons and linen, resolve all horary questions, nay, *raise a devil with Doctor Faustus himself,* if he were alive."[8]

The last reference which the present writer has to add to Tille's *Faustsplitter,* is found in *Punch's Petition to the Ladies,* where the following lines occur[9] :

> "The Gothic rage of Vander Hop
> . . . .
> Has forced away our George and Dragon,
> Has broke our wires, nor was he civil
> *To Doctor Faustus* nor the Devil."

To record the allusions in comparative literature during the past two centuries to the Faust story would require more space than this article admits. The interest of both scholars and lay readers in the story continues to-day, however, to be almost as great as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[10] The writer would like, in closing, to refer to the German tales of Heinrich Zschokke (published collectively in 1828), especially to his fascinating story *Der tote Gast,* in which is evident the influence which the Faust story had upon the author of that tale. It is probably a mere coincidence that Zschokke chose the name "Herbesheim" for the village in which the scene is laid, and had no thought in mind of "Herbipolis"—the place where Trithemius met Faustus. It is rather significant, however, that the figure of "Der tote Gast" himself, and the manner in which his victims met their death at midnight, "den Hals umgedreht," corresponds exactly to the description of Faust and the manner of his death as Melanchthon relates it. "Media nocte domus quassata est. Mane, cum Faustus non surgeret, et iam esset fere meridies, hospes—inuenitque eum iacentem prope lectum *inuersa facie,* sic a diabolo interfectus." The last evidence of the Faust story's influence in the tale of *Der tote Gast* appears when the character Herr von Hahn remarks to himself in surprise at the terror which his appearauce has created in the minds of the common people of Herbesheim, "Hält man mich denn für den zweiten Doktor Faust ?"

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[7] Chapter 23.

[8] Mountfort's farce of *Doctor Faustus* had just then come upon the stage, and Shadwell's brother-in-law, Jevon, played one of the leading parts.

[9] See Hedderwick, *Doctor Faust,* London, 1887, page xxviii.

[10] An illustration of this is found in the desire of German students at Heidelberg in 1903 to give a performance of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus,* which they did represent most successfully.

ADD. MS. 34064

AND SPENSER'S *Ruins of Time* AND *Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

This MS. is described in the *Dict. of National Biography* as follows :—"A 17th century manu-

script of verse by various authors of the 16th and 17th centuries (in the possession of Mr. F. W. Cosens), contains transcripts of many of Breton's poems, some of which were printed in *England's Helicon,* others in *Arbor of Amorous Devices,* 1597, and one *Amoris Lachrimae* for the death of Sir Philip Sidney in Breton's *Boure of Delight,* 1591. There are also some thirty short pieces fairly attributable to Breton which do not appear to have been printed in the poet's life time: they were published first by Dr. Grosart." The fly-leaf has the following:

And in the Strand } 1596
Anthonie Babington }
of Warrington
Roger Wright
M[anu] M[ea]

Roger Wright me possidett ex dono Hererice frater meo.

The British Museum catalogues the collection under Nicholas Breton's Poems; but this is a little misleading as there are in addition to a number of poems known to have been composed by Breton, selections from two of Spenser's poems, *The Ruins of Time,* and *The Mother Hubberd's Tale,* besides several whose authors so far have not been identified.

Of the poems which this collection contains the following have been assigned by Dr. Grosart to Breton. Those that appear in *England's Helicon* or *Arbor of Amorous Devices* are indicated by the initials of these two collections.

Ff. 2. a. *To Elizabeth.*
b. *A Pastoral.* E. H.
3. a–b. Three Sonnets [two of which are given below].
4. a. "Never think upon anoye."
5. a. "If beautie did not blinde the eies."
5. b. "A discontented minde." A. A. D.
6. a. "What Fate decreed."
6. b. "The fields are grene."
7. a. "Oh eyes, leave off your weeping."
7. b. A Sonnet. A. A. D.
8. a. *Phillis and Corydon.*
8. b. "Fair, fairer, thou the fairest."
9. a–b. *Choridon's Dreame.*
10. a. *Choridon's Supplication.*
10. b. 11. a. *Sir Philip Sidney's Epitaph.*
11. b. *A Shepherd's Dream.* E. H.
12. a–b. *Love Dead.*
13. a. *Faithful unto Death.*
13. b. *Transitoriness* [so called by Dr. Grosart].
14. a–b. *An Epitaph on the Death of a Noble Gentlewoman.* A. A. D.
15. a–b. "Upon a daintie hill sometime."
16. a. *Phillida and Coridon.* E. H.
16. b. "At my heart there is a paine."
17. a. "A prettie Fancie." A. A. D.
17. b. *Astrophell his song of Phillida and Coridon.* E. H.
18. a. Sonnet. A. A. D.
18. b. "In time of yore where Sheppds dwelt."
19. a. In praise of his mistress. A. A. D.
19. b. *Quatuor Elementa.*
20. a. A sonnet upon this word in truth spoken by a lady to her servants.
20. a. Another upon the same subject.
20. b. Sonnet.
21. a. "Some men will say there is a kind of muse."
21. b. "Oh that desire colde leave to live that long hath looked to die."
22. a. "If heaven and earth were not bothe fullie bente."
22. b. "When authors wryte God knows what thinge is true."
23. a. "All my senses stand amazed."
23. b. "All my witte hath well enwrapped."
24. a. "Will it never better be."
24. b. "Pause awhile my prettie muse."
25. a. "Look not to longe."
25. a. "Perfeccon peerless virtue without pride."
25. b. "Poure downe poore eyes the teares of true distress."
25. b. "Choridon unhappie swaine."
26. a. The same sonnet as on 3. b., but not as good a copy.

There is one poem in the series that has not been ascribed to Breton, the one on ff. 4. b. It is signed Edward Spencer, and the handwriting of the signature differs from that of the poem. It can hardly be a poem by Spenser, but as a curiosity I give it entire:

Ffrom the heavnes there hath descended
by the heavenlie powres defended
of the highest powres appointed
wth most hollie oyle annointed
Such an Angell suche a Queene
as the world hath never seene
Dulce, Pura, cara, Bella
farre above Astrophills Stella
faire above all faire as far
as the sonne a little starre
Oh what eyes can stande before her
And their hartes doe not adore her
Oh that I might once but see
this sweete sunne to shine on me
fer wch sunne so sweete and faire
not the sunne amidd the aire
But on earthe that shineth here

whom the heavnes houlde so deare
praye with the poore Philosopher
unto the highe astronomer
that guyde the sunne, the moone *e* starres
in welthe, in woe, in peace and warres
So to preserve her heavenlie grace
that we maie joye to see her face
And all poore creatures woe begon them
May have that sunne to shine upon them.

EDWARD SPENCER.

After Ff. 26. a. comes a blank page. The handwriting, which up to this time has been similar in general characteristics—probably that of one person—now becomes much more regular. At Ff. 41 we go back to the handwriting of the earlier part of the book. From Ff. 55 on the handwriting is of a considerably later date, and the subjects show that it was written about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The subjects of the poems from Ff. 27–55 are as follows:

27. a. *The Scyrmish betwext Reason and Passion.* [A Morality Masque].
27. b. Sonnet. "An old man fallen in love with a younge maiden."
28. a. Another on the same subject.
28. a. Sonnet. "Transformed in show but more transformed in mynd."
28. b. Sonnet, "In vaine myne eies your laboure to amend."
28. a. Another. "Over these brookes (thinking to ease myne eies)."
29. The answer to ye former verses.
29. "What tonge can her perfections tell."
31. a. Selection from *Ruins of Time.*
33. a. Another from *Ruins of Time* (two stanzas).
33. a. "Another." A poem of 30 lines beginning—

"My heavie eyes, still fixed on the grounde,
My tyred hands upp thrown unto the skies."

33. b. Selection from *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, here misnamed *The Ruins of Time.*
35. b. Two poems on the Flour de Luce in Oxford.
36. a. *A Libel.*
40. b. *Tandem.*

"At length comes oft to late
And if stands doubtful ever."

This poem ends abruptly. Ff. 41 is blank.

41. b. *Breton's Amoris Lachroniae.*
47–55. *Breton's Divinitie.* A. A. D.

One point of very great interest in this collection lies in the fact the selections from Spenser's poems in places give us readings that differ from that of the printed text. We know that the poet did not superintend the publication of the *Complaints,* in 1591 (entered Dec. 29, 1590), in which the *Ruins of Time* and the *Mother Hubberd's Tale* appeared. The popularity of the *Fairie Queene* had made any poem which bore the Spenser mark valuable for publication, and hence we find William Ponsonby gathering together all the shorter poems he could lay his hands on, and publishing them under the general title, *Complaints.* Many of these poems, as we know, and as was the custom in those days, had long been circulating in MS. form;[1] for example, of the *Mother Hubberd's Tale,* Spenser himself says in his dedication of it to Lady Compton, "which having long sithens composed in the raw conceipt of my youth." The fact that the author did not superintend the publication of these poems makes any MS. version of them valuable. And that here we have a copy of a MS. version that antedates the printed version we can have but little doubt, for the variances from the latter can hardly be explained upon any other basis.

Only those portions of the *Ruins of Time* are copied which have to do with the Dudley family. The first quotation begins with line

"It is not long since these two eyes beheld";

only those lines will be given that show differences from the reading of the Globe text, which in the main follows the text of 1591 edition; all variations will be found in italics.

The fourth and seventh lines of the first stanza quoted read as follows:—

And greatest ones did sue to *gett* his grace,
And right and *royal* did his word maintaine.

The second line of the next stanza reads:—

Of the people, and brought foorth on a beare.

The next two stanzas of the poem are omitted, but the succeeding is a peculiar combination of two stanzas—

He now is dead and all his glorie gone
And all his greatness vanished to nought
Somewhat in heaven store-house he uplayed,
His hope is faith, and come to pass his dread

---

[1] See the general preface to the *Complaints,* The Printer to the General Reader.

And evill men now dead buryinge never [*or new*] *layed*
He now is gone, the whilest ye fox is crept
Into ye hole the which the badger swept.

The next three stanzas are omitted. It begins again—

He dyed *and after his brother dyed*
His brother prince *his noble peare*

The rest of the stanza shows no variations; in the next are these lines—

As living and thy *lost love dost* deplore,
So *that whiles* thou faire flower of chastitie

The first line of the stanza that follows reads—

Thy *love* shall never die, ye whilst this verse

The fifth line of this stanza is omitted, the last line reading—

Such grace the heavens unto *thy virtue* give.

The last two lines of the stanza that follows, and the whole of the one succeeding that are omitted. It begins again—

Ne may I let thy husband's sister die,
That goodly ladie, *she eake* did spring
Out of this stok, *a famous* familye
Whose praises I to future age doo sing,
And out of her happie womb did springe
The sacred broode of learninge *and of* honor
In whom the heavens powrde all their gifts upon her.

The last two lines of the next stanza show variations:

With treasure, passinge all *ye* worlds worth,
And heaven itself, wch brought it forth.

In the next stanza the last three lines are omitted: the third and fourth show variations:

Loathinge *this earth* and earthly slime
fflie back too soone unto his native place.

Only one line in the next stanza shows any variation, the fifth:

And *yt* chose, that *guiltless* hands of enemies.

The next stanza presents no variation, and the three that follow are omitted. The third line of the stanza beginning, "But now, more happy thou," reads as follows—

Whilst thou, *in the* Elisian fields so free.

The whole of the next stanza is omitted. The sixth line of the succeeding is as follows—

But shall in rustic darkness *lie.*

Twelve stanzas are at this point omitted. There follow—

Therefore in this *behalfe* happie I do reade
Good Melibae, that hath a poet got
To singe his livinge-praises, *deade*
Deserving never here to be forgot,
In spite of envye that his *deed* would spot.
Since *his* discease learninge *lyeth* unregarded
And men of arms doo wander unrewarded.

These two be *these* two great calamities
That long ago did grieve the noble spright
Of Solomon with great indignities,
Who whilom was *above* the wisest wight.
But now his wisdome is disprooved quite.
ffor he *that welds now*, all things at his will,
Scorns *th'on the other* in his deeper skill.

The next stanza closes with this line—

Ne live nor dead, be of the muse adorned.
ffinis.

There now follows a second quotation from the *Ruins of Time*, the two stanzas of the sixth "pageant." I shall give only the lines that differ from the reading of the Globe text:

I saw two beares as white as anie *snow*
. . . .
Although the compast world *had bene* sought round.

But what can longe abide above *the* grounde
In *stedfast* bliss and happiness
. . . .
Was but *of* earth, and with her weightiness
Uppon them fell and *both* unwares oppress.

Only that portion of the *Mother Hubberd's Tale* is copied which is a satire on the church, beginning on line 353. The following lines are omitted: 355, 356, 359, 360, 365, 366, 369–374, 385–389, 395, 399–402, 405–408, 413–414, 426–430, 437–445, 449–455, 459–478, 491–495, 519–520, 526. Differences in reading between that of the MS. and the Globe Edition are frequent:

Line 361. At *last they* chaunst with a formall Priest to meete
367. And *askt license*, or what Pas they had
375. *Because that you sir*, shall not us missdeeme
376. But, *shall find us*, *as* honest as we seeme,
380. As if *some texte thereon*, he studyinge weare,
382. For reade he could not, *either* evidence, *or* will,
383. Ne tell a written word, *nor yet a letter*,
384. Ne make *a little* worse, ne make *it* better.
390. But this good sir *the word did follow plaine*
391. *And meddled not with* controversies vaine—
392. All his care was, his service well to *saye*
393. And to read homilies upon hollie-dayes.
394. When that was done, he might attend his playes.

398. *Who* noe good trade of lyfe, did entertaine
403. *Then said* the foxe, who hath *not the world* tryed
412. *And you* shall for ever us your bondmen make
415. It seemes (*saith the priest*) *yt you both are* clarks
417. Is not that name enough to *get* a living
418. To him that hath *witt* of natures givinge
421. To *Deacons*, to Archdeacons, to Commissaries
424. Who ever *envie them*, (yett *envie* byttes neare).
426. Might unto some of *them* in tyme arise
432. To feed men's soules, *he* hath an heavie threat,
433. To feed mens soules (quoth he) *it* is not in man
436. Eat they that list, we need *do* noe more
446. *The paines is not* soe great but *verie well yee may* Discharge yre Duties, easlye everye day [not in the Globe text].
447. *Tis not soe* great, as it was wont *before*
448. Its now a dayes, *not* halfe so straight and sore.
456. Nowe once a weeke uppon the[1] *Sabbaoth* day
467. It is enough, to doe our small devotion. Unto ye sillie people that doe come to pray [Not found in the Globe text].
468. And then to follow *on*, our merrie motions.
484. Much *good learninge*, one therout may reede,
490. Or *to some* other great one in the worldes eye,
496. There thou must *talk* in sober gravitie,
497. And seeme as *lowly* as sainct Ratigunde.
499. And unto every *man*, doe curtesie meeke,
501. And *be sure not to* lacke *ere* longe.
502. But if *you* list, *to* the courte to tronge
504. Then must *you be disposed*, another waye,
505. For there *you must* needs learn to laugh *and* to lye.
506. To face *and* to forge, *and keepe companie.*
507. To crouch to please, to be a *bedle* stocke
508. *At* thy great masters will, to scorn *and* mocke.
509. So mayest thou chance *to* mock out a benefice,
510. Unless thou canske [canst], *on cover* by device,
511. Or cast a figure for a byshoppricke
512. *That were a prettie kind of niggling tricke,*
513. These be the wayes, *the* wch without reward,
514. *Livinge* in court *is* gotton though full harde.
517. With a benevolence, *or at least* have *for a* gage
518. The *primitas* of your *fatt* personage
521. Doe not *you* therefore seeke *yor* living there
522. But of *private* persons seeke *it*, elsewhere,
523. Whereas thou mayest compound a better *praye*
528. That yf *thy* leiving *chance for to arise*
529. To fortie pound, *that* then *thy* youngest sonn
534. *And therin* thou mayest maintained bee,
535. This is the way *of them* that *are* unlearned.
538. For *learnings* sake to *livings* them to raise.
539. Yet manye *of them* (god wott) are driven,
540. *To* accept a benefice in pieces riven.

ffinis.

[1] See the same confusing of Sabbath and Sabbaoth in *Faerie Queene*, Book VII, Canto viii.

After this the transcriber wrote "Another," and followed it with the line,

Line 659. The Ape, himself clothed like a gentleman.

After the word 'gentleman' there is a mark that may stand for *et*, and in the right hand corner (for the bottom of the page is reached) an *and*, as though it were the first word of the next line. However, on the next page is the poem, "Upon the flower-de-luce in Oxford."

Most of the differences between the readings of the Cozens' MS. and those of the accepted edition are such as are due to the carelessness of the copyist, but a few seem to me to be certainly due to the fact that here we have a MS. copied, not from the quarto printed in 1591, but from one of the numerous MS. editions of his lesser poems mentioned by Ponsonby. This seems to be made doubly sure by the fact that in many cases the reading of the MS. is really preferable, and further by the two lines found in the MS. that are not found in the printed text.

The interesting question of the date of this MS. should next attract us; and here I am in much uncertainty. The book came into the possession of Roger Wright in 1596, and all the poems on ff. 2–26[a], 41–55 are probably in the same handwriting. At the bottom of f. 47 there are some words in the handwriting of the title page followed by M. M. [manu mea]. At f. 55 begins a new hand with a poem on Mr. Pim, probably a hand contemporary with the famous Puritan. Ff. 56 and 57 are occupied with "An Elegie upon the death of my deare sister M. W. [Margaret Wiseman, as we discover], who died of a feaver the 7th of January An. Do. 1653 A[no] Aet 18."

Ff. 27–40, in which occur these selections from Spenser's poems, are in a fourth handwriting, very regular, but not likely to be of a much later date than 1600. It may even be earlier. It looks much more like that of a professional copyist than like that of a man who took down for his own entertainment the words of such poems as pleased him. That they were not copied from the printed edition of the *Complaints* appears certain, and if from a MS. copy, it must have been from one of those mentioned by Ponsonby.

There is a further matter of interest in this MS. In the Gloss to the October Eclogue of the *Shepherd's Calender* are quoted two lines from one of

Spenser's lost sonnets—"as well sayth the poet elsewhere in one of his sonnets—

> The silver swan doth sing before her dying day
> As she that feels the deepe delight that is in death."

Also in the general preface to the *Complaints* we have mentioned as one of Spenser's lost poems *The Dying Pellican.* Now the sonnets on ff. 3[a], [b], though they are assigned by Dr. Grosart in his 1876 edition of Breton's poems to Breton, on the ground that, as many of the poems in the MS. volume are undoubtedly Breton's, the remainder must also be assigned to him, are to me interesting as they raise the question, are they two of Spenser's lost sonnets? In both the dying pellican is mentioned, and in both occur lines that are very similar to the lines above quoted. I quote the sonnets entire :

> "The pretie Turtle dove, that with no little moane
> When she hathe lost her make, sitts moorninge all alone
> The Swanne that alwaies sings an houre before her deathe
> Whose deadlie gryves do give the grones that drawe awaie her breathe
> The Pellican that pecks the blud out of her brest
> And by her deathe doth onlie feed her younge ones in the nest
> The harte emparked closе : within a plott of grounde
> Who dare not overlook the pale fer feare of hunters hounde
> The hounde in kennell tyed that heares the chase goe by
> And bootles wishing foote abroade, in vaine doth howle and crye
> The tree with withered top, that hath his braunches deade
> and hangeth downe his highest bowes, while other hould upp heade
> Endure not half the deathe, the sorrowe nor disgrace
> that my poore wretched mind abids, where none can waile my case."

> "Ffor truth hath loste his trust, more dere than turtle dove
> and what a death to suche a life ; that such a paine doth prove
> The swan for sorrow singes, to see her deathe so nye
> I die because I see my deathe, and yet I can not dye.
> The Pelican doth feed her younge ones with her bludd
> I bleed to death to feede desires yt doe me never good
> My hart emparked rounde within the grounde of greif
> is so besett with houndes of hate : yt lookes for no relief
> And swete desire my dogg is clogged so with care
> he cries and dies to here delightes and come not wher they are
> My tree of true delight, is rokde with sorrow soe
> As but the heavenes do soon helpe, will be his overthrowe
> In summe my dole, my deathe, and my disgrace is such
> As never man that ever lyvde knewe ever halfe so muche."

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TWO NOTES ON DANTE.

1. Note on *Piers Plowman*, B Text III, 190, and VI, 62.

Piers Plowman, B Text III, 190 and VI, 62 read respectively as follows :

> Crope into a Kaban *for colde of þi nailles.*
> My cokeres and my coffes *for colde of my nailles.*

The line of A Text (III, 184) corresponding to the first of these lines reads *creptest* for *crope* and shows no other essential difference ; and VII, 56 of A Text, which is the prototype of B. VI, 62 has *his* for *my* throughout, with no other change. Neither line occurs in C Text.

This use of the nails to indicate the feeling of extreme cold is quite natural, but apparently just as unusual ; for I have found it paralleled in two passages only. The first is from Dante *Inf.* XVII, 85–86 :

> Qual è colui c'ha sì presso il riprezzo
> Della quartana, c'ha già *l'unghie smorte.*

("As one who has the shivering of the quartan so near, that he has his nails already pale," Carlyle's tr.)

The second is from Shakespeare, *L. L. L.* V, ii, 915–916 :

> When icicles hang by the wall,
> And Dick the shepherd *blows his nail.*

2. Note on Dante *Purg.* II, 98–99.

The passage reads as follows :

> Veramente *da tre mesi* egli ha tolto
> Chi ha voluto entrar, con tutta pace.

("Truly, for *three months past,* he hath taken, in all peace, whoso hath wished to enter," Okey's tr.)

Whatever be the specific views of the various commentators as to the date of Dante's entrance upon his journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, all are agreed that it should be placed somewhere near Easter, 1300. The *three months* spoken of in the quotation above are usually taken to refer to the duration of the Jubilee of Boniface VIII.[1] But the decree establishing the Jubilee is dated Feb. 23, 1300 ; and so, as a matter of fact, the general period of indulgence was about six weeks ; even though the decree is retroactive.

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[1] See Scartazzini's notes on the lines.

Samson Agonistes, 1665–6.

> Not willingly but tangled in the fold
> Of dire Necessity.

In the March number of *Modern Language Notes*, 1906, Professor Cook has compared these lines with several citations from the Greek tragic poets. Interesting though these parallels are, they seem to me to have little in common with Milton's central idea. He is writing not merely of 'entanglement in *a* fold,' but of 'entanglement in *the* fold of *Necessity.*' Now while his expression is obviously influenced by the well-known Horatian phrase, "dira Necessitas," his thought is dominated not by the Latin of Horace, but by the Grecian conception of Ἀνάγκη, which is the *leitmotif* of his Aeschylean model (compare *Prometheus*, 514 f.; Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, Paris, 1899, III, 185), and which is written as large across his own tragedy as over Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*. We must seek then, among the Greek poets, a specific reference to 'entanglement in the fold of Ἀνάγκη.'

In the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus I find cited only one passage similar to Milton's, and that, it is interesting to note, is not from the tragedies, but is a tragic phrase appearing in a comic fragment, the *Boutalion* of Xenarchus, preserved by Athenaeus (II, 64). This passage, ἁλοὺς βροτῶν[1] πλεκταῖς ἀνάγκαις, is rendered rather freely by Yonge (Bohn Translation, I, p. 105), "taken in the net of stern necessity by hungry mortals." If, unlike Yonge, we adopt the βρόχων reading, we approach, with the added idea of "meshes," still more closely to Milton. The English poet may have known his Athenaeus in Isaac Casaubon's Genevan edition of 1597.

Now that I have seemingly made out my case, let me hasten to add that I do not believe that Milton was indebted to the Greek serio-comic passage, either through conscious or unconscious cerebration. Exact though the likeness is, it is certainly accidental. The "polypus" of Xenarchus—for it is this prosaic creature, which is 'taken in the fold of necessity's net' and dished for dinner—was hardly in Milton's stately thought. All world-old ideas are not begged, borrowed, or stolen by their latest user. The formal exposition of such a parallel as this will serve the purpose, if it points that obvious moral.

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[1] The editors of the fragments of Attic comedy, Meinecke (III, 614; compare his edition of Athenaeus, 1858, I, p. 114) and Kock (II, 647), accept Porson's reading, βρόχων for βροτῶν; and the emended form of the passage is always cited by lexicographers.

Grifon 'GREEK.'

The meaning 'Greek' for O. F. *Grifon* (O. Prov. *grifo(n)*, M. Eng. *Griffoun*, Mid. Lat. *Gryphonem*, *Gryphones*), has been recognized by lexicographers from Pierre Borel[1] to Godefroy; and has been revived by modern historians certainly since F. Sanford's "History of England" in 1677. It will accordingly be unnecessary to reproduce in full the long list of occurrences[2] in Old-French, Middle-English and Middle-Latin documents. A typical case is found in Guil. de Tyr, x, 23: "Cil Gabriel estoit d'Ermenie; d'abit et de langage se contenoit come Ermins, mes de foi et de creance estoit il *Grifons*." Cf. also Menestrel de Reims, par. 43;—"Et fu baus de l'empire de Constantinoble pour la joence de son genre qui jeunes estoit et enfaniis et qui mout avoit a faire a *Grifons*." Besides the sense of 'Byzantine Greek,' Gaston Paris notes the con-

[1] See Roquefort, Du Cange, Halliwell, Bradley-Stratman, Langlois ("Dict. des Noms Propres"), etc. Cf. also Bartsch and Diez, "Leb. u. Werk. der Troub.," 1882, p. 244; Mussafia, 'Zeit. Rom. Phil.,' III, p. 256.

[2] Cf. the following:—Old French: "Guillaume de Palerme," 3428, 3704, 8735, 9631; "Orson de Beauvais," 1778; Mouskes, "Chronique," 29088: Menes. de Reims, par. 43; "Doon de Mayence," 278; "Chanson d'Antioche," I, 84, 88; "Gaidon," 152, 153; "Bible Guyot," 778. Villehardouin and Guillaume de Tyr, as is natural, use the term with great frequency.—Mid. English: "King Alisaunder," 3134; "William of Palerme," 1961; "Richard Cœur de Lion," 2055, 1881, 1886, 1846 and *passim*; Robert de Brume (see Skeat, notes to "Will. of Pal."). Old Provençal: Rambaut de Vaqueiras: Letter to Baudouin (Atti del Istituto Veneto, May, 1901), stanza iii; Appel, "Prov. Chres.", p. 142.—Mid. Latin: add to citations by Du Cange, Richard of Devizes, sect. 64; Geoffrey of Vinsalf, "Itin. of Richard III," Ch. IV, and *passim*.

fusion with 'Sarrasin' in "Orson de Beauvais," v. 1778 :—"La barbe longue a guise de *Grifon*" ; a similar extension to 'Spanish' [3] appears "Guil. de Palerme," 9631 :

> Roïne estoit sa fille
> D'Espagne et feme au roi *grifon.*

Grifon here appears as an adjective, which has a feminine *grifone, gent grifone* (Godefroy). Langlois cites one example of the derivative *Griffonie,* 'Greek Orient' [4] to which add Mouskes, v. 11908 :

> Et doit on proiier pour aus
> Et pour tous çaus qui en Surie
> S'ont trespasset pour Dieu de vie,
> En *Griffonie* et en Espagne
> Et en nule autre tiere estragne?

For the etymology of *grifon* 'Greek,' two unsupported conjectures have been made. Rohricht[5] suggests that it is a *Schimpfwort,* "das an die bei den Türken wohnenden *Griffonen, Griffen* erinnert." Roquefort and Skeat[6] offer *Græcum,* which is also the idea of Murray ("New English Dict."), and of Wohlfart (Glossary to "Bible Guyot").[7] It is our aim to adduce such facts as will show the claims of each of these positions to acceptance.

Grifon in this sense doubtless implied contempt. Geoffrey of Vinsalf[8] Chap. xii, says : "For this wicked people, *commonly called Griffons,* . . . . hostile to our men, annoyed them by repeated insults." If *grifon* had to him been synonymous with *griu,* the expletive *commonly called* would not have been used. The deceit and thievery of the Byzantines is moreover the favorite theme of contemporary Occidental writers. The idea is, then, that this quality suggested to the Crusaders the habits either of the mythical griffin, who passed for a rapacious monster[9] and as the guardian of wealth, in Medieval minds ; or of the Thracian and Alpine eagle, O.F. *grifon,* Prov. *grifon,* Ital. *grifone,* Sp. *grifo,* Gr. *grups, grupos.* Such a development appears in fact in the Italian *grifone.* Francesco Alunno da Ferrara[10] says : "Il *grifone* è animale parte leone e parte aquilla rapinoso e molto daunoso ; e però si dice esser un *grifone* colui che tutto vuole per se." *Grifone* here means 'rapacious thief,' through an analogy as easily suggested by the Byzantine character. St.-Palaye cites from Clodière's "Contes" a *griffoner,* 'to steal' : " . . . . Quand les peines et fatigues de ceux qui harpient a *griffoner* l'or seroient plus grandes que ne les avez faites." We are here dealing probably with *griffe,* 'claw,' rather than with *grups* (cf. *griffoner,* 'to scribble,' *i. e.* 'to use the claw') ; but the word serves to show the facility with which, by folk etymology, *grifon,* 'griffin' or 'vulture' could be brought into relation with *griffe,* 'claw,' and hence with the idea of 'steal."

It is certain thus that *grifon* connoted 'thief' ; and that the Greeks were robbers (at least in the eyes of the Crusaders). It remains to show how the two became connected in such a way as to be synonymous. For it is, at the outset, more satisfactory to regard the development as the extension in meaning of an already existing word, than to consider *grifon* an epithet arbitrarily applied to the Greeks.[11] *Grifon,* 'Greek' is a humorous alteration of Griu (< Grieu < Greu < Græcum), of which *grifon* is felt to be a sort of derivative.

This relationship could be established in three ways : *grifon* would seem either an augmentative of *Griu* ; or a proper noun accusative ; or a purely analogical accusative, created after the model of the Provençal. In the first two cases,

[3] Mussafia, 'Zeit. Rom. Phil.', III, p. 256.

[4] "Jourdain de Blaives," 3784.

[5] 'Historische Zeit.', München, 1875 (vol. 34), p. 52.

[6] Ed. of "William of Palerme," Old Eng. Text Soc., Glossary.

[7] Ed. of "Bible Guyot," Wolfraum studies, Halle, 1861.

[8] "Itinery of Richard III," trans. by H. G., London, 1865.

[9] Voyages of Sir J. de Mandeville. Bradley-Stratman, s. v. *griffoun.*

[10] "Della Fabrica del Mondo," Venezia, 1593, s. v. *grifagno.* Cf. also *griphus* 'convitiosus' (Du Cange).

[11] We have an interesting parallel in *griffon* 'spaniel,' which was applied in derision to the Dauphinois during the religious wars of the sixteenth century. Larousse says the name of the dog was due "à ce que ces chiens venaient du versant dauphinois des Alpes, dont les habitants à l'époque des guerres des Vaudois étaient appelés *Griffons,* tandis que ceux du versant piémontais portaient le surnom de barbets." The facts are quite the opposite; in that clearly the Dauphinois received the epithet from the dog. For the Valdensian elders were called *barbes,* a name turned by the French invaders into *barbets.* In return the French sympathizers of the French slope were dubbed *griffons,* a synonym of *barbet.* Here as in *grifon,* 'Greek,' the epithet is the turning and extension of an already established name.

the normal development of *Griu* + *on* would be *grivon* (cf. *Andrieu*, *Andrevon*; *Matthieu*, *Matthevon*; Picard forms with reduced triphthong would result in *-ivon*). But the '*v*' would change through analogy with *grifon*. Of such an influence we have positive trace in an interesting form *grifois*, 'Greek,' which appears in "Anseïs de Cartage," v. 3116 :—

> L'Anste a brandie dont li archers fu frois;
> En la grant prese va ferir un *Grifois*.

Grifois is *Griu* + *ois* (Græcu + ensis, as it were); the normal *Grivois* is replaced by the analogical '*f*.'[12] Note finally that in Provençal the inflection of the word for griffin parallels exactly that proposed for *Griu*. Raynouard cites the form *griu* 'griffin': "*Griu* es animal quadrupedal ab alas." This form is further attested by the Mid. Lat. *grio*, *grionis* (Du Cange).[13] We would have accordingly for 'griffin,' *griu*, *grifon* beside *Griu*, 'Greek,' of which the hypothetical accusative *grifon* would seem most natural, in association with the actual *grifon*.[14]

Grifon, 'Greek,' is thus a confusion between *gryphus* (Gr. *grups*) and *Græcus*; the presence of a third element, the German *grip*, will be discussed under *grifaigne*.

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Grifaigne 'GREEK.'

Langlois cites one example of this acceptation of *grifaigne*,[1] *Foulques de Candie*, p. 137[2] :—

> Venez avant; je vous ferai estraine.
> A vous commant de la terre Espaigne.
> Entrer i veux ains que part la quinzaine,
> E chalengier Tiebaut terre certaine,
> Bacle et Roussie et la terre *gryphaine;*
> Cuidez aussi Palerme n'li remaine

To this add *Roman de Carité*, xxv, v. 1[3] :—

> Jou vi Hongres et gent *grifoigne*[4]
> Ki felonie ne ressoigne.
> Li rikes Constantinoblois. . . . .

For *grifaigne*, we accept the etymology of Diez,[5] Mackel[6] and Cohn[7]: from *grifan*, the noun *grif* + *aneum*, hence *grifain* (masc.)[8], *grifaigne* (fem.). The feminine, however, through almost exclusive use with feminine nouns in set phrases, *gent grifaigne*, *chiere grifaigne*, *place*, *terre*, *montagne*, etc., has been generalized : *Gaufrey*, v. 10358[9]:

> Tant vont qu'il ont trouvé le felon roi grifaigne.

For *grifoigne*, Van Hamel posits the hypothetical *grifonium* (*grif* + *onium*, *grifon* + (*on*)*ium*?) which itself requires elucidation.[10]

This is then a problem of semantics. The fundamental meaning of *grifaigne* is 'clawlike,' hence 'craggy,' 'rough' and 'wild.' *Abréjance de l'ordre de chevalerie*, v. 1890 :—

> L'on ne les lessoit per les plaines
> Aler mes per places *grifaignes*,
> Per montagnes grandes et rostes.

This is the most common meaning of the word. See Godefroy, Du Cange, etc. The word is then applied to people, perhaps owing to a 'claw-like,' disheveled appearance[11]; perhaps originally as an epithet of wild, mountain savages : *La Mort Aimeri de Narbonne*, v. 666 :—

> Li roi manda por sa gent de montaigne,
> XX mile Turs o les chieres *grifaignes*
> Qui n'aiment Deu ne rien qui a lui tiegne.

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[12] Cf. English *Grew-hound* < *grifhound* (Murray, "New Eng. Dict."). *Grew* is *Griu*.

[13] S. v. *Grio* : idem fortasse quod *grifalco* ; merqua cum qua signentur tonelli et pipæ vinorum. . . . [est] ab una parte de armis nostris, videlicet medietas cum uno pede *Grionis*, et alia medietas cum quadam turri.

[14] The "New Eng. Dict." cites *griffon*, *griffin* as an epithet applied to a new arrival in India, a 'green-horn.' It is not clear how 'griffin,' the mythological monster, could suggest the term. Is it not more plausible to attribute the name to French *griffon*, 'scribbler,' referring to the habitual position of the younger men as Company bookkeepers and collectors?

[1] *Dict. des noms propres.*

[2] Ed. of Herbert le Duc.

[3] Ed. of Van Hamel (*Bibl. École des Hautes Études*).

[4] MSS. also *grifaigne* and *grifone*.

[5] *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *griffe*.

[6] *Germ. Elem. in Rom. Sprach.*, 'Franz. Studien,' VI, p. 110.

[7] *Suffix Verwandlung*, p. 161.

[8] Established by Cohn, *loc. cit.*, with references. *Theofilsage*, v. 209, ('Zeit. Rom. Phil.', I, p. 532) :

> Li Hebreus li culvers grifains (MS. *gifains*, *gurfains*)
> Tint dunc Theofle par les mains.

[9] Godefroy.

[10] The alternation between *grifain* and *grifoin*, *i. e.* between *-aneum* and *-oneum* should be added to Cohn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 161–162.

[11] Cf. Diez, *loc. cit.*

Anseïs de Cartage, v. 10358[12] :—

> Paien i fierent comme gent de *grifaigne* (sc. place?).

Hence the sense of 'rough,' 'savage,' 'cruel,' '*bösartig*': *Roman de Rou*, v. 1546 :—

> Il troverent la gent mult fel et mult *grifaigne*,
> Qui confont e abat e ochit e mehaigne.

Anseïs de Cartage, v. 2461 :—

> Le roi eselosent a une deforaine;
> Ja le presissent la pute gent *grifaigne*,
> Quand poignant viennent li sien home demaine.

Chanson d'Antioche, v. 953 :—

> E Jhesus lor doinst vaincre icele gent *grifaigne*.

Anseïs de Cartage, v. 10349 :—

> Mort l'abati; n'a talent qu'il se plaigne;
> Paiien le voient, ichele gent *grifaigne*.[13]

See also Godefroy, Du Cange, etc.

It is striking in these illustrations to what extent *gent grifaigne* is applied to the *Paiiens*. The association is so close that the descriptive word in the phrase is in the following practically equivalent to 'Sarrasine,' as the *gent grifaigne*[14] par excellence: *Li Nerbonnois*, v. 227 :—

> La troveroiz les barons d'Alemaingne,
> De Normandie, d'Anjo et de Bretaingne,
> Qui en iront desor la gent *grifaingne*,
> Avecques vos en la terre d'Espaingne.

Foulques de Candie, p. 155 :—

> Il sont bien XXX mile de la geste *grifaigne*;
> Ça les a amenez li rois Tiebaut d'Espaigne.

Grifaigne is applied to the Greeks in the following from Godefroy: De Vespasien: MS.:

> Li empereor a la chiere *grifaigne*.

The development to 'Greek' more specifically, had in its favor the general confusion of the Greeks and Saracens, which reigned in Medieval minds.[15] But we think the particular force here operating was *grifon*. The adjective[16] *grifon*, 'Greek,' formed a feminine *grifone*, which appears in the set phrase *gent grifone*, 'Greeks.'[17] We have then the general epithet of the Saracens, *gent grifaigne* by the side of the particular *gent grifone*; thence confusion of the two, *grifaigne* assuming the particular meaning. It is, we think, this confusion that appears in *grifoigne*, which may be regarded as *grifone* influenced by *grifaigne*, or the reverse. The words would actually stand in a close relationship by the very form of the stems, in each case *grip-*, of which *grifaigne* might seem the adjective development, corresponding to the noun *grifon*. In this case *grifon* would mean 'the clawed one,' taking its connotation from *grifaigne*, of which the original signification would naturally not be lost.[18]

The situation in this interesting meaning of *grifaigne* and *grifon* would seem therefore to be as follows: a confusion has taken place between *gryphus* (Vul. Lat. of Greek *grups*) and the German *grip* in the form *grifon*, which has been associated, as a derisive or humorous derivative, with *Griu* (*Græcum*); *grifaigne*, an epithet applied

[12] MS. D.

[13] It is a question in these last two examples how far *icele* has lost its demonstrative in favor of an article force; the sense is in any case closely allied with the following citations.

[14] Cf. *Roland*, 1932–1934, for the Christian conception of the Saracens.

[15] Gaston Paris, note to *Orson de Beauvais*, v. 1778.

[16] *Guillaume de Palerme*, v. 9631.

[17] Godefroy.

[18] In Italian *grifone* and *grifagno* (the cognate of *grifaigne*) were synonyms as noun and adjective, the one 'thief' or 'rapacious person,' the other 'rapacious' (see article on *grifon*),—a correspondence similar to that proposed here.

Modern French offers an interesting parallel to this development of *grif*: *griffe*, 'Mulatto,' a West Indian halfbreed. This word, of too late an appearance (Littré cites XVIII cent.) to derive from the Medieval *grifon*, shows exactly the connotation here suggested for *grifon*, 'Greek': 'the clawed one.' *Griffe* in this sense would be indicative actually of personal appearance 'rough,' 'unkempt'; while in the other case the epithet would be a pure 'schimpfwort.' The parallel is made perfect in the forms *grifon*, *grifone* (fem.) assumed by *griffe* in the Louisiana dialect (*New Eng. Dict.*).

Griffon, 'spaniel,' is referred by the *Dict. Général* to *gryphus*, 'griffin.' Du Cange offers a form *griphus* 'pilosus,' 'superbus,' 'convitiosus,' quoting Juan de Janua: "canes parvos et ignobiles *grippos* vocamus quia præ ceteris superbi sunt." This whimsical etymology at least points to the truth; for in fact the griffon's distinguishing mark is a luxuriant growth of hair on the muzzle. *Griphus*, 'pilosus,' seems however more satisfactorily referable to German *grip* than to Greek *grups*; *grip* had assumed the sense of 'grizzly' in *grifaigne* (cf. Diez, *Etymol. Wörterb.*, s. v. *griffe*); in which case we would have another example of *grifon* felt as the noun for *grifaigne*. The probability is that *griphus* is a mingling of *grip* and *grups*.

with special frequency to the Saracens who were confused generally with the Greeks, acquires the definite signification 'Greek' through identification with *grifone* in the set phrases *gent grifaigne, gent grifone*; it is this confusion which explains the form *grifoigne*.

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TWO CHAUCER CRUCES.

The Chaucer suggestions which I have to present are both upon points already surrounded with a maze of annotation; the one is the often-discussed mention of Lollius by the poet, the other the St. Loy of the Prioress' greatest oath. This latter, as permitting briefer statement, may be given first.

Skeat, in the *Oxford Chaucer* II, 13–14, makes a less definite note than usual upon St. Loy. He cites as interesting Professor Hales' interpretation of the passage to mean that the Prioress never swore at all, describes St. Eligius or Loy as the patron saint of goldsmiths, farriers, smiths, and carters, and suggests that the Prioress perhaps invoked Loy as the protector of goldsmiths, she being a little given to love of gold and corals.

A passage from Lydgate seems to throw light here. It is found in his poem on the *Virtue of the Mass;* I transcribe the stanza from MS. St. John's Coll. Oxon. 56, fol. 83b.

Heringe of masse dothe passyng gret avayll
Atte nede atte mysese folk yt doothe releue
Causethe Seynt Nycholas to yeue good cunsayll
And seynt Julian good hostell atte eue
To be holde Seynt Christofere noon enemy schall greue
And Seynt loye youre iournay schall preserue
Hors nor cariage þat day schall nat myscheue
Masse herde be forne who dothe þese sayntes serue

If, as Professor Skeat has himself remarked, Lydgate is often our best commentator on Chaucer, we may draw from this stanza enlightenment both as to the Prioress' St. Loy and the Yeoman's St. Christopher.

For the other crux I base my suggestion not upon Lydgate but upon possible manuscript-conditions. The name Lollius is mentioned by Chaucer in three connections. In the *House of Fame*, line 1468, he appears as a writer upon the Trojan War. In *Troilus and Cressida*, v, 1653, he is cited as the original from which Chaucer is working; this passage and the poem as a whole are clearly translated from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. Again, in Book I, stanza 57 of the *Troilus*, where the *Cantus Troili* is introduced, translated from one of Petrarch's *Sonnets*, the reference is to Lollius as its author. The question as to the identity of Lollius, who seems to be now a Trojan historian, now Boccaccio, and now Petrarch,[1] is further complicated by the fact that Chaucer nowhere alludes to Boccaccio, and knows Petrarch only as author of Latin prose. Any theory advanced to explain Lollius must explain how the word can cover both the historiographer and the two Italian poets, whose name and whose Italian verse, respectively, are unmentioned by Chaucer.

No suggestion has yet been made which accounts for all these sides of the case. Of the two most generally received hypotheses, one begs the question by supposing that Chaucer here made use of a deliberate mystification, and the other, arguing a misunderstanding of Horace's . . . *maxime Lolli*, succeeds only in accounting for the historiographer, not for Boccaccio or Petrarch; while Professor Bright's suggestion, noted in the *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* 19, xxii, accounts only for Boccaccio.

As Professor Lounsbury has said, (*Studies*, vol. II, 413–15) the critics who dispose of Lollius as

[1] But this is just the point. Surely Boccaccio is one of Chaucer's "Trojan historians;" no argument is necessary here. A second glance at the text should be sufficient, also, to discover that the lines introducing the *Cantus* again call him (Boccaccio) Lollius ("myn autour called Lollius"), who had brought the lover to the state of mind that would break forth in song:

"And on a song anoon-riht to beginne;"

he had, however, not supplied the song, "but only the sentence," that is, the mood, the import of the mood, in which the lover sang. Chaucer, therefore, with a fine sense for artistic fitness, introduces a song at this point. He translates a sonnet from Petrarch, and the reader is assured that the lover must have sung in just this fashion:

"I dar wel sayn in al that Troilus
Seyde in his song lo! every word riht thus
As I shal seyn."

There is a significance in the expressions "I dar wel sayn" and "As I shal seyn" that makes the whole matter plain.—J. W. B.

a mystification should offer more conclusive evidence that such a deception was practiced by Chaucer or by the men of his age. It is possible, it seems to me, to find in manuscript-conditions a solution more plausible, and which at least covers all aspects of the difficulty.

The codices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries frequently contained several or many works, often on kindred subjects, such as the volume described by Chaucer himself in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue,* but not necessarily in the same forms or the same language. Now, one Lollius (Urbicus?), of the third century, wrote a history unknown to us, but which according to Chaucer was of Troy. If we suppose that a composite volume in Chaucer's possession could contain this history of Lollius, duly marked, as (say) its first entry, and contain also, following this, the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio (a romance of Troy), as well as some of Petrarch's sonnets, all unmarked, the attribution of the entire contents by Chaucer to Lollius would be quite natural. If the student be inclined to doubt the existence of Petrarch's or Boccaccio's verse in MS. without the author's name, let him recollect that Petrarch took no pride in his youthful work in the vulgar tongue, believing that his fame would rest on his Latin odes and letters, and that Boccaccio, besides being an ardent admirer of Petrarch's work and opinions, gave the last twenty years of his life mainly to production in Latin. And as for Chaucer's reference (*Monk's Tale,* line 335) to Petrarch as the author of Boccaccio's *De Genealogiis Deorum,* it is no more unlikely that fourteenth century Italian scribes should attribute every elaborate Latin work they handled to Petrarch, the literary arbiter of his time, than that fifteenth century scribes and sixteenth century editors in England should attribute every early English poem they found to Chaucer; or that most fifteenth century poems not plainly marked should now be ascribed to Lydgate.

Even with the sanction of Bradshaw, we can no longer believe that Chaucer deliberately attempted to mystify his readers by apocryphal authorities. The Wife of Bath's citations from Ptolemy's *Almagest,* smiled at by Tyrwhitt and dismissed by Skeat, have been proved by Flügel to be genuine quotations from a text equipped with medieval preface and comment; cp. also the explanation of *Agaton* by Paget Toynbee in *Mod. Lang. Quart.* I, 5. As Lounsbury declares, we have no right to suppose that because a work is lost or unknown to us, it was a myth to Chaucer. The gradual extension of our knowledge as to his reading has thus far shown him speaking and citing each time in good faith.

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A RARE COLLECTION OF SPANISH ENTREMESES.

The book I am about to describe I found in a book-shop at Coimbra. Its rarity may be judged from the fact that Barrera had never seen a copy, nor has it been described, as far as I know, by any bibliographer. Barrera[1] mentions the title of the book on the authority of a manuscript list of plays, made by Gallardo, and he hazards the opinion that the book, *Migajas del ingenio,* may be the same collection as the *Libro de Entremeses de varios Autores,* but a comparison of the two books shows that they have not a single play in common.

This collection, in 8°, is entitled:

Migaxas del ingenio, y apacible entretenimiento, en varios entremeses, bayles, y loas, escogidos de los mejores ingenios de España. Dedicados al Curioso Lector. Con licencia. Impresso por Diego Dormer Impressor de la Ciudad, y del Hospital Real, y General de nuestra Señora de Gracia, de la Ciudad de Zaragoça. A costa de Juan Martinez de Ribera Martel, Mercader de Libros.

The book bears no date, but it was probably published about 1675, when other collections of the same sort were printed by Diego Dormer.

After the title-page comes the *aprobacion,* then an index of the twenty-two *loas, entremeses* and *bayles* contained in the volume, a notice to the *Curioso y Amigo Lector,* and 96 leaves of text. I shall give the first line of each play, to aid in its identification, and shall place an asterisk before the title of the plays that are not mentioned by Barrera.

1. Fol. 1–7: * *Loa a la festividad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario.* De Don Pedro Francisco Lanini y Sagredo.

Mus. Las Rosas, las Flores.

[1] *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español,* p. 716.

2. Fol. 7b–10 : * *Baile de la Entrada de la Comedia.* Por Don Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Arren. Yo tengo el Arrendamiento.

3. Fol. 10 b–14 b : * *Entremes de el Colegio de Gorrones.* De Don Francisco Lanini.
Mug. 1. Siendo Iubees de Compadres.

Not mentioned by Barrera among the works of Lanini. He gives the first line of this from a MS. *suelta,* without name of author. *Catálogo,* p. 625.

4. Fol. 15–18 : * *Bayle de los Mesones.* De Don Francisco Lanini.
Cant. Apos. Aposentador de Amor.

5. Fol. 18–24 : *Entremes de la Tia.* De Monteser.
Azp. Sepa vuesa merced señor Azcotia.

Mentioned by Barrera as the work of Monteser, *Catálogo,* p. 650. *La Tia* was published in *Entremeses varios, aora nuevamente recogidos de los mejores ingenios de España. En Zaragoza. Por los Herederos de Diego Dormer.*

6. Fol. 24–27b. * *Loa a la Assumpcion de N. Señora.* De D. Juan de Zavaleta.
Hom. 1. Noble Villa de Brunete.

7. Fol. 27b–29b : *Bayle de los Hilos de Flandes.* De Don Pedro Lanini.
Homb. Aunque han passado los Reyes.

Mentioned by Barrera as the work of Lanini, *Catálogo,* p. 627. It was published in *Ociosidad entretenida en varios entremeses, bailes, loas y jácaras,* Madrid, 1668.

8. Fol. 30–32 : * *Bayle de Xacara.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Cor. Que ay Catuja?

Barrera, *Catálogo,* p. 639, mentions a jácara by Matías de Castro with the title, *Pardillo,* the first line of which is the same as the first line of the above. There is a manuscript of *El Pardillo* in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, with the date 1677.

9. Fol. 32b–41 : * *Loa para la Compañia de Feliz Pasqual.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Cant. Vaya de bayle, vaya.

10. Fol. 41b–48 : *Entremes de el Degollado.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Ter. Justicia, aqui de Dios cõtra el Alcalde.

Barrera, *Catálogo,* p. 617, attributes this entremes to Lope de Vega, with an interrogation mark. It was published in *Fiestas del Santissimo Sacramento, repartidas en doce Autos Sacramentales, con sus Loas y Entremeses. Zaragoza, 1644.* In this collection, it is attributed to Lope de Vega. As Lanini's literary activity probably did not date earlier than 1666, if these two versions agree, then the entremes in the *Migajas del ingenio* was written by Lope, and not by Lanini. *El Degollado* was also published in *Entremeses varios, aora nuevamente recogidos de los mejores ingenios de España. En Zaragoza. Por los Herederos de Diego Dormer.* See Barrera, *Catálogo,* p. 718.

11. Fol. 48–51 : * *Bayle del Herrador.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Cant. Her. Herrador soy del amor.

12. Fol. 51b–59b : * *Loa para la Compañia de Vallejo.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Vallejo. Dexame Carlos.

13. Fol. 59b–64 : * *Entremes del Dia de san Blas en Madrid.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Mug. 1. Brauo dia de san Blas.

14. Fol. 64–66b : * *Bayle de los Metales.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Cont. Yo soy contraste de amor.

15. Fol. 67–72b : * *Loa general para qualquiera fiesta de Comedia.* Name of author not given.
1. Calla, que duerme.

This loa was used to introduce Calderon's *La Vida es Sueño.* We read on fol. 72,

> *Pint.* Con una comedia oy
> os queremos festejar
> de Don Pedro Calderon
> la vida es sueño será.

16. Fol. 72b–76b : * *Entremes de la Tataratera.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Hombr. 1. Ha monote, viue Dios.

17. Fol. 77–79 : * *Bayle cantado de los Reloxes.* De D. Pedro Francisco Lanini.
Cant. Juez. A tomar la residencia.

18. Fol. 79b–83 : * *Entremes famoso de los Escuderos y el Lacayo.* De Benavente.
Ag. Quedese la cena, y cama.

Not mentioned by Barrera, nor is it included in the works of Luis Quiñones de Benavente, published in two volumes, in the collection of *Libros de Antaño,* Madrid, 1872-1874.

19. Fol. 83–85b: *Bayle de la Plaza.* De Lanini.

Cant. Plaç. La plaça soy de Madrid.

This is the same as *El Bayle de la Plaza de Madrid*, of Lanini, published in the *Ramillete de Saynetes escogidos de los mejores ingenios de España. Ympresso en Zaragoza, por Diego Dormer. Año de 1672.* See Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 716.

20. Fol. 85b–91: * *Entremes de las quentas del descngaño.* De Benavente.

Desd. Que esté v. m. señor cuidado.

Not mentioned by Barrera, nor is it included in the works of Luis Quiñones de Benavente, published in the collection of *Libros de antaño.*

21. Fol. 91b–93b: * *Bayle del Cazador.* De Lanini.

Cant. Seb. A caçar paxaros salgo.

22. Fol. 93b–96b: * *Bayle de la Pelota.* De Lanini.

Juez. A jugar a la pelota.

This *bayle* is probably the same as *Pelota*, mentioned by Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 640, as the work of Jacinto Alonso Maluenda. It is found in Vol. I of *Bailes manuscritos* in the library of Sr Fernandez-Guerra.

It will be seen that this collection contains the following works which are not published elsewhere: of Lanini, 3 *loas*, 3 *entremeses*, 8 *bayles*; of Benavente, 2 *entremeses*; of Zabaleta, a *loa*; and a *loa* of unknown authorship. Of these *bayles* ascribed to Lanini, perhaps one is the work of Matías de Castro, and another of Maluenda. It is true that the literary value of many of these pieces is not very great, but they often give us a good idea of the life and manners of the lower elements of Spanish society in the latter part of the seventeenth century. They are of philological value, too, for we find many words used in the *entremeses* and *bayles* which never found their way into the more serious forms of literature. At all events, a description of this collection serves to fill a gap in Barrera's bibliography of Spanish dramatic literature.

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THE DATE OF *AI* IN *CONNAÎTRE* AND *PARAÎTRE.*

The year 1675 is the date now given for the change from the earlier writing *oi* to the modern *ai* of *connaître* and *paraître.* It was in that year that Bérain, an advocate of Rouen, proposed such a change for the class of words in which the sound written *oi* had the pronunciation of ę, a class to which belonged the imperfect and conditional verbal endings, many adjectives of nationality, and a number of other words, including the two verbs in question. Bérain's proposal has been quoted by Rossmann [1] as the date of the introduction of the modern spelling for all the words involved. No one has attempted to show that a distinction is to be made between the various members of the class, and that in *connaître* and *paraître*, at least, the *ai*-writing was freely employed a half century before Bérain proposed it.

Thurot, it is true,[2] cites Duval (1604) as writing *paraistre* by the side of *parestre*, though employing *oi* in the finite forms of this verb. But Thurot is interested in the pronunciation only and indicates no further occurrence of such writing at this time. Unless other examples can be cited, the form must therefore be considered purely sporadic.

Of greater importance is a note by Paul Lacroix, better known as le Bibliophile Jacob,[3] in which he quotes from *Les Advantures Amoureuses d'Omphalle*,[4] by Grandchamp, "fait *paraistre* de les *connaistre* moins." The quotation is from the preface of this *tragi-comédie.* Jacob's comment is: "on est surpris en effet, de trouver chez lui l'orthographe de Voltaire, c'est-à-dire l'*a* remplaçant *o*, dans les infinitifs paraître, connaître, et cétéra."

Apparently Jacob knew nothing of Bérain and considered the *ai*-writing sporadic before Voltaire, for he makes no further reference to its occurrence. Had he looked further, however, into not only this play, but others of the same period, he would have found the *ai* established as a frequent, if not preponderant writing alongside the older *oi*-form.

[1] *Romanische Forschungen*, 1883, page 173.

[2] *Prononciation française*, Vol. I, p. 389.

[3] *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleinne*, Vol. I, p. 226.

[4] Paris, 1630, in 8°.

As a proof of this, ninety-four examples can be cited from thirteen plays, written between 1630 and 1639, which show the *ai* spelling used in various forms of the verbs *connaître, paraître* and their compounds. It occurs most largely in the infinitive, but also in the present and future indicative, the present subjunctive, and the present participle. The cases are sufficiently numerous to establish the fact that the *ai* existed as a good variant writing for the *oi* in these two verbs as early as 1630. The following examples are illustrative :

> Fait *paraistre* son lustre avec plus d'avantage.
> *Les Advantures Amoureuses d'Omphalle,* Act I, Scene 1.
> Que s'il ne *paraist* pas et que je sois trompée, *id.*, III, 2.
> Vous *connaistrés* trop tard, *id.*, II, 2.
> Tu *connais* mal, *id.*, IV, 1.

Examples of the infinitive occur in Pierre Du Ryer's *Argênis et Poliarque.*[5] *Cognaistre* II, 2 and IV, 2 ; *recognaistre* IV, 4 and V, 2 ; *paraistre* I, 3 and IV, 4.

The same is true of his *Argênis,* which serves as the *seconde journée* of the last-named play and was published at Paris in the following year. Twelve cases of the *ai*-spelling are to be found in I, 2 ; II, 3 ; III, 1 and 6 ; V, 3 and 4, etc.

In a third play by Du Ryer, *Lisandre et Caliste*[6] four examples of *paraistre,* four of *cognaistre,* and one of *recognaistre* occur in I, 1 and 2, etc.

Recognaistre occurs again in I, 3, of Du Ryer's *Alcimedon.*[7]

Du Ryer's work in general does not show the use of *ai* in the finite forms of these verbs, but in the infinitive it is common, especially in his plays published from 1630 to 1632, where there are thirty cases of *ai*-spelling to eight of *oi.* But the *ai* occurs in other authors of the period : Auvray writes in his *Madonte,*[8] I, 3 :

> Le conchant la flétrit, et la fait *disparaître.*

Georges de Scudéry in his *Ligdamon et Lidias*[9] uses the *ai* for the infinitive and future indicative of *connaistre* ; as, in,

> De grace, Ligdamon, faites le moy *Connaistre,*

I, 1 ; *tu connaistras,* II, 2. *Reconnaistre* occurs three times in this play. *Paraistre* is found in the same author's *Trompeur puny* IV, 4.[10]

A number of examples can be cited from Pichou's *Folies de Cardenio*[11] :

> Vous *reconnaissez* les soins respectueux, I, 2.
> C'est ainsi que *parais*t une amitié fidelle, I, 3.

Paraissez is found in III, 1 ; *connaissez* in II, 3 and III, 5. *Paraistre* occurs four times.

In 1634 two plays appeared that give the *ai*-spelling : *La Clenide,* by La Barre, shows *connaistre* I, 3, IV, 5, and V, 3 ; *reconnais* in IV, 4 ; *connaist* IV, 2 ; *paraist* II, 2 and IV, 1 ; *paraisse* in II, 1 and III, 2. *Luciane ou La Credulité blasmable,* by de Bénésin, gives five cases of *paraistre* in III, 4 ; IV, 1 ; V, 2, 4 and last scene : and two of *paraissant* in IV, 3 and V, last scene.

Eleven examples of the *ai* are found in Du Rocher's *Indienne Amoureuse*[12] : *je connais* V. 4 ; *tu connais* II, 2 and V, 5 ; *vous connaissez,* twice in II, 5 ; *tu connaistras* V, 5 ; *vous connaistrez* V, 2 ; *connaistre* III, 5, IV, 3, V, 4 ; *reconnaistre* V, 5.

Finally, in Beys' *Ospital des Fous,*[13] a stage direction to II, 1, reads "Aronte paraist poursuivy de quelques soldats." *Paraistre* occurs in III, 1 and IV, 7. In the latter case it rimes with *connaistre.*

These examples are sufficient to show that the *ai*-writing had now come into good use. It remains only to explain why it is found in *connaître* and *paraître* fifty-five years before its general usage in such other forms as the imperfect and conditional endings, or in national adjectives. The reason is not far to seek, when it is remembered that the force of analogy is particularly strong in verbs and that we have at this time five *-stre* verbs, *naître, paître, connaître, paraître, croître,* of which the last had frequently, the others always, the pronunciation ę, while two showed etymologically the *ai*-spelling, which was now used to represent the ę-sound only. The *oi,* on the other hand, had become ambiguous, since in a very large number of cases, it was pronounced *u̯a,* as it is to-day. What was more reasonable than that the *ai*-writing, already employed in two of the five verbs, should be extended to the others, thus making uniform the spelling of the *-stre-*

[5] Paris, 1630, in 8°. [6] Paris, 1632, in 8°.
[7] Paris, 1636, in 8°. [8] Paris, 1631, in 8°.
[9] Paris, 1631, in 8°.
[10] Paris, 1635, in 8°. [11] Paris, 1633, in 8°.
[12] Paris, 1635, in 8°. [13] Paris, 1639, in 8°.

verbs and avoiding the ambiguity involved in the use of the *oi*? So we find the *ai* used as shown above in *connaître* and *paraître*, and even in *craistre* of *Les Advantures Amoureuses d' Omphalle* II, 2. A similar working of analogy is attested by forms of *croire* that are written with an *ai* in the same play; as, I, 2; IV, 2 and 3; V, last scene. This view is, moreover, supported by the fact that Du Ryer in his *Argénis et Poliarque*, one of the two earliest plays quoted above, uses the *ai*-spelling (except in the case of *paraistre* IV, 4) only when *paraistre, cognaistre*, or *recognaistre* are brought by the rime into close relation with *naistre* or *renaistre*. When not so used, they are written *oi* as in I, 3, IV, 2, II, 3, even when the infinitives rime with each other as do *paroistre* and *cognoistre* in IV, 1. This phenomenon is not observed in later plays, but its occurrence in this early work goes to confirm the explanation given of the analogical influence of *naître, paître*, and their compounds, on the early *ai*-writing in other verbs.

The following conclusions are accordingly reached:

That the change by which the present *ai*-writing replaced the previous *oi*-writing did not occur in all words at the same time; that the verbs *paraître* and *connaître* show the later writing as early as 1630; and that the change at this time is probably due to analogy to *naître, paître* and their compounds.

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FERDINAND BRUNETIÈRE (1849–1906).

After Gaston Paris, Ferdinand Brunetière.

The first devoted to minute research work, only occasionally rising to synthetic views, never too affirmative and always anxious to leave the door open to other explanations and interpretations; the second combative and dogmatic, and always desirous to subordinate mere erudition to thought and action.

It is the pride of a country to produce men of such different types, both the honor of contemporary criticism and scholarship.

Brunetière was born in the south of France, in the middle of the nineteenth century. He came to Paris for his studies, which were for a while interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war. He had no means, and no useful acquaintances of any sort. When he was received in the French Academy, the new colleague who introduced him, recalled in his speech how, with a great desire to see and to learn but without money to go to the theater the young student enrolled himself several times in the "claque." He fought his way to the top in a remarkably short time. At the age of twenty-five he entered the *Revue Bleue*, at twenty-six the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and after Buloz he was made Directeur-gérant.

His bitterest experience in life he had at the end of his brilliant career, when he was refused the Chaire de littérature française, at the Collège de France, and when his name was ignored at the time of the reorganization of the École Normale Supérieure, where he had formerly been a professor. Finally, about two years ago, he had the great misfortune to lose his voice, and thus was deprived of the kind of activity which he enjoyed most of all, lecturing. His friends have already told us of the stoicism with which he bore these trials.

He worked until the end. On the day before his death he was still reading a manuscript for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Brunetière combined admirably the two chief requirements of the modern scholar. His information on all subjects, and in French literature in particular, was immense. But he never allowed himself to be absorbed by his erudition. It was not enough for him to know; he dominated his subjects and passed judgment over ideas and men. Possessed with a dialectic power which at times reminded one of Pascal himself, he was too superior a man to be satisfied with the ideal of so many of our contemporaries, knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

He was one of the most active minds of our generation. He never allowed an occasion to pass without breaking a lance for his convictions and his ideals. No one has taken up and treated with more vigor the principal problems of our epoch, and by his straightforwardness and his eloquence raised so many passionate discussions.

As it has well been said, one might make up a whole library with works of the polemics inspired by him. How little he was a dreamer, although he indulged in philosophical speculation, is well seen in the characteristic and courageous way in which he solved the question of his *credo* after he had been openly converted to catholicism. Theology and metaphysics were not in his line of thought ; therefore he said : "Ce que je crois, allez le demander à Rome."

It must be admitted that, while all admired his forceful argumentation, few followed him. The contention has been made frequently that there was a contradiction between the two chief principles of his philosophy, namely, evolutionism and traditionalism. This objection has no foundation. Evolution does not always mean progress. A nation may continue to "evolve" even after it has reached the climax of its strength and influence. Then, it may go backward, or it may maintain itself on the same level by remaining true to the traditions that made its greatness. According to Brunetière, France, in the classical period of its literary, artistic and political prestige, had developed, under favorable circumstances, the genius, the originality of the race. Since then, other ideals have been proposed to the civilized world, and France has tried to imitate others, while it would have been more advantageous and glorious to follow its own traditions. France was pervaded with the English spirit in the eighteenth century, with the German spirit during and after the Revolution, by the Scandinavian and the Russian spirits later, and by an altogether cosmopolitan spirit in our own days. In all these attempts at adaptation France has lost its individuality. By cultivating this individuality, it would conquer its former prestige among nations.

In this belief Brunetière was probably wrong. Modern nations seem to have directed their aspirations towards ideals very different from those of France at the time of Louis XIV and Bossuet ; they would bow before another sort of prestige than that proposed by Brunetière.

But was Brunetière wrong also when he considered that the modern ideal was not higher, although it came after the other ? This is a different question. Many would agree that the civilization of Greece, from an intellectual standpoint, was superior to that of the Romans ; and even if later the Roman ideal prevailed over the Greek, we need not change on that account, our ideas as to the comparative value of the two.

Brunetière's mistake seems to have been, after all, that he held up to his countrymen and his contemporaries, an ideal too high to be compatible with the new trend of civilization.

May many of us be found guilty of the same mistake !

Albert Schinz.

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Deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten. Texte und Melodieen, nebst erklärenden und biographischen Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Germanistischen Gesellschaft der Staats-Universität von Wisconsin. Boston : D. C. Heath & Co., 1906. 8vo. vi and 157 pp.

The educational value of songs for linguistic purposes has not been fully appreciated. Songs are more easily memorized than poems without musical setting and the phrases of the song cling more persistently to the memory. Accordingly it was a wise plan of Professor Hohlfeld and his associates to prepare a collection of popular German songs for use in high school and college classes. The selection of ninety-five pieces was based in part on the consensus of a large number of teachers. While it is inevitable that one who is fond of German songs should miss some especial favorites, it is safe to say that no one will object to any of the pieces that have been included.

In the many popular collections current in Germany drinking songs occupy a larger space than average American taste would approve and the proportion and nature of the love songs is not always suited to the character of co-educational institutions. Although on this ground some otherwise charming songs, such as "'s giebt kein schöner Leben als Studentenleben," are omitted, the delicate task of the editors has been judiciously performed. By a hasty classification there are 22 love songs, 11 songs of farewell, 14 patriotic songs, national or local, 11 songs of various moods, 14 student and drinking songs, 6 religious, 7 wanderers', 4 soldiers', 2 hunters', 4 comic

songs. Twenty-two songs are arranged for solo singing, while the rest are composed for mixed quartette. If any unfavorable criticism is to be passed on the book, it is in connection with the 'key' in which some of the songs are pitched. Whether composed for one voice or four, it is to be borne in mind that the mass of singers will carry the melody in unison. Accordingly songs for use in general congregational singing should be so pitched as never to carry the melody to high G, not even to a sustained F. A few, but only a few, of the pieces in this collection will be less available for not having observed this limitation, unless the school using it has some strong high voices.

The book will be a decided boon to German teachers and students all over this country and will surely contribute materially to spread the knowledge of the beautiful German songs and thus vitalize and inspire the work of instruction. It is offered at a moderate price, though well printed and worthily bound. Those who avail themselves of the excellent collection will have the additional satisfaction of knowing that they are contributing to the cause of Germanistic education in Wisconsin through the Germanistische Gesellschaft of the State University, to which the royalties for the book are dedicated.

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Deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten. Texte und Melodieen nebst erklärenden und biographischen Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Germanistischen Gesellschaft der Staats-Universität von Wisconsin. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1906. 8vo., vi and 157 pp.

Whenever I spend an evening in one of the attractive fraternity houses here, and see the fine piano piled high with pieces of sheet music the gaudy colors of which fairly pain the sensitive eye; when I hear the boys sing for hours at a time such inspiring sentiments as: "If the man in the moon were a coon, coon, coon;" "On yo' way, babe, on yo' way, chase yo'self down by the bay;" "And their eyes went goo, goo, goo," and others quite as uplifting and inspiring as these, set to music fully as inane as the words, my mind goes back to student days in Leipsic and to the student and folk songs which we sang. What a variety of themes they touched, from the pathos of the rustic lovers' farewell to the roaring, triumphant song in praise of the victorious Fatherland; from the stately choral with its religious sentiment to the most rollicking, boisterous drinking song. Some were extremely nonsensical, far more so than our American favorites, but it was a witty nonsense, a "*genialer Blödsinn*" and the mind was not lulled into dull inanity thereby.

A "rag-time coon song" might be a pleasing bit of variation in an evening devoted to music. Our students, however, seem to have nothing else; they waste their time with these shallow productions, all of which are alike, and not one in one hundred of which possesses any originality, any real sentiment, any virility, or the slightest grain of "*genialer Blödsinn.*" It seems almost as if our youth had no "*echte Jugendpoesie,*" no appreciation of "*echter gefühlvoller Jugendgesang.*" This, however, I do not believe to be true. If our students could hear good songs and hear them often enough, they would learn to appreciate them, and would avoid the present worthless stuff which steals away so much of their time. Even if there is no great inherent impulse towards virile and genuinely pathetic sentiments, set to worthy melodies, a feeling can and must be developed from without. If our students can hear and sing good foreign songs and learn to appreciate them, one of the most important steps in the achievement of a real culture will have been taken. The actual production of original, genuinely American songs of sterling worth will follow then in due time as a matter of course.

No other foreign nation has so many splendid songs especially adapted to our college youth as Germany, and those who aid in making our students familiar with these German songs, with this vitally important element of true culture, are deserving of the heartiest thanks. An important contribution in this field is the *Deutsches Liederbuch,* complied by the "Germanistische Gesellschaft" of the University of Wisconsin, and published by D. C. Heath and Co.

It was not an easy task which the committee imposed upon itself in undertaking to select from the hundreds of German songs those most characteristic of the different phases of German life and at the same time most worthy of assimilation into our own; but it has nevertheless succeeded in producing a book admirably adapted to the needs of American students. The selection of songs is most excellent. Those who have partaken of German student life will doubtless miss one or two old favorites, but of the eight hundred odd Kommerslieder in Schauenburg, only a limited number could be considered in a collection of a hundred songs which contains, as it properly should, not only student and folk songs, but also other well known songs of a different character, such as Luther's "Ein' feste Burg" or the Christmas songs: "O du Selige" and "Stille Nacht." In order to give at least an insight into all phases of German music, the committee has also introduced a number of selections intended for solo performance. Here there is a greater opportunity for difference in taste, and the choice has been perhaps less felicitous than in the student and folk songs. One may doubt, for example, whether so much space should have been given to the somewhat hackneyed "Das ist im Leben hässlich eingerichtet." In general, however, the committee has been extremely successful in carrying out its purpose to provide a book which should be at the same time a *Kommersbuch* and *Volksliederbuch*, and which should portray all the varying emotions of the German people as expressed in song.

It is to be regretted that the committee has changed the key of the melodies in so many cases and has pitched so many of the most popular ones so high. A group of young people, such as constitutes the membership of the German clubs, where this book will be most frequently used, has difficulty in reaching F, not to mention F sharp, and when it is confronted with G, the result is usually disastrous. This is especially true in clubs composed entirely of men. Nor can one expect to find often among the students a pianist who is skillful enough to transpose the music to the proper key. Of the songs intended for general participation, thirteen contain this high G. Here are included such favorites as "Die Lorelei," "Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rat," "Wir hatten gebauet," "Das zerbrochene Ringlein," "Der Mai ist gekommen" and "Ergo bibamus." In each of these cases, Erk's *Lieder-Schatz* (Edition Peters) and Friedlaender's *100 Commerslieder* (Edition Peters) give a decidedly lower setting to the same melodies. It is to be hoped that in a new edition this serious defect may be remedied by setting the melodies in a lower key. In some cases the change of key and the new harmonization has given quite a different character to the song, cf. the setting of "Der König in Thule" (p. 51). Besides being set higher, "Der Wirtin Töchterlein" is given with Silcher's melody for the even stanzas and with a slight change in the original melody. This is also unfortunate, for such extremely well known songs should be set as they are usually sung in Germany; the representative and not the unusual form is the one which should be given.

A compact register of poets and composers adds value to the book by giving short chronological and biographical details. Moreover, the most important songs are provided with short explanatory notes, describing their origin and the customs attending their use.

In external appearance also, the book is very pleasing. While not too clumsy to be easily employed as a text for class-room use, it is still of sufficient size to permit the use of large clear type in words and music so that it will be fully as satisfactory at the piano as standard sheet-music.

Besides its worth as a song book for social gatherings and the home, the *Liederbuch* is, as the compilers state in the preface, admirably adapted for class-room work as an introduction to German lyric poetry.

On the whole the committee is to be congratulated, upon the successful outcome of its labor of love, and it is to be hoped that the book will find its way into all our schools and colleges, and that its use will create a feeling among the youth of our land for that which is good in music and verse, and for the best types of popular song.

PAUL R. POPE.

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The Romances of Chivalry in Italian Verse. Selections. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by J. D. M. Ford, Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University, and Mary H. Ford, Instructor in the High School, Danbury, Conn. Henry Holt & Co. New York, 1906. Pp. xxxvii + 657. 8vo.

In the brief Preface to this serious and adequate presentation of a most important as well as brilliant literary genre, the editors modestly hope that the work may be the means of prompting students "to acquaint themselves more fully with the works of the poets to whom they are here introduced." Inasmuch as almost no work of the kind exists at all for English-speaking students, certainly none that either in quality or quantity is comparable with the present volume, it is hardly venturing too much to look forward with some degree of confidence to the fulfilment of the hope of the editors. Moreover, two important objects have constantly been kept in view: first, that of providing the best possible reading matter of the kind for students in schools and colleges; and second, and of still greater importance, that of furnishing material for the student to follow up and investigate for himself one of the very interesting and unique movements in literature.

All this is certainly well worth doing, judging by what has been done during the past twenty-five years on the particular subject itself which forms the basis of the romances of chivalry. Since Francisque Michel published in 1837 his first edition of the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*, at least eight different texts of the entire poem, edited by French and German scholars, have appeared. Since E. J. Delécluze issued in 1845 the first modern French translation of the poem, eighteen French versions in prose and verse, some of the entire poem, others more or less complete, have been printed. Of the Old-French *Chanson de Roland* itself, the corner-stone of the wonderful later literary inventions, Theodor Müller published in 1878 what may be considered a standard edition (the third) of the celebrated Oxford MS. known as Digby 23. This is said with due deference to the scholarly edition of Edmund Stengel, the first volume of which appeared in 1900. Léon Gautier in his *Bibliographie des chansons de geste* (Paris, 1897) gives 313 numbered titles to the Roland material. Yet these do not comprise all, by any means, for the student is referred to Seelmann's *Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Rolandsliedes* (Heilbronn, 1888), which down to 1887 is practically as complete as human effort can make a work of the kind.

The object of the luminous Introduction to the *Romances of Chivalry* is to trace the development of the Roland material from the early French sources just touched upon down through to the times of the poets of whose works the extracts are given. In supplying this data, the very best sources of information have been drawn upon, namely: Gaston Paris, P. Rajna, A. Gaspary, G. Carducci, and the writers who treat this subject in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie.* Consequently the information is of the most reliable kind.

The poems from which extracts are given are seven in number following each other in chronological order. First come selections from the anonymous poem *Orlando*, discovered by Rajna in a manuscript of the Laurentian Library in 1866. The poem comprises some sixty cantos and was probably first put into verse about 1384, or at any rate, not much later. Nineteen stanzas are given, just enough to give an idea of the antiquity of the poem in style and language as compared with the extracts from the poems which follow. Second, comes: *Il libro volgar intitulato la Spagna* (Venice edition of 1557), one of the most important of the many poems produced towards the end of the fourteenth century. Its authorship is usually attributed to Sostegno di Zanobi, but, as the editors point out, that assumption is extremely dubious. About thirty-one stanzas are given. The idea in giving specimens from these two old poems, which, compared to those that follow are comparatively unknown, is to show their importance in the later development of the romances of chivalry in Italy. Third, Pulci's *Morgante* (G. Volpe edition, Florence, 1900, following the edition of 1489). About two hundred and fifty stanzas have been selected from among twenty-eight cantos, giving quite an idea of the nature of the poem as a whole. Fourth, Bojardo's *Orlando innamorato* (Sonzogno edition, compared with that of A. Panizzi, London, 1830-31), selections from various cantos of parts one and two of the poem, comprising in all

about one hundred and sixty-eight stanzas. Fifth, Bojardo's *Orlando innamorato,* rifatto da Francesco Berni (cf. the Milan 1867 edition), which follows appropriately its predecessor. About forty-eight stanzas are given, enough to enable one to contrast Berni's effort with that of Bojardo, whose poem, it is Gaspary's opinion, "Berni diluted." Sixth, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (editions of P. Papini, Florence, 1903, H. Romizi, Milan, 1901, G. Casella, Florence, 1877) followed by : Seventh, Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (cf. Sansoni edition, Florence, 1890). Because of their importance, there can be hardly any question in regard to the propriety of giving the greater part of the space comprised in this volume of nearly seven hundred pages to these two authors. The question is likely to arise to which to assign the more space. The editors have allotted 224 pages to Ariosto, about 896 stanzas ; to Tasso, 147 pages, or about 588 stanzas. In the writer's opinion, the editors have made no mistake in allotting for American students the larger share to Ariosto. His spontaneity, fecundity of invention, and easy style make him a favorite in the class-room. Be the excellence of the *Gerusalemme liberata* what it may, it is, indeed, very great, its artificiality compared with the naturalness of Ariosto's poem produces a no uncertain effect in forming the opinion of the average student as to which of the two poems is the more readable.

The Notes which follow these well-chosen selections from the Italian poets comprise 121 pages. Besides elucidating the difficulties met with in translating, they have the particular merit of emphasizing the human side of the poems by bringing out what most has interested scholars with regard to them. Allusions to Scripture, to Classical and modern authors abound and enable the student to carry out successfully the purpose announced by the editors in the Preface.

Last of all, in this very considerable work of intrinsic merit throughout, comes a well-arranged and quite adequate Bibliography of general works and of special works covering all of the poems of which selections are given. More than one hundred works are mentioned, in itself a valuable contribution to the entire subject.

In giving simply a notice of a volume that of necessity must have taken a great amount of time and labor to compile, the most noticeable factor of all should not be allowed to remain uncommented, that is the amount of self-sacrifice and devotion to the subject that has made such a book—the only one of its kind now before the school public—a reality. Recent statistics show that there are only about eight colleges in the United States and Canada where there are more than fifteen students beginning Italian. The total number of students pursuing the subject amounts to but a little more than 600. There is no data at hand regarding the number of students pursuing Italian in second or third year courses. The above facts, however, indicate clearly how few such students are. Consequently, all the more disinterested and admirable in every way must be the enterprise of both editors and publisher that have made possible the appearance of so valuable a work.

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Selections from Standard French Authors. By O. G. Guerlac. Boston, Ginn & Company.

The idea of this book is a good one. Where a French class in college can devote only a short time to the language, to give them some extracts from the great writers cannot but be useful. In the present instance, however, the idea has not been well carried out, as I think the following will show.

In the first place, the selection of authors seems capricious. It is hard to see why, in making selections from a limited number of "standard" French authors, we should include such names as Brueys and Palaprat (of whom the editor bimself says that they are almost forgotten), Boursault, Rivarol, and Vauvenargues, and omit such names as About, Dumas, Lamartine, de Musset, and Sand, not to speak of Corneille and Racine.

In the second place, the selections are not representative. From Bernardin de Saint-Pierre we have a little anecdote of nineteen lines containing nothing that is characteristic of Saint-Pierre. Molière is represented by an extract from *Don Juan,* one of his less important plays and the extract is, moreover, so short as to be almost unintelligible, breaking off as it does in the middle of a scene.

Some of the details, too, need revision. For example :

6. 4. *en trousse* cannot mean "in the saddle-bag," but "in a bundle."

52. 19. *Sergent* is not "sergeant." The modern word here would be *huissier*, which may be rendered "constable."

56. 18. *habit* does not mean "coat," but "suit," as the context clearly shows.

60. 15. *chantre* is defined as "chanter," a word that does not mean anything here. It should be "clerk" or "precentor." In the next line *habit-veste* is explained as being "a garment, half coat, half jacket," which is rather confusing; "jacket" or "waist-coat," would have been the proper definition and it should have been in the vocabulary, not in the notes. Note 6 on this page also is worse than useless. "Il écouta de toutes ses oreilles" might well be translated literally, but to say "he listened with intentness" is scarcely English.

70. 4. *passa condamnation* does not mean "he didn't press his point," but "he confessed judgment," "he acknowledged his error."

77. 9. *Chaise roulante* is not a "rolling chair," but a kind of coach, as the context shows.

88. 5. *bâbord* is defined by "larboard" in spite of the fact that this is an obsolete word, sailors always using "port" instead.

89. 5. The note on "Sheerness" should have been on page 87, where the word first occurs.

89. 31. *passerelle* is not "gangway," but "bridge."

95. 1. According to this book "un petit vin" must mean "a little wine," which is altogether wrong. At line 15 on the same page, *tiède* does not mean "cool," but "warm."

98. 23. *Lunéville* is said to be "a little town," although it has nearly twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

102. 12. *ne plaignant pas ma peine* is said to mean "not regretting my work." It really means "not sparing my work," "working very hard."

113. 24. *ès* in "bachelier ès lettres" should have been explained.

129. 2. *aller sur les brisées* is defined as "to follow in the footsteps," whereas it really means "to enter into competition with," "to poach on another's preserves."

143. 2. *Boursault* is spoken of as the author of the "Mercure galant and two or three other comedies," as though the "Mercure galant" was the name of a comedy.

148. 7. *un conte à dormir debout* is said to be "a tale to send one to sleep," which makes no sense here. According to Littré, this means "a nonsensical or absurd story," and the whole line, as shown by the context, means "to impose on."

149. 4. *Argent comptant*, according to the vocabulary, must mean "counting money," which is nonsense here.

O. B. Super.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Henryson, *Testament of Cresseid* 8–14.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes:

Sirs:—Skeat reads (Chaucer, *Works* 7. 326):

> Yit nevertheles, within myn orature
> I stude, quhen Tytan had his bemis bricht
> Withdrawin doun and sylit under cure;
> And fair Venus, the bewty of the nicht,
> Uprais, and set unto the west full richt
> Hir goldin face, in oppositioun
> Of god Phebus direct discending doun.

This is one of those astonishing astronomical situations to which novelists sometimes treat us. It is well known that the elongation of Venus is never more than 47°; yet here we have Venus rising as the sun has just set. Skeat seems to be innocent of wonder at this phenomenon, for he comments on line 12: '*unto*, i. e. over against. The planet Venus, rising in the east, set her face over against the west, where the sun had set.'

Albert S. Cook.

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Cynewulf's *Christ*, ll. 173b–176a.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—These lines contain two sentences the meaning and significance of which have caused much discussion, but which may be made clear by a slight textual emendation and redistribution of parts in the dialogue. I follow Thorpe and Cook in their assignment of parts, save that ll. 173b–175a, I would assign to Mary, changing *mīnre* to *ðīnre*. This passage is manifestly inappropriate as coming from Joseph, whose whole

spirit throughout this passage is one of despair. Even Whitman's translation : "God alone can easily heal the sorrow of my heart" (in which he supplies the *alone*), helps but little. On the other hand, it would be a most natural remark for the holy Mary to interrupt her husband with. Moreover by assigning it to Mary the difficulty about "Ēalā fǣmne geong" (l. 175b) is removed. Commentators have always objected to this exclamation at the close of the speech. Under the suggested arrangement it becomes merely an exclamation of despair, mingled perhaps with reproach to his supposedly erring wife, for calling on God, whose laws she has broken. She, not understanding what this sorrow, which God cannot comfort, may be, proceeds : "Why mournest thou?" etc.

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"THE WIDDOWES DAUGHTER OF THE GLENNE."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In the *Shepheards Calender*, 'April' (l. 26), Hobbinol is made to describe "fayre Rosalind" as "the Widdowes daughter of the glenne." "E. K." glosses the word "glenne" as meaning "a country Hamlet or borough"; and proceeds to say that the description of Rosalind's station in life is purely poetical, that really "shee is a Gentlewoman of no meane house," and deserves to be "commended" no less than, among others, "Lauretta, the divine Petrarches Goddesse."

According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, the word "glenne" is here used for the first known time in English literature, although previously current in Scotch and Irish. It occurs later in the *Faerie Queene* (III, vii, 6) as "glen," and in the *View of the Present State of Ireland* (Globe ed., p. 615, col. 1) as "glinne," in both places having the right meaning of "a wild valley." In 1579, "E. K." certainly misunderstood the new word : did Spenser himself, who apparently imported it, also misunderstand it?

There are reasons for believing that Spenser had a share in the literary apparatus of the *Calender*,[1] even if we do not go the length of identifying "E. K." with Spenser himself. Now if, as seems altogether likely, Spenser was celebrating merely "poetically," under the amorous conventions of the time and the genre, "a Gentlewoman of no meane house," he might well gloss—or have "E. K." gloss—a line that appeared to proclaim her seeming-opposite estate,—incidentally also taking the opportunity to pay her further pretty compliments.

Moreover, there appears to be a precise precedent for Spenser's "daughter of the glenne,"—in the sense of "country hamlet or borough,—as an appropriate fiction to "coloure and concele" his high-born 'poetical' mistress. In Sonnet IV, *in vita di M. Laura*, the "divine Petrarch" himself so describes his "Goddesse":

> Ed or di picciol borgo un Sol n'ha dato
> Tal, che Natura e'l luogo si ringrazia
> Onde sì bella donna al mondo nacque.

Whether by coincidence or not, "E. K.'s" "borough" exactly renders Petrarch's "borgo." In so far, the identification of Rosalind with a "hamlet or borough," agrees with Spenser's statement in 'January' (ll. 49–52) :

> A thousand sithes I curse that carefull hower
> Wherein I longd the neighbour *towne* to see,
> And eke tenne thousand sithes I blesse the stoure
> Wherein I sawe so fayre a sight as shee. . . .

This sentiment itself, stereotyped by many imitators, harks back ultimately again to Petrarch's Sonnet XXXIX, *in vita di M. L.*,—"Benedetto sia'l giorno e'l mese e l'anno."

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[1] Cf. my article "*Spenser and 'E. K.'*", in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XV, p. 332 (June, 1900).

AN ARCHAISM IN *The Ancient Mariner.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—It used to be supposed that Coleridge, in using *uprist* as a preterite (*Anc. Mar.* 98), was guilty of a blunder in word-coinage. This view was expressed by C. P. Mason in *The Athenæum* for June 30, 1883. As Mr. Hutchinson has indicated, however (in his edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, etc., London, 1898, pp. 213, 214), Coleridge was indebted for this and several other archaic words to Chaucer, who uses both the noun *uprist* (once, *C. T.* A 1051 ; the metrical stress falls on *-riste*) and the verb (3d

sing. pres., contracted from *upriseth*). The question still remains, was Coleridge wrong in using *uprist* as a *preterite*, and what led him to do this?

Chaucer uses the verb form *uprist* at least five times. In *L. G. W.* 1188, *C. T.* A 3688, *Compl. of Mars* 4, *T. and C.* iv. 1443, it occurs with a context of present tenses and is unmistakably present; cp. also *rist up*, *C. T.* B 864, *L. G. W.* 2680, 2687. But in the fifth instance (*C. T.* A 4249), it is found with a context of past tenses (cp. also *rist up* with a similar context in *C. T.* A 4193, *L. G. W.* 810, 887, 2208, *T. and C.* ii. 812, iv. 232, 1163); and while it may be regarded as a *historical* present, obviously Coleridge would have some ground for taking it as a preterite. Cp. the pret. *wiste* and the common late M. E. transformation of *gewis* into *I wis* (*I wist*, *Anc. Mar.* 152, 153). Such a rime as this in *L. G. W.* 2208,

> And up she *rist*, and *kiste*, in al her care,
> The steppes of his feet. . . . .

would also strengthen Coleridge's supposition that *rist* was a preterite. Cp. *rysed*, 3d sing. with a context of pret. tenses, *Cleanness* 1778; *ryseȝ up*, with a similar context, *Pearl* 191 (the *e* must be syncopated).

One other remark. Mr. Hutchinson observes: "These loan-words are interesting if only as showing what parts of Chaucer had been studied by Coleridge before 1798. *The Legend of Dido* (*Legend of Good Women*) furnished *uprist*," etc. From the above it will appear that so far as *uprist* is concerned this inference is unwarranted.

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Mummia in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In connection with Professor Cook's interesting note on *mummia* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, December, 1906), the following passages in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* might be recorded. Unfortunately, I can not cite the earliest (1613) edition.

'They travelled five dayes and nights through the sandie Sea, which is a great plaine Champaine, full of a small white sand like meale: where if, by some disaster, the winde blow from the South, they are all dead men. . . . Hee supposed that *Mummia* was made of such as the sands had surprised and buried quicke: but the truer Mummia is made of embalmed bodies of men, as they use to doe in Egypt, and other places. For I have read, not onely of Women, but Infants also, (which were not likely to take such dangerous journeyes) whose bodies have beene thus used to *Mummia*.' *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 3 ed., 1617, p. 258–9, in a condensed account of the journey of '*Ludovicus Vertomannus*, or *Barthema* (as Ramusius nameth him) . . . through all this threefold Arabia.' By 'I have read' Purchas seems to refer chiefly to Julius Scaliger.

'For they would not interre their dead bodies, because of the wormes; nor burn them, because they esteemed Fire, a living creature, which feeding thereon, must together with it perish. They therefore with Nitre and Cedar, or with compositions of Myrrhe, Cassia, and other odours thus preserve them. . . . Some also report, That the poorer sort used hereunto the slimie Bitumen of the Dead Sea, which had preserved an infinite number of Carcasses in a dreadfull Cave (not farre from these Pyramides) yet to be seene with their flesh and members whole, after so many thousand yeares, and some with their haire and teeth: of these is the true *Mummia*.' *Of Egypt*, etc., *Pilgrimage*, p. 716.

'. . . the Ethiopians give great respect to their Physicians, which are onely of their Gentry, and that not all that will, but onely such as certaine Officers shall chuse, of every Citie to be sent to their generall Universities (of which there are seven in Ethiopia) there to be taught naturall Philosophie (Logicke, and other arts they know not) together with Phisicke, and the Arts of the Apothecary and Chirurgian. . . . They are great Herbarists. They make *Mummia* otherwise then in other parts, where it is either made out of bodies buried in the Sands, or taken out of ancient Sepulchres, where they had beene layd, being imbalmed with Spices: For they take a Captive Moore, of the best complexion; and after long dieting and medicining of him, cut off his head in his sleepe, and gashing his bodie full of wounds, put therein all the best Spices, and then wrap him up in Hay, being before covered with a Seare-cloth; after which they burie him in a moist place, covering the bodie with earth. Five dayes being passed, they take him up againe, and removing the Seare-cloth and Hay, hang him up in the Sunne, whereby the body resolveth and droppeth a substance like pure Balme, which liquor is of great price: The fragrant sent is such, while it hangeth in the Sunne, that it may be smelt (he saith) a league off.' *Pilgrimage*, p. 849. 'He saith' = 'Frier Luys.'

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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BROWNING'S DRAMAS.

I.

The word drama means action. The play, according to Aristotle, is an imitation of action presented artificially upon the stage for the amusement of an audience. It must consist of action, then, which will rouse the interest and hold the attention of the onlookers for a given length of time. It is the presence of an audience which has forced the unities upon the drama. The lesser unities of time and place are a natural outgrowth of conditions; any variation from them (though required often by the all-important unity of action) puts more or less of a burden on the ingenuity of the playwright and the imagination of the playgoer. The unity of action—rise, crisis, fall—is even more vitally connected with the psychology of the audience. Thus, since the interest of the spectator might flag, the interest deepens; the plot "rises" to hold his attention; and when the crisis is reached his mind has become so fixed upon the human interest, so complete has become his identification with the hero, that he joys and sorrows with him, shares in his intensest life. In the "rise," therefore, we are chiefly concerned with "What is going to happen?": in the fall, with how these happenings affect the main characters. Thus we pass in imagination from an onlooker at events to a participator in the inward life of the actors. Through the deeds we have come to know the doers of them. But, just as our acquaintance with the man begins with the first page of the play—or the rise of the curtain—and gives a distinct character interest to the "rise," so our interest in the man's fate gives a "plot" interest to the end. Each interest is always present; but first one and then the other is in the ascendant. In the main, the first half of the play appeals to the curiosity, which is intellectual; and the other half to the sympathy, which is emotional. Each play contains both elements; but in comedy the stress is laid throughout upon the former element; while in tragedy the latter dominates.

The definition of drama as "Action humanly considered," seems to contain the gist of the whole matter; it is one in which all critics have agreed. But as soon as the pronouncements become more elaborate, we find the critics dividing into two schools; according to the predominance they give to plot or character, and the right of way they claim for each. Thus one critic defines drama as: "A course of connected acts involving motive, procedure, purpose, and by a sequence of events leading up to a catastrophe." While Stevenson counters in a decided: "It is sometimes supposed that the drama consists of incident. It consists of passion (which gives the actor his opportunity), and the passion must increase progressively to carry the audience with him to a higher pitch of interest and emotion." Thus, in the opinion of one, the deed should be presented objectively, and the inner life be used only to show the significance of it; while from the point of view of the other, the deed is presented not for its own sake, but because only so can one find a *raison d'être* for the passion of the man.

The two points are by no means irreconcilable, practically; for, though the plot interest be considered the most important, yet the question "What made it happen?" involves, by the critics' own showing, "motive, procedure, purpose;" while if the passion of the man be the playwright's business, yet the question "What made him feel so?" brings the playwright unavoidably to the consideration of those events which produced this state of mind, and to those acts in which, to some extent at least, they find expression. Practically, the two often coincide in a single play. Thus a great dramatist may present a deed, or series of deeds, so significant of the doer's nature that it might be said to interpret it; and at the same time so transforming to the nature of the doer that the act would mould him more completely to *its* nature; thus at once presenting and determining character; while, on the other

hand, the deed has been plainly an outgrowth from the circumstances of his outer life, and has such positive results in the actual world, both in its bearings on the lives of men and its influence on their minds and hearts, that it is decisive of that course of events which we call plot. The interaction of the elements—each on the other—gives us that subtle blending of circumstances and character which we call Fate. It is the binding force of circumstance, once a course of action is chosen; and the cumulative effect on character of a series of choices;—these are the two things which drive the man from the climax to the catastrophe.

In *Anthony and Cleopatra*, it is impossible to separate the character of Anthony from his career. We see his undisciplined nature in his ungoverned passion for Cleopatra; we see too how this passion unmoors him from the duties of his position. This reckless abandon of his duties as husband, statesman, and "triple pillar of the world," estranges Caesar; and though Actium might be called the "plot result" merely of these forces, yet the outward manifestation of failure has a distinctly disintegrating effect on his character.

In *Macbeth* the temptation comes from without as well as within. Macbeth is at once opportunist and villain. He is not at first merely a sinful man, acting out his evil nature; but an imperfect mortal, strongly tempted by opportunity, who yields, and is dragged down to spiritual degradation and worldly defeat. The murder of Duncan not only makes Macbeth, by force of crime enacted, a murderer capable of far worse atrocities; but actually forces him into them by need of concealment, and by the desire to keep what he has gained. Thus human life and human nature lie beneath the presentment of action. The deed is at once the crux of plot and character; it presents and determines both. It is when we consider the deed as representative that we have the unity of plot and character at once preserved, and the whole problem of stage presentation simplified: nullify the significance of the deed—as Browning does—and the whole art structure is destroyed, and a new arrangement, elaborate, complex, must be built up.

When we come to consider Browning in the light of these formulae—we find that it is just here—in his attitude toward the deed—that he parts company with the other great dramatists. As a psychologist he is concerned primarily with the mind and heart of man; and it would seem, therefore, that in him character interest would predominate over plot. But in him there can be no such fortunate blending as we have noted; the question "What made him feel so?" leads him into a consideration of the subjective state of man. The more this is studied the more complex and subtle it becomes, until it becomes evident to the psychologist that events—even the acts of a life—are inadequate to express it. He aims, therefore, not to show character by acts, but so to present the character that through our knowledge of it we may interpret rightly the act which in itself would be but an imperfect expression of the man.

How would it be possible, for instance, to rightly interpret the murder of the Praefect, in *The Return of the Druses*, had Browning not previously made known to us Anael's struggle between faith and doubt; the confusion which existed in her mind between her faith in Djabal as God, and love for him as man, complicated by her loyalty to him as Leader of the people? Woman, worshipper, and patriot struggled within her until, unable to disentangle the complexity of her feelings, she forces herself to a great objective test. The act is an effort to pass from uncertainty to certainty; to prove her loyalty, and at the same time to kill her doubt. The motives which spur her on bear no relation to the horrible deed: for horrible it is, aesthetically if not morally. The subjective state could easily have found, we fancy, other and truer expression in entirely different acts. A comparison between the relation of Lady Macbeth to the murder of Duncan, and that of Anael to the murder of the Praefect, is very illuminating as to the relative value that the two dramatists put upon the deed as an interpreter of character.

It is just here, in his conception of the deed, that Browning, as we began by saying, parts company with other dramatists; indeed, with the accepted form of drama itself. We have seen that when the deed is considered representative the unities of plot and character are preserved, and the whole problem of presentation simplified.

'The drama is in the deed poised upon the point of interaction between the objective and subjective worlds.'' Nullify the significance of the deed—as Browning does—and we destroy instantly the fitness of the old art form; and a new organization—elaborate, complex—must be built up within the old form. Thus, since the deed is not representative, one cannot get to man through the act, but must know the doer before one can understand the deed. This leads to a more or less complete interchange of the position which the plot and character interest have been accustomed to hold. Thus in *Strafford,* the first half of the play is taken up with the subjective life of Strafford, the psychology of his choice between "The People or the King? and that King, Charles!"; and the last half in showing the results of that choice in actual events. In the *Return of the Druses* we are first absorbed in understanding—getting at—the psychology of Anael and Djabal; at the end, in knowing what they will *do.* Thus, instead of learning to know a man through his acts—as in the majority of plays—we are first required to enter the inner life of the man to know him; and then, in the last half of the play, our interest may honestly be centred in what happens to him, for only then can we know how it affects him, or what he will do in an emergency, for only so are we capable of interpreting aright his acts. Thus it is we often find in Browning that the moments of our most complete identification with the character fall somewhere about the centre of the drama, where the plot crisis usually falls. In *Strafford,* it is at the end of the second act; in *Luria,* at the end of the third—(though in both instances this might be disputed); while the end of the play gives us not infrequently a great *situation,* or climax, answering to the crisis of the plot—which usually comes in the older order of things in the heart of the play. It is, of course, a psychological crisis, in which our interest lies in what the man will think, and which derives its significance, its special thrill, from our consciousness of his subjective state—but still a situation—in which the elements of surprise and uncertainty are not unlike those we see frequently in comedy, deepened by the gravity of the issue into the tone of tragedy.

This interchange complicates, too, the business of the drama. Although the business of Browning's first act is to take us straight to the heart of the man, and let him reveal himself,—yet there must be a certain amount of setting given, for the men cannot float loosely in chronology and space. Now these details of time and place fit far less easily into the presentation of character than into the development of plot. They are frequently slurred over, condensed into some chance phrase of the speaker who is pouring out his soul to us. We must catch at the situation anyhow; and this is far less easy a task than the old way of getting acquainted with the man in the unfolding of the plot. Again, however much Browning underrates the interpretative power of the deed, the character must as a matter of fact be doing something all the time he is being presented, or is revealing himself to us; while in leading up to the situation at the end—which is not only a supreme psychological moment, but is also a plot crisis—some sort of sequence in the course of events must be preserved. This leads to a new complexity of structure. First, as an excuse for the "passion" of the character; then, to develop the situation in which he finds himself, there is built up an objective drama—forming a sort of overplot—more or less closely related to the main interests. It touches them, now here, now there; only certainly in the end of the play, where the supreme psychological moment, the crisis of his life, and the decisive epoch in the course of events, all coincide. In the main, it is just a shell of circumstance under cover of which the real drama is in the progress before mentioned. This interchange of the usual relation of plot and character interest, and the readjustment necessary to it, gives the clew to the complexities of Browning's structure.

What Browning loses in dramatic clearness by this view of the deed,—by the complexity of structure and the subversion of the unities into which it leads him,—he gains in psychological interest. And Browning is first and last a student of the soul. Let us see what light his own words throw upon his purpose. In *Rabbi Ben Ezra* Browning has given us his view of life in terms which will serve as a direct statement of his dramatic purpose—of what he wishes to present in his drama:

> "But all, the world's coarse thumb
> And finger failed to plumb,
> So passed in making up the main account;

All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount.

"Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All men ignored in me,
This I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

Since Browning aims to show the man, not as he appears to his fellows, but as he appears to God; since he wishes to body forth

All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,

and brushes aside "things done which took the eye and had the price," it is evident that he must present not the character of a man only, which is graven by *things done*, but the soul of him, wherein dwell those

Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped.

He must be, in short, a dramatist of the subjective.

Now this presentation of the inner life of the man, which Browning expressly says cannot be presented by action, is ringed about with difficulties. It is the work, at once of the dramatist and of the psychologist. From one point of view inconsequent action is made intelligible by explanation, and from the other subtle analysis becomes illustrated by concrete example. The author must at once be presenting a bit of life, and at the same time interpreting it to reader or audience. Sometimes, when the deeds are conceived by Browning as being merely inexpressive, we have him presenting an action, and then supplementing it with comment, either his own or the narrator's, explaining away an act here, giving new meaning there, until the whole drama or incident is propped into significance.

Again, when the act is considered as in itself misleading, he presents us first a drama of the objective, and then requires us to look through it into another absolutely different one below. Thus it appears to the world, he says; thus it really is. This is well illustrated by his treatment of an old story in the dramatic fragment entitled *The Glove.* Here he refuses to let us interpret the action in the old way; but by giving the inner workings of the lady's mind—explaining her motives—he changes for us the whole dramatic value of the deed. Instead of an act of overweening vanity, for which she is justly punished, it becomes a test of De Lorgne's sincerity, in which he is found wanting. In one aspect the incident reveals the weakness of the lady, in the other the baseness of the man. The plot relations, too, are altered. In the old story, the chief actor is De Lorgne, the one acted upon is the lady. In the Browning rendition the positions are exactly reversed. This is accomplished by a page of interpretation. Peter Ronsard, the narrator, a clear-eyed spectator of the little comedy, divines shrewdly the lady's state of mind, and sets it before us. Thus it is by interpretation we are able to see through the enactor to the act. We comprehend its significance only after we understand the feeling which produced it, the act itself being open to misinterpretation. Practically, the order followed here is first the incident, then the interpretation of it; but so closely does the explanation travel on the heels of the story that one *reads back* the later into the earlier impression, and seems at the end to have had throughout a consciousness of a double presentation; one played to the court, and the other to oneself; one objective, the other subjective. The act of throwing the glove to the lion begins the action; De Lorgne striking the glove in the lady's face is the result and completion of it. But in one the act, conceived in vanity, ends in the shame and humiliation of the lady before the court; while in the other the act, conceived in proud intolerance of sham, ends in the shame and humiliation before us of her protagonist. Thus the two dramas part company. One is played for her contemporaries, and ends in one fashion; the other, played for us, ends in quite another. We see the lady, passing out, proud and patient, amid the contumely and derision of the court—we see and understand. She who, for ages, has been misnamed in song and story is comprehended at last. Browning's attitude toward his characters in this fragment is eminently characteristic. Throughout his plays he is an ardent champion, and constantly at war with contemporary judgment.

Hamlet says, dying :

O good Horatio—what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown shall live behind me!
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity awhile
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
To tell my story.

It is as if this cry of Hamlet's had reached Browning as a great appeal from all wronged, thwarted, misrepresented human lives, and he had taken up the burden of interpreting them aright. This purpose of necessity moulds the form of drama to it; but how? In a dramatic monologue, or in any dramatic lyric where a narrative of action is given, the blending of presentment and comment can be shrewdly done as above by the narrator, and the technique is fairly simple; but when we come to consider not a mere incident as *The Glove,* but a whole play constructed to show two dramas, one objective and the other subjective, the question instantly arises as to their plot relations. Do the rise and fall of the two coincide? If not, what is the connection in a five act drama between the two movements? In rebelling against the judgment of contemporaries, for instance, he must perforce throw some weight in the dramatic construction upon such judgment, let it affect in some vital way the character; and if this is done, the subjective drama, which usually consists, as we have noted, of the presentment of a man, and then his deeds, must have come—in some place, in some plays—in close and vital connection with that shell of circumstance which in the beginning fits so lightly around the real interests. Often, as we have seen, this connection is established in the last half of the play; almost always at the *situation* in the end there is the blending of the great psychological moment with the crisis in his career. But the matter of place-combination, is decided entirely by the exigencies of each play, and can scarcely be generalized on successfully.

This rebellion against contemporary judgment can be considered merely as a logical outcome of his view of the *deed.* How could Browning trust the general consensus of opinion when he discredits the representative value of the acts on which those opinions are based? However we regard it, whether as partisanship or psychological accuracy, this discrediting of appearances, and so of opinion, forms a distinct element to be reckoned on in the structure. It forces him to present that very appearance of things against which he is in rebellion. Sometimes it is done in a mere phrase: In *Pippa Passes,* he gives a quick ironic glance at the fair surface of things before he rends it. He speaks of Asolo's *four happiest ones,* and then the phrase is torn asunder, and we see four human beings in the agonies of soul birth and soul death; always in crucial suffering. The whole of *The Ring and the Book* moves in great concentric circles from false appearances and opinions to the heart of truth. It moves first from the consideration of the views of half Rome to those of Pompilia; from those who heard, past those who acted, to the one who suffered. Then it passes from the superficial dicta of the lawyers to the deep heart of the matter in the speech of the Pope; then last from Guido's false presentment of himself as an injured husband, through tortuous windings of evil nature to the gradual revelation of himself, disclosing at last a moral consciousness, a perception of that truth which he has set himself against, in his one sincere utterance, that cry of mortal terror: "*Pompilia, will you let them murder me?*" So, in the first and last chapters in which Browning speaks for himself, he moves from discussion of matters of mere external interest to an explanation of his great art purpose.

This contrast between the "fair seeming show" and the reality is too characteristic a habit of thought in Browning to be ever quite absent from his works. Sometimes it is the main *motif,* moulding the drama or dramatic incident to it; again, it is the informing idea of an act or scene developing it to itself, and away from the main thought, and so twisting the structure; again, it is put in a phrase, throwing a search light back or forward into the play: always and everywhere the contrast: thus it seems; thus it really is.

Thus from another point of approach, one sees how the dramatist and the psychologist mingle oddly in the works of Browning. Not only must action be made intelligible by the revelation of motives, but the appearance of things must be given the lie by the presentation of realities. The opposite *order* of development which these present indicate the two types of structure he follows.

Their blending in a single play gives the clue to many of his complexities; generally the first is the order of the play, while the second produces variants from it by informing an act or scene.

When we remember that the aim of Browning is to present those

> Thoughts that could not be packed,
> Into a narrow act,
> Fancies that broke through language and escaped:

we find that in this discussion of construction we have only touched the outer rim of the difficulty. How is the life of the human soul to be presented in a drama? Practical difficulties arise at every step. How, for instance, is the "explanation" we found necessary to be made? The Greek chorus, which could have been developed into a fit interpreter, is eliminated. Browning's characters must either interpret themselves—enquire into their own mental processes, and then speak them forth with the most full-voiced self-consciousness—or else be explained, in a similar fashion, by their fellows. In either case we have analysis, which violates at once dramatic method and essential dramatic truth: analysis violates method in that it stops the movement to explain; and violates truth since it presents the characters as doing what in real life would be unnatural. Obviously his necessity to make the characters interpret themselves is destructive to natural dialogue. For his characters to reveal their inmost selves in the language of every day life would be to violate the decency and dignity of reticence which alone makes human intercourse possible, and by so doing they forfeit that respect which is necessary to the fullest sympathy. As dramatist, then, he must let his characters speak each to other, keeping fast hold of all the reserves and silences of daily life; while, as interpreter, he must speak through them directly to the audience; must vocalize for us all the dumb content of the human soul. He shows us Pippa weaving holiday fancies in her bed-chamber; again, singing in the streets of Asolo, cleaving with sunshine and song the dark recesses of crime, lighting doubt to sure faith; hesitation to forthrightness, and temptation to right abhorrence; and last, musing child thoughts and praying child prayers at nightfall. But it is Browning who gives to her unconsciousness conscious speech; it is not Pippa we hear, but Browning's vocalization of her soul. So Pompilia, in *The Ring and The Book,* speaks no peasant language. There is nothing peasant in her save, perhaps, her *simplicity*; and that is more the simplicity of purity and elemental womanhood than of the peasant. The thought, one can see, is in character; but the vocabulary, the images, are Browning's own.

Sometimes in the drama the characters interpret themselves, speak the language of the underplot; and again, as the exigencies of the objective plot demand it, they speak the language of every-day life. A strange blending of these in a single scene occurs in the third act, third scene of *Strafford.* The scene occurs in the ante-room to the House of Commons. Strafford has just been denounced by Pym as traitor, and is now being arrested for treason; it is a crisis in his career as statesman; it is also a moment of poignant anguish. As leader, he must front the situation manfully; as a tortured soul upon the rack of loyalty, he must reveal to us his agony. We hear two voices; one Strafford's the man, speaking to men; the other, Browning's vocalization of the dumb content of his soul. One moment Strafford rises to the critical historical crisis—and speaks so:

> Let us go forth: follow me, gentlemen,
> Draw your swords, too: cut any down that bar us,
> On the King's service! Maxwell, clear the way.

A moment later to his own men his heart finds utterance:

> Slingsby, I've loved you at least: make haste!
> Stab me! I have not time to tell you why.
> You, then, my Bryan! Mainwaring, you then!

Again we hear two voices: one speaks in pride and scorn directly to the situation.

> The king is sure to have your heads, you know.

Then follows the anguished cry of his inner consciousness:

> But what if I can't live this moment through.
> Pym who is there with his pursuing smile.

We must carry throughout a double consciousness. The scene must shift with lightning-like rapidity from the ante-room in the House of Commons to the secret chambers of Strafford's soul. Any failure on the reader's part to do this is disastrous to the artistic effect. Now we hear a soul in deep distress, and the words carry conviction:

We like a cry of agony
Because we know it's true.

Then there rises before us a real scene—a world of actuality ; we see not a soul pressed by thronging emotions, but a man girt with hostile soldiers, and the words ring false. Maxwell and the Puritans—men who are to be the Ironsides—what do they make of these wild and whirling words? Again, the utter anguish of them takes possession of us, the world fades—we are alone with the naked soul of a man. Thus, as our consciousness of the soul or the circumstances comes uppermost, the values shift. One can easily see that such a blending of the critical historical moment and the critical psychological moment might prove mutually thwarting.

(*To be continued.*)

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EDGAR POË ET ALFRED DE MUSSET.

Il ne s'agit pas d'un rapprochement littéraire entre ces deux poètes, tout au moins d'un rapprochement complet. Ni l'objet de leurs chants ni leur manière n'appellent une comparaison. Pourtant ils ont un trait commun. Dans *William Wilson*,[1] conte aux fantastiques événements, mais image plus ou moins réelle de sa vie, Edgar Poë, après avoir décrit de façon charmante l'école anglaise où s'écoulèrent ses jeunes années, parle d'un enfant de génie, violent, passionné, c'est lui-même. Son influence s'exerce sur tous ses camarades, un seul excepté, parfaitement semblable à lui de taille, de visage, même de nom. Signe distinctif : sa voix n'est qu'un murmure, un chuchotement, mais toujours, dit Poë, "le parfait écho de la mienne."[2] De son côté, Alfred de Musset écrit dans la *Nuit de Décembre :*[3]

Du temps que j'étais écolier,
Je restais un soir à veiller
Dans notre salle solitaire.
Devant ma table vint s'asseoir
Un pauvre enfant vêtu de noir
Qui me ressemblait comme un frère.

Poë voyait donc un double de lui-même ; Musset aussi. Je voudrais analyser ici cette singulière et commune vision,—fiction ou hallucination, il n'importe, — signaler sous quelle influence elle apparut aux deux poètes, préciser enfin sa signification morale.

Ainsi William Wilson, le jumeau de Poë, résistait à son despotisme précoce. Bien plus, il intervenait dans sa conduite, tantôt par un avis discret, tantôt par un conseil impérieux, jamais découragé par les rebuffades de son ami. Naturellement ses bons offices lui devinrent odieux, sans qu'il parvînt à les détourner. Il a beau quitter la pension Bransby, aller à Eton, le double l'y suit. Un jour, avec quelques camarades aussi fous que lui, dans une chambre du collège, il se livre à une débauche effrénée de boisson et de jeu. Soudain, on l'appelle au-dehors ; il se trouve en face de son inséparable compagnon, qui chuchote très-bas son nom seulement, puis disparaît. Un autre jour, tandis qu'il joue malhonnêtement aux cartes, William Wilson—le Double—fait irruption au milieu de la compagnie, et dénonce publiquement sa faute. Exaspéré, Poë fuit dans une agonie d'horreur et de honte. Il fuyait en vain. "Ma destinée maudite m'a poursuivi, triomphante, et me prouvant que son mystérieux pouvoir n'avait fait jusqu'alors que de commencer. A peine eus-je mis le pied dans Paris, que j'eus une preuve nouvelle du détestable intérêt que le Wilson prenait à mes affaires. Les années s'écoulèrent et je n'eus point de répit. Misérable ! A Rome, avec quelle importune obséquiosité, avec quelle tendresse de spectre, il s'interposa entre moi et mon ambition ! Et à Vienne ! et à Berlin ! et à Moscou ! Où donc ne trouvai-je pas quelque amère raison de le maudire du fond de mon cœur ! Frappé d'une panique, je pris enfin la fuite devant son impénétrable tyrannie, comme devant une peste, et jusqu'au bout du monde, j'ai fui, j'ai fui en vain."[4]

L'élévation de caractère, la majestueuse sagesse, l'omniprésence de Wilson inspiraient à Poë une sorte de terreur, sans contenir hélas ! sa passion

[1] *Tales of Conscience.* Edition Stedman et Woodberry, 1894.

[2] Pp. 11 et 14.

[3] *Poésies nouvelles*, Edit. Charpentier, 1896.

[4] *William Wilson*, p. 28. Traduction Baudelaire. Toutes nos citations sont empruntées à cette traduction.

de l'alcool. Sous son influence, son tempérament héréditaire s'exaspère et supporte impatiemment le contrôle. Il commence à murmurer, à hésiter, à résister ; il se sent plus ferme devant son tyran ; il conçoit l'espoir de secouer son esclavage. Un soir, à Rome, dans une nuit de fête, au moment où il se prépare à une poursuite amoureuse, il sent sur son épaule une main légère, et à son oreille il entend l'affreux chuchotement. Alors, dans une rage frénétique, il saisit l'importun, l'entraîne dans une antichambre, le force à dégaîner, et, après un court duel furieux, il l'assassine. "Quelle langue humaine peut rendre suffisamment cet étonnement, cette horreur qui s'emparèrent de moi au spectacle que virent alors mes yeux. . . . Une vaste glace se dressait là où je n'en avais pas vu trace auparavant, et comme je marchais, frappé de terreur, vers ce miroir, ma propre image, mais avec une face pâle et barbouillée de sang, s'avança à ma rencontre d'un pas faible et vacillant." [5]

* * *

Maintenant, écoutons Musset. Le pauvre enfant qui lui ressemblait comme un frère, le suit pas à pas dans la vie. Parmi ses rêves d'adolescent, il lui apparaît, un luth d'une main, à l'autre un bouquet d'églantine, et, du doigt, il lui montre la colline des Muses. Quand la jeunesse emporte le poète dans ses ardeurs, l'étranger vêtu de noir s'asseoit au coin de son feu, triste, un soupir aux lèvres, et ainsi, à mesure que les jours s'écoulent chargés de fautes, de plaisirs et de douleurs, partout où Musset traîne la fatigue d'une vie agitée, partout, à côté de lui, il voit le mystérieux étranger vêtu de noir qui lui ressemble comme un frère. Ce n'est ici qu'un doux et mélancolique fantôme. Ailleurs, l'aspect change. Dans la *Coupe et les lèvres*,[6] Frank, le libertin, le débauché, se tient auprès de Déidamia, la pure jeune fille. Il sent son âme s'ouvrir au véritable amour, et s'enivre à cette source qui rafraîchit son pauvre cœur desséché. Soudain, Déidamia s'écrie :

> Qui donc est là, debout, derrière la fenêtre,
> Avec ces deux grands yeux et cet air étonné ?

Frank.

> Où donc ? je ne vois rien.

Déidamia.

> Si, quelqu'un nous écoute,
> Qui vient de s'en aller, quand tu t'es retourné.

Frank chasse les terreurs de l'innocente enfant, et la berce de tendres discours. Mais elle l'interrompt une seconde fois :

> Qui donc est encor là ? Je te dis qu'on nous guette.
> Tu ne vois pas là-bas remuer une tête,
> Là, dans l'ombre du mur . . . . ?

Frank n'a rien aperçu ; il multiplie ses caresses ; Déidamia s'abandonne entre ses bras. Mais, brusquement, il se lève : quelqu'un est là, c'est vrai. Maintenant, il a vu ; et, d'un bond, il franchit la fenêtre de la petite chambre, à la poursuite du spectre. Il fait la tour de la maison pour l'atteindre. Le spectre se dérobe à l'intérieur ; Frank revient, et, sur le seuil, il trouve Déidamia, morte, un stylet au cœur.

Même aventure, sous une autre forme, dans *les Caprices de Marianne*.[7] Coelio et Octave sont deux jeunes amis. Coelio, pur, délicat, aime Marianne qui reste indifférente. Octave tâche à favoriser les amours de Coelio. Octave est un libertin. Or, sentiment bizarre, c'est lui qu'aime la capricieuse Marianne. Enfin, à un rendez-vous, par une fatale confusion, Coelio est tué à la place de son ami. Coelio et Octave représentent Musset, l'un, ce qu'il y avait de meilleur en lui, l'autre, le vice triomphant. Octave tue ou fait tuer Coelio. Il ne serait pas malaisé de trouver en d'autres œuvres du poète (dans *Lorenzaccio* par exemple) cette espèce de dédoublement ou symbolique ou halluciné. Poë nous offre le sien en un conte suivi ; Musset, en des poèmes divers. Mais, ils se ressemblent en ce point : tous deux, chacun à sa manière, voient leur double.

Aussi bien, d'autres analogies existent entre eux. Et ici, peut-être n'est-il pas hors de propos de geter un coup-d'œil sur leur vie.[8] Edgar Allan Poë descendait d'une famille anglaise. Son arrière-grand-père émigra en Amérique vers le milieu du 18e siècle. Son grand-père, simple charron à Baltimore quand éclata la guerre de

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[6] *Premières Poésies*, pp. 292, 296.

[7] *Comédies et Proverbes*, I.

[8] Cf. Arvède Barine, *Essais de littérature pathologique.* Revue des Deux-Mondes, 15 Juillet, 1897. Nous devons à cet écrivain plusieurs détails intéressants sur Edgar Poë et d'importantes citations.

l'indépendance, quitta son enclume, prit les armes et gagna dans cette lutte nationale le titre de général Poë. C'était un homme rude, sain et vigoureux. Aucun fait précis ne révèle qu'il aimât la boisson. Il eut plusieurs enfants. L'aîné s'appelait David ; ce fut le père d'Edgar. Seul, il mérite notre attention. Comment le fils de l'énergique général devint-il un pauvre être névrosé, alcoolique, phthisique, par quel atavisme obscur? Je l'ignore. Mais il fut tout cela, et de bonne heure. Rebelle aux remontrances de sa famille, aux expédients qu'elle employa pour refréner sa triste nature, il s'enfuit de la maison paternelle pour courir le monde avec une troupe ambulante de comédiens, vivant leur vie misérable, adonné aux vices de sa condition. Déjà usé par la boisson et la maladie, il épouse une actrice aussi malade, aussi dégénérée que lui, et il en eut trois enfants : William, Edgar (19 janvier, 1809) Rosalie. L'aîné mourut jeune, à demi fou. Rosalie, presque idiote, échoua dans un hospice. Edgar survécut. La mort de ses parents le laisse orphelin à deux ans sans autre héritage, hélas ! qu'un sang vicié, de tristes habitudes encore sommeillantes, mais qui ne tarderont pas à s'éveiller. Abandonné par son grand-père, il est recueilli par un riche négociant en tabac, John Allan, que séduisit la figure étrange de ce petit garçon aux yeux brillants, remplis de lueurs précoces. Il s'en amusa ; il ne l'éleva point. Rien ne vint contrarier les germes de passions que lui avait léguées une hérédité funeste. A la suite d'un voyage en Angleterre, ses parents adoptifs se contentèrent de le mettre en pension dans une école aux environs de Londres, sous la férule du docteur Bransby. Le maître n'eut aucune influence sur l'élève. Celui-ci resta et devint de plus en plus un impulsif, un volontaire et un passionné. Revenu en Amérique à l'âge de douze ans, il entre dans une école de Richmond ; puis, à dix-sept ans, à l'Université de Virginie. Ce fut pour son malheur. Les étudiants de cette Université aimaient à boire et à jouer. Parmi eux, Poë sentit s'allumer les flammes qui dormaient en lui. Il but "en gourmand, en barbare," engloutissant force breuvages, sans les goûter ; ou plutôt, il but en malade, par accès, pour éteindre un besoin aigu et cruel. Il jouait aussi, il fit des dettes, si bien que M. Allan, pour couper court à ses incartades, le rappela. Il l'employa dans ses bureaux ; mais ce genre de vie déplut tout de suite au caractère bouillonnant du jeune Poë. Il s'enfuit, s'engage dans l'armée américaine (26 Mai, 1827), passe à l'école militaire de West Point, s'en fait chasser, se voit alors rejeté par M. Allan, et commence une vie de bohème, partagée entre la littérature, les luttes pour le pain quotidien et les accès d'alcoolisme. Je n'ai pas l'intention de le suivre dans sa carrière douloureusement accidentée. Pour ne l'envisager que du point de vue qui nous occupe, disons qu'après une série de relèvements éphémères, de rechutes lamentables, E. Poë aboutit au *delirium tremens*[9] qui l'emporta le 7 octobre 1849.

Alfred de Musset ne tomba jamais à cette misère profonde. Aucune hérédité fatale ne pesa sur son existence. Sans doute, au déclin prématuré de sa vie, il demande à l'absinthe l'inspiration qui s'est enfuie avec l'amour, l'oubli et l'abrutissement. Mais, dans sa jeunesse, en pleine maturité de sa force, s'il aime les festins, le jeu, les plaisirs, il n'y laisse pas sombrer sa volonté ni son génie. C'est d'une autre ivresse qu'il est question. Jeune, beau, aimable, il vécut pour l'amour, pour lui seul. Toute sa vie, toute sa religion est là. Poë buvait, mais avec honte et remords. Musset aime avec orgueil et espérance triomphante. Bientôt cet amour devient obsession. "Ce sentiment redoutable et doux s'est abattu sur le poète comme une fièvre qui résiste à tous les remèdes, comme un sortilège contre lequel malédictions et prières ne peuvent rien. Y arrêter sa pensée est une tristesse quand ce n'est pas une souffrance, et cependant, s'en détourner est une impossibilité. Le fantôme obstiné est toujours là qui fixe le poète, tantôt souriant, tantôt menaçant ; repoussé par une imprécation, il revient avec un sarcasme."[10] Enfin, c'est un goût d'ivresse analogue, par certains côtés, à celui qui entraînait le malheureux Poë. Musset a poursuivi l'amour sous toutes ses formes. Jeune,

[9] C'est du moins l'opinion commune, d'ailleurs combattue par un des derniers biographes de Poë, James A. Harrison, et quelques autres rares critiques. Un médecin spécialiste doublé d'un littérateur pourrait seul trancher la question. Il semblera toujours étrange qu'un alcoolique ait pu, dans les intervalles de son ivresse, composer d'aussi nombreux et beaux poèmes.

[10] Cf. Émile Montégut, *Nos Morts Contemporains*, p. 247.

c'est l'amour libertin, fringant et tapageur (*Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, don Paëz, les Marrons du feu, Namouna, Mardoche.*) Il joue avec le poison divin ou mortel. Plus tard, c'est l'heure de la passion dont il s'enivre avec de douloureux transports. (*Les Nuits, l'Espoir en Dieu, Lettre à Lamartine, Souvenir.*) Mais, depuis longtemps déjà, l'ivresse avait commencé son œuvre démoralisatrice (*la Coupe et les Lèvres, Rolla, Lorenzaccio, Confession d'un enfant du siècle.*) Et dès lors, comme par l'autre ivresse, c'est la déchéance, la chute dans les expériences vilaines, la débauche en un mot. Le pauvre poète essaie parfois de se relever ; mais il retombe un peu plus bas, toujours insatiable, toujours inassouvi. Ainsi se rapprochent Poë et Musset dans une passion, différente sans doute, mais non sans quelque analogie peut-être, au moins dans les effets moraux.

* * *

Que signifie le spectre pâle et sanglant qui s'avance vers Poë, après le meurtre de son double ? Wilson nous l'explique avant de mourir ; il adresse à l'assassin ces paroles : "Tu as vaincu et je succombe. Mais, dorénavant, tu es mort aussi, mort au monde, au Ciel et à l'Espérance. En moi, tu existais, et vois dans ma mort, vois dans cette image qui est la tienne, comme tu t'es radicalement assassiné toi-même." [11] Le fantôme, le double, c'était sa conscience. Le sens du conte, c'est que Poë, au milieu de ses erreurs, de ses déchéances, n'a jamais pu ni voulu éteindre cette voix. Il avoue ses fautes, il implore la pitié : "Je soupire après la sympathie de mes semblables. Je voudrais leur persuader que j'ai été en quelque sorte l'esclave de circonstances qui défiaient tout contrôle humain. Je désirerais qu'ils découvrissent pour moi, dans les détails que je vais leur donner, quelque petite oasis de *fatalité* dans un Sahara d'erreur." [12] Non, il n'a jamais pu étouffer sa conscience. Lisez le *Cœur révélateur* (The Tell-Tale Heart.) [13] A la fin, un homme tué, il enterre le cadavre dans sa chambre. Devant les juges, accourus pour les constatations, il sourit, lorsque, tout à coup, il entend le cœur de la victime palpiter sous le plancher : "C'était un bruit sourd, étouffé, fréquent, ressemblant beaucoup à celui que ferait une montre dans du coton." Personne n'entend ce bruit, sauf le criminel. Pour s'en distraire, il remue les chaises ; mais le bruit monte, monte toujours, plus fort, toujours plus fort. Alors le malheureux crie ; le bruit redouble, jusqu'à ce que, vaincu, le meurtrier s'écrie : "J'avoue la chose ! arracher ces planches ! . . . c'est là ! c'est là ! c'est le battement de son affreux cœur !" [14] Et cela veut dire que lui aussi, malgré des assauts réitérés pour la couvrir, il entendit toujours la voix de son cœur.

Après des excès de boisson, funestes non seulement à sa santé mais encore aux situations qu'il conquérait péniblement, chassé des Revues où il gagnait son pain, il courbait la tête, non sans quelque grandeur, sous les reproches mérités. La correspondance abonde en aveux, repentirs, promesses. Il les oublie vite, c'est vrai ; du moins prouvent-ils que Poë gardait la conscience de sa dégradation morale. Je ne citerai plus qu'un exemple, un poème, où, en termes d'une beauté sinistre, il décrit les ruines amoncelées en son âme par la terrible passion de l'alcool. Il s'agit du *Palais hanté* (*The Haunted Palace*) :

"Dans la plus verte de nos vallées, où n'habitent que de bons anges, un vaste et beau palais dressait jadis son front. C'était dans les États du monarque Pensée, c'était là qu'il s'élevait. Jamais séraphin ne déploya ses ailes sur un édifice à moitié aussi splendide.

Des bannières éclatantes, jaunes comme l'or, flottaient et ondoyaient sur le faîte. (Cela, tout cela, c'était dans des temps anciens, très lointains.) Et à chaque brise caressante qui se jouait dans la douceur du jour, tout le long des blanches murailles pavoisées s'envolaient des parfums ailés.

Les voyageurs passant par l'heureuse vallée, apercevaient à travers deux fenêtres lumineuses des esprits se mouvant harmonieusement, au rythme d'un luth bien accordé, tout autour d'un trône où se laissait voir dans tout l'éclat de sa gloire, assis comme un Porphyrogenète, le souverain de ce royaume.

Éclatante partout de perles et de rubis rayonnait la porte du beau palais, par laquelle s'écoulait à flots pressés, toujours étincelante, une troupe d'Échos, dont la douce fonction n'était que de chanter, avec des voix d'une beauté exquise, l'esprit et la sagesse du roi.

Mais des êtres funestes, en vêtements sinistres, vinrent donner assaut à la puissance du monarque (Ah ! gémissons ! car l'aube d'aucun lendemain ne luira pour lui, le désespéré) et la splendeur qui rayonnait et s'épanouissait

[11] *William Wilson*, p. 32. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[13] *Tales of Conscience.*

[14] *The Tell-Tale Heart*, p. 61.

tout autour de son palais n'est plus qu'une légende, un souvenir obscur de l'ancien temps enseveli.

Et maintenant, les voyageurs passant par la vallée n'aperçoivent plus, à travers les fenêtres enflammées de lueurs rouges, que des formes monstrueuses s'agitant de façon fantastique au bruit d'une discordante mélodie, tandis que pareille à un flot rapide et spectral, à travers la porte pâle, une foule hideuse se précipite sans relâche et rit, mais ne sait plus sourire." [15]

On a beaucoup reproché à Poë le goût des histoires lugubres. Je ne prétends pas l'expliquer ici. Toutefois, je me demande si, autant que les jeux d'un mystificateur ou les hallucinations d'un malade, elles ne cachent pas souvent les troubles d'une conscience aux abois ; si leur beauté étrange ne découle pas peut-être de cette lutte sourde et tragique, enfin si, considérée de ce point de vue, l'œuvre déconcertante de ce malheureux poète n'en serait pas mieux éclairée.[16] En exprimant cette idée, j'ouvre probablement une voie déjà battue ; je l'ignore. Mais je voudrais avoir le loisir de m'y engager, fût-ce après d'autres.

* * *

L'attitude de Musset fut tout autre. Dans ses *Premières Poésies*, il a l'allure cavalière, un dandysme impertinent. De honte ou de remords, il n'en ressent pas. Cela s'explique : l'amour est entouré par l'opinion mondaine d'une auréole séduisante. Loin d'en rougir, on est fier de l'inspirer ou de l'éprouver. C'est pourquoi Musset en tire un orgueil naïf ; il l'étale avec un cynisme tapageur qui nous fait un peu sourire. Il s'élance en conquérant dans la vie, la bouche en fleur ; et, à cette période, il ne parle pas de l'étranger, vêtu de noir, qui lui ressemble comme un frère. Mais bientôt les déceptions accourent, à mesure que les expériences se multiplient. Il a cru que l'amour suffisait à remplir son cœur. Au vide qu'il a creusé, Musset s'aperçoit de son erreur. Bien plus ; un fantôme s'est dressé à côté de lui ; lumineux, quand lui-même était jeune, parce que sa folle jeunesse le dorait de ses rayons, puis, enveloppé d'ombre et de tristesse, comme sa conscience. Car, c'est elle qui s'est levée du sommeil où il la tenait plongée. Elle s'est réveillée dans la Solitude ; c'est le double vêtu de noir qui lui ressemble ; et désormais, elle ne s'endormira plus. Écoutez-la dans ces beaux vers si justement fameux : [17]

> J'ai perdu ma force et ma vie,
> Et mes amis et ma gaîté ;
> J'ai perdu jusqu'à la fierté
> Qui faisait croire à mon génie.
>
> Quand j'ai connu la Vérité,
> J'ai cru que c'était une amie ;
> Quand je l'ai comprise et sentie,
> J'en étais déjà dégoûté.
>
> Et pourtant elle est éternelle,
> Et ceux qui se sont passés d'elle
> Ici-bas ont tout ignoré.
>
> Dieu parle, il faut qu'on lui réponde.
> Le seul bien qui me reste au monde
> Est d'avoir quelquefois pleuré.

Musset fut le chantre de la tristesse autant que de la joie amoureuse. *La Coupe et les Lèvres, Rolla, Lorenzaccio, la Confession d'un enfant du siècle*, sont des œuvres imprégnées d'un pessimisme douloureux. Pourquoi ? Entre les causes diverses, voici peut-être la principale. Jadis, il croyait à l'amour absolu. Pour l'atteindre, il s'est jeté dans les plaisirs saus trêve. L'amour lui a échappé, ne lui laissant que souillures. Dans sa poursuite infatigable, il rencontre un jour la passion ; il s'arrête pour la saisir ; mais elle échappe aussi ne laissant après elle que ruines et que cendres. Alors, il a recours à toutes les expériences libertines, et il aboutit à l'effondrement de son idéal. Ce qu'il voit clairement, à cette heure, c'est sa déchéance profonde, c'est la débauche, collée à son âme, comme la robe du Nessus antique. Mais, cette dégradation, il ne l'accepte pas dans une indifférence stupide ; il pleure, il sanglotte, il maudit. Ce spectre sinistre que le poète aperçoit à tous les coins de son existence, derrière tous les plaisirs, c'est le spectre de la débauche ; et ses imprécations sont le cri de

[15] *The Haunted Palace*, vol. x, edit. Stedman and Woodberry.

[16] Il y en a une explication plus aisée : l'influence des ballades allemandes et anglaises. Ce qu'il serait intéressant d'étudier, c'est la part qui revient à nos romantiques, Charles Nodier, Gérard de Nerval, et généralement à cette littérature fantastique qui s'épanouit chez nous entre 1820 et 1830, surtout après l'apparition des *Contes* de Hoffmann. Poë connaissait peu l'allemand. Le français au contraire lui était familier. Au contact des œuvres et des traductions françaises de cette époque peut-être a-t-il développé ses tendances à l'étrange et à l'horrible.

[17] *Poésies Nouvelles*, Tristesse.

sa conscience, une conscience troublé, si l'on veut, singulièrement complaisante, mais sincère dans ses révoltes. En vain la croit-il morte, avec Coelio. "Coelio était la bonne partie de moi-même. Elle est remontée au Ciel avec lui. Je ne sais point aimer. Coelio seul le savait. Lui seul savait verser dans une autre âme toutes les sources de bonheur qui reposaient dans la sienne. . . . Je ne suis qu'un débauché sans cœur. . . . Je ne sais pas les secrets qu'il savait. . . ."[18] Non ; quoique cruellement blessé, Coelio n'était pas mort. Et par ce trait s'affirme un peu plus la ressemblance avec Poë.

C'est pourquoi je réunis les deux poètes dans une même conclusion. Malgré leurs fautes et leurs folies, tous deux m'attachent et m'émeuvent, parce qu'ils souffrent, parce qu'ils pleurent, en un mot, parce que leur conscience n'est pas morte. Je n'essaie pas de les justifier, pas même de les excuser, et ceci, je le pourrais peut-être.

Mais, je ne me défends pas de ressentir beaucoup de pitié, voire cette sympathie qu'Edgar Poë mendie si humblement aux premières pages de *William Wilson.* Et, quand je parle de pitié à propos de Musset, qu'on m'entende bien. Je sais qu'il est le poète de la jeunesse, de la passion, un admirable poète ; et, qu'à ce titre, parler de pitié, c'est lui faire injure, être surabondamment ridicule. Je ne mets pas davantage en question le sujet perpétuel de ses chants, l'amour ; je ne proteste pas, malgré mes réserves intimes, contre cet idéal exclusif qu'il avait donné à sa vie d'homme et de poète. C'est par là qu'il est Musset. J'ai songé seulement au poète malheureux, désillusionné. Le conte symbolique de Poë m'a rappelé la *Nuit de Décembre* et d'autres poèmes analogues. Un rapprochement est né dans mon esprit ; et, voilà pourquoi, après avoir lu leurs souffrances, leurs luttes de conscience, je les réunis dans une sympathie commune.

E. J. Dubedout.

[This brief essay, which displays the author's charitable spirit as well as his remarkable gift in the analysis of the human heart, is the last work to which he put his hand. Ernest-Jean-Baptiste Dubedout died in Paris, October 16, 1906, at the age of forty-four, of pulmonary consumption. In 1901 he had been received *Docteur-ès-Lettres en Sorbonne.* His Latin thesis is a study of the poems of Gregory of Nazianze: *De D. Gregorii Nazianzeni Carminibus, Parisiis,* 1901. His French thesis, *Le Sentiment Chrétien dans la Poésie Romantique*, shows him faithful to the traditions of the Paris Faculty of Letters, for, as he says, he preferred to write "un livre d'analyse religieuse, morale et littéraire," rather than "un livre de recherches documentaires." Besides a large number of miscellaneous articles, Dr. Dubedout was the author of several studies published in *Modern Philology: Romantisme et Protestantisme* (Vol. i, 1903), *Les Discours de Ronsard* (*ibid.*), *Shakespeare et Voltaire: Othello et Zaïre* (Vol. iii, 1906). Beginning in October, 1902, he had been Instructor in French Literature in the University of Chicago.—T. A. Jenkins, *Univ. of Chicago.*]

[18] *Caprices de Marianne.*

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER AND THE *MIRROUR OF KNIGHTHOOD.*

In my paper on Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Clark University Press, Worcester, Mass.), I suggested the *Mirrour of Knighthood* as a source of the plot. At present I shall attempt to show Beaumont and Fletcher's indebtedness to the same Spanish romance of chivalry. For the latter I shall quote the French translation published under the title of *Le Chevalier du Soliel* in eight volumes, and for Beaumont and Fletcher the Folio of 1679. My allusions to the *Mirrour of Knighthood* will be easily understood, however, by a reference to the paper previously mentioned. I begin with *Philaster*, where the concluding scenes are founded on a story in the *Mirrour of Knighthood,* viz. : the Reconciliation Scene at the beginning of the third volume of *Le Chevalier du Soleil.* Rosicler loves Olivia, daughter of Oliver, King of England, but is refused by the father on account of an old feud. Olivia is to be married to the Prince of Portugal, but Rosicler elopes with her. Later on he delivers Oliver and the Prince of Portugal from death, provides another princess for the latter and settles the old feud by his impassioned pleading for mercy. The King in the *Philaster* corresponds to Oliver, Arethusa to Oliva, and Pharamond to the Prince of Portugal. It is also possible that Euphrasia has been derived from Eufronisa (*Le Chevalier du Soleil,* vii, 159), but her *rôle* modified under the influence of Montemayor. The authors indicate their source in the phrase, "My Royal Rosiclear" (Act v, p. 38).

There seems to be a borrowing in the *Tempest*

from *Philaster*, viz., the reason why Prospero has not been put to death. I may also call attention to a common hispanicism in *Philaster*, consisting in the use of the verb *to leave* with an infinitive in the meaning of *to cease*. This hispanicism occurs only once in Shakespeare and that in a play borrowed from Montemayor. The allusion in *Philaster* to the *Mirrour of Knighthood* is full of sympathy and enthusiasm. But the feeling changes in the plays written after Cervantes' immortal satire had reached the authors. Such is, for instance, the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, where we find the following passage (Act I, p. 50):

> "I wonder why the Kings do not raise an Army of fourteen or fifteen hundred thousand men, as big as the Army that the Prince of Portigo brought against Rocicler."

Here we find Rosicler and the Prince of Portugal. The passage preceding the one just quoted is from *Palmerin of England*, and alludes to Palmerin de Oliva (grandfather of Palmerin of England) and Trineo of Germany rescuing the Princess Agriola from the hands of the giant Farnaque. The *Mirrour of Knighthood* itself is alluded to Act II, p. 53. Rosiclere is mentioned again Act II, p. 58. The hispanicism occurs here too. In the *Wild-Goose Chase* the Knight o' th' Sun is mentioned (Act I, p. 448). In the *Faithful Shepherdess* where the hispanicism occurs again, the passage, Act II, p. 219:

> "I'll swear she met me 'mongst
> the shady Sycamores . . . . Hobinall"

is a reminiscence from the *Mirrour of Knighthood* (p. 210 of my pamphlet). Both Hobinall in the *Faithful Shepherdess* and Anibardo in the *Mirrour of Knighthood* are corruptions of Hannibal, a very common method of coining names in the romances of chivalry. The Knight o' th' Sun is mentioned again in the *Scornful Lady*, Act III, p. 71. In the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, the combat between Palamon and Arcite, each accompanied by *three* knights, is a reminiscence from the *Mirrour of Knighthood* (p. 210 of my pamphlet). In the drowning scene, the authors may have used besides Hamlet, a similar scene in the *Mirrour of Knighthood* (*Le Chevalier du Soleil*, vol. I, p. 423), where the young lady is rescued. The plum broth, Act III, p. 437, is Fletcher's dish (*The Honest Man's Fortune*, Act V, p. 527), unknown to Shakespeare. We find again "Cavellero Knight o' th' Sun" in the *Little French Lawyer*, Act II, p. 343. In the *Women Pleas'd*, the following phrase:

> "old knight's adventures, full of inchanted flames, and dangerous"—

is a reference to the *Mirrour of Knighthood* (p. 212 of my pamphlet). Finally, in the *Widow*, which is not in the Folio, the scheme to entrap Valeria seems to be a borrowing from the *Mirrour of Knighthood* (p. 212 of my pamphlet).

As far back as January 31, 1885, the well-known German poet, Edmund Dorer, published in the *Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes*, an article suggesting Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno*, Pamplona, 1609, as the source of the *Tempest*. The authorities of the Royal Library of Berlin having been kind enough to send here a copy of the Brussels edition of the *Noches de Invierno*—which I had the opportunity of studying,—I can add two additional proofs of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Antonio de Eslava. On page 27 of the *Noches de Invierno*, we have two sailors making their escape in a storm on two butts of malmsey, and on page 335 the speech of the serpent has a great resemblance to what is said of Caliban (*Tempest*, Act I, sc. 2). Eslava's own source was partly the *Mirrour of Knighthood* and partly the story of Leone in Ariosto, where, as has been already suggested, Leone takes the place of a princess, say, Floripes in *Les Conquêtes de Charlemagne*. I found also evidences of Beaumont and Fletcher's indebtedness to Antonio de Eslava; for example, the combat in the *Knight of Malta*, Act II, p. 149, which is borrowed from a similar combat between Mauricio and Gaulo Casio in *Antonio de Eslava*, p. 228. The chief point is that the villain engages another man to fight for him and the combatants thus happen to be two brothers or two friends. Beaumont and Fletcher's indebtedness to another source—*La Enemiga Favorable*, by Francisco Tárraga—may be also mentioned *en passant*.

In *Women Pleas'd*, we find a borrowing from the Story of Roland in *Antonio de Eslava*, Silvio corresponding to Milon de Anglante, and Belvidere to Berta and the Serpent. The cave where Bel-

videre dwells indicates clearly the borrowing, and also the city of Siena, which Eslava substituted for Sutri. Child Rowland is also alluded to elsewhere (*The Tamer Tamed,* Act II, p. 253), but that need not be a reference to Eslava.

As to the story in *The Mirrour of Knighthood* which I take to be the source of the *Tempest,* it seems to be borrowed from *Palmerin de Oliva,* where it amounts to this. The king finds his brother Netrido sitting on his throne and in anger exiles him from his dominions. The feud is settled by Netrido's son Frisolo marrying Armida, a daughter of the king's son. A marriage between first cousins, objection to which is expressly stated in *Palmerin de Oliva,* is thus avoided in a way different from that used by Shakespeare. I am now inclined to think that Shakespeare borrowed the name Prospero from Prospero Colonna, who is mentioned with great praise in *Antonio de Eslava,* while Beaumont and Fletcher borrowed the surname for the Knight of Malta, just as they borrowed the Admiral Norandino, from Francisco Tárraga's *La Enemiga Favorable.*

The indebtedness of the *Mirrour of Knighthood* to *Palmerin de Oliva* seems in fact to be very great besides the name of the chief hero in the *Mirrour* —the Knight of the Sun. So, for instance, the story of Luciano and Policena, retold on page 210 of my pamphlet on the *Tempest,* appears to be a combination of the Story of Ariodanto and Ginevra in *Ariosto* with the story of Duardo and Cardonia in *Palmerin de Oliva.* As the last borrower from the *Mirrour of Knighthood,* I should quote Sir Walter Scott, where Cedric in the eighth chapter of *Ivanhoe* is an imitation of Adriano in *Le Chevalier du Soleil,* vol. II, f. 221.

Finally, the plot of the *Double Marriage* seems to be borrowed from the story of Bernardo and the Mooress in *Antonio de Eslava,* but, not having the Spanish book at hand, I cannot enter into further details.

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ON THE INFLECTION OF THE OLD ENGLISH LONG-STEMMED ADJECTIVE.

The following study aims to show definitely the norm for the neuter nom.-acc. plural form, strong, of the long-stemmed adjective in Old English. Hitherto, the student, following, for example, the paradigm in the Sievers-Cook *Grammar,* p. 217, has expected in his texts only the uninflected form, *god, eald,* etc. Or, following, for example, Baskervill and Harrison's *Outlines of Anglo-Saxon Grammar,* p. 30, he has been led to regard the uninflected *god* as the norm and the inflected *gode* as the exception.

This study will perhaps suggest that our paradigms should show *gode,* with *-e* analogous to the corresponding masculine form, standing first as the norm, and *god* appended as the comparatively rare exception. The following citations in support of this were collected incidentally by me, while reading through the texts for a different purpose; however, they include practically every occurrence of this form in the eleven prose texts given below, which fairly constitute the corpus of the Alfredian prose period. Citation from the later prose I omit, since it is agreed that by the time of Ælfric the analogic inflected form in *-e* had become the rule. The poetic texts, save for a few examples incorporated from the *Psalms* and from *Boethius,* I exclude, since the exigencies of metre might tend to make the poetry an uncertain witness in the case.

Therefore, the following early prose writings, from the Alfredian cycle, have been chosen as a fair field in which to test the ratio of frequency between the inflected and the uninflected neuter plural, between *god* and *gode.* I have aimed to list every occurrence in these texts: The Parker MS. of the *Chronicle* (=*Chron.*), Earl and Plummer, Oxford, 1892; *Libri Psalmorum* (=*Ps.*), Thorpe, Oxon., 1835; *Orosius* (= *O.*), Sweet, London, 1883; *Bede* (= *Bede*), Miller, London, 1890; *Boethius* (=*Bo.*), Sedgefield, Oxford, 1899; *Augustine's Soliloquies* (=*Sol.*), Hargrove, Boston, 1902; *Pastoral Care* (=*P. C.*), Sweet, London, 1871; *Gregory's Dialogs* (=*Dial.*), Hecht, Leipzig, 1900; *Gospels* (= *Gos.*), Skeat, Cambridge, 1871–87; *Guthlac* (=*Guth.*), Good-

win, London, 1848; *Martyrology* (= *Mart.*), Herzfeld, London, 1900.

In these eleven texts 401 examples of the form in question were found: 292 = inflected; 109 = uninflected—a ratio of 3 : 1 in favor of *gode.*

In the individual works contributing to the above total, the ratios of inflexion to non-inflexion will appear from the following figures denoting the actual occurrences: *Ps.* = 78 inflected : 27 uninflected; *O.* = 10 : 4; *Bo.* = 13 : 6; *Sol.* = 9 : 1; *Dial.* = 39 : 4; *Gos.* = 108 : 3; *Guth.* = 11 : 3; *Mart.* = 6 : 3. *Chron.* shows a balance, 3 : 3; while only *Bede* and *P. C.* show reverse ratios; viz., 13 : 28 and 2 : 27, respectively.

Classification of these 401 instances according to the grammatical function or position of the adjective corroborates the above ratio of 3 : 1 in favor of the inflected norm. In the attributive position are 229 inflected : 86 uninflected; in the appositive, the numbers are 21 : 6. In the predicate function are 39 inflected : 13 uninflected; in the objective predicate function alone is the ratio reversed, 2 : 4—where the numbers are so small as not to merit consideration.

Finally, a grouping of these 401 examples with reference to the words exemplified is interesting. For brevity's sake let this appear as follows:

Most frequent is *eall,* 132 : 52 in favor of inflexion; then *min* and *ðin,* 96 : 25, likewise. These three words, it will be noted, yield 305 of the 401 examples. The remaining 96 consist of "stems long by position," 24 inflected : 6 uninflected; and of "stems long by nature," 40 : 26, respectively. In addition to the frequent *eall,* the remaining words of the former class are: *æfest, arfull, beorht, betst, ceald, earm, full, geseald, geworht, healf, hwilc, lang, leoht, manigfeald, soðfæst, swilc, toweard, wearm, (un-)weorð, wild, ymbseald*; to the second "long by nature" class belong, in addition to the frequent *min* and *ðin, (un-)cuð, dead, gedon, gelic, god, (un-)hal, hat, heah, hwit, leof, sið, soð, wid.*

Why, then, not make our paradigm of the neuter plural[1] strong, not *god,* nor *god(e),* but *gode, god?*

[1] Interesting examples of adjective agreement with diverse genders are: *Mart.* 152. 7 *se beard* ond *ðæt feax* him wæron oð ða fet *side*; *Bede,* 158. 1 ða gemette he his *earm* ond his *hond* swa *hale* ond swa *gesunde*; *id.* 422. 11 he *monig mynster* ond *ciricean* in ðæm londe getimbrede.

The table below will make clear the minuter details of the statements above.

		Chron.		*Ps.*		*O.*		*Bede.*		*Bo.*		*Sol.*		*P. C.*		*Dial.*		*Gos.*		*Guth.*		*Mart.*		Total.	
		-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—	-e	—
Attributive	{ -e —	1	1	62	23	7	4	9	18	7	4	6	1	2	26	28	4	95	0	7	2	5	3	229	86
Appositive	{ -e —	2	2	12	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	22	6
Predicate	{ -e —	0	0	4	2	3	0	2	6	5	1	2	0	0	1	8	0	12	3	3	0	0	0	39	13
Objective Pred. .	{ -e —	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	4
Total	-e —	3	3	78	27	10	4	13	28	13	6	9	1	2	27	39	4	108	3	11	3	6	3	292	109

Full citations, which may be used in verification of the above statements, are appended.

I. Inflected forms = (292).

1. Attributive: *Chron.* 92. 8 = (1). *Ps.* 6. 6; 8. 7; 9. 1; 12. 4; 16. 2; 17. 27; 24. 13; 30. 2, 10; 32. 4; 44. 2; 55. 5, 11; 73. 16; 79. 13; 88. 16, 27, 28; 89. 1; 91. 4; 95. 5; 103. 19, 23; 104. 1; 105. 7; 108. 13; 118, 4, 6, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 37, 40, 48, 60, 63, 73, 78, 83, 86, 98, 101, 134, 143, 146, 166, 173; 120. 1; 122. 1, 2; 127. 4; 130. 1; 137. 1;

138. 7 ; 140. 8 ; 141. 2 ; 142. 5 ; 144. 10 ; 147. 1, 3 = (62). *O.* 19. 7 ; 108. 25 ; 110. 17 ; 216. 4 ; 224. 27 ; 226. 4 ; 264. 19 = (7). *Bede* 30. 2 ; 40. 29 ; 128. 29 ; 342. 12 ; 402. 14 ; 410. 5, 12 ; 428. 16 ; 438. 25 = (9). *Bo.* 41. 28 ; 79. 25, 28 ; 82. 10 ; 89. 16 ; 121. 4, 9 = (7). *Sol.* 28. 8 ; 35. 2 ; 43. 20 ; 45, 3, 5 ; 48. 12 = (6). *P. C.* 60. 7 ; 303. 9 = (2). *Dial.* 4. 16 ; 57. 27, 28 ; 58. 8 ; 98. 15 ; 119. 19 ; 127. 18 ; 132. 25 ; 141. 2 ; 148. 6 ; 163. 4 ; 171. 2 ; 182. 9 ; 214. 3 ; 228. 7 ; 230. 22 ; 234. 19, 26, 27 ; 251. 7 ; 252. 6 ; 268. 18 ; 293. 6, 9 ; 311. 25 ; 315. 2 ; 327. 9 ; 333. 4 = (28). *Gos.*: Matt. 2. 16 ; 4. 8 ; 5. 18 ; 6. 32, 33 ; 7. 12 ; 24. 26 ; 8. 33 ; 13. 34, 51, 56 ; 17. 11 ; 19. 26, 27 ; 22. 4 ; 23, 5, 36, 37 ; 24. 8, 34 ; 27. 35 ; 28. 11, 20 ; Mark 4. 11 ; 6. 2 ; 7. 23, 37 ; 8. 38 ; 9. 12, 23 ; 10. 28 ; 11. 11 ; 13. 4 ; 23. 30 ; 14. 36 ; Luke 2. 19, 30, 39, 51 ; 4. 5 ; 5. 28 ; 7. 1 ; 9. 7 ; 11. 22, 41 ; 12. 18, 30 ; 13. 34 ; 14. 17 ; 15. 13, 31 ; 18. 28, 31 ; 19. 44 ; 21. 29, 32 ; 24. 44 ; John 1. 3 ; 3. 25 ; 4. 25, 29, 39, 45 ; 5. 20 ; 9. 10, 11, 15, 17, 26, 30 ; 10. 14, 27, 32, 41 ; 12. 32, 47, 48 ; 13. 3 ; 14. 15, 21, 26 ; 15. 7, 15, 21 ; 16. 30 ; 17. 7 ; 18. 4 ; 19. 24, 28 ; 21. 15, 16, 17, 25 = (95). *Guth.* 44. 25 ; 50. 28 ; 52. 19 ; 54. 13 ; 62. 16 ; 78. 11 ; 90. 2 = (7). *Mart.* 28. 21 ; 80. 6 ; 94. 1 ; 146. 1 ; 212. 19 = (5). Totals = (229).

2. Appositive : *Chron.* 78. 18 ; 89. 20 = (2). *Ps.* 76. 4, 5 ; 83. 1 ; 87. 12 ; 100. 6 ; 110. 5 ; 114. 8 ; 118. 123, 136, 148 ; 138. 14 ; 141. 2 = (12). *Bede* 164. 10 ; 430. 29 = (2). *Dial.* 81. 15 ; 141. 24 ; 237. 4 = (3). *Gos.*: Luke 16. 14 = (1). *Guth.* 14. 9 = (1). *Mart.* 158. 24 = (1). Totals = (22).

3. Predicate : *Ps.* 25. 9 ; 83. 1 ; 87. 9 ; 108. 24 = (4). *O.* 10. 24 ; 42. 14 ; 110. 2 = (3). *Bede* 60. 3 ; 388. 3 = (2). *Bo.* 16. 11 ; 24. 11 ; 30. 31 ; 87. 25 ; 90. 17 = (5). *Sol.* 27. 19 ; 31. 8 = (2). *Dial.* 41. 21 ; 76. 3 ; 134. 3 ; 182. 25 ; 244. 18 ; 297. 4 ; 318. 14 ; 348. 7 = (8). *Gos.*: Matt. 11. 20, 21, 23, 27 ; 17. 2 ; Luke 4. 7 ; 6. 30 ; 10. 13, 22 ; John 10. 41 ; 16. 15 ; 17. 10 = (12). *Guth.* 6. 10 ; 12. 25 ; 62. 16 = (3). Totals = (39).

4. Objective Predicate : *Bo.* 79. 28 = (1). *Sol.* 28. 10 = (1). Totals = (2).

II. Uninflected forms = (109).

1. Attributive : *Chron.* 10. 16 = (1). *Ps.* 6. 2 ; 15. 1 ; 16. 6 ; 21. 15 ; 25. 7 ; 27. 6 ; 30. 11, 12 ; 31. 3 ; 32. 6 ; 33. 20 ; 34. 11 ; 41. 12 ; 53. 2 ; 58. 10 ; 66. 6 ; 74, 2 ; 91, 4 ; 101. 4 ; 118. 172 ; 129. 2 ; 138. 12 ; 144. 5 = (23). *O.* 138. 31 ; 146. 23 ; 264. 25 ; 290. 4 = (4). *Bede* 26. 13 ; 28. 8 ; 60. 25 ; 64. 25 ; 102. 15 ; 114. 31 ; 116. 30 ; 120. 2 ; 160. 13 ; 200. 8 ; 216. 33 ; 352. 24 ; 356. 5 ; 368. 20 ; 424. 9 ; 440. 3 ; 454. 6 ; 466. 31 = (18). *Bo.* 32. 15 ; 90. 17 ; xi. 61 ; xx. 44 = (4). *Sol.* 35. 4 = (1). *P. C.* 4. 5 ; 8. 20 ; 42. 5 ; 54. 19, 22 ; 86. 4 ; 110. 22 ; 128. 8 ; 222. 10 ; 230. 11 ; 272. 10 ; 286. 12 ; 310. 16 ; 324. 24 ; 338. 11 ; 372. 12, 23 ; 391. 15 ; 395. 18 ; 405. 25 ; 413. 17 ; 421. 10 ; 443. 36 ; 445. 16, 21, 26 = (26). *Dial.* 3. 21 ; 4. 15 ; 32. 27 ; 331. 26 = (4). *Guth.* 20. 16 ; 88. 21 = (2). *Mart.* 82. 11 ; 142. 16 ; 212. 15 = (3). Totals = (86).

2. Appositive : *Chron.* 86. 24 ; 91. 3 = (2). *Ps.* 74. 2 ; 104. 1 = (2). *Bede* 66. 14 ; 88. 32 = (2). Totals = (6).

3. Predicate : *Ps.* 11. 7 ; 49. 11 = (2). *Bede* 62. 12 ; 178. 15 ; 376. 2 ; 386. 24 ; 426. 12 ; 476. 1 = (6). *Bo.* ii. 18 = (1). *P. C.* 128. 8 = (1). *Gos.*: Matt. 11. 20 ; Mark 11. 21 ; John 16. 13 = (3). Totals = (13).

4. Objective predicate : *Bede* 60. 6 ; 74. 21 = (2). *Bo.* xx. 44 = (1). *Guth.* 54. 13 = (1). Totals = (4).

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NOTES ON THE "NEW ENGLAND SHORT O."

The so-called New England short *o* (ŏ̄)[1] is a phenomenon frequently remarked by the casual traveler and commonly noted by the orthoëpist :—the subject of much amusement and of some sober-minded approval ; but by scholars generally

[1] Throughout this article the symbol ō is used to designate the ordinary English long *o*, long close *o*, with the vanish ; ŏ̄, the New England short *o* ; and ŏ, the recognized "short *o*," as in *hot*.

thrust, often regretfully, into the limbo of provincialisms. It occurs in the form of pronunciation, once almost universal in New England and still common there, of long *o* (*ō*) in a number of words, chiefly popular (as opposed to learned), and varying somewhat with individuals and localities. These words range from downright dialectic forms, such as *stō̆n, cō̆t, tō̆d* (for *stone, coat, toad*), to forms persisting in the speech of many discriminating and well-educated men and by them stoutly maintained, as in *whole, holster, poultry* (contrast with *hole, hole stir, pole-ax*). Webster's *International Dictionary* calls it a pronunciation "which does not give the vanish, and takes a wider form than *ō* (***ōld***), and the same as *ō* (***ȯbey***) brought under the accent:"[2] and note has several times been made that there is in English no other short *o* corresponding closely in quality to the regular long *o* (*ō*).[3]

I should like to call attention to the following points: —

1. The New England short *o* (*ō̆*) is not long *o* (*ō*) minus the vanish. It is not only a little "wider" in character; it is sufficiently wider so that, although in sound quality it is much nearer our long close *o* (*ō*) than to long open *o* (*o* as in *broad*), if we imagine a vanish sound, it is the vanish sound of the latter—*i. e.*, the sound approximating *ẽ* in *her* or *u* in *urn* minus the *r*, on the one hand, and *ŭ* (as in *cut*), on the other, which we shall designate *ẽ*, as the closest approximation,—rather than the *oo* type of vanish that we get from the long close *o* (*ō*). Indeed, the writer would not agree with those who dismiss the *ō̆* as having *no* vanish. He would grant, to be sure, that it has no such distinct vanish as has the *ō*, that whatever vanish there be is very much syncopated; but he would maintain that the *ẽ* vanish would be as distinct as that after long open *o* (*ou* in *brought*, *au* in *caught*),—itself sometimes treated as though possessing no vanish,—did not the greater change of pitch that comes with the pronunciation of a long syllable because it is long accentuate in the latter case the effect of the vanish. Still, it must be admitted that this inchoate vanish of *ō̆* is due rather to the dying away of the breath pressure and to the change in the resonant properties of the buccal cavity as the tongue is proponed than to any reshaping of the mouth organs in vocalic sequence.[4]

2. The *ō̆* bears the same relation to *ō* that *o͝o* (*ou*) does to *o͞o* (*o͞u*): (*foot, would; food, wooed*). In each correspondence the long sound has shortened as to time, has become slightly more open, and glides on to the succeeding consonant as though it had the vanish, very much syncopated, of the full open form (*i. e.*, the *ẽ, ŭ* vanish). Cp. *cooed* and *could*.

3. Certain homonyms receiving the *ō̆* in one sense keep the *ō*, even in New England, in the other, the distinction thus serving, though probably only incidentally, as a means of discrimination. Thus *lō̆ad, lōwed*; *rō̆ad, rōwed* (*rode* doubtful; in some cases *rō̆de* (vid. Professor E. S. Sheldon's comment on the word on p. xx of the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1883). It has been pointed out that the words pronounced with the *ō̆* are most of them (they are not all) popular rather than learned words; and the exemption of *goat*, in which the sound is always *ō*, from the sound change that befell so many of its fellows (*coat, boat* (?), etc.), has been accounted for on the ground that to the New Englander, by the circumstances of his life, *goat* was a learned word. In the case of the homonyms mentioned above, it will be noted that all are popular words, but that those having the *ō̆* would be to the New Englander probably a little the commoner. The forms in *ōd*, too, are both preterits whose presents end in the vowel *ō*, hence would be held somewhat by analogy.[5] Eng-

[2] P. lxiii.

[3] Vid. *Century Dictionary*, O; Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 57; Whitney's *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, II, 216.

[4] It is interesting to note, in passing, that our *oo* sound, itself the vanish of *o* and often treated as terminal, tends to give an indistinct vanish in *ẽ* in those words of which it is the final and accented sound. This too is due to the dying away of the breath, and to the retraction of the lips from the characteristic *oo* shape before the voicing is absolutely complete. If we exaggerate this final element greatly, we get an intrusive *w* sound: *e. g.*, *do* < *doó-wẽ* (or *doó-wŭ*). *ẽ* > < *ŭ* is, in fact, the sound produced by voicing, with the vocal organs at the position of rest.

[5] *Bellow*, which has a dialectic preterit sounding something like one with an *ō̆*, gets it, as a matter of fact, not in this way, but from the corruption "*beller*" < "*bellered*," in which the *r*-sound, according to rustic New England custom, becomes almost inaudible.

lish, indeed, seems to find it difficult to end monosyllables with a short vowel, unless in interjections; so also with the ō̆, this therein differentiating itself from the semi-open *o* in Italian, which in quality it very closely resembles.

4. Practically all words in the language—the writer cannot recall a single instance to the contrary—ending in *olt* receive the New England shortening. Even *revolt*, generally, and correctly, pronounced by the New Englander *re-vŏlt*, is sometimes rendered *re-vō̆ĺt* by those who are evidently thinking of the preferred pronunciation *revṓlt.* This termination, if such we consider it, gives us, indeed, our largest single class of words subject to the New England shortening: *e. g.*, *bolt*, *colt* and *Colt* (proper name), *dolt*, *Holt* (proper name), and *holt* (a learned word), *jolt*, *molt* (*moult*), *volt*; note also *molten*, *poultice* and *poultry*.

The ō̆ in such words might be speciously attributed to the absorption of a part of the vowel length because of the necessity for dwelling on the neighboring liquid. This, however, would bring us face to face with an astonishing anomaly. Words ending in *old* (or the *old* sound), many of them popular, are as uniform in their preservation of the full ō quality. Contrast *bold* and *bolt*; *cold* and *colt*; *doled* and *dolt*; *hold*[6] and *Holt*; (*ca*)-*joled* and *jolt; mo*(*u*)*ld* and *mo*(*u*)*lt* (cp. *molden* and *molten*). Nor can the retention of ō in *old* words be due simply to the existence of some corresponding word in *olt;* for *fold*, *gold*, *sold*, and the like keep equally the long sound. Possibly the "voicing" of the *d*, giving a less violent stop than the comparatively abrupt termination of *t*, may accommodate a dwelling on a preceding vowel and the rounding of it with a vanish. Yet this fact, by itself, seems hardly adequate as explanation. In words like *bold*, motion of the lips, due in part to their rounding in the vanish, in part to their subsequent withdrawal, accompanies, and even follows, the proponing of the tongue to form the liquid and dental. This is not the case, at least to any such extent, in words like *bolt.*

That there is, however, something that, in this domain, approaches being a phonetic law seems to be indicated by the concomitant change that comes with the single apparent exception to uniformity. The noun *hold* is sometimes corrupted to a form with ō̆; but when this is the case, it gets also the *t* terminal sound,—as in the "*holts*" (for "*holds*") of rustic wrestlers. This form "*holt*," be it noted, is not exclusively New England. It is mentioned, for instance, in dialect in a novel of which the scene of action is laid in the cattle ranges of West Virginia.[7]

5. Now and then, in an accented syllable,[8] the ō̆ is used as a substitute for ŏ as well as for ō. I have heard a brakeman call "Bō̆ston," though this pronunciation is certainly not widespread. *Hō̆spitable*, *hō̆stage*, and *hō̆stile*,[9] though not common, are so often met with as to be not unfamiliar. This pronunciation is generally uttered with a certain unction, not necessarily offensive but perfectly palpable, as though the speaker were pluming himself upon a purer enunciation. Its use is no doubt often due more to idiosyncrasy than to unconscious compliance with phonetic tendencies,—is substitution, for whimsical reasons, of one sound with which the speakers are already familiar for another; yet it is certainly characteristic, and may be significant, that in all four

[6] Professor Sheldon, in the article already referred to, goes so far as to say that the ō never occurs to his knowledge in "*hold.*" Very rarely, however, in the expression "Hold on!" we do get the ō̆; but this occurs only when the enunciation is very slovenly and the *d* is thrown over to the following word, making the pronunciation "hō̆l don" < "Now wō̆l don!" Note, too, the distinction between the syllable division of the archaic participle *holden* (*hōld-'n*) and that of the place name Holden (practically always divided, in pronunciation at least, *Hol-den*, and as such often receiving the ō̆).

"*Old*," too, if when rapidly following "*the*" it *ever* be given the ō̆, as to which I am skeptical but not disposed to dogmatise, receives it with the most extreme infrequency; and the result would be felt to be individual and slovenly by those who would pass by *tō̆ad* and *stō̆ne* as matters of course.

[7] *Dwellers in the Hills*, by M. D. Post, 1901, p. 51.

[8] In unaccented syllables there is a recognized intermediate form of *o*, occurring in words like *obey*, *omit.*

[9] *Revolt* possesses sanctioned pronunciation both as *revōlt* and as *revŏlt.* *Revō̆lt* is probably from the former. Vid. supra. So probably *extō̆l* from the pronunciation *extōl*, to which the *Century Dictionary* has given its sanction, rather than from the somewhat commoner *extŏl.* *Extō̆l* is very rare; *extō̆lled* I do not remember ever to have heard. This, in its slight way, is confirmatory of the point made above as to the unmodified character of the ō sound in *ōld* (sound) words.

cases the *o* metamorphosed occurs after the aspirate, and in *Boston* as well before *s*.[10]

6. One reason why the New England shortening did not take place in more of the popular words is very likely the alternative New England practice of nasalization. Nasalize ō, and the vowel itself tends to break into ĕ́-o͞o, still tolerably like its prototype; nasalize ō̆, and it tends to broaden into the obviously different, though bordering, sound of long *open o* (*ou* as in *brought*, *au* as in *fraught*). *Wrote*, for example, is frequently nasalized into *re*$_{N}$*oot*; *croak*, into *cre*$_{N}$*ook*; and *road* is almost as often *re*$_{N}$*ood*, as *rō̆d*.

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A GLANCE AT WORDSWORTH'S READING.[1]

I.

To his average acquaintance Wordsworth is a comforting type of poet: in order to appreciate him, so it seems, one does not need to know very much. Whatever he may be to a learned intimate like M. Legouis or Mr. Hutchinson, to the labor shunning dilettante—and even to many a serious student of English literature—the poet of Rydal is a great non-reading seer of nature, uninfluenced by books and neglectful of bookish lore, a genius who in a peculiar sense may be contemplated apart and fully understood without recourse to conventional and irksome scholarly helps. Insisting very properly upon accurate first-hand observation of the outer world as a basis, though not the only basis, for poetical imagery, he owes, if we accept the prevalent view, no literary debts such as Shakespeare and Milton patently display, and Tennyson, for all his occasional reluctance, may be forced to acknowledge. "He had," affirms Mr. John Morley, echoing Emerson, "no teachers nor inspirers save nature and solitude."[2] Could anything be more explicit? Professor Dowden, it is true, a well schooled Wordsworthian, puts the case more gently: "He read what pleased him and what he considered best, but he had not the wide ranging passion for books of a literary student";[3] the veteran critic of Dublin would be far from seconding Mr. Morley's surprising dictum as it stands, yet here at least he seems not unbiased by traditional opinion. Dr. Brandes, of course, acquires his ideas about the "Lake School" largely from popular authorities, and utters nothing new when he asserts that "Wordsworth would never describe anything with which he was not perfectly familiar";[4] a statement that seems to be corroborated by the poet's latest hierophant, Professor Raleigh, whose oracle speaks thus:

> "It is the interest of Wordsworth's career, studied as an episode in literary history, that it takes us at once to the root of the matter, and shows us the genesis of poetry from its living material, without literary intermediary. . . . The dominant passion of Wordsworth's life owed nothing to books."[5]

He had no teachers, no inspirers, save nature and solitude. The dominant impulse of his life, the poetical impulse, owed nothing to books. Is it profitable to trace the growth of so untenable a paradox, a paradox which Wordsworth, most sensible and straightforward of men, would have been the first to refute? In the main its causes have been three. First, an every day reluctance among the uninitiated to credit *any* genius with the need of external assistance in his work, and an allied indolent reluctance among half initiated criticasters to grant that studying his "sources,"—the books that he "devoured, or studiously perused,"—will ever aid us in understanding a seer;—as if we did not want a poet's education in order to look with

[10] There is much greater probability of significance in the apparently unvarying succession of *s* than in the occasional precedence of *h*. To the examples mentioned above add *ȫstracise*, *Ō̆sborne* and *Ō̆sgood* (the hissing *s* giving place to the buzzing *s* before voiced sonants), *Ō̆scar*, *Yȫst*, and *Cō̆stigan*. And oddly enough the words in ō followed by *s* do not get the ō̆. Note *bōast*, *cōast*, *ghōst*, *hōst*, *rōast*, *tōast* and *pōst*; *pō̆sthumous*, *pō̆stulate*, and *pō̆sture* waver occasionally toward the ō̆,—not so *pōstman* and *pōstscript*.

[1] This article is based on a paper delivered before the Modern Language Association of America, at Haverford, Pa., December 28, 1905.

[2] *Studies in Literature* by John Morley, 1904, p. 5. Compare Emerson, *English Traits*, p. 243: "He had no master but nature and solitude." (*Emerson's Complete Works*, Riverside Edition, 1896, Vol. v.)

[3] *Poems of Wordsworth*, ed. Dowden, 1898, p. xxxvii.

[4] *Main Currents*, Vol. IV.

[5] *Wordsworth*, by Walter Raleigh, 1903, pp. 44, 45.

a poet's eyes. Second, specifically, a persistent misinterpretation of two of Wordsworth's minor pieces, namely, "Expostulation and Reply" and "The Tables Turned," in which hasty brains have fancied that the poet records permanent, not transient, moods; that he is wholly in earnest, not half playful; that he is speaking in his own character, not in two imaginatively assumed voices; that he here seriously and finally rejects all inspiration from the great nature that exists in established art and science. In "The Prelude," where he is writing strict autobiography, Wordsworth may be relied on to give us a true account of his usual attitude toward the world of books, and in that poem, if we listen with care, he tells us a story of deep indebtedness to literary influence,—of the constant relation between a great and happy poet and the best and happiest hours of the past.

The third cause of widespread misapprehension about Wordsworth as a student of both poetry and science is this: the popular conception of the man neglects his earlier life, when he read much, for his later, when he necessarily read less. Brandes's picture,[6] which is conventional enough, is a caricature of Wordsworth's personality in after years when most of his work was done, when he had become a well known literary figure and was sought out by the lion-hunters. Undoubtedly as he grew older Wordsworth became less and less of a reader. Increasing social demands, repeated prostrations by bereavement, occasional visits in London and various tours on the Continent must latterly have made substantial inroads upon such leisure time as he might otherwise, perhaps, have devoted to study. However, as the years went by, a vital hindrance to protracted scholarly pursuits arose in his failing eyesight. The weakness of his eyes had indeed helped to deter Wordsworth as a young man, uncertain of his future, from "taking orders" or entering a learned profession like the law. If his vision was any stronger later on when he began definitely to prepare himself for the career of a poet, it was overtaxed, in all probability, by the arduous scholarly side of that preparation. Wordsworth must have suffered from some sort of ophthalmic defect nearly all his life.[7] By the time he was fifty or sixty years old, though his general health was robust, his eyes were ruined,—and ruined not wholly by the clerical tasks incidental to his own composition, since members of his family had always relieved him of a certain amount of his copying. In the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1906, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed a letter from Wordsworth to Lamb (dated "Sunday, Jany. 10th, 1830"), an extract from which offers eloquent reason why the poet of Rydal Mount could not indulge "the wide ranging passion for books of a literary student":

> "My dear Lamb, . . . Your present of Hone's Book was very acceptable . . . I wished to enter a little minutely into notice of the Dramatic Extracts, and on account of the smallness of the print deferred doing so till longer days would allow one to read without candle light which I have long since given up. But alas when the days lengthened my eyesight departed, and for many months I could not read three minutes at a time. You will be sorry to hear that this infirmity still hangs about me, and almost cuts me off from reading altogether."
>
> "His eyes alas!" adds his sister in a postscript, "are very weak and so will I fear remain through life; but with proper care he does not suffer much." [8]

For this reason alone it may be grossly unfair, then, to intimate, as F. W. H. Myers and Mr. Morley have done, that Wordsworth regarded the literary work of his later contemporaries with indifference: "Byron and Shelley he seems scarcely to have read; and he failed altogether to appreciate Keats." [9] As a matter of fact, all three of

[6] *Main Currents*, Vol. IV, pp. 43, 44, etc.

[7] Here is a case for that literary eye-specialist, Dr. Geo. M. Gould, M. D., of Philadelphia; cf. his address on *Eyestrain and the Literary Life* in *The Canada Lancet*, October, 1903. Dr. Gould apparently goes so far as to think that all the unfortunate aspects in the lives of De Quincey, Carlyle, Herbert Spencer, etc., are attributable to unusual burdens laid upon defective vision.

[8] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 97, p. 255.

[9] Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, with an Introduction by John Morley, p. lii. In his *Studies in Literature*, where Mr. Morley has reprinted this Introduction as a separate essay, the objectionable sentence from Myers is now omitted.

these authors were on Wordsworth's book-shelves when he died; two of them certainly, Byron and Shelley, he had read in one form or another with care, Shelley, as the *Life of Gladstone* shows, with distinct admiration.[10] Under the circumstances, little discredit might attach to Wordsworth had he not read them at all, but, when he considered how his light was spent, given his whole attention to what pleased him more and what he considered best,—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. In reality, the astonishing thing is how well he kept up with current poetry even late in his career; and the unfortunate, how strangely he has been misrepresented as apathetic toward the literary productions of others, not to mention science, all his life,—the cause being chiefly, perhaps, that his eyesight was much impaired during the last thirty or forty years of it. No estimate of Wordsworth have I ever discovered wherein his infirmity of vision is properly emphasized. His critics seem to have tacitly assumed that a man who "would never describe anything with which he was not perfectly familiar" must necessarily have been blest with abundant eyesight.

Other circumstances have doubtless had their share in fostering the comfortable paradox of Mr. Raleigh. For example, the irregularity of Wordsworth's studies at Cambridge, though it disquieted him at the time and though he afterwards condemned and lamented it, has apparently been taken as a fair measure of his subsequent attainments. Yet his attainments at Cambridge were at once more solid and more extensive than his followers have ordinarily realized. Just after he received his bachelor's degree his sister wrote: "William lost the chance, indeed the certainty of a fellowship, by not combating his inclinations. He gave way to his natural dislike to studies so dry as many parts of the Mathematics, consequently could not succeed in Cambridge. He reads Italian, Spanish, French, Greek, Latin, and English; but never opens a mathematical book."[11] Accordingly, any criticism of this period in his life comes less appropriately from some of those who have written about him than from the poet himself; referring to the earlier part of his residence at college, he says:

> Not that I slighted books,—that were to lack
> All sense,—but other passions in me ruled,
> Passions more fervent, making me less prompt
> To in-door study than was wise or well,
> Or suited to those years.[12]

And again, referring to the latter part:

> The bonds of indolent society
> Relaxing in their hold, henceforth I lived
> More to myself. Two winters may be passed
> Without a separate notice: many books
> Were skimmed, devoured, or studiously perused
> But with no settled plan.[13]

Between those winters at Cambridge and the time when he penned such lines as these, Wordsworth must have undergone some change of heart toward "in-door study" after a "settled plan." In the present article it is the interest of Wordsworth's career, taken as a crucial instance of the relation between poetry and scholarship, that it shows us a definite attempt by the great English poet of nature to supply during his earlier prime what he considered a defect in his literary training hitherto, in order to fit himself for success in the world of letters. It is true (unless he is himself mistaken), even at Cambridge he had been granted imaginative glimpses of the training that he needed:

> Yet I, though used
> In magisterial liberty to rove
> Culling such flowers of learning as might tempt
> A random choice, could shadow forth a place
> (If now I yield not to a flattering dream)
> Whose studious aspect should have bent me down
> To instantaneous service; should at once
> Have made me pay to science and to arts
> And written lore, acknowledged my liege lord,
> A homage frankly offered up, like that
> Which I had paid to Nature.[14]

However, it was not, I think, during the years of unrest immediately succeeding the "deep vacation" of his residence at the university that Wordsworth's intellectual conversion, if we may style it so, was finally accomplished; not until

[10] Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. I, p. 136; for other valuable references on Wordsworth's reading, see Index, Vol. III.

[11] Letter of June 26, 1791, to Miss Pollard, Knight, *Life of William Wordsworth*, Vol. I, p. 57; my punctuation follows that of a note in Worsfold's edition of *The Prelude*, pp. 391–392.

[12] *The Prelude*, Book III, ll. 364 ff.

[13] *The Prelude*, Book VI, ll. 20 ff.

[14] *The Prelude*, Book III, ll. 368 ff.

after his settlement at Racedown; not, perhaps, until his friendship with the polymath Coleridge had been cemented. We may assume that this conversion was not unrelated to the "moral crisis" which he passed through after his return from France and to the attendant change in his general attitude toward life, which has been described with so much penetration by Professor Legouis.[15] On the other hand, that Wordsworth, whether rapidly or gradually, had learned the spirit and practice of a more regulated toil among books by the time he began to write *The Prelude* is, I am convinced, unquestionable. Five years later, when he was bringing that poem to a close and when he felt himself competent to pass judgment on the motive forces of the French Revolution, he was well aware from what sort of literary investigation true insight into history must be won. At a prior stage of development, so he says,

> Like others, I had skimmed, and sometimes read,
> With care, the master pamphlets of the day;
> Nor wanted such half-insight as grew wild
> Upon that meager soil, helped out by talk
> And public news.[16]

But it is not with any of his special historical studies, of whatever time, that we have here to do. For the moment our inquiry concerns his more general literary activities subsequent to his establishment at Racedown.

Briefly, the case seems to be this. Sometime after Calvert's legacy had put within actual reach Wordsworth's ideal of a life devoted to poetry, and yet, as we have hinted above, possibly not until his intimacy with the erudite Coleridge began, Wordsworth came to realize that his previous literary and scientific schooling had been inadequate, and he shortly bent himself to the Miltonic task of "industrious and select reading," in conscious preparation for his chosen and impending career. Face to face with the project of an ample philosophic poem upon nature, man, and human life, though undecided on its exact subject-matter, he felt the need of supplementing and enriching his individual experience; hence, being a genius of eminent good sense, he disdained none of the obvious means to culture. The dominant impulse of Wordsworth's life owed the normal debt of poetry to books.

One recalls his mature advice to his nephew: "Remember, first read the ancient classical authors; *then* come to *us*; and you will be able to judge for yourself which of us is worth reading."[17] But more significant still is his remark to Crabb Robinson: "When I began to give myself up to the profession of a poet for life, I was impressed with a conviction, that there were four English poets whom I must have continually before me as examples—Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton. These I must study, and equal *if I could*; and I need not think of the rest."[18] If we had no other way of gauging Wordsworth's attention to "these," we might measure it by the evidences of his actual attention to "the rest." "I have been charged by some," he observed, "with disparaging Pope and Dryden. This is not so. I have committed much of both to memory."[19] And when Hazlitt wrote in his *Spirit of the Age*: "It is mortifying to hear him speak of Pope and Dryden; whom because they have been supposed to have all the possible excellencies of poetry, he will allow to have none."—Wordsworth rejoined, privately: "Monstrous . . . I have ten times [more] knowledge of Pope's writings, and of Dryden's also, than this writer ever had. To this day [1836] I believe I could repeat, with a little rummaging of my memory, several thousand lines of Pope."[20] When the question is looked into, Wordsworth's familiarity with the lesser English poets becomes simply astounding; for neither the breadth of his acquaintance among them, as indicated, for example, by his "Prefaces," etc., nor the strength of his verbal memory, just noted, has been commonly recognized. In some minds there seems to be an impression that his sole and guiding star was Anne Countess of Winchelsea.

But it is not within the scope of the present

[15] *The Early Life of William Wordsworth*, by Émile Legouis, pp. 253 ff.

[16] *The Prelude*, Book IX, ll. 96; cf. ll. 92–95.

[17] *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, by Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Vol. II, p. 477.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[20] *Wordsworth and Barron Field*, I, by William Knight, *Academy*, Dec. 23, 1905 (p. 1334).

study to consider the possible influence of Chaucer, or Spenser, or Shakespeare, or Milton on Wordsworth, not to mention that of men like Drayton, or Herbert, or Thomson, or Bowles; or to stir the problem of his indebtedness as a didactic poet to his favorite in Latin literature, the moral Horace; or to look into his observance as a rural poet of models among the pastoral writers including and preceding Spenser, although, as we have seen, Wordsworth's own advice is to consult "the ancient classical authors"—in this case Theocritus and Virgil—as a preliminary to understanding him. Suffice to say that for every type of production that he essayed Wordsworth had the best examples continually before him as guides. Nor, on the other hand, is it possible here to take general account of his devotion to science, which grew strong after his removal to Racedown, and of which we have striking evidences for the period of his residence at Alfoxden. We know that he now betook himself to mathematics, which at Cambridge he had neglected; that he became familiar with works like those of Linnæus; that he was interested in treatises such as Erasmus Darwin's *Zoönomia*. And we gather that the beautiful severity of "geometric truth," pursued after the example of Milton, was reflected in course of time in that marvel of rigorous harmony, the "Ode to Duty"; that the poet's amateur study of flowers was fortified by an acquaintance with systematic botany; and that from sources of medical lore like the *Zoönomia* he drew information on abnormal psychology which he presently used to advantage in problem-ballads like "Goody Blake" and "The Idiot Boy." Wordsworth's formula in the "Preface" of 1800 has become classic: "Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all Science." Can any one really suppose that a man of Wordsworth's sincerity, believing this, would have tried to write poetry, if he had no science? Nor, furthermore, dare we grapple with the problem of Wordsworth's avidity for modern languages,—French, which he handled much more easily than the learned Coleridge, or German, which he could hardly have spoken much worse. We may note, as a symptom, that by the time he visited Goslar to practise German Wordsworth was ready to take up "Norse" as well.[21] On the whole, it is safe to say that in linguistic accomplishments he was by no means so inferior to the translator of "Wallenstein" as Coleridgeans may have silently assumed; and perhaps the day is coming when specialists will discover that not merely in this, but in more than one other direction, the author of the "Ode to Duty," who often depreciates his own acquirements, was a more systematic student than the "myriad minded," but desultory Coleridge. As M. Aynard judiciously observes, the habit of pretending to an encyclopedic knowledge was one of the maladies of the romantic spirit.[22] From this malady Wordsworth was exempt.

In any case, our poet's reading after 1795 and, more particularly, about 1797–1798 was various and extensive,—so extensive as to call for industry on the part of any oue who tries to duplicate it,—and was chosen largely as an aid, direct or indirect, to literary composition. The present article can but touch upon a single aspect of that various debt, using this aspect as a type, and must in any case be considered a preliminary rather than a finished study. However, any new ray of light upon Wordsworth's private history shortly before the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* is likely in some quarters to prove welcome.

In recounting the origin of the ballad now known as Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Wordsworth tells us that the fateful death of the Albatross was a direct suggestion from him. He had been reading about this ominous bird in *Shelvock's Voyages*, a book, he adds significantly "which probably Coleridge never saw."[23] Now Coleridge's acquaintance with exactly this sort of literature, the literature of travel, may be set down as reasonably wide;

[21] Cf. the poem commencing

A plague on your languages, German and Norse!

This reference (Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, Macmillan ed., p. 124) is unnoticed in Dr. R. E. Farley's *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*, Harvard *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, No. IX. In fact, Dr. Farley's admirable work is painfully lacking with respect to Scandinavian influence in Wordsworth; there was a good deal of this. It came largely, I think, through Wordsworth's acquaintance with itineraries.

[22] *Revue Germanique*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[23] Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 594.

at all events not merely "casual," as M. Legouis denominates it.[24] Was Wordsworth's acquaintance wider? Yet observe something even more strange: here is Wordsworth, who "would never describe anything with which he was not perfectly familiar," caught in the act of imaging for Coleridge, and for a poem in which the two were to be joint authors, a creature which neither of the ballad-makers could in all probability have seen in the flesh, sucking inspiration, not from "nature" or "solitude," but from a stirring narrative of adventure, and, in a capital instance, cruelly exhibiting the "genesis of poetry" out of dead (?) "material," with an eighteenth-century sea-captain for "literary intermediary."

George Shelvocke's *Voyage round the World by the Way of the Great South Sea* (London, 1726) was *Performed*, as the title-page records, *in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the Speedwell of London, of 24 Guns and 100 Men, (Under His Majesty's Command to cruize on the Spaniards in the late War with the Spanish Crown) till she was cast away on the Island of Juan Fernandes, in May, 1720; and afterwards continu'd in the Recovery, the Jesus Maria and Sacra Familia, &c.* The book illustrates one main direction in Wordsworth's studies during his outwardly quiet life at Alfoxden. Prior to his departure for Germany in 1798, he had probably worked through dozens of similar narratives, whether of wanderings by sea or of adventures in distant lands; for, aside from the fact that they were congenial to his roving and impetuous imagination, such accounts described for him in "the language of real men"—men who were first-hand and excited observers of nature—regions which the poet could never himself hope to traverse, but which, for specific purposes, he wished to be acquainted. "Of the amassing of knowledge," remarks Mr. Raleigh, ". . . he had always thought lightly." The dates are for the most part, of course, impossible to fix, but within a very few years Wordsworth read accounts of Dalecarlia, Lapland, and northern Siberia; he studied in some form the physical geography of portions of south-eastern Europe; he made acquaintance, it seems, with Wilson's *Pelew Islands*[25]; he read Hearne's *Hudson's Bay* "with deep interest,"[26] and knew the Great Lakes through the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver.[27] If he did not carry Bartram's *Travels* in Georgia, Florida, etc., with him to Germany, he must have had that entertaining journal almost by heart before he started.[28] In this book, of course, his interest in travel was reinforced by his interest in botany. It is clear that he was acquainted also with the much earlier and more fiery expedition to Florida of Dominique de Gourgues[29]; and, if so, he had access less probably to the original of Basanier than to the translation in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.* In that case it would be hard to say where his delvings in itineraries ceased. In the meantime his friend and teacher. Coleridge, was busy with tomes like the *Pilgrimage* of Samuel Purchas, Hakluyt's industrious successor, and the *Strange and Dangerous Voyage* of Captain James, not to speak of Bartram and others. Sixty years afterward, in the catalogue made up for a posthumous sale of Wordsworth's library at Rydal, there appear not merely Purchas, Hearne and Shelvocke, but, besides a very considerable array of travels published after the year 1800, more than twenty such titles as the following: Bianchi's *Account of Switzerland* (1710); Buchanan, Rev. J. L., *Travels in the Western Hebrides* (1793); Burnet, Gilbert, *Travels in France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland* (1762); Busequius' *Travels into Turkey* (1744); *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692* (1694); Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1650); *Account of the Kingdom of Hungary* (1717); Mavor, Rev. W., *Collection of Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, from the time of Columbus to the present* (1796, etc.), twenty-one volumes; *Account of Voyages to the South and North, by Sir John Narborough and others* (1694); *Voyages and Travels, Some now first printed from Original Manuscripts, others now first published in English, with Introductory Discourse supposed to be written by the celebrated Mr. Locke* (1744), five volumes; Psalmanazar's *Description of Formosa* (1794);

[24] *Early Life of Wordsworth*, p. 422.

[25] Cf. *Athenæum*, 1905, Vol. I, p. 498.

[26] Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, Macmillan ed., p. 85.

[27] See *Poems by Wordsworth*, ed. Dowden, 1898, pp. 418, 419; and compare *Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes*, ed. E. de Sélincourt, 1906, pp. 39, 176–177.

[28] Cf. *Athenæum*, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 498–500.

[29] Cf. *The Prelude*, Book I, ll. 206 ff.

Ray, John, F. R. S., *Observations made in a Journey in the Low Countries, Germany and France* (1673); *Travels in Divers Parts of Europe, &c., &c., with Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quicksilver and Other Mines* [*etc.*] (1687); *Vocabulary of Sea Phrases, &c.* (1799). It is reasonable to assume that if Wordsworth knew Shelvocke and Hearne before 1800, he knew at least a few of these works too. It is clear also that not all of his collection of travels and voyages can be found in the catalogue of sale for 1859.[30] For example, Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile* (1790) is wanting there; yet Wordsworth certainly owned a copy of this book, since in the memoranda that he was careful to keep at Rydal of all volumes borrowed from his shelves, there is an entry recording the loan of Bruce.[31] Further, no one can say to what limit the poet's own borrowing may not have gone before he had the money to buy books with any degree of freedom. Unfortunately I have been unable to consult all of the works that I am aware he knew even prior to 1799.

(*To be continued.*)

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[30] This *Catalogue* of Wordsworth's library has been reprinted in the *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 6, pp. 197–257.

[31] The MS. is now in the possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia.

Laurence Sterne in Germany. A Contribution to the Study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century, by WILLIAM WATERMAN THAYER. (Columbia University Germanic Studies, Vol. II, No. 1.) New York, 1905.

The author of this monograph has selected a subject, the importance of which has been recognized for a long time, but which, for a number of reasons, has failed to find exhaustive treatment. In the first place the nature of Sterne's influence upon German literature is so elusive that the investigator is at a loss to know how to define its limits. Furthermore, the sources for the investigation are, certainly for an American student, extremely difficult to reach. Finally, Sterne's influence in Germany went beyond the limits of literature. The whole manner of life of the period of Sterne's popularity seems to have been affected by the characteristics of the English author.

The greatest recommendation that Thayer's book has, consists in the fact that its author has based his study largely upon German periodical literature. Histories of literature could have revealed but little. The examination of the writings of certain authors whose names are usually connected with Sterne's vogue, would have furnished no guarantee that the subject had been studied in all its phases. A search through the files of the contemporary journals has, however, suggested a method of work which has made it possible for the author to give a fairly connected review of Sterne's influence upon German literature. Unfortunately, in this monograph the discussion is limited to the eighteenth century.

Thayer's book is by no means unpretentious. It goes beyond the scope of a dissertation—not farther, however, than the subject warrants. In fact there are few themes which offer greater attractions to the worker in the field of literature than does this. It, however, demands and merits a more genial treatment than is frequently accorded to similar subjects. After all "Sterne's influence" seems to be something very incongruous.

Yorick stands forth as one of the most notable examples of an *enfant gâté* in the history of literature. His personal and literary success during his lifetime must be considered as a whim of the time. His popularity was a part of the widespread protest against formalism which the eighteenth century recorded. He exceeded his predecessors in his disregard of literary conventions, hence he was elevated to a lofty pinnacle of fame—so high that the lightheaded parson became giddy. Still he was never taken altogether seriously by his fellow countrymen. They read his works, praised and flattered their author, feted and lionized him, but it may be questioned whether in England, he was regarded as anything more than a clever individual whose charm consisted largely in his formlessness and his effrontery.

But across the Channel in continental Europe he was looked at in a different light. The spoilt

child in England was furnished with the power of a literary authority in Germany and in France. His meaningless disquisitions were studied intently in the hope that new canons of art might be deduced from them. His incoherent mutterings were eagerly caught up and regarded as seriously as though they were inspired by deep philosophical meditation. The naughty, the irregular, the flippant and trifling Yorick masquerades as a literary sage—the picture is one that could have been made possible only by the irony of an illogical fate.

Nevertheless, although Sterne may not have merited his authority, he had it, and the study of its nature and extent deserves investigation in the most careful manner. However, the investigator ought not to make the panoply of philological method too formidable.

The important questions in the study of Sterne's popularity in Germany are not, whether there is a connection between Corporal Trim and Just in *Minna von Barnhelm,* or between two characters in Lessing's *Die Witzlinge* and Trim and Eugenius, or between Martin in *Götz* and some one of Sterne's characters. It is hard to resist the temptation to look for just such "influences." Thayer has been quite self-contained in this respect and has preferred to give his attention to the larger although far more intangible questions.

The author has brought out clearly that Sterne's fame in Germany was due almost solely to the *Sentimental Journey.* This fact has been frequently stated, but Thayer's intelligent discussion of the several editions shows definitely that but for the "sentimentalism" of Sterne, he would have had a very brief and unimportant career in Germany. The interest in *Tristram Shandy* and Yorick's sermons and letters was only aroused after the author of the *Sentimental Journey* had become a celebrity. A few men of note had enjoyed *Tristram* before the later book was published—Herder, Hamann and Wieland—but the number of its admirers was very small.

The first six parts of *Tristram Shandy* appeared in a German version by Zückert in 1763. Zückert was a physician and was especially attracted by the mock-scientific manner of Walter Shandy. No mention of the author's name was made until the appearance of the seventh and eight parts in 1765. In 1767 part nine was added--this was nothing more than the translation of a spurious original. There were in all, three editions of the Zückert translations which differ, however, very slightly from each other.

It is suggestive that Sterne's sermons were published in German in Switzerland as early as 1766. As was the case with many of the earlier versions of English books, the translator quite missed the spirit of the original and failed to grasp its real significance. The devotion to things English led the translators into strange errors. Even the authors of the *Discourse der Mahler* committed some inexplicable mistakes, but the gravity with which this volume of Yorick's sermons was regarded is more than remarkable.

Bode's translation of *Tristram* did not appear until 1774, six years after his version of the *Sentimental Journey* had been given to the public. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode is the man most intimately associated with Sterne's fame in Germany. He had so fully worked himself into the spirit of Yorick's writings that everything he attempted in a literary way has the stamp of his favorite author.

Jördens says (Lexicon I, page 117): "Die Übersetzung dieses Fieldingschen, in seiner Art einzigen und unerreichbaren, Charaktergemäldes wirklicher Menschen (Tom Jones) verfertigte Bode in groszer Eile und unter ungünstigen Umständen. Sie ist ihm daher auch weniger gelungen. Besonders ist ihr der Vorwurf gemacht worden, dasz Bode seinem Autor einen ihm ganz fremden Anstrich von Sternischer Laune gegeben habe. Doch bleibt sie bei allen ihren Mängeln noch immer ein sehr schätzbares Denkmal seines Geistes."

Bode's conception of Sterne was not the English Sterne. He constructed an ideal of the whimsical Englishman which was founded altogether upon the *Sentimental Journey.* It is therefore not surprising that in attempting to render *Tristram* into German, he should weave into it some of the ideas which were obtained from the book by which Sterne was especially known in Germany.

Bode's translation of the *Sentimental Journey* appeared in September or October, 1768. Previous to this, he had published several excerpts. Lessing's share in this work of Bode has been a subject about which there has been a good deal

of uncertainty and Thayer has accomplished an important task in defining Lessing's part in the undertaking. A good deal of the obscurity about Bode's relation to Lessing was caused by the translator himself who allowed a greater dependence upon his distinguished friend to be presumed than the facts warrant. Bode's preface states that Lessing had taken the trouble to go through the whole translation. It is of little consequence whether Lessing suggested the idea of translating the book to Bode or not, as there can be no doubt of Lessing's genuine enthusiasm for the English writer.

The second edition of the *Sentimental Journey* was published in May, 1769. It was identical with the first except that it contained certain additions to the first version. Thayer considers it of importance that Ebert's name is mentioned along with Lessing's. Bode acknowledges that the excellence of his work is due to Ebert and Lessing and this statement makes it probable that Ebert's influence has been much greater than is usually stated. Lessing's name has predominated in all discussions of the book because of his fortunate suggestion of the word *empfindsam* as a translation for *sentimental.* As we look back upon the period, it seems the absence of a word so frequently employed as *empfindsam* would have left a gap. Such a rendering as *sittlich* which was proposed by Bode could never have adequately taken the place of Lessing's invention.

Another translation of the *Sentimental Journey* which appeared almost simultaneously with Bode's was Pastor Mittelstedt's with the title *Versuch über die menschliche Natur in Herren Yoricks, Verfasser des Tristram Shandy, Reisen durch Frankreich und Italien. Aus dem Englischen.* This author had proposed *Gefühlvolle Reisen, Reisen fürs Herz, Philosophische Reisen,* but rejected them all in favor of the title as given above. Mittelstedt's version was originally offered to the public anonymously. The respective merits of the two German renderings is shown very clearly by the fact that Bode owes his reputation almost exclusively to this book, while Pastor Mittelstedt is relatively unknown.

A very interesting chapter is Thayer's treatment of the career in Germany of the spurious volumes of the *Sentimental Journey* which had been published in England in 1769. Bode translated these and gave them to the public with no explanation whatever which led to almost endless confusion, especially as the translation was more of an adaptation than a copy of the original. It was filled with allusions to German conditions. Thayer says (p. 51) : "In all, Bode's direct additions amount in this first volume to about thirty-three pages out of one hundred and forty-two. The divergencies from the original are in the second volume (the fourth as numbered from Sterne's genuine Journey) more marked and extensive : about fifty pages are entirely Bode's own, and the individual alterations in word, phrase, allusion and sentiment are more numerous and unwarranted." Bode's changes are intended to portray the Yorick as he was known in Germany, not in England. In some cases, Eugenius' original has been modified in order to avoid its grossness, while elsewhere the change is made in order to give an additional bit of delectable sentimentality.

In dealing with Bode's rendering of *Shandy,* Thayer says (p. 59) : "Bode's work was unfortunately not free from errors in spite of its general excellence, yet it brought the book within reach of those who were unable to read it in English, and preserved, in general with fidelity, the spirit of the original. The reviews were prodigal of praise." Some years later, however, a very bitter attack was made upon this work by J. L. Benzler, the librarian of Graf Stolberg at Wernigerode. Benzler claims that Bode never made a translation that was not full of mistakes, but the improvements in his own version are hardly commensurate with his large pretensions. He, however, did some good in that he had the courage to call attention to some of the deficiencies of the popular idol Bode. In a very brief note on page 61 Thayer says : "The following may serve as examples of Bode's errors," and then enumerates only three samples of poor translations. One might reasonably expect from such a complete study as the writer has undertaken, a more thorough examination of Bode's stylistic and linguistic shortcomings.

The treatment of Sterne's letters and sermons, while adequate, is of no great consequence. It is, however, interesting to note that in this age especially famous for its letter writing, a volume

could be published (1780) with the title *Briefe von Yorick und Elisen, wie sie zwischen ihnen konnten geschrieben werden.* The letters were, of course, spurious. In fact the great amount of ungenuine publications that have assembled around the name of Sterne shows how large a place in the public mind was filled by the English writer.

"The Koran, or the Life, Character and Sentiments of Tria Juncta in Uno, M. N. A., Master of No Arts," had an interesting career in Germany and is important because of the interest that Goethe showed in it and his belief in its authenticity. This book was published in the first collected edition of Sterne's works, Dublin, 1779, and was probably written by Richard Griffith. There is some doubt about the author of the German translation published, Hamburg, 1778, under the title *Der Koran, oder Leben und Meinungen des Tria Juncta in Uno, M. N. A. Ein hinterlassenes Werk von dem Verfasser des Tristram Shandy.* It was, however, probably Bode.

Thayer condemns Robert Springer's *Ist Goethe ein Plagiarius Lorenz Sterne's?* contained in *Essays zur Kritik und zur Goethe-Literatur.* Thayer thinks that Springer is interested in making a case for the *Koran* and finds his chief argument in the fact that both Goethe and Jean Paul accepted it.

Johann Gottfried Gellius had also published a version of it in 1771 under the title Yorick's *Nachgelassene Werke.* The reviews of these volumes are generally favorable and they were usually accepted as having been written by Sterne.

Thayer points out that Schink's *Empfindsame Reisen durch Italien, die Schweiz und Frankreich, ein Nachtrag zu den Yorickschen. Aus und nach dem Englischen,* Hamburg, 1794, had as its source "Sentimental Journey, Intended as a Sequel to Mr. Sterne's, through Italy, Switzerland and France, by Mr. Shandy," 1793. Schink says in his introduction with regard to the statement in the title "*Aus und nach dem Englischen*"—"aus, so lange wie Treue für den Leser Gewinn schien und nach, wenn Abweichung für die deutsche Darstellung notwendig war." Schink published in 1801 also *Launen, Phantasien und Schilderungen aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Engländers.*

With regard to the Lorenzo order and the remarkable history of the *Lorenzodose* idea, Thayer has very little to add to what is contained in Longo's monograph, *Laurence Sterne und Johann Georg Jacobi* and Ransohoff's dissertation.

Through this order Jacobi became a celebrity in a very short time. His idea had met with universal approval and everybody wanted to make the acquaintance of the amiable Jacobi. So many desired to obtain the snuff-boxes that they became the subject of speculation on the part of the shop-keepers. The material employed was usually metal, but there are frequent references to boxes which were made of horn. The name Jacobi was often engraved on the inside of the case. Although they were scattered all over middle and northern Germany as far as Sweden and Lapland, at the present time it seems impossible to find a single example of the famous Lorenzo snuff-box. The interest in the association was not confined to any one class—clergymen, literary men, students and business men, were eager applicants for membership.

The plan was viewed with so much pleasure that efforts were made to found other societies of a similar nature. One was the order of *Empfindsamkeit* undertaken by Leuchsenring, another had the curious title order of *Sanftmuth und Versöhnung.*

Pankraz, one of the characters in Timme's *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Zärtlickeit,* attempts to found a new order of the garter. The garter was to have upon it Elisa's (one of the characters in the book) silhouette and the device *Orden vom Strumpfband der empfindsamen Liebe.*

Thayer's study of Wieland's relation to Sterne, which would naturally form a not unimportant part of such an investigation, has been based largely upon *Laurence Sterne und C. M. Wieland,* by K. A. Behmer. However, Thayer finds that the value of Behmer's work is lessened by his acceptance of the Eugenius volumes of the *Sentimental Journey* and the *Koran* as genuine.

Herder's importance in this connection centers largely in the fact that probably through him Goethe first made the acquaintance of Sterne.

Thayer has done little more in connection with Goethe's relation to Sterne than to discuss the well-known passages in his writings and in his conversations that deal with the English author. It would seem that the writer had the opportunity for a less cursory examination of this relationship,

although he says, page 107: "A thorough consideration of these problems, especially as concerns the cultural indebtedness of Goethe to the English master would be a task demanding a separate work."

In concluding his investigation of the borrowings of minor literary men from Sterne, Thayer says, page 151: "The pursuit of references to Yorick and direct appeals to his writings in the German literary world of the century succeeding the era of his great popularity would be a monstrous and fruitless task. Such references in books, letters and periodicals multiply beyond possibility of systematic study."

Apart from the general influence of Sterne, which arose from the direct effect of his books upon special writers, there are three ideas under which his contributions to German literature may be grouped. In the first place, he precipitated the sentimental malady. This may have been intensified by the apt coining of the word *empfindsam*.[1] Second, the hobby horse idea. As exemplified by Sterne, this suggestion had considerable sway. Third, the journey motif. A book which had such great popularity as the *Sentimental Journey* would inevitably canse a great number of imitations, but there is danger in emphasizing the journey idea too strongly. There had been *Reisen*[2] before the appearance of Yorick's wanderings and there would have been such undertakings if Sterne had never written the *Sentimental Journey*. The original feature was the sentimental quality which was given to books of travel, or to imaginary travels.

Thayer gives the following very apt quotation from Timme's *Der Empfindsame*, p. 169: "Kaum war der liebenswürdige Sterne auf sein Steckenpferd gestiegen, und hatte es uns vorgeritten; so versammelten sich wie gewöhnlich in Teutschland alle Jungen um ihn herum, hingen sich an ihn, oder schnitzten sich sein Steckenpferd in der Geschwindigkeit nach, oder brachen Stecken vom nächsten Zaun oder rissen aus einem Reissigbündel den ersten besten Prügel, setzen sich darauf und ritten mit einer solchen Wut hinter ihm drein, dass sie einen Luftwirbel veranlassten, der alles, was ihm zu nahe kam, wie ein reissender Strom mit sich fortriss. Wär es nur unter den Jungen geblieben, so hätte es noch sein mögen; aber unglücklicherweise fanden auch Männer Geschmack an dem artigen Spielchen, sprangen vom ihrem Weg ab und ritten mit Stock und Degen und Amtsperüken unter den Knaben einher. Freilich erreichte keiner seinen Meister, den sie sehr bald aus dem Gesicht verloren, und nun die possirlichsten Sprünge von der Welt machen und doch bildet sich jeder der Affen ein, er reite so schön wie der Yorick."

Thayer mentions other ideas which are derived from the author under consideration — stylistic peculiarities, extravagant methods of punctuation, the exaltation of the eccentric, the mock scientific style.

The author of the monograph has not exhausted the journalistic material that deals directly or indirectly with Sterne. This would be too much to expect, although the results of his investigation give a connected, if not thoroughly complete study of the subject he is treating. The periodical publications of this time are so multifarious—the letters from England which deal with literature, with art, the theatre, the proceedings of learned societies, etc., are so manifold that the author would have been too heavily taxed to attempt to make complete examinations of them.

Thayer has adopted a method which seems rather hazardous. He says, page 12: "The *first* mention of Sterne's name in Germany may well be the brief word in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* for January 4, 1762"; again, page 15: "This Zückert translation is *first* reviewed by the above mentioned *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* in the issue for January 4, 1764"; again, page 32: "The *first* notice of Sterne's death is probably that in the *Adress-Comptoir-Nachrichten* of Hamburg in the issue of April 6, 1768." Again, page 18: "A little more than a year after the review in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent*, which has been cited, the *Jenaische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* in the number dated March 1, 1765, treats Sterne's masterpiece in its German

[1] Thayer has failed to note a publication which was intended to combat sentimentalism and some of its consequences—*Archiv der Schwärmerei und Aufklärung*, hrsg. v. Schulz, 1788, Altona (3 vols.).

[2] Ransohoff thinks Ronsard's *Voyage de Tours ou les Amoureux* is the first example in modern French literature.

disguise. This is the *first* mention of Sterne's book in the distinctly literary journals." A number of other similar references could be added, but these are sufficient to show the danger of such statements, although they are in some instances qualified.

The contemporary reviews of Sterne's several books quoted by Thayer, form a valuable feature of his study—such expressions as "The reviewer in the *Allegemeine deutsche Bibliothek*," page 128, "The reviewer in the *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*," page 131, the "*Almanach der deutschen Musen, 1771*, calls the book," etc. They are found on nearly every page, and while these quotations may be at times pedantic and frequently distracting, they give an idea of the extent of the author's reading.

The writer's style is by no means above criticism. Dealing as he does with a subject whose ramifications run into many questions of wide interest, Thayer has allowed himself to write in a manner that may be described as being too large. The bigness of his method of expression has carried him into some stylistic vagaries which are remarkable. The following serve as illustrations (page 40): "The translator's preface occupies twenty pages and is an important document in the story of Sterne's popularity in Germany, since it represents the introductory *battle-cry* of the Sterne cult, and illustrates the attitude of cultured Germany toward the new *star*." And (page 51): "But there is lacking here the inevitable concomitant of Sterne's relation of a sentimental situation, the whimsicality of the narrator in his attitude at the time of the adventure, or reflective whimsicality in the narration. Sterne is always whimsically quizzical in his conduct toward a sentimental condition, or toward himself in the analysis of his conduct." (Page 42): "Its source is one of the facts involved in Sterne's German vogue which seem to have fastened themselves on the memory of literature." Also (page 112): "The intelligence is afforded that he himself is working on a journey."

On page 37 occurs the following passage: "Brockes had prepared the way for a sentimental view of nature, Klopstock's poetry had fostered the display of emotion, the analysis of human feeling. Gellert had spread his own sort of religious and ethical sentimentalism among the multitudes of his devotees. Stirred by, and contemporaneous with Gallic feeling, Germany was turning with longing toward the natural man, that is, man unhampered by convention and free to follow the dictates of the primal emotions. The exercise of human sympathy was a goal of this movement. In this vague, uncertain awakening, this dangerous freeing of human feelings, Yorick's practical illustration of the sentimental life could not but prove an incentive, an organizer, a relief for pent-up emotion." In this connection it would seem that a more precise and extensive reference to Rousseau would be desirable.

No scientific work can take up into solution more than a certain number of quotations and references to other books without becoming saturated. The style becomes surcharged with undigested facts. Thayer's book suffers somewhat on this account—it does not read as well as might be expected from the exceedingly interesting data which he has gathered together.

The number of misprints is not large. Page 43 seems to have suffered the worst. Page 22, *hypochrondia* for *hypochondria*; page 51, *divergences* for *divergencies*; page 169, *Stok* for *Stock* are also to be noted.

Thomas Stockham Baker.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Note from Dr. Sommer.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Until I read Professor Nitze's letter in the January *Notes*, I was honestly under the impression that I was the first, although accidentally, to identify the manuscript and to notice the fact that the prose-Perceval is printed in the editions of 1516 and 1523. (When I stated that there are two editions at the British Museum, I did not imply by any means that these were the only copies.) Had I seen, or remembered to have seen, any of the references given by Professor Nitze, I should naturally not have written at all.

As extenuating circumstances I might plead: First, that I had discussed the contents of the article with several people in Paris and in London, two of whom, at least, had as little excuse as myself not to have seen those references, but neither said a word to the effect that he had; second, that as to periodicals and *Zeitschriften*, I

am here in London worse off than most of my American *confrères*, for, being unable to subscribe to them all, I am dependent on the British Museum, where, as is well known, the numbers are not obtainable immediately after their appearance, but often as much as five or six months later. As an instance, I might mention that when I asked last July for the January and February numbers of your *Notes*, the last number on the shelves was June, 1905.

When I was in Paris in December last, I collated the MS. 1428 with Potvin's text. I also found the first branch of the prose-Perceval in a late fourteenth century manuscript, viz., No. 119 (anc. 6790), ff. 520[a]–522[d], where it forms a sort of introduction to the vulgate *queste*, occupying ff. 522[d]–564[d].

H. Oskar Sommer.

The First English Translator of Wieland's *Oberon*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—In an article in the December number of *Modern Language Notes* on "Graf Friedrich von Stolberg in England," Mr. George M. Baker suggests the possibility that the James Six who translated two odes of Stolberg's was also the author of a pamphlet entitled "The Construction and Use of a Thermometer. By James Six, Esq., F. R. S." The author of this pamphlet and the translator of the odes were father and son, as the introduction to the former's essay shows. James Six, senior, died in 1793, and in the following year a friend published the article on the thermometer. To a brief account, in the preface, of the life of Six, Sr., he appended the following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* in regard to Six, Jr., who died at Rome in 1786 at the age of twenty-nine.

"He was a young man of great natural abilities, and of extensive learning. He understood the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and German languages, and in most, if not all of them, had a well-grounded and accurate knowledge ; . . . . . Two beautiful odes . . translated from the German, give no mean idea of his poetical powers ; . . . He was the son of Mr. James Six, of Canterbury, to whose ingenious observations and experiments in natural philosophy, &c., the public have been much indebted. (*Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1787.")

Besides the two odes already mentioned, James Six, Jr., also translated Wieland's *Oberon*, but only a few stanzas of this appeared in the *Deutsches Museum* for 1784 (Vol. II, pp. 232–47) ; the rest was never published, mainly because of Wieland's objections to any translation of the poem into a foreign language. Wieland expressed himself very favorably, however, in regard to the stanzas which he had seen of Six's English version of the *Oberon*.

In a letter to Eschenburg of the 25th of March and another of the 7th of May, 1784 (given in Schnorr's *Archiv*, XIII, pp. 503–6), Wieland explains his reasons for not wishing the *Oberon* translated.

W. A. Colwell.

Harvard University.

The North-English Homily Collection.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—I should like to call the attention of your readers to a connection which I have just discovered between the Anglo-French poem entitled the *Miroir* or *Les evangiles des domeés* and the *North-English Homily Collection*. The French work was written by Robert of Gretham, about 1250 (see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XV, 296 ff.), and contained a series of metrical homilies for every Sunday in the year. Five manuscripts of the complete poem or of the illustrative narratives have been described (see Varnhagen, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.* I, 541–545 ; Bonnard, *Les traductions de la bible en vers français*, 1884, pp. 194 f. ; P. Meyer, *Romania*, VII, 345, XV, 296–305), but all are in a more or less fragmentary state. The same author probably wrote another homiletic poem called the *Corset*, preserved in MS. Douce 210. What is perhaps a fragment of the *Miroir* in some redaction has recently been printed in *Romania*, XXXV, 63–67, by M. Meyer.

The Northern cycle of Middle-English homilies has hitherto been considered an independent compilation. It was written in the early part of the fourteenth century and exists in numerous manuscripts (see Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, 1881, LVII–LXXXIX, and my *North-English Homily Collection*, 1902), of which only the Edinburgh MS. has as yet been published (Small, *English Metrical Homilies*, 1862). In the progress of preparing an edition of the work for the E. E. T. S. I have for some years been inclined to believe that an Old French original for at least part of the collection must have existed ; but until recently I had no proof. By a study of the fragments of Robert of Gretham's poem, which have been printed by the gentlemen who have described the still unpublished manuscripts of that work, I have now made up my mind that it is the source of at least a considerable portion of the English collec-

tion. A measure of originality will nevertheless be left, I believe, to the Northern writer. The evidence of relationship, the details of which I must beg to be excused from giving till I make a personal study of Robert's entire poem next summer, rests upon similarity of arrangement, upon translation of certain passages almost line by line, and upon what seems to be an allusion of the translator to his original. It is needless to add that this relationship, if I succeed in establishing it, will place the interesting Northern cycle in a somewhat different position from that which it has hitherto occupied. For the present, I merely wish to call attention to the fact that all available evidence points in one direction.

G. H. Gerould.

Princeton University.

A Recipe for Epilepsy.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs: — The following interesting recipe for epilepsy is found in a breviary of the thirteenth century in the library of Vendome. After having copied it, I discovered that attention had already been called to it in the catalogue of manuscripts under the No. 17. However, it is worth repeating as a curiosity:

Jaspar fert aurum, thus Melchior, Baltasar (corr. *Astrapa*) *mirram;*
Hec quicumque trium secum fert nomina regum
Solvitur a morbo Christi pietate caduco.

J. L. Gerig.

Columbia University.

Beowulf 62.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs: —Though deeply conscious that Professor Klaeber and I have cruelly overworked l. 62 of *Beowulf*—and through it probably our friends as well—I am not yet content to remain quiet. It is Professor Klaeber's extended letter in the December *Modern Language Notes* that now moves me, and I beg the space for a few words in reply. I am not seeking here to add new arguments, nor to restate old ones, nor even to bolster up any of those I have put forward in the past. Nothing of the sort seems to me necessary. It may be I am like the battered youngster who gets up protesting he is unhurt. At least, in spite of all the articles and learning Professor Klaeber has marshalled against me, I cannot see that a single one of my conclusions has been seriously damaged. Only once, I believe, has he even touched upon my chief line of argument, when he cites against me a few parallel cases of a genitive in *-as* and a nominative feminine singular in *-a*; but surely a half dozen such cases drawn from all Old English literature does not prove the forms to be normal, nor disprove my statement that "after the word *cwen* everything is peculiar." He has not shown that there was any mistake before *elan*, nor has he proved that there was any real correction made after *cwen*.

I might very well stop with this self-confident protestation that I feel entirely uninjured, if Professor Klaeber had not used against me some questionable tactics (I hope the phrase is not offensive). That is, in the first place, Professor Klaeber has persisted in seeing things in the autotype that surely are not there. In one article he thought the erasure might have been for a blot of ink. I showed that conjecture to be very ill-founded[1] and then turned the argument against him,—for his hypothesis was really favoring my position. Now he thinks the erased word may have been *þawæs*, but anyone who looks at a good copy of the autotype can see that this second conjecture is equally untenable. There is not the slightest trace of a *þ* or a *w*. And I may add, again his hypothesis favors my position. Now I must confess that I think it unkind of Professor Klaeber to entice me with phantoms that for my side have such fair seeming show.

Another point on which I feel I have cause to be aggrieved—though I am not, of course—is Professor Klaeber's treatment of the *hyrde* case in *Fat. Ap.* 70. The first time he referred to the passage he gave the wrong line-number and now, alas, he has misquoted the line itself, making things look very dark for me. It is not *hyrde ie*, as Professor Klaeber states, but *hyrde we*, and the parallelism to *Beowulf* is accordingly not nearly so close as the misquotation would seem to show. In fact, I cannot see that the line contains a parallel at all.

There are other points in Professor Klaeber's letter that might be discussed, but no matter. The subject is evidently too small for either of us to distinguish himself in, and I for one shall be glad to drop it. In closing, however, may I add that I do not think Professor Klaeber has done full justice to the brilliancy and ingenuity of Professor Abbott's proposed emendation *Hroðulfes wæs*. I am not championing the emendation, nevertheless I think it has several strong points in its favor, and that these have been put forward with great skill. The explanation offered as to how the error arose seems to me especially brilliant, and very much better than Professor Klaeber's similar treatment.

Frank E. Bryant.

University of Kansas.

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. xxi, p. 145.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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BROWNING'S DRAMAS.

II.

Another accepted dogma of the tragic drama is that it presents a struggle : a struggle in which at the crisis the combatants are about evenly matched, and which at the catastrophe ends in the final overthrow of one of them. What is the nature of the "struggle" in Browning's dramas? Mrs. Browning has said that Browning has taken for a nobler stage the soul itself. At first sight the words seem tremendously illuminating. Freed from the necessity of presenting the drama on the stage, we can see how there might be a purely subjective drama. The cosmos would be contained within the walls of the soul ; the action move, round on round, within that fine inner circle ; a mood and its impulse would correspond to the deed and the doing of it. The passion, increasing progressively as Stevenson demanded, might rise, pause a breathless instant, fall, pause, and fall again—all in the psychological world. But, illuminating as Mrs. Browning's definition at first appears, we find ourselves face to face with new difficulties. Is this drama contained within the walls of a single soul? are the warring passions the *dramatis personae*? Or, if not, what relation do the several souls bear to the struggle? how do they reach out and touch each other? If the mood and its impulses respond to the deed and the doing of it, what answers to plot? For answer, let us look at the plays.

At times, as in *Paracelsus*, Browning does seem to have "taken for a nobler stage the soul itself." The shell of circumstance crumbles away ; we see the "rise" and "fall" in the aspirations, struggles, attainments, and defeats of a soul at war with its own ideals. Again, Browning's people seem at times little more than personified moods. Pippa herself is an embodiment of that rare and excellent moment when the world of stubborn facts and hard, integral personalities lies plastic to the world of imagination and feeling. While when Browning wishes to show human relations—plot interest—he seems to disintegrate life not so much into men and women as into its component aspects ; so in the struggle we see not two strong men standing face to face, but two souls possessed by opposing moods and hurried along by them. When the issue is joined, it is the crash of opposing convictions ; we can see, as it were, the flicker of two points of view crossing swords. The catastrophe is not infrequently an overthrown ideal, resting upon some conception of life either false, or inconceivable by his fellows, and so impossible to live by. Thus from the point of view of plot and character the struggle resolved itself into opposing aspects and opposing points of view.

We can see how closely this is connected, to hark back, with Browning's indifference to the act. Shakespeare in *Othello* shows us Iago pouring suspicion drop by drop into his victim's ears ; but his motives are barely touched upon. Browning's care is not for what men do, but for how they came to do it. Hence in *Luria* we hear much of purposes, of the wide sweep of the various plots ; Bracchio, Puccio, Domizia—we get every turn of their thoughts. The cynicism of Puccio and his devotion to Florence have been wrought into a system, a terrible engine of destruction. Domizia, her wrongs, and her purpose to make of Luria a tool for the overthrow of this system—she, too, is scarcely human, but an agent of rebellion. The issue of the battle against the Pisans is a matter of indifference to us ; we are never really anxious as to the result ; but we await breathless the shock when these opposing purposes join battle.

In *King Victor and King Charles*, the struggle is not really for the crown,—that is the shell of circumstance ; nor is it merely between Victor's love of rule and Charles' love of rectitude, though these are elements, but in their utterly different conceptions of Victor's act of resignation, and their respective duties to each other and to the crown. While, on the other hand, the grim irony of the contrast between the painstaking

simplicity of Charles, pondering over his divided duty, and the facile convictions of D'Ormea, the staple of whose life is guile, may be resolved into a highly wrought, sensitive nature, seized by a noble conception of duty—a poet rather than a statesman—being judged and jockeyed by a keen-witted politician, who judges him by the standards of common life and caters to its temptations.

In *In a Balcony* we are plunged instantly into a conflict in point of view. Two lovers slip from the court into a balcony. From behind comes the ripple and tinkle of dance music; in front lies the far horizon; beneath, the trees; above, the stars. One is conscious of the court, its artificial standards, throbbingly conscious, too, of the human life; the other is in touch with Nature, its sincerity to itself, its merciless unsympathy with others. The question at issue is whether Norbert, the lover, shall ask the Queen now for the hand of her Court lady, Constance.

"Now," (says Norbert) "Let it be now, Love!"

"Not now!" (says Constance), and this is the text of an argument, a conflict in words of opposing points of view.

"Let me go now, Love," (says Norbert) "and ask the Queen, whom I have served a year, for my reward, your hand!"

"Do, and ruin us!" (says Constance) "Will the Queen be pleased to know that your service was not loyalty to her, but love for me?"

Norbert brushes aside with rough masculine scorn this view of the Queen:

"She thinks there was more cause in love of power; high cause—pure loyalty?"

"Perhaps she fancies men wear out their lives, chasing such shadows?"

So the argument goes back and forth! But it is never mere exposition; we never quite forget the personal human interest in the abstract points.

The love-making enters the consciousness of the reader without breaking the discussion. There is cogent argument in her pretty scorn:

> "This kiss, because you have a name at court."

And again, for fear her lover's attention will wander from the speech to the speaker, she says (and the touch is very pretty):

> "Now take this rose, and look at *it*,
> Listening to me."

She will have him weigh her words, undisturbed by any witchery of eyes and lips. It is a lover's "Now!", and a gay mistress's "Not now!" we feel in such passages. Again:

> "Now listen, Norbert, or I take away my hands."

The earnestness of her gives her coquetry the divine touch of unconsciousness. Her femininity is pervasive like a faint odour; her constant, petulant waiving of it femininity itself. We catch a glimpse of a pretty piece of by-play in another eager illustration:

> "You love a rose; no harm in that:
> But was it for the rose's sake or mine
> You put it in your bosom? Mine, you said."

And all the argument turns upon the different view these two lovers take of the Queen; for on her the issue of it all depends. To Norbert she is just his royal mistress, on whose justice and generosity to a faithful servant he may count. Constance sees in her one "sitting aloof from the world where hearts beat high, and brains hot-blooded tick," living in a dim, unreal world of court sentiment and lip loyalty; to her the "wan dictatress of all that royal show" is a woman hungry for sympathy and love. Constance's point of view prevails; Norbert follows the path Constance suggests. He is not to tell the Queen honestly that all his service was for love of Constance; but goes to ask, in courtier fashion, as Constance bade him, for the Queen's poor cousin, as a piece of her. The interview between Norbert and the Queen is put between the acts; when we see them next Norbert thinks all is done successfully; but the Queen has misunderstood, thinks he loves her, and pours out her soul to Constance: Love and loveliness, the power and grace of loving—these are the Queen's; every chamber of her soul flashes into beauty. Constance, shaken by her passion and the pathos of it, resolves to make it true; she will give Norbert up. Next, Norbert, Constance, and the Queen are brought face to face; let us look at the psychology of the situation: Norbert sees in Constance his mistress, beloved and loving; and in the Queen a gracious sovereign who has just granted him the hand of

her cousin. He thinks he is, in the eyes of both, the accepted lover of Constance. The Queen sees in Norbert her lover just declared, whom she intends to raise to the throne; and in Constance her confidante. While Constance, seeing both points of view, tries to bring Norbert to the Queen's by showing him in whirling words the situation—trying to get him to accept it without revealing to the Queen her error. These are comedy forces, raised by the intensity of feeling and the gravity of the issue to the power of tragedy. It is a drama of psychological cross-purposes. When the misunderstanding crashes through there can be no happy clearing up for all of them. One, who fancies herself rich, waked to find herself poor: herein is the tragedy.

We have already noted Anael's murder of the Praefect, in considering Browning's treatment of an act; but now, from this new point of view, observe how she is rent by her opposing beliefs as to the true nature of Djabal; how Hakeem scarcely knows what to believe himself, and fancies himself now a God, now a charlatan, as the enthusiast or the man of affairs comes uppermost (the lover in him confusing the issue). In the conception of himself as God-given leader and statesman, meant to rule a simple people, and let them (in his wisdom) keep their illusion, even about himself, we see an effort toward reconcilement of the two. Anael's struggle also—as we have seen—is between two points of view; but with her there can be no such sophistical reconcilement. The shades of feeling that exist side by side in Djabal she cannot understand. There is a fierce moral revulsion, which results in her denouncement of him to the Praefect. Here the act is expressive of the mood; but for the first time her mood is simple, not complex. The youth, Loys, serves as a sort of standard to the others, an outside influence by which to test the true value in a world of men of the uncertain elements in their souls. He has, however, his own special character interest and problem; he, too, is divided between love for Anael and loyalty to his order. Thus here, though their fates are seemingly inwoven, yet the "struggle" takes place separately in the several souls. The conflict does not gather into one tremendous issue—each soul is the centre of a drama; rise, crisis, catastrophe. Now in all great drama there must be some supreme centre of interest and emotion; some person with him, through our great interest and sympathy, we may identify ourselves. In *Hamlet*, for instance, our interest is excited in a more or less casual way for all the characters; but our *identification* is with him alone. But suppose we had the subjective life of Hamlet's mother unrolled before us; could read all her struggles between foul love and pure wifehood and motherhood, our knowledge of human relations would be thereby widened, but the play as a whole tremendously weakened, for we would be distracted from the supreme dramatic identification. We would lose in knowledge of Hamlet what we gained in that of his mother. Now in *The Return of the Druses*, we are required to carry the consciousness of Loys, Anael, and Djabal. It is great genius, this placing us behind each in turn, and giving us his outlook on the situation; yet in a great moment we must identify ourselves with one. We cannot *be* three at a time. So we find in the last act that we lose hold of Anael. (In what spirit does she meet her death—who knows?) Of Loys we have but a fitful consciousness, and our identification with Hakeem himself is troubled by our puzzling about these others. This is in the great moment at the end; yet, all through, we are changing from one to the other, and the adjustment is a weary strain upon the imagination.

It is easy to see that in such a play the interpretation must be out of all proportion to the presentation; the characters cannot even reveal themselves to each other; the struggle is locked up in each breast. Such a situation is the destruction of dialogue. Djabal appears first in Act II. In that he speaks 178 lines; of these 76 are soliloquy, 75 in aside, and 27 only in direct address. In the second part of Act II, the two lovers are alone together for the first time in the play. Anael speaks 28 lines in all; 11 to her lover, 27 to herself; while Djabal addresses only two lines to his mistress, and 29 to space! There are no instances quite so extreme as this; but the whole play reads like a mosaic of the dramatic monologues, with this important difference, that the *imputed* questions and comments in the monologues stand for real ones, while the imputed

thoughts in the drama are usually imputed incorrectly: hence the misunderstandings which form the basis of the plot.

We have noticed how Browning's attitude toward the deed causes a reversal of the interests of character and plot. This throws a tremendous amount of "business" into the first act. There is a necessity of putting you *en rapport* at once; to tell what is happening, and how this makes your character feel; and last and most important, to reveal to us his soul. There is, therefore, no gradual unfolding of the plot or character. We are plunged in. On first opening the volume one is conscious of a certain discourtesy on the part of the author, and bewilderment on our own. We are ushered into a world of people, speaking, acting, disputing. We understand but imperfectly, and no one turns to explain. We listen: here and there we catch the import of the words; the scene acquires significance. We follow with quickening interest through the woven meshes of emotion to the climax, and down in a sickening sweep to the tragedy; but the rest is not silence in Browning, but full of multifarious voices clamouring for utterance across an artificial *finis.* Properly speaking there is no ending, as there is no beginning. It is like the sudden flashing of a train across a bit of open country between two tunnels. It is a section of life we see; significant, but incomplete. Browning himself seemed conscious of this, and made it his business to end with a catch phrase, sometimes effective, sometimes stilted, always final, giving one a sense of dismissal, like the "Gentlemen, I thank you for your attention" of a speaker. Perhaps the most successful use of this is when King Victor, dying, gathers up all his strength to launch denial at D'Ormea's ever-recurring sneer at his instability, which runs the whole length of the play:

"Thou liest, D'Ormea; I do *not* repent."

Or, in *The Soul's Tragedy,* where Ogniben has one answer of sagacious pessimism to all the vapourers of reform: "I have known three and twenty leaders of revolts"; and who, when the soul's tragedy is complete, takes the keys of the Provost's palace with the comment: "I have known four and twenty leaders of revolts."

Perhaps the worst instance is in *The Blot in the 'Scutcheon,* when Thorold dies crying:

"Vengeance is God's, not man's: remember me!"

and Gwendolen echoes sentimentally:

"Ah Thorold! we can but—remember you!"

The phrase is tryingly insincere and shallow, after the genuine passion and beauty of Browning's most human play. The last words in *Luria,* though somewhat melodramatic, at least are not excrescent, and end the play finally, if too suddenly; while the "And this was Paracelsus," if somewhat meaningless, if closely considered, still has the effect of an Amen.

In considering the end of the play it is interesting to note the place death takes in the plot, and the attitude of the people toward it. It is perhaps because of the psychological world in which they live that they can treat death with such a noble carelessness. It is not for them a terrible physical reality. Browning's creatures do not move so much in time and place as in eternity and among the eternal verities. So death is not death in the final human sense; it is a living act corresponding to a sudden change of mood. Luria steps lightly, with a smile upon his lips, from the throng of little haters to the great calm of angels. Thorold, in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon,* drops life wearily from him like a mantle, and "the heart weary player of this pageant world passes out of sight." Even Strafford acquiesces in the decree of death without a mortal shrinking; his last agony is for his helplessness to save his master from the doom that he foreknows, rather than in dread of his own death. He goes to plead and pray for Charles in Heaven. In general, the soul sits lightly in the body, and readily fares forth to try if the unknown be not kinder than the known.

Of course this is the direct outcome of Browning's whole conception; it is the life of the soul, rather than the life of the man. Take, for example, the "seven ages," and try to fancy how Browning would have approached the round of man's life: something we would have had of mother youngness; of joyous animal growth and the wild joy of living; of *sturm und drang*; of achievement, more or less perfect; and then, instead of the "lean and slippered pantaloon," we would have had "the last of life for which the first is made." So, instead of mortal shrinking from the agony of death, we have:

> "I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
> The best and the last!"

Instead of death itself, it is life—fuller and more abundant—just across the *finis*.

It is in the relation of the two plots that death holds such a unique position. When by force of circumstances the plot works out into the catastrophe, and death comes, the soul slips away, escaping the tragedy. In *Hamlet*, the

> "Good night, sweet Prince,
> And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest."

The words come like the closing chords of an anthem. But in Browning, when the cruelty, the misunderstanding of a blundering world have harried the soul from life, there seems no quenching of the fire. He leaves the world of men as Luria did, and it is they who are the victims. When the repentant Florentines speak of the revenge Luria has vowed on Florence, the friend points to the dead body:

> "That is done."

Thus the tragedy of death, the catastrophe, misses fire; the tables are turned; the fallen triumph. In the consciousness of the reader, heartache and exultation are strangely mingled. In *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, the mortal cry of Tresham to Thorold—

> "What right had you to set your careless foot
> Upon her life and mine?"

finds its echo in our hearts as surely as,

> . . . . "Leave the world to them, Mildred,
> For God—we're good enough."

Thus the soul is scarcely confined enough for dramatic purposes. Death, the end of all things, fails to set a limit. Even in the love stories, such as *In a Balcony*, it makes little more than a great break; for the deathlessness of love is an accepted axiom. The lovers, locked in each other's arms, await their doom.

> *Norbert.* "Sweet, never fear what she can do!
> We are past harm now.
> *Constance.* On the breast of God.
> *Norbert.* Oh, some death
> Will run its sudden finger round this spark
> And sever us from the rest!"
> *Constance.* And so do well.

It is in this death scene that the intriguante in Constance dies; the fitful vision, the blind-alley sacrifices are done with; she passes into perfect womanhood. There is glory and abandon in the moment. "This is life's height," cries Norbert. It is not the death of the lovers that is the tragedy here, but the quenched life of the Queen. She died "Not willingly, but tangled in the fold of dire necessity," tricked into hope, mocked by disillusion, seizing vengeance. Truly the death of love and hope is terrible; it is that that wrings our heart.

In one drama only is there perfect balance between the world of the soul and the world of the senses, where soul life grows and blossoms in human life, where the external world folds closely around the world of thought, and souls are embodied in living men and women. It is *The Blot in the 'Scutcheon.* Mildred speaks her own girl language in the touching plea:

> "I was so young, I loved him so—I had
> No mother—God forgot me—so I fell."

Tresham, too, "the boy" as he is called so tenderly, speaks in the awful wisdom of approaching death, wistful boy words to his judge:

> "We've sinned and die.
> Never you sin, Lord Thorold, or you'll die,
> And God will judge you!"

and again:

> "Say that I love her; say that loving her
> Lowers me down the bloody slope to death
> With memories."

The words are almost Shakesperian in their turn.

It is a play without a villain; a play of such passion and delicacy, of such high soul-breeding, that the sense of remoteness to the outside world passes. Here are living men and women.

Indeed, I do not think Browning ever seems anything else than human; for analyst and psychologist as he is, and remote as are the spiritual cruxes with which he loves to treat, he never for an instant passes into the abstract. He deals with guilt, not sin; convictions, not principles; the individual, not human nature in general. Each man is analyzed back into *his* component parts, and not into common psychological elements. Browning's characters, therefore, never lack reality because they lack externality. On

the contrary, they have, I think, a peculiar nearness to us. This is due, in part, to the specificness above mentioned, and partly to the necessity under which Browning puts us, to read him with our imaginations rather than our intellects, and constructively rather than critically. As a result, his people are, to some extent, re-created by ourselves, become adopted children of our own brain. They have entered into our spiritual consciousness, exchanged greetings with our fancies, supped with our moods, held high converse with our secret hopes and fears—these men and women who have such unrivalled spiritual intimacy with us—how can they but be real?

Nor does Browning so absolutely neglect to present the outer man. When externality is necessary to his art he evokes it,—hurriedly and impatiently, it is true, but so vividly that one cannot doubt his potency to have created it for us perfectly, had he so desired. There is one of those rare, sudden glimpses of the face of things in *Luria*. Braccio, sun-blind to the radiance of Luria's simplicity, has been holding up a tiny candle flame of inspection to the Moors' motives, endeavouring to translate his forthrightness into terms of his own duplicity. Suddenly the boy secretary turns sharply away from analysis, smitten, as it were, with a vision of the real Luria, and draws for us a picture:

> "Here I sit, your scribe,
> And in and out goes Luria days and nights.
> He speaks—(I would not listen if I could)
> Reads, orders, counsels—but he rests sometimes;
> I see him stand and eat, sleep stretched an hour
> On the lynx skins yonder; holds his bared black arms
> Into the sun from the tent opening—laugh
> When the horse drops his fodder from his teeth
> And neighs to hear him sing his Moorish songs.
> That man believes in Florence as the Saint
> Tied to the wheel, believes in God."

Illogical as the conclusion is, there is cogency in the picture argument. It has convinced the speaker. Braccio himself is shaken in his belief in

> "The one thing plain and positive,
> Man seeks his own good at the whole world's cost."

The touch is made, the effect gained; we have seen Luria, the incarnated simplicity. We go back to mazes of analysis, but it is with a difference. Luria is embodied now.

So, though as a general rule, Browning creates enough world for his people to live in—no more—and so troubles himself little with setting, no one has used environment more marvellously. Mark, how God's sunshine follows Pippa; even before she leaves her door it comes, flooding the room with glory. In *Strafford* we have the close, vitiated palace air, in which a "breed of silken creatures live and thrive," and which he only changes for prison. A touch of Nature accentuates the dreariness. Strafford, in the midst of his trial before the Parliament, worn in body and soul, bids his secretary, who brings table, chair, and papers, set them down:

> "Here, anywhere—or, 'tis freshest here—
> (To spend one's April here! the Blossom Month!).
> Set it down here!"

The setting of *Pippa Passes* reflects the meaning of the scene—the purity or guilt of the soul. Contrast Pippa's sunshine:

> "Gold, pure gold o'er the cloud up-brimmed,"

with that which the guilty pair sees:

> "This blood-red beam through the shutter's chink;"

or even plainer, note Pippa's glad song when there is morning in her soul:

> "But let the sun shine! Wherefore repine?
> —With thee to lead me, O Day of mine,
> Down the grass path gray with dew,
> Under the pine wood, blind with boughs,
> Where the swallow never flew
> Nor yet cicala dared carouse—
> No, dared carouse!" (She enters the street.)

And the words of Ottima:

> "How these tall
> Naked geraniums straggle! Push the lattice
> Behind that frame! . . . . Sebald,
> It shakes the dust down on me . . . .
> . . . . Is't full morning?"

> *Sebald.* "It seems to me a night with a sun added.
> Where's dew, where's freshness? That bruised plant,
> I bruised
> In getting it through the lattice yestereve,
> Droops as it did. See here's my elbow mark
> I' the dust of the sill."

Mark the unkempt desolation and disorder of it it all. Nature is sapless. Happiness has been plucked from its roots by these lovers, and is

ugly and faded, with sin dust for morning dew. So Nature and the soul—re-acting each on the other—bring us in the end to a fuller consciousness of each ; and at length, in a more subtle blending, to a fuller consciousness of human life and the world it lives in.

Thus it is by strange devices—descriptions, presentations, explanations, by the subtle connotations and subtle interactions,—we come at last to the familiar consciousnesss of a fair world, peopled as of old with living men and women, and sounding with the world old voices "eternal passion—eternal pain." And since these souls have been embodied in living men and women, the question comes to us, who have yet to demonstrate the "liveability of life," what message do they bring to us of its wise conduct? Through the "thousand blended notes" of their many voices, there rises clear and strong an overtone of Browning's own soul. It is a trumpet call to life. It is Life he sings. Life in its gamut, sounding through every experience high and low. Experience—to forge one's soul sword-fashion, by conscious living—that is the great desideratum. The act, however mean, in which one's soul leaps highest—that is "life height." The intensest moment is the greatest. There is a wide field for action. Browning has set back the boundaries of life that the soul may run full course. Liberally he has endowed his creations ; and then in his generosity, he has made the one unpardonable sin niggardliness of spirit. Prudence is with him high crime. So, if one must condense his message into a single sentence, one can do no better than make use of Stevenson's motto :

"Acts may be forgiven a man ; but God himself cannot forgive the hanger back."

In summing up the points of this chapter, we see that Browning is a dramatist of the subject. His task, the portrayal of the soul, forces him to interpret as well as present the man and his acts, and it is to this that the peculiarities of his style and structure are directly traceable. To this also is due the material of which his drama is made. The mood and its impulse corresponds to the deed and the doing of it ; for struggle we have opposing points of view. Lastly, we see that in his hands the drama, as an art form, suffers strain ; and though his interpretation of the soul is cramped by the exigencies of the drama, yet in one way or another his end—and the end of all drama—is attained. By highways and byways, these souls slide into the consciousness of the reader, and become for him living personalities.

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AN EARLY ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *Miss Sara Sampson.*

A superficial examination of English criticism in the early period of the importation of the German drama into England yields the impression that Lessing was regarded as the greatest of German dramatic authors. Henry McKenzie, "The Man of Feeling," allotted him a position of prominence in a "Critical Account of the German Theater," read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1790, while contemporary magazines and reviews persistently honored him with the distinction of being the Sophocles or Shakespeare of Germany.

A more careful examination of these encomiums reveals the fact that they were but the hasty and slavish repetition of contemporary German criticism. The name Shakespeare in this connection is undeniably only the belated echo of the similar use in Germany. The German dramatist was commonly called Shakespeare-Lessing after the first production of *Emilia Galotti.* We must also bear in mind that the term Shakespeare applied to German authors by English critics does not signify much ; Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, and Kotzebue were successively hailed as the Shakespeare of Germany.

The fate of Lessing's dramas on the English stage does not attest any unusual popularity. To be sure *Minna von Barnhelm* has the distinction of being the first German drama to be produced in England. Fifteen performances at the Haymarket Theater in 1786, however, are not indicative of a due appreciation of Germany's masterpiece of comedy by London theater-goers. The fate of *Emilia Galotti* at Drury Lane in 1794 is even more pathetic. In spite of elaborate *mise-en-scène* and the heroic efforts of Mrs. Siddons and Kemble,

the adaptation perished after a run of four nights and was never resuscitated. Raspe's translation of *Nathan der Weise* in 1781 met with undeserved ridicule, while Taylor's masterful rendition in 1805 passed practically unnoticed.

It has hitherto been supposed that *Miss Sara Sampson*, Germany's first "bürgerliches Trauerspiel," for which so many English sources have been suggested, was not translated in England. It is a well-known fact that an American version appeared in 1789. William Barton in his *Memoirs of David Rittenhouse*, cites, as an evidence of the American philosopher's familiarity with German, that he translated from the German of Lessing a tragedy called *Lucia Sampson*. It may be of some interest to know that an early English version does exist, although not in book form. The *Lady's Magazine* or *Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* published in 1799 and 1800, in monthly instalments, a complete translation with the title of *The Fatal Elopement*. The contributor was a certain Eleanor H . . . . of Twickenham, whose identity the writer has been unable to establish. Her only other claim to literary distinction is a translation of Kotzebue's *Die Corsen*, published in 1800.

It is easily seen why Miss H. transformed the title. *The Fatal Elopement* was likely to prove far more interesting to the fair sex, to whose use and amusement this magazine was "solely appropriated" than the unsuggestive *Miss Sara Sampson*. It is not so clear, however, why she took the same liberty with the *dramatis personæ*. Mellefont and Marwood alone are preserved as in the German version. Miss H.'s freedom with the original is not confined to the title and the *dramatis personæ*. The text is materially abridged. The division into speeches is followed faithfully, but the dialogue is curtailed by paraphrasing, especially in the longer passages. The translation is accurate and idiomatic in the easy colloquial parts, but where Lessing rises above the mediocrity of commonplace dialogue to impassioned and poetic diction, the translator fails utterly to reproduce the style of the original. Some errors in translation are apparent, but the English is uniformly smooth and, to say the least, grammatical.

It is of course impossible to state whether *The Fatal Elopement* was favorably received by the subscribers to the *Lady's Magazine*. There are no means at our disposal of ascertaining whether or not the circulation of the magazine was increased by the publication of this tragedy. At any rate the succeeding numbers contain no communications from approving or disapproving readers. The only possible indication of an interest in Lessing awakened by this tragedy was the publication of a few of Lessing's epigrams in the December number 1799.

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STUDIES IN MIDDLE FRENCH.

Returning to Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's *Tableau de la Langue française au* XVIe *siècle* in "Le Seizième Siècle en France" (7th edition, "revue et corrigée") after a study of the language of earlier centuries, some statements therein struck me as manifestly misleading. It seems worth while to call attention to a few of these, because this work is still so much used as a textbook.

I.

Il and *Ce.*

§ 158—"L'impersonnel *ce* s'emploie dans la vieille langue et encore au seizième siècle plus volontiers que *il*, qui tend à dominer dans la langue moderne : 'C'estoit raison qu'il fust récompensé de sa longue patience' (Marg., *Hept.*). Quand ce viendra que seray mort (Mont.)." It is true that in Old French where the personal pronoun, after the genius of the Latin, was but sparingly expressed, the comparatively frequent occurrence of *ce* attracts the attention, but as the language more and more definitely formulated itself and the personal pronoun became more regularly expressed, the frequent use of *il* where to-day *ce* would be used, is striking. To be sure, where no standard was yet formed and grammarians were an unknown quantity, *ce* was also *vice-versa* used where *il* would be used to-day. Yet even so, *il* always prevailed, and to such an extent that after reading such a writer of the thirteenth century as Brunetto Latini, whose sub-

ject in *Li Livres dou Tresor* lends itself readily to this form of expression, and whose language bristles with these *il's*, the statement of Darmesteter arrests the attention: "Lors est il domages au parleor de dire le fait selonc ce que il a esté," p. 522; "Por ce est il droit de veoir les enseignemens de l'un et de l'autre," p. 524.

But Brunetto Latini's usage would not be considered representative of the best French of the thirteenth century, while probably to that of Guillaume de Lorris in his portion of the Roman de la Rose, no exception would be taken. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld support their statement by two examples, in each of which the pronoun anticipates a clause as logical subject. We shall therefore give only similar constructions from these 4,200 lines of the *Roman de la Rose*, although the case is quite as strong if the expressions in which the pronoun anticipates a noun, or an infinitive clause, or resumes a preceding clause, were included.

Ce m'iert avis en mon dormant
Qu'il estoit matin durement. l. 89.

Cum il sembloit que ele eust. l. 315.

Si celéement qu'il nous semble
Qu'il s'arreste adès en ung point. l. 374.

C'onques à nul jour ce n'avint
Qu'en si beau vergier n'eust huis. l. 520.

Il paroit bien à son atour
Qu'ele iere poi embesoignie. l. 580.

Il sembloit que ce fust uns anges. l. 930.

Et ce ne li seoit pas mal
Que sa cheveçaille iert overte. l. 1206.

Ce n'est mie d'ui ne d'ier
Que riches gens ont grand poissance. l. 1058.

(Estéust il que g'i alasse.) l. 1859.

Qu'il m'est avis que loial soies. l. 2054.

Car il convient soit maus, soit biens
Que il face vostre plaisir. l. 2064.

Il est ensi que li amant
Ont par ores joie et torment. l. 2267.

Il est raison que li amant
Doignent du lor plus largement. l. 2299.

Après est drois qu'il te soviegne
Que t'amie t'est trop lointiegne. l. 2386.

Il est drois que toutes tes voies, &c. l. 2472.

S'il avient que tu aperçoives. l. 2479.

Quant ce vendra qu'il sera nuis. l. 2511.

Tex fois sera qu'il t'iert avis
Que tu tendras cele au cler vis. l. 2525.

Mès ce m'amort que poi me dure. l. 2544.

Il est bien drois qu'en l'escondie. l. 2560.

Il convient que tu t'essaïmes. l. 2636.

Il est voirs que nus maus n'ataint, &c. l. 2691.

Tant qu'il me vint en remembrance
Qu'amors me dist que je queisse
Ung compagnon, &c. l. 3210.

Mais ce me torne à grant contraire
Que sa merci trop me demore. l. 3350.

Se il vous plaist que ge la baise. l. 3514.

Mès il est voir que Cortoisie, &c. l. 3716.

Il n'afiert mie a vostre non
Que vous faciés se anui non. l. 3831.

Il ne me sera jà peresce
Que ne face une forteresce. l. 3755.

Et sachiés quant il me sovient
Que a consirrer m'en convient
Miex vodroie estre mors que vis. l. 3915.

Christine de Pisan shows likewise no predilection for *ce*. A few quotations from the letters in *Le Livre du Duc des vrais amans* (*Oeuvres poétiques*, Vol. III), will illustrate her usage:

"Sy sachiez que s'il est ainsi que pour cause de moy aiez tant de mal, il m'en poyse de tout mon cuer" (p. 133); "Mon bel ami, il est bien la verité que folle amour, qui plusieurs deçoit, et la nisse pitié que j'ay eue de vos complaintes moult m'ont menée à oublier ce de quoy il me devroit souvenir sans cesser, c'est assavoir mon ame et mon honneur" (p. 173); "Ma dame, j'ay entendu aucunes nouvelles de vostre gouvernement telles que j'en suis dolente . . . . et sont telles, comme il me semble, que, comme il soit de droit et raison que toute princesse et haulte dame, tout ainsi comme elle est hault eslevée en honneur et estat sur les autres que elle doye estre en bonté, etc. Et comme il apertiengne que elle soit devote . . . . ne vous fiez es vaines pensées que pluseurs joennes femmes ont qui se donnent a croire que ce n'est point de mal d'amer par amours, mais qu'il n'y ait villenie . . . . Ha! ma chère dame, il va tout autrement (p. 164).

In Montaigne, modern usage has definitely asserted itself. In the first forty-two pages of Petit de Julleville's Extracts from Montaigne's *Essais*, it is only *C'est raison* (once in *Au Lecteur*), *c'est merveille* (I, 9 (2), 24 (3), 25 (1)), and *c'est dommage*, that are found followed by a clause as subject, whereas *il* is the rule: "il ne nous repasse en la memoire en combien de sortes cette nostre allegresse est en butte à la mort," I, 19; "Mais d'où il puisse advenir qu'une âme

riche de . . . . n'en devienne pas plus vive, etc., I, 24; croy qu'il vaut mieux dire que ce mal vienne de leur mauvaise façon de se prendre aux sciences (*ib.*); il n'est pas merveille si ny les escholiers, ny les maistres n'en deviennent pas plus habiles (*ib.*); puisqu'il est ainsi que les sciences ne peuvent que nous enseigner la prudence, etc. (*ib.*); il n'est pas estrange si . . . . ils respondirent, etc. (*ib.*); comme est il possible qu'on se puisse deffaire du pensement de la mort et qu'a chasque instant il ne nous semble qu'elle nous tienne au collet? I, 4; Qu'importe il comment que ce soit (*ib.*). There has been continuity of development through the ages.

As for the frequency of the expression of this neuter *il*, if it is said of the language of the sixteenth century that "L'impersonnel *il* de même est encore d'un usage restreint" (§ 185), what shall be said of the language of the thirteenth or of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries?

The passages cited above from Guillaume de Lorris and from Christine de Pisan show that *il* was very frequently expressed in their day. In the same forty-two pages of Montaigne above referred to *il* is expressed ninety times and unexpressed three times: Mais tant y a qu'il est sien (I, 25); N'y n'est art de quoy je peusse peindre seulement les premiers lineaments: et n'est enfant des classes moyennes, &c. (*ibid.*).

II.

In speaking of the preposition *de*, the sweeping statement is made: "Il ne s'emploie pas après rien, quelque chose, &c., suivi d'un adjectif: le seizième siècle dit habituellement: quoi plus beau? il n'est rien plus beau. Quelque chose plus beau (ou plus belle)? Il n'y a rien si vray (des Périers, *Cymbalum* 1). Rien trop (Montaigne I, 16). § 226, 2. Again in section 179, the statement in regard to *quelque chose* is emphasized: "Quelque chose n'est pas encore devenu substantif neutre: Si l'on peut nommer quelque chose plus vile" (Calvin, *Inst.*, préface).

Some studies of the language of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where these words were often found construed with the preposition *de* before an adjective, raised the question whether, on the contrary, as might be expected from the later development of the language, there was not an increasing use of the *de* during the sixteenth century, whether in fact toward the latter part of the century the use of *de* did not preponderate.

In the prose selections from the writers of the period, given in the second part of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's work, the following pertinent examples are found:

P. 22. Il n'est rien si ayse, si doux et si favorable que la loy divine (Montaigne).

P. 23. Est-il possible de rien imaginer si ridicule que cette nouvelle et chestifve creature (*ib.*).

P. 24. Il n'est rien subject à plus continuelles agitations que les lois (*ib.*).

P. 29. Il n'y a rien plus aysé que le pousser en telle passion que l'on veut (Charron).

P. 74. Que lui restoit il plus? (Brantôme).

P. 97. Rien plus qu'un peu de mouelle (Rabelais).

P. 144. Ne se promettant rien moins que de lui faire servir d'exemple en Justice (Pasquier).

P. 15. Il n'y a rien de mal en la vie (Mont.).

P. 45. Car qui a il au monde de plus admirable et que peut Dieu mesme faire de plus estrange, &c. (*Satyre Menippée*).

P. 47. Il faut bien dire qu'il y a quelque chose de divin en la saincte Union (*ib.*).

P. 76. Jamais rien ne fut veu de si beau (Brantôme).

P. 139. Vous n'y trouverez rien de tel en l'autre (Pasquier).

P. 139. Il n'y a rien de si beau que ses Regrets (*ib.*).

P. 154. Vous n'avez doncques rien ouy de nouveau?—Comment, dit-il, est il survenu quelque chose nouvelle? (Amyot).

These examples suffice at least to show that during the sixteenth century after *rien*, *quelque chose*, &c., followed by an adjective *de* may or may not be used.

A more precise understanding of the status of the question in the latter half of the century might be reached by a thorough examination of Montaigne's works. At the risk of Montaigne's ghost arising to say: "Tant de paroles pour les paroles seules!" the four volumes of his essays and letters (edition Ch. Louandre) have been read with the view of collating all the examples of this construction. The result may be expressed in a few words:

Forty-nine times the adjective following *rien* is construed with *de* and forty-seven without *de.* Of the forty-seven cases without *de,* twenty-five follow *il n'est rien,* after which *de* is never found, and thirteen of the remainder have a *de* construction, either preceding *rien* or following the adjective. Sixteen examples of *quelque chose* with a following adjective, are found, in fourteen of which the adjective is preceded by *de.* Five times *quoi* is followed by an adjective, invariably preceded by *de.* Of *que* with an adjective, there are ten cases, in only two of which does *de* appear.

From this study it would seem that modern usage had fairly established itself except in the case of *que.* The development of the partitive idea has been not only continuous, but, so to speak, cumulative.

1. A mon advis ses ambitieux et courageux desseings n'avoient rien de si hault que feut leur interruption. I, 19.
2. Il n'y a rien de mal en la vie. I, 19.
3. Rien de noble ne se faict sans hazard. I, 23.
4. Nature pour montrer qu'il n'y a rien de sauvage en ce qu'elle conduict, &c. I, 24.
5. N'ayant toutesfois rien de pedantesque que le port de sa robbe. I, 24.
6. Une profession qui n'a rien de commun avecques les livres. I, 24.
7. Une chaleur constante . . . qui n'a rien d'aspre et de poignant. I, 27.
8. Cette consideration n'a rien de commun avecques les offices, &c. I, 27.
9. Or, je treuve . . . qu'il n'y a rien de barbare et de sauvage en cette nation. I, 30.
10. Il n'y peult avoir rien de contrefaict. I, 35.
11. Il n'y a rien de changé. I, 38.
12. Qu'on n'y apperçoit rien de changé de leur état ordinaire. I, 40.
13. La doulceur mesme des haleines plus pures n'a rien de plus parfaict que d'estre sans aulcune odeur. I, 55.
14. Le jeune Scipion . . . ordonna à ses soldats de ne manger que debout, et rien de cuict. II, 9.
15. Et ne veoid on rien aux histoires anciennes de plus extreme. II, 11.
16. Nous n'avons rien de pareil ny de si admirable. II, 12.
17. Veu qu'il n'y a rien d'obscur à Dieu. II, 12.
18. N'ayant trouvé, en cet amas de science, &c. rien de massif et ferme. II, 12.
19. N'ayant rien trouvé de si caché de quoy ils n'ayent voulu parler. II, 12.
20. N'ayant rien de commun avecques l'humaine nature. II, 12 (Vol. II, p. 392).
21. Cela n'a rien de commun avecques l'infinité. II, 12.
22. Il n'y a rien de divin. II, 12.
23. Il fault scavoir . . . . s'il y a rien de dur ou de mol en nostre cognoissance. II, 12.
24. Il ne se peult establir rien de certain. II, 12.
25. Ne pouvant rien appréhender de subsistant et permanent. II, 12.
26. Laisse il d'estre parce que nous n'avons rien veu de semblable. II, 12.
27. Il n'y a rien d'emprunté de l'art, &c. III, 12.
28. Nous ne sentons rien de plus doulx en la vie qu'un repos et sommeil tranquille, &c. III, 12.
29. Et n'a rien d'extraordinaire en l'usage de sa vie. III, 13.
30. Il ne me fault rien d'extraordinaire quand je suis malade. III, 9.
31. Et, s'il n'y a rien de faict, c'est à dire. *ib.*
32. Elle n'a rien faict contre moy d'oultrageux. *ib.*
33. La mort n'a rien de pire que cela. Let. 1.
34. Elles n'ayent rien de mauvais. Let. 1.
35. Le reste du cours de sa vie n'a rien de reprochable. Let. 8.
36. Mon langage n'a rien de facile et poly. II, 17.
37. Il n'y a rien d'alaigre. *ib.*
38. Nous ne goustons rien de pur. II, 20 (title).
39. Parce qu'il n'y a rien de stable chez nous. II, 23.
40. L'execution qui feut faicte prez d'Orleans n'eut rien de pareil. II, 29.
41. Mais il n'y a rien d'inutile en nature. III, 1.
42. Tel a esté miraculeux au monde auquel sa femme et son valet n'ont rien veu seulement de remarquable. III, 2.
43. Mes desbauches ne m'emportent pas fort loing ; il n'y a rien d'extreme et d'estrange. III, 2.
44. Le monde n'a rien de plus beau. III, 3.

45. Je n'ay rien jugé de si rude en l'austérité de vie, &c. III, 3.

46. Il n'y a rien d'efforcé, rien de traisnant, tout y marche d'une pareiele teneur. III, 5.

47. Cil n'a rien de genereux qui peult recevoir plaisir où il n'en donne point. III, 5.

48. Où il y aye rien de gratuit que le nom. III, 6.

49. Il n'y a rien de seul et de rare. III, 6.

1. Ne leur semblant raisonnable qu'il y ait rien digne de leur faire teste. I, 14.

2. Il n'y avait rien obmis des formes accoustumées. I, 20.

3. Qu'il n'est rien si contraire à mon style. I, 20.

4. Il n'est rien moins esperable de ce monstre ainsi agité que l'humanité et la douceur. I. 23.

5. Il n'est rien si mal propre à mettre en besogne. I, 24.

6. Il n'est rien plus gay. I, 25.

7. Il n'est rieu si gentil que les petits enfants en France. I, 25.

8. Est il rien plus délicat, &c. I, 26.

9. Et celle là nous deffend de rien laisser irresolu et indecis. I, 26.

10. Je n'y treuve rien digne de vous. I, 28.

11. Il n'est rien si dissociable et sociable que l'homme. I, 38.

12. Il n'est rien si empeschant. I, 42.

13. Il n'est rien plus royal. I, 42.

14. Je ne veois rien autour de moy que couvert et masque. I, 42.

15. Il n'est rien si vilain et si lasche. I, 48.

16. Il n'y a rien aussi en cette besongne digne d'être remarqué. II, 7.

17. Est il possible de rien imaginer si ridicule. II, 12.

18. Il n'est rien, dict Ciceron, si doulx que l'occupation des lettres. II, 12.

19. Il n'est rien si ordinaire que de rencontrer des traicts de pareille temerité. II, 12.

20. Il n'est rien plus cher et plus estimable que son estre. II, 12.

21. Il n'est rien meilleur que le monde. II, 12.

22. Qu'il n'est rien si estrange. II, 12.

23. Il n'est rien en somme si extreme, II, 12.

24. Il n'est rien si horrible à imaginer. II, 12.

25. Il n'est rien plus plaisant au commerce des hommes que, &c. III, 7.

26. Est il rien plus certain, &c., comme l'asne. III, 8.

27. Je ne treuve rien si cher. III, 9.

28. A peine y a il rien si grossier au jeu des petits enfants. III, 11.

29. Il n'est rien si soupple et erratique que nostre entendement. III, 11.

30. Il n'y a rien en la justice si juste. III, 12.

31. Il n'est rien plus vraysemblable. III, 12.

32. Il n'y a rien juste de soy. III, 13.

33. Il n'est rien si lourdement et largement faultier que les loix. III, 13.

34. Les Indes n'ont rien plus esloingné de ma force. III, 13.

35. Mais est il rien doulx au prix de cette soubdaine mutation. III, 13.

36. Il n'est rien si beau et legitime que de faire bien à l'homme. III, 13.

37. Vous trouverez qu'il n'y a rien si fade. III, 13.

38. Rien si humain en Platon, que ce pour quoy ils disent qu'on l'appelle divin.

39. Je ne treuve rien si humble et si mortel en la vie d'Alexandre que ses fantasies autour de son immortalisation. III, 13.

40. Nostre Guyenne n'a eu garde de veoir rien pareil à luy parmy les hommes de sa robbe. Let. IV.

41. Je l'advise qu'il ne feut jamais rien plus exactement dict ne escript, aux escholes des philosophes, du droict et des debvoirs de la saincte amitié, que ce que ce personage et moy en avons practiqué ensemble. Let. V.

42. Il n'y a rien plus illustre en la vie de Socrates. L. II, ch. 13.

43. Il n'est rien naturellement, si contraire à nostre goust que la satiété, &c. II, 15.

44. Je ne cognois rien digne de grande admiration. II, 17.

45. Rien si cogneu et si receu que Troye, Helene. II, 36.

46. La convoitise n'a rien si propre que d'estre ingrate. III, 6.

47. Aussi ne leur feit il rien veoir en la prison, indigne de ce tiltre. III, 6.

1. S'il a quelque chose d'instruisant. I, 13.

2. Il y a quelque chose de pareil en ces aultres deux philosophes. I, 39.

3. S'ils ont quelque chose de bon. II, 8.

4. Elles auroient quelque chose de miraculeux comme nostre croyance. II, 12.

5. Eh quoi ! avons nous veu quelque chose semblable au soleil ? II, 12.

6. Ce sont paroles qui signifient quelque chose de grand. II, 12.

7. Il y a doncques quelque chose de meilleur ; cela c'est Dieu. II, 12.

8. S'il naissait, à cette heure, quelque chose de pareil, il est peu d'hommes qui le prisassent. III, 12.

9. La douleur a quelque chose de non evitable en son tendre commencement, et la volupté quelque chose d'evitable en sa fin excessifve. III, 13.

10. S'il eust faict quelque chose de plus aigre contre nous. II, 19.

11. Sa mort a quelque chose de pareil à celle d'Epaminondas. II, 19.

12. J'en sçais un . . . . qui ne veid jamais sans jalousie ses gents mesmes faire quelque chose de grand en son absence. II, 21.

13. En ce mesme païs, il y avoit quelque chose de pareil en leurs gymnosophistes. II, 29.

14. Ses cris sembloient bien avoir quelque chose de particulier. II, 30.

15. Ne craignons point . . . d'estimer qu'il y a quelque chose illicite contre les ennemis mesmes. III, 1.

16. Quelque chose de grand et de rare pour l'advenir. III, 5.

1. Qu'est il plus farouche que de veoir une nation; &c. I, 22.

2. Je ne sçay quoy de plus vif et de plus bouillant. I, 28.

3. Que peult il attendre de mieux que ce qu'il vient de perdre. I, 47.

4. Il y a des vices qui ont je ne sçais quoy de genereux. II, 2.

5. Il y a je ne sçais quoy de servile en la rigueur et en la contraincte. II, 7.

6. Je ne sçais quoy de plus grand et de plus actif que de se laisser, &c. II, 11.

7. Mais, pauvret, qu'a il en soy digne d'un tel advantage. II, 12.

8. Qu'est-il plus vain que de vouloir dominer Dieu. II, 12.

9. Et qu'est il plus vain que de faire, &c. II, 12.

10. Mais cette relation a je ne sçais quoy encores de plus heteroclite. II, 12.

11. Que penses tu donc faire de difficile et d'exemplaire à te tenir là. II, 10.

12. Qu'est il plus aysé à un homme practique que de gauchir aux dangiers ? II, 6.

13. Que peult on imaginer plus vilain que d'estre couard ? II, 18.

14. Qu'est il plus doulx que d'estre si cher à sa femme. II, 35.

15. Que luy est il moins possible à faire que ce qu'il ne peult faire qu'aux despens de sa foy, &c. III, 1.

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GERMAN *SELB.*

No satisfactory etymology has been discovered for Ger. *selb*. The Grimm Dictionary, *s. v.*, notes several attempts. Kluge, *s. v.*, mentions indirectly and (with a "vielleicht") only the suggestion occurring in Windisch, Ir. Texte 767 connecting the word with Irish *selb* 'possession.' No mention is made of Ger. *selb* in Stokes-Bezzenberger, *Urkelt. Sprachschatz*, p. 303 (4th ed.) or in Holder, *Altkelt. Sprachschatz*, s. v. *selvā. The development of meaning 'possesser' > 'lord, master, Herr' > 'self' appears to be felt as a serious difficulty (see the Grimm Dict., *l. c.*). Is not this difficulty in some degree done away with, if, for the connection of meaning between 'possession' and 'self,' we compare the Lettish and Lithuanian word *pats* and *patìs*, 'self,' not with Gk. πόσις 'husband' and Skr. *patis* 'lord, husband,' as has hitherto been done, but with Lat. comparative *potior* (superlative *potissimus*) 'rather, preferable,' a meaning traceable in the somewhat rarely used positive only in its stereotyped enclitic form, *pte* in *suopte*, *mihipte*, etc. ? The prevailing use of *potissimum* is also in association with pronouns, *e. g.*, *me p.*, *ego p.*, *te p.*, like *ich selbst*, etc. The intensive pronouns *selb*, *ipse*, αὐτός, *patìs*, *pats* and Skr. *simás* are constantly found (except sometimes in their reflexive and anaphoric uses) in association with concepts that stand out as predominating elements of a unit of thought,—concepts that are

"lifted out" of their surroundings as being of relatively greater importance. The elements of isolation and contrast, so generally entering into the meanings of these words, are the results of their *Hervorhebung*, their "preferredness" over other concepts (cf. Brugmann, *Die Demonstrativpronomina*, p. 109). In various types of context the meanings 'same,' 'self,' 'alone,' etc., then arise. For the connection between 'possession' and 'preference' compare (*potis*), *pte*, *potior*, *potissimus* with *potiri* 'get possession of,' Albanian *pata* 'had,' *patε* 'possession'; Irish *selb* 'possession' with Gk. ἑλέσθαι 'prefer.'

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A GLANCE AT WORDSWORTH'S READING.

II.

The external evidence on the reading of both Wordsworth and Coleridge during their fruitful intimacy in Somerset, and later at Grasmere, is, in fact, very fragmentary. Tradition pictures the two men wandering with Dorothy Wordsworth in the beautiful country-side around Alfoxden, Coleridge apparently as heedless of "in-door study" as Wordsworth himself. The "in-door," or bookish, history of that episode, so critical in their lives and in English literature, has aroused no general curiosity and has sunk into undeserved oblivion. Sufficient pains, however, might yet reconstruct a valuable outline. We say *bookish*, rather than *in-door*, for Wordsworth not only composed in the open, but by day did much of his reading there, partly, perhaps, on account of his eyes. Of his ways in the North he tells us the following story: "One day a stranger having walked round the garden and grounds of Rydal Mount asked one of the female servants, who happened to be at the door, permission to see her master's study, 'This,' said she, leading him forward, 'is my master's library where he keeps his books, but his study is out of doors.'" [32]

But with reference to books of travel and the like: judged chiefly from scattered hints in contemporary or slightly subsequent poems, Wordsworth's studies in descriptive geography during the first few years after his establishment at Racedown, in 1795, seem to have extended from some unidentified notice of our western prairies to an account of the Andes, perhaps in the record of the Spanish priest Molina, thence to the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire, thence to the Canaries, thence to the heart of Abyssinia, a region which he knew probably in the pages of the intrepid explorer Bruce, if not likewise in Dr. Johnson's translation of Lobo,[33] and so on to Tartary and Cathay, as pictured by those whom he calls the "pilgrim friars," among them doubtless Odoric. Our survey intentionally neglects itineraries dealing with Great Britain and parts of the Continent that Wordsworth visited in person, although his use of such itineraries can not be questioned, any more than their effect upon what he wrote. He had commenced such borrowings even before 1793; in a note to line 307 of "Descriptive Sketches" he remarks: "For most of the images in the next sixteen verses, I am indebted to M. Raymond's interesting observations annexed to his translation of Coxe's Tour in Switzerland." [34]

Whatever the extent and solidity of this reading, its purpose must not be mistaken. Through the courtesy of Messrs. Ginn and Company, who have in press the last of Wordsworth's correspondence that Professor Knight expects to publish, I am able to cite from a letter hitherto unquoted the poet's own opinion on the importance of the literature of travel as an "intermediary" in the "genesis" of his poetry. Writing from Alfoxden on the sixth of March, 1798, half a year, it will be observed, before the publication of *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth says to his friend James Tobin:

> "*If you could collect for me any books of travels you would render me an essential service, as without much of such reading my present labours cannot be brought to any conclusion.*"

[32] Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Morley, p. 564.

[33] He was familiar, of course, with *Rasselas*; cf. *Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes*, ed. E. De Sélincourt, 1906, p. 48.

[34] This indebtedness is much more extensive than Wordsworth indicates. See Legouis, *Early Life of Wordsworth*, Appendix (pp. 475–477).

By his "present labours" Wordsworth meant his great life poem, which he had by that time commenced, but was destined never to organize as a perfect and unified whole. Five days after his letter to Tobin he informs another friend, a Mr. Losh of Cumberland: "I have been tolerably industrious within the last few weeks; I have written 706 lines of a poem which I hope to make of considerable utility. Its title will be The Recluse, or Views of Nature, Man, and Society." [35] Why Wordsworth was never able to complete this work as he designed is a large question that may not be broached at present. It was admirably handled by the late Professor Minto in *The Nineteenth Century* for September, 1889; yet there is a good deal more to be said. Parenthetically, we might offer as one possible reason for *Wordsworth's Great Failure* [36] the very fact that he commenced his direct preparation rather late, and that, unlike his grand exemplar, Milton, he was unduly impatient to begin producing on a large scale. And we may add, gratuitously, as another reason, the fact that, again unlike Milton, as well as Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare, he sundered his poetical activity too far from the practical life of his nation. However that may be, Wordsworth's great tripartite poem, in 1798 immediately prospective and alluring, is represented to to us now by a body of verse that, noble as it may be, is nevertheless, as a whole, structurally imperfect. In his own opinion it is imperfect, at any rate, in such sense as an unfinished "Gothic church" may be deemed so; it consists, first, of an "ante-chapel," "The Prelude," so-called; second, of parts of the main structure, namely, "The Recluse," so-called, and "The Excursion"; third, of most if not all of the shorter pieces, "little cells, oratories and sepulchral recesses," produced by Wordsworth between 1797, or earlier, and 1814. The figure from architecture is, of course, the poet's own.[37] We are entitled, however, to regard many of his briefer poems as material which he was desirous of ultimately using in the construction of the *nave*, had he been destined ever to complete this, and not as mere side-chapels in his imagined cathedral.

The effect of Wordsworth's reading of travels is discernible throughout this entire bulk of poetry; it may be detected in some of his best and most familiar passages. The "Prologue" to "Peter Bell" is full of its influence; indeed the whole poem, being in fact Wordsworth's "Ancient Mariner"—that is, the wanderer-ballad which he evolved when he had found himself unable to compose jointly with Coleridge—breathes the spirit of a born and bred peripatetic. A tinge of the American naturalist William Bartram is visible in the lines commencing "There was a Boy," in the "Stanzas Written in my Pocket-Copy of Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence,'" in "She was a Phantom of Delight," in parts of "The Prelude" and "The Recluse," and perhaps in "The Excursion." "Ruth" in places follows Bartram word for word. "The Affliction of Margaret —" almost certainly carries a reminiscence of Wilson's *Pelew Islands.* "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman" is confessedly founded on Hearne. Carver lurks in the exquisite lines on that "faery voyager," Hartley Coleridge at the age of six, and crops out at least once in "The Excursion." [38] In the eighth book of "The Prelude" it may be one of the mediæval "pilgrim friars" mentioned in the seventh that furnishes Wordsworth with his marvelous vision of the Mongolian paradise Jehol;—there seems to be an instructive parallel here to Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," which sprang from his remembrance of mediæval lore gathered together in *Purchas his Pilgrimage.* Such reading helps to explain the continual references in Wordsworth to distant lands and seas in general; for instance:

> The antechapel where the statue stood
> Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone; [39]

lines, accordingly, whose inspiration is to be attributed not entirely to "the equally happy

[35] Knight, *Life of Wordsworth,* Vol. I, p. 148.

[36] *Wordsworth's Great Failure, Nineteenth Century,* Vol. 26, pp. 435–451.

[37] Wordsworth, *Poetical Works,* ed. Morley, p. 415.

[38] For the preceding statements, see the references given above, p. 88; Carver's word for the whippoorwill, the *Muccawiss,* occurs in a passage from "The Excursion" quoted at the end of the present article.

[39] "The Prelude," Book III, ll. 60 ff.

lines" in Thomson's "Death of Isaac Newton" (Legouis).[40] It illuminates likewise his frequent allusion to various wanderers and sea-captains, etc.; as for example to the "horsemen-travellers" in "Ruth," or to the ideal retired "captain of a small trading vessel," described in an instructive note appended by Wordsworth in 1800 to "The Thorn."[41] His fondness for the literature of travel explains to our great satisfaction the readiness with which Wordsworth accepted from Coleridge a famous emendation in "The Blind Highland Boy." Wordsworth, it will be remembered, at first sent his blind hero afloat in an ordinary wash-tub. When Coleridge informed his brother poet of the lad in Dampier's *New Voyage round the World* (1697) who went aboard his father's ship in a tortoise-shell, Wordsworth made the obvious but unlucky "substitution" without delay.[42]

We need not multiply particular instances. If space allowed, certain broader influences ought also to be debated, in partial answer to the question why Wordsworth, himself born with the instincts of an itinerant—*a pedlar*, he says,—and his favorite brother, John, a seaman, should call the first book of his longest poem "The Wanderer" and the whole poem "The Excursion"; or why, in characterizing his autobiography, that is, "The Prelude," he should exclaim:

> A Traveller I am
> Whose tale is only of himself.[43]

Books, he says, were Southey's *passion;* "and *wandering*, I can with truth affirm, was *mine*; but this propensity in me was happily counteracted by inability from want of fortune to fulfil my wishes."[44]

Let us come, however, to something more brief and tangible,—a definite illustration of Wordsworth's indebtedness to a literary medium in his ideal representations of nature. According to a German dissertation by Dr. Oeftering,[45] since Wordsworth had never seen a pelican, all that he knew of this classic bird was the mediæval fable that the female fed her young with her own heart's blood; like revolutionary France, she

> . . . turned an angry beak against the down
> Of her own breast.

It looks as if Dr. Oeftering had not been studying Mr. Tutin's *Wordsworth Dictionary* any more assiduously than "The Prelude." In "The Prelude," Book III, Wordsworth, with a censuring eye upon the Cambridge of his day and its uninspiring landscape, calls up in imaginative contrast his vision of what the surroundings of a seat of learning ought to be:

> Oh, what joy
> To see a sanctuary for our country's youth
> Informed with such a spirit as might be
> Its own protection; a primeval grove,
> Where, though the shades with cheerfulness were filled,
> Nor indigent of songs warbled from crowds
> In under-coverts, yet the countenance
> Of the whole place should bear a stamp of awe;
> A habitation sober and demure
> For ruminating creatures; a domain
> For quiet things to wander in; a haunt
> In which the heron should delight to feed
> By the shy rivers, and the pelican
> Upon the cypress spire in lonely thought
> Might sit and sun himself.[46]

This is not the least beautiful passage in "The Prelude," nor the least curious. Aside from the present connection, it is of considerable interest as a document in pedagogy. The "romantic" poet, influenced no doubt by the educational doctrines of Rousseau, is mentally transporting the youth of England, not merely to the land of social freedom, America, but to an aboriginal landscape and the home of the "natural man," the "naked Indian." The whole passage—ruminating creatures, pelican, cypress spire, and all—is a remarkable adaptation of a scene depicted by the Quaker botanist, William Bartram, on the banks of the Altamaha in Georgia:

> "I ascended this beautiful river," says Bartram, "on whose fruitful banks the generous and true sons of liberty securely dwell, fifty miles above the white settlements . . . . My progress was rendered delightful by the sylvan elegance of the groves, cheerful meadows, and high distant forests, which in

[40] *The Early Life of Wordsworth*, p. 79, note.

[41] Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*, Aldine Edition, ed. Dowden, Vol. II, pp. 306, 307.

[42] Cf. Coleridge, *Anima Poetæ*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, 1895, pp. 175, 176.

[43] "The Prelude," Book III, ll. 195, 196.

[44] Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Morley, p. 408.

[45] *Wordsworth's und Byron's Natur-Dichtung*, Freiburg i. Br. Diss. von W. Oeftering, Karlsruhe, 1901, s. 160.

[46] *The Prelude*, Book III, ll. 427 ff.

grand order presented themselves to view. The winding banks of the river, and the high projecting promontories, unfolded fresh scenes of grandeur and sublimity. The deep forests and distant hills re-echoed the cheering social lowings of domestic herds. The air was filled with the loud and shrill hooping of the wary sharp-sighted crane. Behold, on yon decayed, defoliated cypress tree, the solitary wood pelican, dejectedly perched upon its utmost-elevated spire; he there, like an ancient venerable sage, sets himself up as a mark of derision, for the safety of his kindred tribes." [47]

In the London *Athenæum* for April 22, 1905,[48] having pointed out the parallel just noted, I tried to suggest reasons why Wordsworth, a scientific poet, should be drawn to the record of a poet-scientist and traveler like Bartram; I was, however, unable to do more than shadow forth the way in which the dominant imagination at work in "The Prelude" selected and appropriated its poetic material, from whatever source. It may be, the principle of selection is obvious enough simply on comparison of the two excerpts here brought together. The principle of appropriation must also pass without further comment than this: in the case before us—as has been said, a typical case,—the impression from Bartram seems to have lain dormant in the poet's mind for something like five years, awaiting utilization.[49] It had become an assimilated experience, and was in the nature of a purified emotion, "recollected in tranquillity." Wordsworth differentiates it in no way from such other "living material" as he gathered through his personal observation of the external world about him; so much is certain.

* * *

By way of appendix, several less definite considerations and queries are herewith presented, some of them bearing more directly upon Wordsworth, or Wordsworth and Coleridge, some of them concerning rather the literary "movement" in which Wordsworth has been recognized as a leader, all of them connected with the literature of travel. The present writer ventures to hope that one or two of them, however inadequately developed here, may stimulate a useful curiosity, and that his meager effort may eventually open up a comprehensive study of the relation between geographical discovery during the latter part of the eighteenth century and that release of the imagination and renewal of poetic wonder which characterize the so-called "return to nature" in the literature of "romanticism."

1. Wordsworth's imagination has sometimes been disparaged as relatively narrow and insular, though not by those who have known him well. As a poet he was restricted in his choice of subjects and restrained in his treatment of such themes as he finally decided to handle. These limitations, however, were in his case matters of conscious will and artistic habit. He took but a part of the world for his stage. Yet his view of the world was free and large. Insular he was not. He came of an island race whose gaze has been fixed from earliest times upon a watery horizon, and he flourished during a period of utmost interest on the part of England in colonies beyond many seas. It is worthy of note that on April 7, 1770, when Wordsworth was born, James Cook, who was making his first voyage of discovery in the Pacific, was on his way from New Zealand to Australia. Furthermore, at the time when his poetical genius was developing most rapidly, Wordsworth was living, not in the Lake region of England, but within walking distance of a great shipping thoroughfare, the Bristol Channel, and not in "solitude," but in every day communion with an author whose best known production is "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

2. "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" is likewise the best known poem of the collection called *Lyrical Ballads.* But that Wordsworth was responsible in a large measure for the plot of this poem, or that he furnished considerably more of its details than he afterwards remembered, can not be set down as matter of common knowledge. Its joint authorship, however, concerns us here only in so far as the poem represents similar reading done by both its authors. Of the *Lyrical Ballads* as a whole we may say that too exclusive

[47] *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida,* [etc.], London, 1794, pp. 47, 48.

[48] *Athenæum,* 1905, Vol. I, pp. 498–500.

[49] Wordsworth became familiar with Bartram, so it seems, at Alfoxden. The passage in *The Prelude* was composed, so far as we know, at Grasmere in 1804.

attention has been paid in the history of literature to the relation between these and other ballads, above all, the popular ballads exploited by Thomas Percy. When all is said, the fact remains that even in *form* these "experiments" of Coleridge and Wordsworth are not what are technically known as *popular* ballads; they are not naïve, but sophisticated, literary. As for their material, that is obviously not drawn so much from Percy and the rest as it is even from eighteenth-century books of travel. And these latter are but one set of "sources."

Again, it has been remarked by more than one of our modern scholars that the revolt of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Bowles against the tradition of the age of Queen Anne was in many essentials a return to the standards of Spenser and Milton. Very true. In the "Advertisement" to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), Wordsworth himself observes: "The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere was professedly written in imitation of the *style*, as well as of the spirit of the elder poets." Here we are on familiar ground. But has it been anywhere remarked how essentially that revolt meant a recourse on the part of the new "school," not merely to their own observation of nature, but to the observation of the best contemporary natural scientists?

3. It is, in fact, surprising to see with what unerring instinct Wordsworth and, to a lesser extent, Coleridge betook themselves to what we can now recognize as the most trustworthy descriptions of natural phenomena by scientific and semi-scientific men of their day. We may regard as a distinctive mark of great poets that, being themselves potential scientists and having acquired the touchstone for truth to nature by supremely honest use of their own senses upon such phenomena as fall within the range of their own experience, they are able to test the validity of more technical observers, and, in appropriating information from the printed page, to separate safe from unsafe popular authorities. Accordingly, if Coleridge dealt too freely in questionable matters like the miracles treasured up by credulous geographers of the seventeenth century and like Bryan Edwards' account of Obi witchcraft, the point remains that both he and Wordsworth found their way quickly to eighteenth-century treatises of relatively permanent value like Edwards' *West Indies*, Bartram's *Travels*, Bruce's *Travels* and Hearne's *Journey*.[50] After all, was this so strange? The enthusiastic scientist or the inquiring traveler keeps his eye "fixed upon his object"; in describing, he speaks the language, not of Pope, but of a man in the presence of reality. The language of Shelvocke and James and Carver was "language really used by men," and by men often in a state of vivid, yet normal, emotion. In "Expostulation and Reply" Wordsworth covertly girds at "modern books of moral philosophy."[51] Setting these aside, we may imagine that the tastes of the two poets while they were writing *Lyrical Ballads* were mutually influential. Hence, and for other reasons, it is not unlikely that the *Strange and Dangerous Voyage* of that very real man Captain Thomas James—poet and Arctic explorer—became familiar to both about the same time; though we have no positive proof that Wordsworth read James before the year 1819.[52]

4. But Wordsworth and Coleridge were not alone in this wide sea of reading. Bowles, who was responsible to some extent for the "movement"— "the return to nature" —which gained impetus through the publication of *Lyrical Ballads*, may have shown the way after a fashion in this direction also. For the student of that period Bowles is useful in that he takes care to indicate his "sources." These, as his foot-notes show,[53] are principally the "elder poets," above all Milton and Shakespeare, and the travelers. Thus he proves himself conversant with Bartram, Bruce, Camöens, Chateaubriand, Craven, Forster, Molina, Park, De Quiros, Shaw, Southey, Stothard and Zarco. One of his earlier flights, "Abba Thùle,"

[50] Cf. Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 590; *Coleridge's Poems: Facsimile Reproduction*, p. 173; *Athenæum*, Jan. 27, 1894.

[51] See the "Advertisement" to the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads*.

[52] Cf. *Poems and Extracts chosen by William Wordsworth for an Album presented to Lady Mary Lowther, Christmas, 1819*, ed. Harold Littledale, London, 1905, pp. iv, 81; *Athenæum*, 1906, Vol. I, p. 325; Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, pp. 595, 596.

[53] I refer to later editions of Bowles; specifically to that by Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1855, which is a reprint of the edition of 1837.

harks back to Wilson's *Pelew Islands*. Among his later and longer attempts, "The Spirit of Discovery by Sea," catches our attention simply by its title. This and "The Missionary," which is still later, bear ample testimony to his love of the wonders related by such as go down to the sea in ships. Whether Bowles may be thought to have stimulated his admirer Coleridge and Coleridge's friend Wordsworth in this interest, or whether they reacted rather upon him, or whether all three were carried on in a stream already strong, the truth is that such poetry of the eighteenth century as belongs distinctively with the poetry at the beginning of the nineteenth is, like the latter, simply permeated with the spirit of travel. We may follow this spirit from Cowper's "Selkirk" to Keats' fine lines on Chapman's Homer, notwithstanding Keats' mistake of Cortez for Balboa. We may find it in a forgotten poet of sylvan nature like Thomas Gisborne.[54] Southey, who read everything, was both a traveller and an inveterate student of travels. So also was Byron.[55] If we look toward France at the turn of the century, so also was Chateaubriand. Nor could there be a better ethical criterion of this "romanticist's" methods as a literary artist than his use of Bartram in "Atala," compared with Wordsworth's conscientious treatment of the same material in "Ruth" and "The Prelude." The dubious filching from Bartram, Carver and others in Chateaubriand's *Journal en Amérique* has been effectually censured in M. Bédier's *Études Critiques.*[56]

For anything dealing half so thoroughly with a comparable indebtedness, censurable or praiseworthy, among English authors, we have still to wait. Not that a consideration of the literature of travel in some connection with other literary problems during the last quarter of the eighteenth century has been wholly omitted. But it is a matter for regret that in her useful study, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*, Miss Reynolds should have regarded simply the eighteenth-century itineraries *within* Great Britain and Ireland, and neglected those *without.*[57] And it is unfortunate, furthermore, that so far even as these local itineraries are concerned she should have noted merely the increasing sympathy with external nature which they, in themselves, disclose, and that she should not have aimed to measure the reaction between them and the later eighteenth-century poets. Yet in many cases it might be puzzling to disentangle any given poet's own direct impressions of the outer world from his debts to books of travel in England; whereas the problem becomes relatively distinct when it is a question of this or that poet's description of some landscape in America or China that he surely never beheld.

5. The interest that the poets of Wordsworth's generation took in foreign travels is paralleled notably by a similar interest on the part of those "elder poets" whom they studied and tried to equal; it is in striking contrast to the relative lack of interest on the part of literary men during the intervening epoch of pseudo-classicism. The age of Elizabeth read geography, because, for one thing, there was new geography to read. The age of Anne did not, in the main because there was then a lull in geographical discovery.

In that efflorescence of intellect which followed the cloistered Middle Ages and which we have been content to call the Renaissance, certain wholly new experiences were borne in upon the minds of Europeans, a certain amount of inspiring knowledge was, not revived through study of the classics, indeed not awakened through any sources previously accessible or familiar, but acquired by the old world for the first time since the dawn of eastern civilization. This wholly fresh knowledge, these new experiences, this leaven of novel appeals from an enlarged external nature, came into Europe chiefly by way of the western sea. It would be idle to dilate here, or to refine, upon the influence of maritime discovery on the so-called Renaissance; yet of that influence two aspects at least must be kept in view. First, whereas the Middle Ages learned their geography in large measure from itinerants who had trod the land, the Renaissance had its imagination

[54] Author of *Walks in a Forest*, 1794. He is not mentioned by Miss Reynolds in the dissertation referred to below.

[55] Cf. J. C. Collins, *Studies in Poetry and Criticism*, 1905, pp. 87, etc.

[56] Joseph Bédier, *Études Critiques*, Paris, 1903, pp. 127 ff.

[57] University of Chicago dissertation, 1896, Chap. IV, pp. 192 ff.

quickened rather by an access of knowledge from across the ocean. Now since the days of Homer the soul of man has been stimulated less urgently by overland communication than by marine. Second, if we examine almost any typical spirit of the Renaissance with care, for example, Rabelais, we shall find his knowledge of geography about as exact as the state of the science then permitted.[58] This is probably true of Shakespeare; it is undoubtedly true of Milton.[59]

It may pass for a truism that the great development of geography as a body of information was a product of the Renaissance, although the discipline did not in general attain any very high degree of accuracy until after the middle of the eighteenth century. Though Humboldt was not born until 1769, and Ritter until a decade later, yet after 1750, we may say, the study which they were to dominate had already begun to be a science in the modern sense. In the meantime, and especially from about 1700 on, there had been a distinct falling off, if not in the effort to order such facts as were known, at all events in the eagerness and rapidity with which new geographical data were acquired and made popular. It is to be emphasized that this epoch of comparative lethargy in the observation of our mother earth corresponds roughly to the period during which Alexander Pope was active and the pseudo-classic movement in literature was at its height.

After 1750 geography began to grope into the status of a modern science. The date of its clear emergence may be set for convenience' sake at 1770, when Cook was finishing his first voyage in the Pacific,—the year of the birth of Wordsworth. Books of travel, which had been steadily growing more frequent, and on the whole more reliable, now came out in very great numbers, the best of them appearing again in reissues and large collections. Their increase is easily illustrated. Pinkerton's lists, which are inclusive enough for the purpose, record, for example, but five titles of travels through Denmark and Norway published between 1700 and 1750. For the period 1750–1800 they record under the same head six times that number. Of these thirty, twenty-two appeared after 1770.[60] Moreover, as Miss Reynolds has noted, toward the end of the century the publication of foreign discoveries rapidly overbalanced that of itineraries in England.

With these broad, if crude, generalizations in hand, will it seem superfluous to insist that the relation between the discoveries and the wide ranging imagination of the Renaissance is hardly more deserving of attention than is the relation between the modern, exacter, science of geography and that second renaissance of poetry which we trace in the age of Wordsworth? And will it seem inconsequent to suggest, as we pass, that a false limitation of the term "nature" has done much to befog our understanding of him and other poets who are said to have returned to her? Might we not be at once more precise and more philosophical, if with reference to this tendency in the "romantic" mind we employed some such expression as "the return to geography," using the word geography in its most pregnant signification? This science, says an American dictionary, is the one that "describes the surface of the earth, with its various peoples, animals, and natural products."[61] Among the Germans it is something even more inclusive than that. I dare not now expand or qualify the definition, but was not Wordsworth in the truest sense a poetical geographer, a spiritual interpreter of observed phenomena on the earth? And what else shall we name his less restrained, yet noble successor, the author of "Cloud Beauty" in *Modern Painters?*

6. Wordsworth's acquaintance with geography, or with one of its main branches, ethnology, enables us, in closing, to draw a useful line of demarcation between him and his great forerunner in the contemplation of nature, the prose-poet and self-taught scientist, J. J. Rousseau. Vestiges of Rousseau's doctrines may be discerned, no doubt, in Wordsworth's poetry to the end of his days. In his earlier verse, as M. Legouis makes clear, some of those doctrines were more prominent than Wordsworth, if he had been conscious of their origin, would have liked to confess.[62] We have

[58] Cf. *Les Navigations de Pantagruel: Étude sur la Géographie Rabelaisienne*, par Abel Lefranc.

[59] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1906 (p. 86).

[60] Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. XVII (1814), pp. 72–75.

[61] *Standard Dictionary.*

[62] *The Early Life of Wordsworth*, pp. 54 ff.

already noted in this paper a touch from the educational theory of *Émile* in a passage taken from "The Prelude."[63] But against one fundamental tenet of Rousseau, a tenet that was accepted in some guise or other by nearly every one with whom the young English poet came in contact, Wordsworth decisively reacted. To the fallacy of the "natural man" his study of travels in the new world immediately gave the lie. To assume that as we approach more closely to the state of aboriginal men we discover a more and more perfect type of humanity, was, he knew, to fly in the face of observed data. He was aware what aboriginal tribes were actually like. They were in even worse case than the hopeless dwellers in the immense complexity of London,—that "monstrous ant-hill on the plain." They were by no means superlatively good and happy. Such a fallacy could indeed steal permanent foothold only in the brain of a stubborn autodidact like Jean Jacques, who neither knew anything about savages at first hand, nor sought to test his preconceptions about them by appealing to authorities that did know. Hence, if Wordsworth never perhaps came to see that immense cities are just as "natural" as immense colonies of beavers and just as normal as immense "hosts of insects," and that complexity of organization is a good or a bad thing, not in itself, but according to its fruits, still he ultimately made no mistake about the character of the "natural man." However, it may be that the violence of his disclaimer betrays an original leaning toward the illusion he describes.

In "The Excursion," near the close of Book Third, Wordsworth's "Solitary," summing up the results of his vain search for happiness in America, tells of his final hope and final disillusion, in part as follows :

> Let us, then, I said,
> Leave this unknit Republic to the scourge
> Of her own passions ; and to regions haste,
> Whose shades have never felt the encroaching axe,
> Or soil endured a transfer in the mart
> Of dire rapacity. There, Man abides,
> Primeval Nature's child. A creature weak
> In combination, (wherefore else driven back
> So far, and of his old inheritance
> So easily deprived ?) but, for that cause,
> More dignified, and stronger in himself ;
> Whether to act, judge, suffer, or enjoy.
> True, the intelligence of social art
> Hath overpowered his forefathers, and soon
> Will sweep the remnant of his line away ;
> But contemplations, worthier, nobler far
> Than her destructive energies, attend
> His independence, when along the side
> Of Mississippi, or that northern stream
> That spreads into successive seas, he walks ;
> Pleased to perceive his own unshackled life,
> And his innate capacities of soul,
> There imaged : or when, having gained the top
> Of some commanding eminence, which yet
> Intruder ne'er beheld, he thence surveys
> Regions of wood and wide savannah, vast
> Expanse of unappropriated earth,
> With mind that sheds a light on what he sees ;
> Free as the sun, and lonely as the sun,
> Pouring above his head its radiance down
> Upon a living and rejoicing world !
> So, westward, tow'rd the unviolated woods
> I bent my way ; and, roaming far and wide,
> Failed not to greet the merry Mocking-bird ;
> And, while the melancholy Muccawiss
> (The sportive bird's companion in the grove)
> Repeated o'er and o'er his plaintive cry,
> I sympathised at leisure with the sound ;
> *But that pure archetype of human greatness,*
> *I found him not.* There, in his stead, appeared
> A creature, squalid, vengeful, and impure ;
> Remorseless, and submissive to no law
> But superstitious fear, and abject sloth.
> Enough is told ![64]

The "Solitary" is not Wordsworth ; he is one of Wordsworth's dramatic conceptions ; he speaks in extreme terms, and at last with bitterness. But his story reveals something of Wordsworth's education.[65]

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[63] Cf. *supra*, note 46.

[64] "The Excursion," Book III, ll. 913 ff.

[65] Through no fault of the author, certain corrections in the proof of Part I of this article were not embodied in the final text (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1907). In general these corrections are unimportant, since for the most part they concern a form of citation of titles which is retained in the text of Part II. The following, however, may be noted: p. 85, column 2, last quotation, insert comma after 'rove'; p. 86, column 1, middle, quotation, delete comma after 'read'; p. 87, column 2, bottom, for '*Shelvock's*' read '*Shelvocke's*'; p. 87, footnote 21, for 'Dr. R. E. Farley's' read 'Dr. F. E. Farley's'; p. 88, column 2, for 'Busequius'' read 'Busbequius.'' The volume cited several times as 'Macmillan ed.' is the edition with an Introduction by John Morley.—L. C.

SOME DISPUTED ETYMOLOGIES.

1. Goth. *diups* 'tief,' etc., I explained, *Modern Language Notes,* xx, 41 f., as a possible derivative of the IE. base *dheu-* in Skt. *dhūnṓti* 'schüttelt, bewegt, entfernt, beseitigt,' etc. Of this Uhlenbeck says, *Tijdschr. v. Ned. Taal- en Letterk.* xxv, 18: "De gissing van Wood, dat *diups* eigenlijk bij den wortel van Oind. *dhūnóti* zoude behooren, heeft voor mij niet de geringste waarschijnlijkheid." Before replying to this, permit me to quote Uhlenbeck again, *PBB.* xxvii, 136: "Die etymologische Wortforschung bleibt leider zu sehr von subjectiven Anschauungen und Neigungen abhängig, und in den meisten Fällen kann ja niemand sagen, dass gerade seine eigene Auffassung die richtige ist."

How does it stand with *diups?* The word is wide-spread in Germ., and has cognates in Balto-Slavic and Keltic. Nothing like it seems to occur in other languages. That it goes back to a base *dheub-* beside a synonymous *dheup-* would probably be admitted by all. With these we may certainly compare the synonymous bases *dheug-* and *dheuk-* (*q-*). This does not necessarily prove that these all go back to a primitive base *dheu-*, but it at least puts it within the realm of possibility. There is, therefore, no reason why a reference of *diups,* pre-Germ. **dheubo-s,* to a base *dheu-* is a priori improbable.

That the base *dheu-* from which *diups* may be derived is identical with that in Skt. *dhūnṓti* can not, of course, be definitely asserted nor dogmatically denied. But as the difference in meaning can be logically bridged over, there is no semasiological necessity for separating the two bases. For a word meaning 'make a quick or sudden movement' might easily come to mean 'fall, sink.'

But the meaning 'fall away' occurs in Skt. in words which may be referred to *dhūnṓti.* Compare the following: Skt. *dhūnṓti* 'schüttelt, entfernt, beseitigt,' *dhvąsati* 'fällt herab, zerfällt, zerstiebt, geht zu Grunde,' *apa-dhvasta-s* 'gestürzt, gesunken, verkommen,' etc. If these meanings may be combined with those in *dhūnṓti,* there ought not to be any difficulty in comparing the slightly different *deep.* Moreover the meaning 'fall away, sink,' usually to be sure in a figurative sense, occurs in several bases *dheux-*, most of which are generally regarded as derived from the base in Skt. *dhūnṓti.* *E. g.*: ON. *dofenn* 'erschlafft, erlahmt, träge,' Icel. *dofinn* 'benumbed, numb, dead,' OSw. *duvin, dovin* 'erschlafft, schwach, lau,' ON. *dofe* 'Schlaffheit,' Norw. dial. *dove* 'Betäubung,' Goth. *daufs* 'taub, verstockt,' etc., OHG. *tobēn* 'rasen, toben,' Gk. τῦφος 'smoke, mist; vanity, absurdity; stupor arising from fever,' etc.—Icel. *doðinn* 'languid,' *doðna* 'relax, become dull,' Fries. *dod* 'Betäubung,' OE. *dydrian* 'delude,' NE. dial. *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' *dudder* 'shiver, tremble; shock with noise, deafen, confuse, amaze,' MLG. *vordutten* 'verdutzt, verwirrt, besinnungslos machen oder werden,' MHG. *vertuzzen* 'betäubt werden, vor Schrecken verstummen, zum Schweigen, zum Aufhören bringen,' *getotzen* 'schlummern,' *tūzen* 'sich still verhalten, still im Leide betrübt sein,' etc., base *dhŭ̄dh(n)-*, with which compare Skt. *dúdhita-s* 'dick, steif,' *dṓdhat-* 'steif, zäh' (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 59), Gk. θύσσομαι 'schüttle mich, rüttle mich' (Brugmann, *Grdr.* ii, 1047).

But it may be urged that these meanings are not in line with those of *deep* and its cognates. That is true, but they at least show that 'deep' might come from the same primary meaning. Witness the following: Av. *-δwōžən* 'sie flattern,' Sw. dial. *duka* 'rasen,' MHG. *tocken* 'Flatterhaftigkeit,' *tuc* 'Schlag, Stoss; schnelle Bewegung; Kunstgriff, Tücke,' *tucken, tücken* 'eine schnelle Bewegung machen bes. nach unten, sich beugen, neigen,' *tūchen,* OHG. *tūhhan* 'tauchen,' *intuhhun* 'innatabant,' *petochen* 'versunken,' *fertochenen* 'verborgenen,' MLG., MDu. *dūken,* Du. *duiken,* NE. *duck,* etc., Lith. *dùgnas* 'der Boden eines Gefässes, eines Flusses, etc.,' base *dheu̯eg-*, with which compare *dheu̯eq-* in Lith. *dūkinė́ju* 'rase umher,' *dūkis* 'Tollheit,' OHG. *tougan* 'verborgen, heimlich,' etc. (Cf. IE. a^x: a^xi : a^xu 74 f.)

Does the meaning of the above preclude connection with Skt. *dhūnṓti* 'schüttelt, erschüttert,' ON. *dýia* 'schütteln,' Gk. θύω 'rush along, storm, rage,' θέω 'run, fly,' θοός 'quick, swift,' Skt. *dhávatē* 'rennt, fliesst,' etc.?

The meaning 'fall away, sink, dive, become hollow, etc.' often develops from 'move quickly, swing, sway, bend, etc.' *E. g.*: ON. *slyngua*

'schwingen, schleudern; umsprühen,' *slyngr* 'flink, rasch, keck,' Lith. *slenkù* 'schleiche,' *slankė* 'Bergrutsch'; OE. *slincan* 'creep,' NE. *slink* 'schleichen,' MLG. *slinken* 'zusammenschrumpfen,' MHG. *slanc* 'schlank, mager,' Dan. *slunken* 'schlaff, schlotterig, leer,' ON. *slakke* 'Vertiefung, Höhlung.'—Lith. *svaigìnėti* 'umherschwanken,' ON. *sueigia* 'biegen, beugen,' OSw. *swīgha* 'sich neigen.'—Skt. *vijátē* 'zittert, ist in heftiger Bewegung, etc.', ON. *víkia* 'in Bewegung setzen, sich wenden, weichen,' *vík* 'Bucht.'—OHG. *biogan* 'biegen, krümmen, beugen,' ON. *bugr* 'Krümmung, Windung, Höhlung,' MHG. *bücken* 'biegen, bücken,' *bocken* 'niedersinken,' Skt. *bhūká-s* 'Loch, Öffnung' (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 4 f.)—Skt. *kū́rdati* 'springt, hüpft,' Gk. *κραδάω* 'wave, brandish, shake,' OE. *hratian* 'rush, hasten,' ON. *hrata* 'schwanken, sich beeilen, stürzen; fallen, zu Fall kommen.'—ON. *hrapa* 'stürzen, eilen; versinken,' *hrap* 'Fall, Sturz.'—Lat. *curro* 'run,' ON. *hrasa* 'hasten; stumble, fall.'—OE. *hræþ* 'agile, swift, quick,' *hradian* 'hasten,' Lith. *kretù* 'bewege mich hin und her,' *krintù* 'falle,' *kritìs* 'Fall,' *krañtas* 'hohes steiles Ufer.'—The meaning 'fall, collapse' also occurs in bases of the type *greux-*, where the primary meaning seems to be 'rush, move quickly': OPruss. *krūt* 'fallen,' *kruwis* 'Fall,' ON. *hrun* 'downfall, collapse,' *hrynia* 'fall, collapse, cave in'; ON. *hriósa* 'schaudern,' OE. *hrēosan* 'rush; fall, collapse, perish'; Lith. *krutù* 'rühre mich, rege mich,' MHG. *rütte(l)n* 'rütteln, schütteln,' *rutschen*, OE. *hryþig* 'in ruins'; Norw. dial. *rūta* 'stürmen, lärmen, sausen,' ON. *hrióta* 'herabfallen, losbrechen.'—Av. *pataiti* 'fliegt, eilt,' Skt. *pátati* 'fliegt, senkt sich, fällt,' Gk. *πέτομαι* 'fly,' *πίπτω* 'fall.'—ON. *snǿfr* 'hurtig, rasch, unstät,' Sw. *snabb* 'schnell, geschwind,' *snafva* 'stolpern,' MHG. *snaben* 'hüpfen, springen, eilen; stolpern, fallen, wanken.'—MHG. *sterzen* 'sich rasch bewegen, umherschweifen; steif emporragen,' *stürzen* 'stürzen, umwenden; umsinken, fallen.'—Skt. *rinā́ti* 'lässt fliessen, lässt laufen, entlässt,' OHG. *rīsan* 'steigen; fallen,' *rēren* 'fallen machen, fallen lassen, verstreuen.'—Skt. *válatē* 'wendet sich, dreht sich,' ON. *valr* 'rund,' Lat. *vallis* (cf. Walde. *Et. Wb.* 647 for this and several other words for valley with the same primary meaning).

In spite of all of these examples I admit that it cannot be *proved* that *deep* is from the base *dheu-* in Skt. *dhūnṓti*. It is rarely possible to give more than a probable conjecture. Even when we find words that correspond exactly in form and meaning, we cannot be absolutely certain of their relation to each other unless we can follow them historically. So as far as the word *deep* is concerned, it is just where I left it before. To me the explanation here given seems entirely possible, but I shall be as ready as anyone to give it up when a better one is offered.

But to make my explanation seem possible or probable to others is not my main object here. It is rather to protest against the making of unsupported statements in regard to an explanation. If an etymology can be shown to be phonetically impossible or improbable, or if another explanation (whether better or not) can be given, well and good. But if one can say of the work of another only that it is improbable, what is gained by it? We simply have one man's opinion pitted against another's, and this is a matter in which the mere show of hands does not count.

What I say in regard to this word would apply equally well to the stricture referred to in no. 2 below. In fact it is a general statement applicable to all cases of the kind. For myself I have found it best not to be too cocksure of any etymology, whether written by myself or another, and not to discard an etymology (much less express my opinion on it) without investigating it.

2. Goth. *þaurban* : Skt. *tṛ̥pyati* is an old comparison which I tried to explain logically in a former number of the *Notes*, April, 1905. My semantic effort is brushed aside by Uhlenbeck, *Tijdschr. v. Ned. Taal- en Letterk.* XXV, 299, as 'geheel in de lucht hangende beteekenisreconstructies.' If that is so, then most etymologists who have combined words that are not synonymous have been guilty of the same great crime. But what Uhlenbeck says of my explanation is a misstatement. The line of development is shown in actually existing words. These words prove that a base *terep-* 'rub, press, terere' existed, and that from this base may come Goth. *þaurban*

'bedürfen' and Skt. *tŕpyati* 'wird befriedigt' and also Lat. *torpeo*.

To jump from one meaning to the other is, of course, out of the question. But if we can find a word with a meaning from which might develop both 'want' and 'satisfy,' we have a right to assume such a possibility. That a base *terep-* existed, no one, I suppose, will deny. That I will take for granted. That this base meant 'terere: press, crowd; rub, wear away,' the following words prove: Gk. τραπέω 'tread grapes,' OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' Lett. *trepans, trapains* 'morsch' (compare MHG. *zermürsen* 'zerdrücken': NHG. *morsch*), *trepēt, trapēt* 'verwittern,' MLG. *derven* 'einschrumpfen, vergehen, verderben,' MHG. *verderben*, OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben,' etc. As I have pointed out, this is an exact parallel to Lat. *trūdo* 'press, thrust': ON. *þrióta* fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper.'

We may arrange the words in parallel groups as follows: Lat. *trūdo* 'press, thrust,' ChSl. *truditi* 'beschweren, quälen,' OE. *þrēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict; rebuke; threaten,' etc.: OPruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' refl. 'sich grämen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge; rebuke'; OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'wear and tear, exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper,' *þrot* 'lack, want, destitution,' *þrotna* 'run short, dwindle away, come to an end': Lett. *trepēt* 'verwittern,' Lith. *tir̃pti* 'zerfliessen, schmelzen,' MLG. *derven* 'vergehen, verderben,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen,' Goth. *þarbs* bedürftig, nötig,' etc.

Anyone who believes that Lat. *trūdo*, ChSl. *truditi*, ON. *þrióta* are all from a root *treud-* 'drücken, stossen' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*[2], 162) is not very consistent in disallowing a synonymous root *terep-* for Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' MHG. *verderben*, Goth. *þaurban*. Far from being in the air, this combination is as certain as it is possible to make one that can not be historically proved. The main reason for doubt is that there may have been several bases *terep-* derived independently from *tere-* in Lat. *tero*, etc. But even if that is the case, the development in meaning is the same. It is just as possible that Lat. *trūdo*, ChSl. *truditi*, ON. *þrióta* represent three bases *treud-* derived independently from *treu-* in Gk. τρύω 'distress, afflict, vex,' ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' OE. *þrēan* 'oppress, afflict; threaten; rebuke,' etc.

With Lat. *trūdo*: ON. *þrióta*; Lith. *trepti*, Gk. τραπέω: Goth. *þaurban* compare the following:—ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' Gk. τρύω 'distress, afflict, vex,' τρύος 'distress,' OE. *þrēa*, *þrawu* 'affliction, oppression, severity, rebuke, threat,' etc., ChSl. *truti* 'absumere,' ON. *þrǫ́* 'Mangel, Verlust, Entbehrung; Sehnsucht.'—ON. *þrúga* 'drücken,' OE. *þryccan* 'press; trample,' OHG. *drucchen* 'drücken; zusammendrängen; bedrängen: sich drängen,' Gk. τρύχω 'rub away, wear out, destroy, consume, waste; distress, afflict,' τρύχωσις 'exhaustion, distress,' OE. *þroht* 'grievous; affliction'; Lith. *trū̃kis* 'Riss,' Lett. *trúkums* 'Mangel,' Lat. *truncus* 'mutilated.'—Gk. τρῡπάω 'bore,' ChSl. *trupŭ* 'venter, vulnus, truncus,' Lith. *trupùs* 'bröcklich,' *triũpas* 'abgelebt,' *triuñpas, trumpas* 'kurz'; OE. *þrēapian* 'rebuke, reprove, afflict,' *þrīepel* 'instrument of punishment.'—Lat. *tero* 'rub, rub to pieces, bruise, grind; wear away, wear out,' Gk. τείρω 'wear away, wear out, distress, afflict,' Lat. *dē-trimentum* 'loss, damage.'—Gk. τρίβω 'rub, thresh, grind; bruise; wear out, spend, use,' τριβή 'rubbing: wearing away, spending; practice, etc.', τρίβος 'a worn path; practice, use,' ChSl. *trěba* 'negotium,' *trěbŭ* 'notwendig,' *trěbovati* 'bedürfen.'—Lat. *tergo* 'rub off, wipe off; grate upon,' OE. *þracu* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrece* 'violence; weariness,' ON. *þrekaðr* 'worn, exhausted.'

So frequently does 'lack, want' come from such meanings as 'rub away, wear away, tear, break, etc.', that it is surprising that any one who has given any attention to etymological work should regard the comparison of Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' *trapùs* 'spröde, leicht brechend,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' etc., with Goth. *þaurban* as unusual. To show that this statement is not "hanging in the air," compare the following:—OS. *brestan* 'bersten; gebrechen, mangeln.'—NHG. *brechen, gebrechen*. These did not come to a personal use, but might have done so. For "it lacks" implies "I lack."—Skt. *bhárvati* 'verzehrt,' OHG. *brōdi* 'gebrechlich, schwach,'

OE. *ā-brēoþan* 'deteriorate; prove untrustworthy, fail; perish'; OE. *brīesan* 'bruise, crush,' *brosnian* 'crumble, decay; perish, pass away.'—Dan. *tæse* 'zupfen,' NHG. *Zaser*, OE. *teoso* 'injury; fraud; wrong,' *teoswian* 'injure, annoy,' Skt. *dásyati* 'nimmt ab, geht aus, mangelt,' *dasayati* 'erschöpft,' etc. (cf. *IE.* $a^x : a^xi : a^xu$ 67).—MLG. *tosen*, OHG. *-zūsen* 'zausen, zerren,' Skt. *dōṣa-s* 'Fehler, Schaden, Mangel,' *dúṣyati* 'verdirbt, wird schlecht,' OE. *tȳran*, *tēorian* 'fail, fall short; be tired; tire': OE. *tēona* 'injury, suffering, injustice, insult,' *tīenan* 'annoy, irritate, revile,' ON. *tión* 'loss, injury,' etc., Gk. δεύομαι 'lack, want,' δέομαι 'want, need, ask' (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVI, 17).—MLG. *teppen* 'zupfen, pflücken,' Skt. *dāpayati* 'teilt,' Gk. δάπτω 'tear,' Lat. *damnum*, ON. *tapa* 'verlieren,' *tǽpr* 'kurz, knapp.' — Gk. δατέομαι 'divide,' OHG. *zādal* 'Mangel,' *zādalōn* 'Mangel leiden.'—Skt. *çīryatē* 'wird zerbrochen, zerfällt, zergeht,' Lat. *caries* 'rottenness,' *careo* 'want, lack' (cf. *IE.* a^x : etc. 82).

I think we may, therefore, regard it as practically proved that Goth. *þarf* meant primarily 'I (have become) am worn out, exhausted,' hence 'I am needy, lack, want.' And yet the meaning 'need' might develop from 'use,' and that from 'wear away.' Compare the following: Gk. τρίβω 'rub, grind; wear out, spend, use,' ChSl. *trěba* 'negotium,' *trěbŭ* 'notwendig,' *trěbovati* 'bedürfen.'—Gk. τρητός 'bored through': Lith. *trōtyti* 'an Leib und Leben schädigen,' Slov. *tratiti* 'verwenden, verschwenden,' ChSl. *tratiti* 'verbrauchen,' Russ. *tratiti* 'verbrauchen, verschwenden, vertun, verlieren,' Goth. *þrōþjan* 'üben' (cf. Hirt, *PBB.* XXIII, 293).—Gk. τρύω 'reibe auf,' τρώ(ϝ)ω 'beschädige,' Pol. *trawić* 'verdauen, verzehren, vernichten,' *trwonić* 'verschwenden,' etc. The difference between 'wear away, come to an end, lack, want' and 'wear away, consume, use,' from which might come 'need' is only the difference between the intransitive and the transitive use of 'wear away.'

Now from the base *terep-* 'press,' which is not assumed but actually existed, naturally came 'compressed, compact, hard, strong, stout, etc.' and 'be compact, stout, big, thrive, etc.' This we have in the following: Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' *biderbe* 'tüchtig, bieder,' Lith. *tar̃pti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' Skt. *tárpaṇa-s* 'stärkend, sättigend, labend,' *tṛpyati* 'sättigt sich, wird befriedigt,' *tarpáyati* 'stärkt, sättigt, befriedigt,' Gk. τέρπω 'fill, satisfy, delight.' Goth. *þraftsjan* 'trösten, ermutigen' may go back rather to the primary meaning 'press, urge.' Compare especially OE. *þrafian* 'urge.' But Lat. *torpeo*, Lith. *tir̃pti* 'erstarren, gefühllos werden,' etc., are but slightly removed in meaning from MHG. *derp*, etc.

For the change in meaning 'press': 'fill, be compact, big, strong, etc.', compare the following: Lith. *treñkti* 'dröhnend stossen,' ON. *þryngua* 'pressen, (be)drängen; anfüllen, anschwellen,' Icel. *þrunginn* 'swollen.'—Lith. *tremiù* 'werfe nieder,' Lett. *tremju* 'stampfe,' ON. *þramma* 'schwer treten,' MLG. *drammen* 'ungestüm dringen; lärmen, poltern,' OS. *thrimman* 'schwellen,' OE. *þrymm* 'strength, might; glory, magnificence; host, army.'—Skt. *tṛṇátti*, *tardayati* 'durchbohrt, spaltet,' MHG. *drinden* 'schwellend dringen, anschwellen' (apparently from LG. with *nt-* becoming *-nd-*), MLG. *drinten* 'anschwellen,' OE. *þrintan* 'swell.'—OE. *þracu* 'pressure, force, violence,' ON. *þrek* 'Arbeit; Kraft,' Icel. *þrekinn* 'stout of frame, robust, burly.'—Lith. *trypiù* 'stampfe, trete,' ON. *þrífa* 'ergreifen,' *þrífask* 'gedeihen.'—ON. *þrýsta* 'press, squeeze, thrust,' *þrýstiligr* 'compact, stout, robust.'—Lat. *trūdo* 'press, crowd,' OE. *þrēat* 'violence, ill-treatment, threat; crowd, troop,' *ā-þrūten* 'swollen.' *þrūtian* 'swell,' etc.—Base *treu-* 'press, rub,' ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' Gk. τρύω 'distress, afflict, vex,' OE. *þrēan* 'oppress, afflict; threaten, rebuke,' *þrēal* 'correction, rebuke, threat,' *geþryl* 'crowding, crowd,' *þrȳþ* 'crowd, troop; strength; might,' ON. *þrúðr* 'Stärke, Kraft.' These are all from bases *terex-*, *treix-*, *treux-*, which may be remotely related (cf. *IE.* $a^x : a^xi : a^xu$ 59ff.).

The same change in meaning occurs in other synonymous bases: OHG. *dwingan* 'bezwingen, bedrücken,' Gk. σάττω 'bepacke, stampfe fest, drücke fest hinein,' Lith. *tviñkti* 'anschwellen,' *tveñkti* 'schwellen machen.'—Skt. *tanákti* 'zieht zusammen, macht gerinnen,' Av. *taxmō* 'stark, fest,' Lith. *tánkus* 'dicht,' Goth. *þeihan* 'gedeihen, zunehmen.'—OHG. *krimman* 'quetschen,

quälen,' OE. *crimman* 'cram, insert; crumble,' *crammian* 'cram, stuff.'—OE. *crūdan* 'press, crowd,' *gecrod* 'crowd, throng.'—So many other words.

We see, therefore, that *terep* 'press, rub, terere' logically gave 'wear away, lack, want' and 'be compressed, swell, thrive; fill, satisfy, etc.' This double meaning, to mention no others, occurs in a number of synonymous bases: OHG. *dringan* 'dringen, drängen, drücken,' MLG. *drange* 'Gedränge; Einengung, Zwang, Gewalt; Not,' *drange* 'gedrängt voll, enge,' ON. *þryngua* 'drängen; anfüllen, anschwellen,' etc.—MLG. *dram* 'Bedrängnis, Not,' OS. *thrim* 'Leid, Kummer,' *thrimman* 'schwellen.'—OE. *þracu* 'pressure, force, violence,' *þrece* 'violence; weariness' (active and passive 'pressure'), ON. *þrek* 'strength,' *þrekaðr* 'worn, exhausted.'—Gk. τρύω 'wear away, distress,' τρύος 'distress,' ON. *þrúðr* 'Stärke, Kraft.'—Lat. *trūdo*, ON. *þrióta* 'fail; lack, want,' *þrútenn* 'swollen,' *þrútna* 'swell.'

Here I rest my case, and leave it to the unprejudiced to decide whether I have proved (1) that a base *terep-* 'press, rub, terere' existed, (2) that from this came 'wear away, fail, lack, want' and (3) 'be compact, swell, thrive; fill, satisfy.'

I repeat what I have said elsewhere: It is just as scientific and just as necessary to reconstruct a primary meaning as an original form. For a word is not explained at all unless we know how it came to its present meaning. That is the one important thing, and therein lies the chief task of the etymologist.

Note. To the examples given above to illustrate how 'thrive' and 'want' may come from the same meaning 'press' add ON. *þryngua* 'drängen, pressen: anfüllen, anschwellen': Dan. *trang* 'Drang, Bedrängnis, Bedürfnis, Armut,' *trænge* 'Mangel leiden, Mangel haben; nötig haben, bedürfen, brauchen,' Norw. *trenga* 'nötig haben, bedürfen.'

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ENGLISH PROSODY.

A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day. By George Saintsbury. Vol. i. London: Macmillan and Company, 1906.

Treatises on English prosody usually suffer from one or the other of two defects: the authors either confine themselves to the classification of existing forms, with no explanation of how they came to be, or, if they treat the matter historically, they bring to its discussion certain preconceived theories which the facts must be made to fit. The book before us is free of these defects: it sets out by examining English prosody in its beginnings and in the making; and the author deduces his conclusions from a full investigation of the facts, in which nothing is overlooked, slurred, or distorted. Whether we agree with him or not, we must admit that he has placed all the evidence before us as it has never yet been done.

The difficulties and apparent paradoxes in English prosody arise from the fact that for several centuries two different prosodic systems have contended or coexisted in our verse. But perhaps it will be as well to go a little further back than where Professor Saintsbury begins.

If we inquire what is the *differentia* that distinguishes verse from non-verse, we shall find that it consists in a design of superadded ornament. The nature of this design varies with different literatures and in the same literature at different times, but in all cases it is *definite, symmetrical,* and *recurrent.* The oldest English verse was founded on a design of two equivalent, though not necessarily eqnal, sections, carrying four principal stresses, the stresses being emphasised by alliteration. Great freedom was allowed in the use of unstressed or lightly stressed syllables, so that the design, while perfectly rhythmical, was not strictly metrical.

French poets, on the other hand, having an almost atonic language, could not make designs founded on stress alone sufficiently conspicuous, nor did alliteration appeal to them as it did to the northern peoples, so they founded designs upon metre (number of syllables) with terminal rimes as a firm outline to mark the pattern. This was

the system that was brought into England with the Norman conquest. For about a century we are left in the dark as to what effect it had on English verse, if any was written; but about the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, we see the new influence, and see also the resistance of the old. The whole thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth is a period of contention, of interaction, of submission and of compromise, most instructive to students of prosody. The new principles established themselves, but did not destroy the old. Stress was, of course, unconquerable. Alliteration and equivalence still lingered on, sometimes in abeyance, sometimes in eclipse; bursting out in guerilla warfare in the north and west, much alive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, buried under ashes at the beginning of the eighteenth, to flash out, to men's amazement, at its close.

This formative and tentative period is here completely set before us, and we can see the germination of all English verse. We see the dawning of new ideas, the experiments, the false starts and the happy innovations, from Layamon, wabbling with the internal conflict of the two systems, who might have asked, like the uncomfortable Rebekah, "Why am I thus"? and received the answer, "Two nations are within thy womb"—to the wooden Orm, to whom equivalence is anathema, and alliteration and rime things of naught; who measures out his eights and sevens with the precision of a joiner, and pegs in his stresses as an upholsterer plants his brass-headed nails—and to the lyrists who, rejoicing in the freedom of equivalence give their song the bird's warble and joyous spring of the triplet. Through all this maze Professor Saintsbury leads us, omitting nothing significant, and giving us the facts from which we can form our own opinion, if we do not choose to accept his.

The fundamental principle he expresses thus:

"There was something in the old material, something antecedent to rhyme, which persevered, and which, uniting itself quite happily and harmoniously with the influence of rhyme itself, gave us what the French have lacked all through their literary history, and will perhaps never fully attain. This was . . . . that peculiarity in Anglo-Saxon prosody which interspersed the accented pivots, pillars, or whatever you like to call them, with varying numbers of unaccented syllables. This peculiarity in the old prosody, and its revival in the new, its partial disappearance again, and its fresh revival, not only in spite of mere disuse, but of repeated well-meant, even still continuing attempts to suppress and extirpate it, show that the national ear, the national taste, the national desire and appetence must have attached some special sweetness and excellence to it."

"Feet of two and three syllables may be very frequently substituted for each other, [but] there is a certain metrical and rhythmical norm of the line which must not be confused by too frequent substitutions."

To these propositions I heartily subscribe.

On one point, perhaps, he verges a little toward dogmatism, and that is when he asserts—as he does again and again, declaring himself ready "to wage truceless war" against all gainsayers—that the "norm" of English verse is not in the stresses or the number of syllables, but in the foot. Here the question naturally arises: what does he mean by the somewhat uncertain word "norm?" Does he mean that the reader or hearer, recognizing the design of the versification, recognizes it as a design of *feet*, and not of stresses or syllables? Or does he mean that the poet has the feet in mind when he composes his verse? This important question does not seem to have occurred to him until the volume was three-quarters finished, when he tells us in a note that he does not hold that "feet, as such, are invariably present to the mind of the poet." This is, to my mind, a very safe position, and he might have added, "nor to that of the reader either." This then would lead to the less bellicose statement that we *ought to scan* verses as feet—an opinion merely, from which some will probably dissent. My notion is that a poet conceives his verse, and his hearer hears it, as a rhythmical period. A composer, fashioning a musical thought into a melodic chain, thinks, I suppose, of the sections and periods, but not of the bars. But the bars are there and must be taken into account, though they are not the "norm" of the melody.

Professor Saintsbury has an ear—a blessing not often vouchsafed to prosodists—nor is he insensitive to the rhythmic phrase; but his preoccupation with the foot sometimes leads him into mistakes. For instance, he very hesitatingly and reluctantly admits the occurrence of the spondee (by which he means the concurrence of two stresses) in English verse. He had only to open his Shakespeare to find it on every page. How would he scan

To be or not to be: THAT is the question—?

In another place he says that "Moore's 'shining on, shining on,' is neither a pair of bad anapæsts nor a pair of good cretics, but four feet, two of them monosyllabic." See what comes of having one's head full of anapæsts and cretics! Then Moore, the impeccable rhythmist, in a passage of absolutely perfect versification, not only gave a violent wrench to his rhythm, but made one line two feet too long for his design, and never noticed it! But when we take the whole passage:—

"There's a beauty forever unchangingly bright,
Like the long sunny lapse of a summer-day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till Love falls asleep in its sameness of splendor"—

I think there can be no question about *that*!

The author's method of indicating scansion by vertical divisions is objectionable in that, while it marks the limits of the foot, it does not indicate its nature. Thus he marks

Cristes | milde | moder

and

Ich wel | de ma | re then

in exactly the same way, though he considers the one "trochaic" and the other "iambic"; while on another page, a line exactly like the first, he scans thus:—

Wul | de ge | nu lis | ten.

In complicated metres, and when accents are reversed, this notation is confusing.

And, by the way, I am somewhat surprised that the author has not treated the very important phenomenon of the reversed stress—or what he would probably call the substitution of a trochee for an iamb—in regular verse, *e. g.*:—

Have melted into air—into thin air.
Illumine; what is low, raise and support.

But this, perhaps, he reserves for his next volume.

Professor Saintsbury takes issue—not, as it seems to me, on sufficient grounds—with those who hold that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "cadence" was the term applied to unrimed alliterative verses. The two classsical passages are in Chaucer and Gower:—

In ryme or elles in cadence.
Of metre, of rime, and of cadence.

Here "cadence" is mentioned as a distinct species of versification which was neither in metre nor in rime. If there was such a species, other than the unrimed alliterative verse, he should give an example of it. I know of none. His further argument from the well-known passage in Wyntoun is unlucky, Wyntoun, justifying the poet of the *Geste of Arthure* for using "Empyrowre" instead of "Procuratoure," says that the latter word would have hurt the "cadence." Professor Saintsbury, assuming that the poem referred to was the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, says that the substitution of "Procuratoure" for "Empyrowre" would not have hurt the alliteration at all. Well, the line is:

Sir Lucius Iberius, the Emperoure of Rome—

and it strikes me that the substitution of an initial consonant would hurt the alliteration considerably—in fact it would knock all alliteration out of the line. But Mr. Saintsbury overlooks the fatal fact that (on this assumption) Wyntoun distinctly specifies an unrimed alliterative poem as a poem in "cadence." However, any argument from Wyntoun's words is futile, as it has been conclusively shown that Wyntoun did *not* refer to the alliterative *Morte Arthure.*

There is a kind of *capriccioso* style in the author's diction which is somewhat annoying, but it is probably temperamental, and may be condoned; but more serious is the defect of saying very simple things with such peculiarities of phrase and arrangement of clauses, that it takes some effort to disentangle the meaning. Justice Shallow very wisely said that if you have news to impart, "there is but two ways: to utter them, or to conceal them." Professor Saintsbury at times seems to be trying to do both at once.

But it is more pleasant to praise than to carp; especially when the merits are great and the imperfections small. And I hasten to add that this is not merely the best and most instructive treatise of English prosody that has come under my notice, but the only one that shows a thorough understanding of the subject, perfect candor in the recognition of facts, and a true ear for the delicacies of rhythm—the only one that really explains the history and mystery of English verse.

Wm. Hand Browne.

Johns Hopkins University.

La Perfecta Casada, por el Maestro F. LUYS DE LEON. *Texto del siglo* XVI. *Reimpresión de la tercera edición, con variantes de la primera, y un prólogo por* ELIZABETH WALLACE, *miembro del cuerpo de profesores de lenguas romances de la Universidad de Chicago. The Decennial Publications, Second Series, Volume* VI. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1903. 8vo., pp. xxvii + 119.

In the second series of the *Decennial Publications* of the University of Chicago there appears a very attractive volume due to the scholarly care of Miss Elizabeth Wallace. The volume in question is a reprint of that delightful little work, *La Perfecta Casada*, one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature. Its author, el Maestro Fray Luís de León, was, it will be recalled, one of the most elegant prose writers of the sixteenth century.

As every one knows, the treatise is a commentary on a certain well-known chapter (the thirty-first) of the book of Proverbs, and was directed to a lady, among Fray Luís's friends, Doña María Varela Osorio. The good old Friar loved his little book and worked over it and recast it even after it had appeared in print. He was able to give this patient care to the second and third editions, his constant preoccupation being a striving for a more harmonious and more perfect prose rhythm. Such being the case, Miss Wallace had the excellent idea of giving us a faithful reprint of this third edition, with variants from the first edition. This gives us an opportunity of studying at first hand our author's rhythmic method, and of seeing his work grow to perfection in his hands.

The text is preceded by a prologue of seventeen pages, written in Spanish, into which has been compressed a great deal of very interesting and valuable information. It opens with a few general remarks about the work, and a list of the most important editions and translations thereof. Next comes a comparison of the first and third editions from the standpoint of punctuation and orthography. This is followed by a comparison of these two editions from the standpoint of their phraseology. The prologue closes with a few pages on the prose rhythm of Fray Luís, as deduced from the comparison just made.

The following misprints have been noted:

P. xi, l. 4, Valera *for* Varela; p. xxi, l. 16, cdiciones *for* ediciones; p. xxi, l. 22, *posseer for posseer;* p. xxiii, l. 8, *eon la suerte for con la suerte;* p. xxiii, l. 19, CLAUSULAS *for* CLÁUSULAS; p. xxiv, l. 9, *Tertuilano for Tertuliano;* p. xxvii, l. 30, Y reureucian" *for* Y reuerencian".

As a critic is treading on very treacherous ground when he claims to point out misprints in a text the original of which he has not before him, it is with considerable diffidence that I call attention to the following probable errors in the new edition:

P. 7, l. 27, desistir du *for* desistir de; p. 15, l. 11, de au natural *for* de su natural; p. 23, l. 17, biue su los *for* biuē en los; p. 29, l. 9, guarder *for* guardar; p. 29, l. 12, quando viere a *for* quando viene a; p. 43, l. 2, El se *for* El es; p. 50, l. 17, y cotejo, *for* y coteja; p. 54, l. 8–9, a todas los *for* a todos los; p. 56, l. 2, sin sentir. y *for* sin sentir, y; p. 56, l. 5, diziendo. *for* diziendo:; p. 58, l. 28, siempre, no ha *for* siempre no ha; p. 60, l. 12, de todos, *for* de todos.; p. 60, l. 18–19, los si-ruen *for* los sir-uen; p. 63, l. 4, porque venida, la noche *for* porque, venida la noche; p. 65, l. 2–3, ya no con-ozca *for* ya no co-nozca; p. 68, l. 1, Annque *for* Aunque; p. 84, l. 34, a es ver . . . o el oyr *for* o es ver . . . o es oyr; p. 86, Title, CASAKA *for* CASADA; p. 90, l. 41, lo onza *for* la onza; p. 101, l. 23, vergonçoso. *for* vergonçoso,; p. 115, l. 15, sonarar *for* sonaran.

In spite of this list of suggestions (and even in case each suggestion should prove to be correct—the majority of the cases being what our German colleagues would call "nicht störende Druckfehler"), it is evident that Miss Wallace has done her work with care and affection; and all Spanish scholars must rejoice that it is at last possible to read, in a form that is worthy of it, this brilliant gem of an age that is gone.

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD.

Columbia University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"*From China to Peru.*"

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The following example of the above phrase may be of interest. It occurs in Sir William Temple's *Miscellanea*, Part II ("Of Poetry": last paragraph but one):

"what honour and request the ancient poetry has lived in, may not only be observed from the universal reception and use in all nations *from China to Peru*, from Scythia to Arabia, but from the esteem of the best and the greatest men as well as the vulgar."

This reads somewhat as if it were a stock phrase. Bartlett in his *Familiar Quotations*, refers, under Dr. Johnson, only to Thomas Warton.

W. M. TWEEDIE.

Mt. Allison College.

CHAUCER, *Prol.* 466.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Among other places, the Wife of Bath had been

In Galice at seint Iame. . . .

Skeat's note refers to 'Piers Plowman, A. iv. 106, 110, and note to B. Prol. 47; also Eng. Gilds, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 172, 177.'

Further illustrations of the journey to Compostella, and of the conditions in that town, would be interesting. The following may serve as a slight contribution. In the *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Cornwall*, p. 482, we read:

'An important branch of English maritime traffic in the fifteenth century was the transport of pilgrims to enable them to perform their devotions at the shrine of St. James of Compostella. They could only be carried in licensed ships, and nobles and merchants seem to have been equally eager to obtain a share in what must have been a profitable trade. Most of the ships belonged to the southern ports, and Penzance, St. Michael's Mount, Looe, Fowey, Falmouth, Saltash, and Landulph had their share, one of the ships, the *Mary* of Fowey, being of 140 tons. As early as January, 1393–4, a license was obtained for the *George* of Fowey to carry 80 pilgrims, and there were several other Cornish vessels similarly occupied about the same time.'

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

MARLOWE, *Faustus*, SCENE 14.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In a recent article in *Modern Language Notes*,[1] entitled "On a Passage in Marlowe's Faustus," Dr. H. T. Baker suggests that a change be made in the division of the lines in scene 14 (Mermaid edition) of Marlowe's *Faustus*. Dr. Baker advances the theory that only the first four lines of the long speech at the beginning of the scene were spoken by the Old Man, while the rest, beginning with the words:

Break heart, drop blood, and mingle it with tears,

were spoken by Faustus. Dr. Baker refers to the passage as it stands in the 1604 text, and points out that in the 1616 text the entire speech is changed, making nonsense of the whole matter.

In the opinion of the present writer, Dr. Baker's case would be a very strong one were it not for one point which he has overlooked, namely, the passage as it stands in the original source of Marlowe's drama, the *English Faust-Book* of 1592. The story of the old man's attempt to turn Faustus from his evil ways was faithfully translated by the author of the *E. F. B.* from the *German Faust-Book* of 1587.

Ah, Doctor Faustus, that I might prevail
To guide thy steps unto the way of life,
By which sweet path thou mayst attain the goal
That shall conduct thee to celestial rest

is surely Marlowe's poetic rendering of the lines, "Let my rude Sermon be vnto you a conuersion; and forget the filthy life that you haue led, repent, aske mercy, and liue"; while the next line in the drama,

Break heart, drop blood, and mingle it with tears,

is Marlowe's rendering of the very next line (excepting a direct quotation from the Scriptures) in the *English Faust-Book*,

[1] xxi, 86–7.

"Let my words, good brother FAUSTUS, *pearce into your adamant heart.*"

Again, the lines referriug to a call for mercy, which Dr. Baker assigns to Faustus, are surely Marlowe's repetition of the old man's words,

"repent, aske mercy, and liue";

and also—

"and desire God for his Sonne Christ his sake, to forgiue you."

Lastly, the "otherwise incomprehensible reproach of Mephistophilis" is not dependent upon Faustus' call for mercy, but is Marlowe's rendering of the lines (as he read on in the *English Faust-Book* version):

"Begin againe, and write another writing with thine owne blood, if not, then will I teare thee all to pieces."

ALFRED E. RICHARDS.

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OLD PLAYS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Apropos of Prof. Dodge's communication concerning the performance of old plays, I wish to state that a presentation of an Old Testament cycle consisting of *The Creation and Fall of Man, Noah's Ark, The Sacrifice of Isaac,* and *The Shepherds,* was given at the Educational Alliance, New York City, May 13, 1905, by The Dramatic Club of the Thomas Davidson School.

Each play in the cycle was a composite constructed out of the various English versions. Nothing was added. Where a word was so far obsolete as not to be found in Shakespeare, a synonym was substituted, unless the context distinctly showed the meaning. The reproduction was historical so far as this was conveniently possible in a modern theater and before a modern audience. For instance, the figure of God could not very well appear on the stage.

The performance will be repeated May 11, 1907.

DAVID KLEIN.

College of the City of New York.

A NOTE ON A SONNET OF STÉPHANE MALLARMÉ.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The writer offers an interpretation of the following, one of Mallarmé's most difficult sonnets:

Ses purs ongles très haut dédiant leur onyx,
L'Angoisse, ce minuit, soutient, lampadophore,
Maint rêve vespéral brûlé par le Phénix
Que ne recueille pas de cinéraire amphore
Sur les crédences, au salon vide: nul ptyx,
Aboli bibelot d'inanité sonore
(Car le maître est allé puiser des pleurs au Styx
Avec ce seul objet dont le Néant s'honore.)
Mais proche la croisée au nord vacante, un or
Agonise selon peut-être le décor
Des licornes ruant du feu contre une nixe:
Elle, défunte nue en le miroir, encor
Que, dans l'oubli fermé par le cadre, se fixe
De scintillations sitôt le septuor.

A corpse is resting at night with the presence of no human soul to disturb it. The soul of the dead man is apparently free in the room, to be inferred from the presence of the mirror, which Mallarmé uses elsewhere as the symbol of the consciousness of the soul. The mirror reflects in itself the picture of the naked spirit of good. Nakedness is another favorite symbol for the idea or any other impalpable thing when divested of any determining attributes. Thus it seems that what we may infer here is that the spirit is wandering about at last in an absolutely pure state after it has been freed from the mortal and material shell, and so more fit for judgment. The seven scintillations may have no particular significance; seven is merely a mystic number dear to the symbolists, as was the mystic number three in the Middle Ages.

The sonnet is also capable of a slightly different interpretation. The naked nixie may have this significance in connection with the mirror, that, although the mirror in actual experience does reflect exactly, yet when it represents the soul, it has no such qualities, its eternal impalpability being represented by the reflected nakedness. In other words, the sonnet may be a representation of the soul as free from its earthly husk, or as incapable of definition or localization.

ARTHUR B. MYRICK.

University of Vermont.

Rejoinder to Professor Super's Criticisms.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Allow me to express my gratitude to Professor O. B. Super for the note he has been pleased to write on the little Reader for first and second year students published by me, two years ago, under the title *Selections from Standard French Authors.*

While some of his suggestions will be very helpful, I must take issue with him on several of his "corrections" and criticisms.

Passer condamnation does mean "to confess judgment." It means also, in the words of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, *renoncer à se défendre sur un point,* which the expression "not to press one's point" renders pretty well, it seems to me.

In the idiom *ne plaignant pas ma peine* the same authorities translate the verb *plaindre* by *donner à regret,* which is accurately rendered by "not regretting my work."

The vocabulary gives for *tiède* the meaning "cool," which it has, in a figurative sense: but it gives also and first 'mild,' which is here quite as satisfactory as 'warm.'

The "nonsensical" translation of "counting money" for *argent comptant* is nowhere to be found in the vocabulary. Under *argent* occurs the translation "ready money" which, I trust, is sufficient.

Professor Super adds: 'Boursault is spoken of as the author of "The Mercure Galant" and two or three other "comedies" as though the "Mercure Galant" was the name of a comedy.'

'Le Mercure Galant' is a comedy: the extract given in my 'Selections' is taken from it and it was chosen not so much on account of Boursault's prominence as on account of the entertaining illustrations it offers of some grammatical peculiarities of the French language.

In the case of Brueys and Palaprat, modernizers of the famous farce of *Maître Patelin,* it was obviously the comedy, not the authors (whose work was merely an adaptation), that warranted their introduction in a book of "Standard" texts.

As for the choice of the thirty-eight selections that compose my Reader, I confess that I did not expect to be able to satisfy the individual tastes of all my colleagues. The preface states that "many more texts equally important, by authors just as representative, might have been added if space had allowed." Corneille and Racine, Lamartine and Musset are missing, to be sure, and I regret it. As for Dumas, I am satisfied that the young American scholar will soon or late get acquainted with this "standard author." The same reason would lead me to sacrifice Sand and About to such writers as Vauvenargues and Rivarol, who hold in the estimation of connoisseurs, a higher rank than some seem to think.

I am perfectly willing to "passer condamnation" on Professor Super's criticism of my selection from Bernardin de St. Pierre. Indeed it is not characteristic, but it happened to be a short and easy anecdote for the first part of the book.

But for *Don Juan's* scene of M. Dimanche, I could not see my way clear to abandon it. The scene seems to me a masterpiece and in Molière's best vein. As for *Don Juan* itself, which Professor Super calls one of Molière's "less important plays," another critic, Jules Lemaître, considers it an "extraordinary work." He even goes so far as to state that "there is hardly any play more interesting from one end to the other, or more pathetic in spots, or more amusing."

May I add that, while realizing better than any one else the deficiencies of this book and having tried to correct some of them, I share Professor Super's flattering opinion about its "usefulness"? I agree with him that it was a "good idea" to offer to our grown-up college boys and girls who begin French, often at the age of twenty, something besides fairy tales. It has seemed to me that short stories, scenes, or essays from Voltaire, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, P.-L. Courier, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Flaubert, Daudet, Maupassant, and Anatole France are fairly good substitutes for *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge, Le Chat botté, l'Abbé Constantin,* and even *Les trois Mousquetaires.*

O. G. Guerlac.

Cornell University.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ALL OF THE FIVE FICTITIOUS ITALIAN EDITIONS OF WRITINGS OF MACHIAVELLI AND THREE OF THOSE OF PIETRO ARÈTINO PRINTED BY JOHN WOLFE OF LONDON (1584–1589). II.

Recapitulation and Completion of the Arguments.

In the first part of this paper which appeared in *Modern Language Notes,* Vol. XXII (1907), pp. 2–6,* the *Historie* and the *Asino d' Oro* of Machiavelli (1587 and 1588) and the *Quattro Comedie* and the *Terza, et Ultima Parte de Ragionamenti* of Pietro Aretino (1588 and 1589) were assigned to John Wolfe on the strength of documentary evidence from the contemporary Stationers' Registers. The *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* and the *Arte della Guerra* of Machiavelli (1584 and 1587), all with the device of a flourishing palm-tree with serpents and toads about the root and the motto : *Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla,* were attributed to him, apart from other typographical reasons, on account of his appearing as the possessor of this device in 1593, six years before Adam Islip used it, to which may now be added that this palm-tree is found three more times in books printed by Wolfe in 1592 and 1593, and as early as 1594 in one printed by Islip,[1] and that according to documentary evidence the latter bought his type and printing implements from the former and therefore obtained the device in question in a perfectly legal way.[2] The First and Second Part of the *Ragionamenti* of Pietro Aretino with appendix (1584) finally were ascribed to John Wolfe because of their complete agreement in type, initial letters and ornaments with other books printed by him. But as this evidence, however strong it may be, does not seem quite equal to that of the preceding cases, it is a matter of satisfaction that the other two editions of the *Ragionamenti I & II,* mentioned there as well as a fourth of the same year

* The following corrections should be made in this part. First : The figures in the Roman numerals, p. 3, A 5 and B 1–3, should all be of the same size. Second : In the title read 1589 for 1588 ; p. 3, B 2, *Carte viii* + 288 for Pp. xvi + 292 ; p. 5, col. 2, l. 5, *si parla* for *riparla* and *ibid.*, l. 14, the for The. Third : Supply *Carte* 0 + 115 at the close of A 5, an apostrophe B 1 after *e* in *el,* dividing lines after A 1, xxviij *di,* A 2 *Prencipe, chiauelli* and *nella,* A 3 *uelli,* A 4 *ammendate,* A 5 *seguente,* B 1 *Ficata* and *Si* and B 3 *cosa,* and hyphens after A 3 *appres,* B 1 *diui* and *Si* and B 2 *conosci.*

[1] Wolfe used the device of the palm-tree, which so excellently fits the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* of Machiavelli that it must have been specially designed for them, quite appropriately in two controversial books by Gabriell Harvey, viz., *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets : Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused,* etc., 1592, and *Pierces Supererogation or a new prayse of the Old Asse. A Preparatiue to certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashes S. Fame,* 1593. In the latter the title-page with the device occurs twice, once at the beginning and then again on the eleventh leaf. In Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities,* II, 1181, only the first ten leaves are mentioned and recorded as a book by itself. Islip first used it in William Clerke, *Triall of Bastardie,* 1594, and often afterwards without special reference to the contents of the books.

[2] The documentary statement is found with Arber, *Transcript,* III, 700, saying that 'Adam Islip bought his printing house Letter [*type*] and Implements of John wolfe and succeeded him, being an ancient Erection' and is taken by Arber himself (V, 204) as meaning that 'He succeeded J. Wolfe, this year,' *i. e.*, the year of his death, 1601, 'as a Master Printer and in his Printing House.' This interpretation can only be correct as far as the succession as a Master Printer is concerned, for the transfer of the device of the palm-tree in 1594 is not the only evidence that the purchase of type and implements must have occurred much earlier. In the first place, Wolfe's widow did not dispose of her husband's belongings, but continued his business. She did not only give the old apprentices a chance to serve out their time (*l. c.*, II, 728, 730 and 734) but she also engaged a new one in the person of John Adams, a son of Frauncis Adams, a devoted friend of her husband, who had died about the same time (*l. c.*, II, 253), and made two extensive transfers of books—none of our Italian prints among them however,—to her former apprentice, John Pindley, as late as 1612 (*l. c.*, III, 483 and 487). In the second place, Islip did not wait to start in business till 1601, but established himself in 1594 when he engaged his first apprentice, to whom he added another at the beginning of 1596 (*l. c.*, II, 192 and 208). There is even a record of a license granted to him Sept. 16, 1591,

which I have found since I have been in Berlin, have all turned out to be reprints of Wolfe's.[3] The Prefaces by Barbagrigia and his Heir are, therefore, original with our edition and John Wolfe's case receives additional strength both from the similarity with which the fictions of Barbagrigia and Antoniello degli Antonielli are carried out, and from the fact that the edition of Boccaccio's *Decamerone,* which Barbagrigia promises to issue at some future date, was actually planned by John Wolfe in 1587, not to speak of the other works of Pietro Aretino promised by Barbagrigia and mostly either printed or intended to be printed by John Wolfe. Indeed, in the Preface to the *Ragionamenti* III of 1589 the veil is so far lifted that we learn that only a few copies of Parts I and II of 1584 may still be had. After John Wolfe's title to all of the eight editions has thus been still more firmly established, we are now ready to turn to his life and the prominent part he played in the stormy period through which the English book trade passed in the eighties of the sixteenth century, a matter which is of so much general interest that it seems desirable to go a little more into detail than the question in hand in itself demands. My account is based on the documents and records published in Arber's *Transcript,* to which all references in the text are made and on the following two *Rappresentazioni* to which my attention was courteously called by Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum who saw a notice of one of them in a recent catalogue of Jacques Rosenthal of Munich. *Historia et* | *Vita di Santo* | *Bernardino.* | Woodcut representing the Ascension of the Saint | Dddd. At the close: *In Fiorenza, Ad instanzia di Giouanni* | *Vuolfio Inglese,* 1576. 2 leaves. 4°.

La Historia e Oratione di Santo | *Stefano Protomartire.* | *Quale fu eletto Diacono dalli Apostoli, e come* | *fu lapidato da Giudei.* | *Nuouamente Ristampata.* | Woodcut representing the Saint in a landscape. | Hhhh. At the close: *In Fiorenza, Ad instanzia di Giouanni* | *Vuolfio Inglese,* 1576. 2 leaves. 4°.

Since in later years John Wolfe so often puts the name of an Italian city on books printed by him in London, it may be added that the genuine Italian origin of these two leaflets is placed beyond doubt both by their close resemblance to some of the many other *Rappresentazioni* printed at Flor-

but this was not given unconditionally, and at all events there is no evidence of his having actually printed anything in his own name before 1594. In the third place, there is direct documentary evidence to the effect that in 1595 William Moorin[g] and Adam Islip, partners, succeeded John *w*olfe in trade and place (*l. c.*, III, 702), and we find this not only confirmed by the fact that Wolfe changed his place of business from Paul's Chain, where it is found from 1592–1594 (*l. c.*, v, 166, 170 and 174), to Pope's Head Alley, Lombard street, where it is from 1596 on (*l. c.*, v, 182, etc.), no place being recorded for 1595, but also by Wolfe's sharing his license for Books II, III, IV and V of *Amadis de Gaule* with Adam Islip and William Morynge, Oct. 16, 1594 (*l. c.*, II, 662, together with II, 607 and III, 483), which is at the same time the only occurrence of the name of Moring in all the licenses, so that his partnership with Islip cannot have lasted long. Other books licensed to Wolfe but printed by Islip about the same time are: Antonio de Gueuara, *The Mount of Calvarie,* licensed to the former in 1593 (*l. c.*, II, 638) and printed by the latter with the device of the palm-tree (!) in 1595; and likewise probably Huarte: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of men's wits,* etc., licensed to Wolfe in 1590 (*l. c.*, II, 557) and printed by Islip in 1594, to which we shall have occasion to return below. At all events, there are plenty of indications that the transfer of the device of the palm-tree from Wolfe to Islip was perfectly legal and the possibility of Islip's having used it in connection with the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* in 1584 is excluded by the fact that he did not finish his apprenticeship till June of the following year (*l. c.*, II, 694).

[3] I reserve the detailed proof of the priority of Wolfe's edition which I had intended to insert here for some other occasion, and will simply say that Wolfe's edition repeatedly agrees with the edition of the First Part of the *Ragionamenti* which bears the false date of Paris, and the print of the Third Day of the First Part entitled *Opera noua del diuino & vnico signor Pietro Aretino: laqual scuopre le astutie: scelerita, frode, tradimenti . . . che vsano le Cortigiane,* etc., etc., purporting to have appeared in Naples, 1534, where one or more of the other three editions differ. As the *Ragionamenti* I and II, in spite of the avowed moral purposes of the author, are utterly repulsive by their obscenity, it is more complimentary to Wolfe's not overscrupulous business instincts than to the taste of the reading public that not only his edition but also three or even four reprints of it should have found a market, for it is not impossible that the only edition of 1584 mentioned by Carlo Bertani, *Pietro Aretino e le Sue Opere,* p. 362 f., is different from the other four, because it alone adds the Dialogue between Ginevra and Rosana. The *Ragionamenti* III of 1589, on the other hand, are absolutely unobjectionable, and also the *Comedie* are staunchly defended by Bertani, *l. c.*, 377, whose appreciation of Pietro Aretino for the rest may be gauged by the fact that he inscribes his study to his wife.

ence at that time and by the fact that his name is found here alongside of that of an Italian city which in the other cases of course never occurs.

John Wolfe's Life and His Part in the Troubles of the Stationers' Company.

John Wolfe served his apprenticeship under John Day, one of the most influential and prosperous London printers and stationers of the first part of Queen Elizabeth's reign and a personal favorite of Lord Leicester from 1562–1572 (I, 172). At the close of it he failed however to obtain his admission as a freeman to the Stationers' Company, and had to be satisfied with the freedom of the Fishmongers who do not seem to have objected to his 'many loose pointes of behaviour' as strongly as the Stationers. Probably soon afterward he went abroad, 'gadding from countrey to countrey,' as the Queen's Printer Christopher Barker disparagingly calls it (II, 780), but as a matter of fact laying the foundations for his future success in life and his publication of Italian books in England. Not only this but also his surname Machivill, which then was almost synonymous with Italian in an odious sense, tend to indicate that his stay in Italy was a prolonged one, and perhaps it is not amiss to suppose that he was connected for a while with the famous printing establishment of the Giunti, who sometimes employed foreigners. At least he adopted their device of the heraldic lilies for his own and the Dddd and Hhhh on the titles of his *Rappresentazioni* find a parallel in the Iiii on the title of a *Scelta di Laudi Spirituali* printed '*Nella Stamperia de' Giunti*' in 1578.

In or before 1579, the year of his first license, he was back in England where it was then almost an impossibility for a man without means or patronage to make a living in the printers' and stationers' trade. Whole classes of the most profitable lawful and serious books had by royal patents, often injudiciously granted, come into the hands of a few; efforts were making to subject the production of light literature, hitherto free to all, with the exception of books printed in a foreign language, to a more rigorous supervision (II, 752), and in addition to this the number of printers exceeded in the opinion of some by more than twice the actual demand.[4] Wolfe, however, then already past thirty, was determined not to go to the wall and decided to make a place for himself in the profession by force or favor, right or wrong. He began with an attempt to become one of the privileged few, but when the patent for which he had applied was refused because it 'was thought vnreasonable by some serving her Maiestie' (I, 144), he resolutely joined the most desperate among the discontented who had organized or just were organizing for the wholesale production and dispersion of the most popular school books owned by the patentees (II, 19). Rising to the leadership of these men by his superior energy and perhaps also by his 'Macheuillian deuices, and conceit of forreine wit,' with which Christopher Barker credits him on May 14, 1582, *i. e.*, over a year before he printed his first edition of Machiavelli, he made such an onslaught upon the existing order of things in the Stationers' Company that not only the patentees lost their profits and were disobeyed by their journeymen and apprentices, which latter even 'married wiues and for a time did what they list' (II, 782), but that a revolutionary spirit began to pervade the populace of the city.

'WOLFE and his confederats,' a Supplication to the Privy Council, probably dated March, 1583, says (II, 781 f.), 'affirmed openly in ye Stationers hall, yat it was lawfull for all men to print all lawfull bookes what commaundement soeuer her Maiestie gaue to ye contrary.' 'WOLFE being admonished, yat he being but one so meane a man should not presume to contrarie her Highnesse gouernmente: "Tush," said he, "LUTHER was but one man, and reformed all ye world for religion, and I am that one man, yat must and will reforme the gouernement in this trade," meaning printing and booke-selling.' 'WOLFE and his confederats made collections of money of diuers her maiesties poore subiects, perswading them to ouerthrow all

[4] In Dec., 1582, Christopher Barker reports: 'There are 22 printing howses in London where ·8 or 10· at the most would suffice for all England, yea and Scotland too (I, 172). In May of the next year there were 23 printers with 53 presses (I, 248). At that time 'John Wolf hath iii presses, and ii more since found in a secret Vau[l]t' *i. e.*, as many as the Queen's Printer and more than anybody else.

priuiledges, and being demanded why he did so, answered his purse was not able to maintaine so great a Cause as yat he had in hand.' 'WOLFE and his confederats incensed ye meaner sort of people throughout the City as they went, yat it became a common talke in Alehouses, tauernes and such like places, whereupon insued dangerous and vndutifull speaches of her Maiesties most gracious gouernment.'

In vain Christopher Barker had furnished him with work at his own loss and offered him 'for quietness sake' even more than reasonable furtherance in his plans, for during their very negotiations 'although WOLFE denied to haue any more of Barkars Copies in Printing his seruants were in work of ye same, as within ·4· houres after was manifest' (II, 780). Thrown into prison he continued to foment trouble by means of those who came to see him, and even to the efforts of the special Commission appointed by the Queen to restore peace and order he and his associates for a good while turned a deaf ear until, not long after another search and extensive confiscations made at his house (I, 499), he suddenly 'acknowledged his error' (II, 784) and withdrew from the contest—being admitted a freeman to the Company, July 1, 1583 (II, 688)—not so much induced, it seems, by the concessions which under the pressure of the situation and the government, the patentees were about to make to all of the poorer members in common,[5] as by a prospect of special personal advantages at which he had been aiming from the first and which he was probably keen enough to see might escape him if he persisted longer in his rebellious attitude. In the autumn of the following year in fact, he and his fellow-agitator, Frauncis Adams, were given a share in the valuable patent of John Day, deceased, and his son Richard.

Now we do not only find both him and Adams entering a complaint to the Queen against those who were unlawfully exploiting their new patent and serving them as they themselves had served others (II, 790 ff.), but after the passage of the new Star Chamber Decree for orders in printing of June 23, 1586 (II, 807 ff.), which, partly by its fairness and partly by its severity, put a stop to almost all disorders, he sought and obtained the appointment as a Beadle of the Company.

In the discharge of the duties of this office he 'ryd to Croydon for a warraunt of Roger Warde,' one of his most daring former colleagues in surreptitious printing (I, 527), and proved a relentless executor of one of the most draconic paragraphs of the Decree just mentioned against Robert Waldegraue. 'You know that Walde-graues printing presse and Letters were taken away: his presse being timber / was sawen and hewed in pieces / the yron work was battered and made vnseruiceable / his Letters melted / with cases and other tooles defaced (by John Woolfe / alias Machiuill (!) / Beadle of the Stationers / and most-tormenting executioner of Walde-graues goods), etc.'[6] In 1591 Wolfe had his salary as a beadle almost doubled from £6 to £10 = $300 to $500, according to the present value of money[7]; in 1593 he succeeded Hugh Singleton as a Printer to the City of London,[8] and in 1598 finally, three years before his death, he was 'admitted into the Liuerye' of his Company (II, 872).

As a publisher he certainly played 'the Bees part,' as Gabriell Harvey puts it in the letter mentioned in note 8, for during the six years from 1588–1593 from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent. of all books and pamphlets licensed to London pub-

[5] January 8, 1584, the leading patentees relinquished their exclusive rights to a great number of books (II, 786 ff.).

[6] Martin Marprelate, The Epistle [September-November, 1588] in Arber, *The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works*, No. 11, p. 22. Sad to say, John Penry, who was credited with a main share in the writings appearing under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate, fared no better at the hands of the Anglican bishops than Giordano Bruno, of whom we have to speak later, did in Rome and was hanged in 1593 (*ibid.*, p. vii ff.).

[7] Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1170.

[8] The year when Wolfe became Printer to the City is given as 1594 I, xliii, as 1593 V, lx and as 1595 V, 181. The true date of his appointment is some time between April 17, 1593, the date of an 'Order to the Lord Mayor, etc., of London, for the avoidance [*expulsion*] of beggars, etc.', printed by or for Hugh Singleton (V, 171) and Sept. 16 of the same year, the date of a letter by Gabriell Haruey 'To my louing friend, John Wolfe, Printer to the Cittie.' According to Arber (V, 173), the title of this letter was: 'A new letter with notable contents. With a Sonnet.' The copy which I used in the British Museum lacked the title-page.

lishers belong to him. Although, probably owing to his duties as a printer to the city, his share does not reach this figure again afterwards, we may surmise that his death during the first months of 1601, probably before he had reached 55 years of age, was in no small measure due to the indefatigable zeal and energy he had displayed in all his doings. The last three books entered to him are: *Disce Mori. Learne to Dye* (Aug. 21, 1600), *The Sanctuary of A troubled soule* (Nov. 13, 1600), and *Godly meditations vppon the most holie Sacrament of the Lordes supper, &c.* (Jan. 13, 1600). His widow did not depend for her support upon others, but continued his business[9] and thereby proved herself a worthy partner of his.

The Italian Books published by John Wolfe.

The Italian books, to which on account of their bearing upon the subject in hand some volumes of Latin poetry composed by Italians will here be added, form the most curious part of Wolfe's many-sided printing and publishing activity. For together with the works of Giordano Bruno, printed in London in 1584 and 1585, as is generally believed by Thomas Vautrollier, and the later books of Petruccio Ubaldino, printed all or all but the last by Richard Field,[10] a contemporary and fellow townsman of William Shakespeare, from 1592 to 1599, they are, as far as I am aware, the only books in the Italian language published in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was quite an Italian scholar herself, and for a long time afterwards.

Wolfe's first Italian book is at the same time the first book which was licensed to him as a publisher and a printer (Jan. 17, 1581)—that of 1579 had been licensed to him as a publisher only on condition that it be printed by John Charlwood (II, 353)—and the first genuine Italian book ever printed in London, because the story of *Arnalt and Lucenda*[11] which had appeared there six years before had been a school book and accompanied by a collateral English translation. Its title is: *La | Vita di | Carlo Magno | Imperadore, | Scritta in Lingua Italiana da Petruccio | Ubaldino Cittadin | Fiorentino.* | Flower-de-luce, apparently taken from Giunti[12] and hereafter Wolfe's most frequent device here with *'Ubique florescit.'* | *Londra, | Appresso Giouanni Wolfio Inghilese,* | 1581. | The Florentine author bids the English to whom the book is dedicated rejoice because *'l'opere Italiane non men si possono stampar felicemente in Londra, che le si stampino altroue (essendo questa la prima) per studio, & diligenza di Giouanni Wolfio suo cittadino; per la commodità del quale altre opere potrete hauer nella medesima lingua di giorno in giorno, se la stima che farete di questa sarà tale, quale si deue aspettar da huomini desiderosi di lunga, & honorata fama, come io ho sempre stimato, che siate voi fra tutti gli altri delle piu lodate nationi de i Christiani.'* John Wolfe, therefore, is introduced by a competent judge as a competent printer of Italian books and prepared to meet any further demands that may arise in that line, and it would be interesting to know whether the *'altre opere'* refer to other prospective literary efforts by Petruccio Ubaldino himself, or to the works of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino, which were the next Italian books of John Wolfe's to appear.

The following list includes only those Italian books, together with a few Latin books written by Italians, which were actually printed by John Wolfe, while one which just may have been

[9] For particulars, see note 2. She did not get any new licenses in her own name, however.

[10] Richard Field succeeded Vautrollier by either marrying his daughter (Ames-Herbert, *l. c.*, 1065 and 1252, and Arber, v, lxiii) or his widow (Arber III, 702). His claim to Ubaldino's *Parte Prima delle breui Dimostrat.*, etc., 1592, rests on the license he obtained for it, Dec. 6, 1591. I am aware of the fact that the British Museum Catalogue suggests that some of the following books may be printed away from London in Antwerp?, Venice? and Oxford?, but a close typographical comparison shows that all were products of the same press, doubts being admissible only regarding the last, the second edition of the *Vita di Carlo Magno.* The absence of licenses is accounted for by Ubaldino's connection with the Court during the last years of his life.

[11] The Pretie | and Wittie Historie of | Arnalt and Lucenda: | With certen Rules and | Dialogues set foorth for | the learner of th' Ita- | lian tong: | And dedicated vnto the Wor- | shipfull, Sir Hierom Bowes | Knight. | By Claudius Hollyband Schole- | master, teaching in Paules | Churcheyarde by the | Signe of the | Lucrece. | Dum spiro, spero. | Imprinted at London | by Thomas Purfoote. | 1575.

[12] Compare *e. g.*, Giunti's Second Edition of the Decamerone, 1582, colophon, and my remarks above.

printed by him and others for which licenses are recorded in the Stationers' Registers, but which in reality were either not printed in Italian, or neither in Italian nor by him, or not at all will be given later. The title of *c* is quoted from the *Early English Printed Books in the University Library of Cambridge*, Vol. I, 401, and that of No. 10, which does not properly belong to the Italian books, from Ames-Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1175. The remainder are taken from the works themselves, but so that those given in full before are here only repeated in an abbreviated form. Where a license is recorded its date is given in parentheses.

A. Licensed :

1. *Petruccio Ubaldino, Vita di Carlo Magno*, flower-de-luce, etc., *Londra*, G. W., 1581. 4°. (Jan. 17, 1581.)

B. Not licensed :

2. *Machiavelli, Discorsi*, palm-tree, Palermo, Jan. 28, 1584. 8°.
3. *Machiavelli, Prencipe*, palm-tree, Palermo, Jan. 28, 1584. 8°.
4. *Pietro Aretino, Ragionamenti* I & II with *Commento di Ser Agresto*, etc., no device, s. l., 1584. 8°. (Preface from Bengodi, Oct. 21, 1584.)

a. *Torquati Tassi | Solymeidos, | Liber Primus Lati- | nis numeris ex- | pressus. A Scipio Gentili.* | Flower-de-luce | *Londini.* | *Excudebat Johannes Wolfius* | 1584. 4°.

b. *Scipii Gentilis | Solymeidos | Libri duo priores | de | Torquati Tassi | Italicis expressi :* | Flower-de-luce | *Londini.* | *Apud Johannem Wolfium.* | 1584. 4°.

c. *Torquato Tasso. Plutonis Concilium. Ex initio quarti libri Solymeidos. Londini. Apud Johannem Wolfium.* 1584. 4°.

d. *Scipii Gentilis | in* XXV. | *Dauidis Psalmos | Epicae | Paraphrases.* | Flower-de-luce. | *Londini | Apud Johannem Wolfium.* | 1584. 4°.

4. *La Vita di Giulio | Agricola scritta since- | rissimamente | da | Cornelio Tacito suo Genero. | Et Messa in volgare da Giouan. Maria Manelli.* | Arms of the Lord Robert Sidney to whom the book is dedicated. | *Londra | Nella Stamperia di Giouanni Wolfio* | 1585. 4°.

e. *Julii Caesaris | Stellae | Nob. Rom. | Columbeidos, | Libri Priores | duo.* | Flower-de-luce. | *Londini | Apud Johannem Wolfium.* | 1585. 4°. (Edited by Jacobus Castelvetrius.)

*e**. The same book without the leaf containing the dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh and with the substitution of *Lugduni* for *Londini | Apud Johannem Wolfium.*

6. *Machiavelli, Libro dell' Arte della Guerra*, palm-tree, *Palermo*, s. a. 8°.

6*. The same book with the title : *I sette Libri dell' Arte della Guerra* and the substitution of 1587 for the palm-tree and *Palermo.*

Aa. Licensed :

7. *Essamine di | varii Giudicii | de i Politici : e della Dot- | trina e de i fatti de i Pro- | testanti veri, & de i Cattolici Romani. | Libri quattro. | Per Gio. Battista Aurellio. | Con la tauola*, etc. | Flower-de-luce with '*Ubique floret*' in elaborate setting | *In Londra | Appresso Giouanni Wolfio.* | 1587. 4°. (May 4, 1587.)
8. *Macchiavelli, Historie*, Giglio's device, In Piacenza, 1587. 12°. (Sept. 18, 1587.)
9. *Descrittione | del Regno di Scotia, | et | delle Isole sue ad- | iacenti di Petruccio Vbaldini | Cittadin Fiorentino. | Nella quale*, etc. Flower-de-luce as in No. 7. | *Anversa.* | *Il Di primo di Gennaio.* | M. D. LXXXVIII. Fol. (Nov. 27, 1587.)
10. *The Courtier of Count Bald[a]ssar[e] Casti[g]lio, deuided into foure Bookes.* In three columns, English, French, Italian. *Printed for the Cumpany*, etc. 1588. 4°. (Dec. 4, 1587.)
11. *Macchiavelli, L' Asino d' Oro*, part of Giglio's device, In Roma, 1588. 8°. (Sept. 17, 1588.)
12. *Pietro Aretino, Quattro Comedie*, head of Aretino, s. l., 1588. 8°. (Sept. 20, 1588.)
13. *Pietro Aretino, Ragionamenti III*, head of Aretino, s. l., 1589. 8°. (Preface from Valcerca.) (Oct. 14, 1588.)
14. *Lettera di | Francesco | Betti gentilhuomo | Romano. | All' — S. Mar- | chese di Pescara. | Nella qual da conto a S. Ecc. della cagione che | l' ha mosso a partirsi del suo serui- | gio, & vscir d' Italia. | Stampata la seconda volta*, etc. | Flower-de-luce | *Londra | Appresso Giouanni Wolfio.* | 1589 | 8°. (Dec. 4, 1588.)

15. *Le Vite del- | le Donne | Illustri. | Del Regno d'In- | ghilterra, & del Regno di Scotia & di | quelli, che d'altri paesi ne i due detti | Regni sono stato maritate. | Doue,* etc. | *Scritte in lingua Italiana da Petruccio Ubaldino | Cittadin Fiorentino.* | Flower-de-luce | *Londra | Appresso Giouanni Volfio.* | 1591. | 4°. (July 23, 1590.)

Bb. Not licensed :

16. *Il Pastor Fido | Tragicomedia | Pastorale | di Battista Guarini. | Al Sereniss. D. Carlo Emanuele | Duca di Sauoia &c. Dedicata. | Nelle Reali Nozze di S. A. con la Sereniss. Infante | D. Caterina d'Austria.* | Flower-de-luce | *Londra | Giouanni Volfeo, a spese di | Giacopo Castelvetri.* MDXCI. | 12°. On page 217 follows : *Aminta | Fauola | Boschereccia | del S. Torquato | Tasso* | etc.

(*To be continued.*)

A. Gerber.

Flensburg, Germany.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PLAYS.

I.

The Christmas Ordinary, a Private Show ; Wherein is expressed the Jovial Freedom of that Festival. As it was Acted at a Gentleman's House among other Revels. By W. R. Master of Arts. London. Printed for James Courtney, at the Golden Horse-shoo, on Saffron Hill, 1682.

The author, in his preface, has the following to say of his work :

". . . 'Tis the First-Born of a young Academick Head, which since hath been Deliver'd of most excellent Productions. It hath lain Dormant almost half an Age, and hath only crawl'd out in Manuscript into some few hands ; who likeing the Entertainment they found in it, thought it too good a Morsel to be Devour'd by Moths, but suppos'd it a fitter Bit to feed some Bookseller, and therefore wisht it might rather be advanc'd to the Clutches of the one, than miserably be condemn'd to the grinders of the other.

"Here are as Ingenious Passages, and as Humorous Conceits, and as Lively Descriptions, as any occurs in the most celebrated Dramatick. But if these Beautiful Charms will not in the least allure the Reader, then let the Deformity of the Shape invite and draw him ; for 'tis neither exact Comedy, Farce, or Tragedy, but a spatch'd Chimæra ; that hath somewhat of every one, and the Spirit, Flame, Elixir of them all. 'Tis a Monster in Learning, as great as any that occurrs in Nature, and if men will not read it for its Ingenuity, yet I hope they will come see it, as a Prodigy, and so gratifie their Curiosity, if not please their Fancy.

Helmdon, Octob.
18. 1682. W. R."

From the title and preface we get the following clews to the author and date of production : (1) His initials were W. R. ; (2) he was Master of Arts ; (3) he dated his preface from Helmdon in 1682 ; (4) the play was "the First-Born of a young Academick Head" ; and (5) it had been acted "almost half an Age" since. The author was doubtless William Richards, (1643–1705), son of Ralph Richards, rector at Helmdon, Northamptonshire. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1658, proceeded B. A. in 1663, and M. A. in 1666 ; was appointed fellow, took holy orders, and preached at Marston, Oxfordshire. He settled at Helmdon as rector in 1675, and was living there in 1682.[1] The "most excellent Productions" referred to in the preface were : *The English Orator, or Rhetorical Descant by Way of Declamation upon some notable themes, both Historical and Philosophical, 1680;* and *Wallography, or the Britton Described,* 1682. The latter was published under his initials only, with a preface signed "W. R., Helmdon, Oct. 24, 1681."

That the play was produced at Oxford is proved by the following pleasantry :[2]

I have been lately reputed a most renowned Cheater, and indeed I borrow'd that Art of a certain City-Major, who was properly married to his Trade ; for his Wives Petty-coat was his best Warehouse ; whence he grew to be the Frontispeice of the Town ; for the Ford he maintain'd in his Cellar, and the Ox in his Head.

On the books of the Stationers' Company, June 29, 1660, was entered *The Christmas Ordinary,* comedy, by Trinity College, Oxford. The piece

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*
[2] Page 2.

was not published.[3] The entry probably refers to the play by William Richards, written while he was a student at Trinity College. If so, the date is fixed at Christmas, 1659.[4]

In spite of what the author says, the play is very stupid. The plot is thus outlined in *The Argument:*

"*Roger* escaping from his Master *Shab-Quack*, at *Christmass* Time, meets with *Drink-Fight*, and joyns with him in a Knot of Merriment: They also inveigle the Hermit and *Astrophil.* Mr. *Make-peace* being pensive at his Son's Departure, sends *Humphry* to enquire him out, who, in the Disguise of a Traveller, finds them frolicking at an Ordinary; who insinuates himself into their Mirth: Afterwards, with false Dice, cheats them, and escapes. They afterwards, wrangling about the Reckoning, beat their Host, who summons them all before the Justice, and runs to *Shab-Quack* for Cure. Mr. *Make-peace* perceiving his Son *Astrophil* amongst them, joyfully entertains him and the rest. *Shab-Quack* pardons his Servant's Christmass Merriment, and the Hermit, in a jolly Humor, is bound Apprentice to the Host."

The prose is filled with ingenious scholastic conceits. A number of songs and poems give variety. A masque of "the Four parts of the Year contending for Priority" is introduced in the middle of the play: the speakers are Apollo, Terra, Ver, Æstas, Autumnus, and Hyems.

One passage seems to show a recollection of Shakespeare:

Austin. . . . Pray, where wert thou Bred?
Humphry. Faith, every where, I am a living Miscellany of all Customs, and I have lost my self into another *Metemp*[*s*]*ychosis.* In *Barbary* I lost my Manners, in *Hungary* mine Abstinence; my Gentility in *Sclavonia*; in *Spain* I made Shipwrack of mine Honesty; in *Germany* of my Religion.

In *The Merchant of Venice* Portia exclaims:

How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.[5]

The author seems also to show a recollection of a passage, the "military postures" of the pipe, in *Wine, Beere, Ale,* and *Tobacco Contending for Superiority. A Dialogue. The Second Edition, much enlarged. London, 1630.*[6]

Enter Drink-fight, Roger, Astrophil, Austin: *All with Pipes on their Shoulders, and other Furniture.*
Drink-fight. Now my Martial Volunteers, to instruct you in the military Postures of the Pipe, and to make you proficient Souldiers in the Artillery of Tobacco, Lieutenant, Serjeant, &c. March up in Ranks—Stand—Stoop your Muskets—Draw your Bandileers—Charge your Pieces—Ram your Powder—Prime your Pan—Light your Match—Present—Give Fire—
Christmas Ordinary, Scene vii.

Compare the following from *Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco:*

Ale. Yes, yes, I remember I have heard him reported a souldier; and once being in company with a knap-jack man, a companion of his, I obtained a coppy of his military postures, which put down the pike and pot-gun cleane: pray observe 'em.

1. Take your seale.
2. Draw your box.
3. Uncase your pipe.
4. Produce your rammer.
5. Blow your pipe.
6. Open your box.
7. Fill your pipe.
8. Ramme your pipe.
9. Withdraw your rammer.
10. Return your rammer.
11. Make ready.

[3] See *Biog. Dram.*, and Hazlitt's *Manual of Old English Plays.*

[4] At this time Richards was sixteen years old. Cf. with the Prologue:

> Since all then would seem candid, let none use
> Satyrick Rods to such a Cradle Muse.

Again:

> But if our Infant-Cook shall please your nice
> Judgment with Messes . . . .

In the preface he refers to his work as "the First-Born of a young Academick Head"

[5] Such conceits, however, were very popular with the early dramatists. Cf. *Lingua*, III, 5, and *Seven Deadly Sins* (ed. Arber, p. 37).

[6] The title of the first edition is as follows: *Wine, Beere and Ale together by the Eares. A Dialogue, written first in Dutch by Gallobelgicus, and translated out of the Originall Copie by Mercurius Britannicus. London,* 1629. This edition is inaccessible to me. The passage describing the military postures of the pipe probably appeared only in the "enlarged" edition. This "dialogue" belongs to that interesting class of university "shewes," of which *Band, Cuffe and Ruff,* and *Worke for Cutlers* are representatives.

12. Present.
13. Elbow your pipe.
14. Mouth your pipe.
15. Give fire.
16. Nose your Tobacco.
17. Puffe up your smoake.
18. Spit on your right hand.
19. Throw off your loose ashes.
20. Present to your friend.
21. As you were.
22. Clense your pipe.
23. Blow your pipe.
24. Supply your pipe.

II.

The Launching of the Mary; or The Seaman's Honest Wife, is a manuscript play preserved in the British Museum.[7] It is contained in MS. *Egerton* 1994, a collection of fourteen manuscripts bound together and labelled *English Plays of the XVII Century. The Launching of the Mary* is number fourteen, occupying ff. 317–349, inclusive. It is written in a large fair hand. Apparently it is the first draught, written at different times, with different inks, and on different paper. Moreover, the manuscript is full of the author's corrections. Folio 317 has simply the words "Anno 1632"; f. 318, recto, contains the title and the *dramatis personæ*; verso, the prologue; ff. 319–349, the body of the play; f. 349, verso, besides the concluding (nine) lines of the play, has the epilogue, and the permission to act the play.

This play, called ye Seamen's Honest wife, all ye oathes left out in ye action as they are crosst in ye book and all other Reformations strictly observ'd, may bee acted, not otherwyse. This 27 June, 1633.

HENRY HERBERT.

I command your Bookeeper to present me with a faire Copy hereafter and to leave out all oathes, prophaness and publick Ribaldry, as he will answer it at his peril.

HERBERT.

Clews to the authorship of the play are found in the title, *The Lanchinge of the Mary written by W. M. gent in his returne from East India. Ad. 1632,* (the Prologue states further, "This was done at sea"); and in the fact that the play is little more or less than a eulogy of the East India Company.

The author was probably William Methold (d. 1653). He entered the service of the East India Company in 1615, and was rapidly promoted. That he was familiar with the pen is shown by the fact that in 1626 he contributed to the fifth volume of *Purchas's Pilgrimes,* a narrative entitled *Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda and other neighbouring Nations within the Gulfe of Bengala.* We know that in 1632 he was in London, for in June of that year he acted as deputy of Humphrey Leigh as swordbearer of the city of London. In the following year, 1633, he was sent by the Company to Surat in an important capacity.[8]

In a letter from William Methold to his wife, written from Surat, December 22, 1634, is a reference to the Mary[9]:

"The affections of my soule contracted into such a quintessence as might be contayned in one poore letter presentes themselves unto thee in a double koppy, the one of them inclosed unto ye hon^ble^ East India Company, the other by Mr. Barker, and yf the royall Mary[10] arrived in safety I make no secret [?] that bothe of them came seasonably to thy handes."

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THE COUNCIL OF REMIREMONT.

In the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* of 1849 (vol. VII, pp. 160–167), G. Waitz published a Latin poem of two hundred and thirty-nine hexameter verses in leonine rhyme, to which he gave the name of *Das Liebesconcil.* The manuscript which he followed seemed to belong to the eleventh or twelfth century. Many years later, in 1877, Waitz printed in the same journal (vol. XXI, pp. 65–68) some emendations to the text, which he had found in a copy made by Pertz from another manuscript. In 1880 B. Hauréau

[7] A short selection from this play was printed by Bullen, *Old English Plays,* II, 432.

[8] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[9] British Museum. *Addit. MS.* 11,268.

[10] Cf. f. 347 of the play: "A royal shippe and heaves a royall name."

mentioned the poem—under the title of *Le Concile de Remiremont*—as an imitation of the *Altercatio Phyllidis et Floræ*, and assigned it to the fourteenth century.[1] In 1886 Paul Meyer expressed the opinion that it belonged to the first years of the twelfth century.[2] G. Gröber also pronounces in favor of the twelfth century, but without restricting the time to any part of the century.[3]

The *Council of Remiremont* is a very interesting specimen of mediæval Latin literature, but its date would be of little consequence were it definitely fixed in the last third of the twelfth century. In that period it would find associates, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Its presence in a fairly numerous company would not be particularly significant. On the other hand, if the *Council* was composed before the Crusade of 1147, or, as Paul Meyer would seem to believe, before Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, its position in the literary history of the Middle Ages becomes a commanding one. We would then be compelled to agree with E. Langlois that it is the earliest example of mediæval amatory verse which has come down to us.[4]

Of the dates proposed for the *Council*, the one suggested by Hauréau, of the fourteenth century, is undoubtedly wrong. Pertz, and Waitz too,[5] can hardly have gone so far astray as to the date of the Trier manuscript. Besides, the ideas advanced by the author of the *Council* are the ideas in vogue under Louis VII and Philip Augustus. It is not probable that they were revived in this one instance under the Valois. For the other extreme, the approximate date mentioned by Paul Meyer, there are objections, if we subscribe to the accepted views of mediæval literature. The sentiments to which the poem gives expression are generally supposed to have been formulated in the courts of France, Champagne and Flanders after the contact of French nobles with Provençal culture, or during the third quarter of the twelfth century. An analysis of the *Council* shows at once how excellent a representative of romantic literature it is, the romanticism of the Latin Renaissance :

The *Council of Remiremont* is a parody on a church council. It discloses an assembly of women, nuns, not monks, where the deliberations pertain to love, not religion. As the story goes, this council of unusual composition was held during the Ides of April at the abbey of Remiremont in the diocese of Toul. No man was allowed a seat in the assembly, but "honesti clerici" might be spectators. Old women inimical to "gaudium" were also excluded. The proceedings were opened by reading the Gospel according to Ovid, and continued by the singing of love songs. Then a "cardinalis domina" took the chair and asked for silence. She was a royal maiden, a daughter of Spring, clad in a dress of many colors hung with a thousand flowers of May. Addressing all those who gloried in love and in the amatory delights of April and May, she announced herself to be the envoy of Amor, the god of all lovers. Her mission was to visit the nuns of Remiremont and search into their lives. Therefore, all of them should confess what their manner of living was. She would correct them and be indulgent to them.

This address of the "cardinalis domina" was responded to by Elisabeth des Granges, who declared that they all served Amor, and consorted with monks only, a statement which was at once supported by Elisabeth du Faucon. The love of clerks, she said, who are affable, pleasing, honorable men, who know not desertion or slander, but who are expert in love, generous in gifts, is far preferable to the love of knights, as the nuns had found out by bitter experience. This unfavorable opinion is further upheld by Agnes. Knights' love is forbidden, illicit. Then Bertha adds her testimony to the advantage of an alliance of Amor, "juventutis gaudium," with clerks. Finally, the assembly in chorus proclaims its intention to love clerks with the consent of the "cardinalis domina," a consent at once given, for she sees no "useful" lovers save clerks.

But there are a few friends of knights present and they protest against such a verdict. They, for their part, had found the love of knights pleasing. Knights study how they may win their ladies' favors. To accomplish this result they fear

[1] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, etc., vol. XXIX, 2, p. 309.

[2] *Romania*, XV, p. 333.

[3] *Grundriss*, II, p. 421.

[4] *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, p. 6.

[5] See Pertz' *Archiv*, VIII, p. 598.

neither wounds nor death. The clerks' advocates rejoin that knights are fickle and garrulous. They betray their love affairs. Therefore, they would advise that the love of knights be condemned.

The greater number incline to this opinion, and, in obedience to the will of the majority, the "cardinalis domina" orders that nuns who love knights be refused admittance to their circle, until they repent, receive absolution and promise to sin no more. To this general decree she adds other and explicit commands, that nuns must be content with one lover only, under the penalty of the council's ban, and he should be a clerk who will not reveal their secrets. She calls on them to affirm whether or not this is their opinion. All assent, "sedens in concilio." The decree is to be published in churches and cloisters, and anathema will be pronounced on the disobedient. An "Excommunicatio rebellarum," in set terms suited to the language of Pagan mythology, ends the poem.

What light do the contents of the *Council of Remiremont* throw on its place in mediæval literature? They show that allusions to Spring, to April and May, have become conventional in lyric poetry, that "joy" (*gaudium*) in its technical sense, and "joy of youth" (Amor, deus omnium, juventutis gaudium, l. 101) have become acclimated in North France, and that Ovid's authority in amatory matters is unquestioned. Of these characteristics, the first marks the verses of William IX, thus dating from the first years of the twelfth century, at least. The second—"joy" in its meaning of love or as an attribute of love—is commonly held to be of Provençal origin—perhaps because of the lack of French documents—and is supposed to have entered into the phraseology of the Northern poets after the Crusade of 1147. For the third, we know that Ovid's erotic works had long been admired by Latin writers. They are cited by French and Provençal poets who wrote towards the middle of the century.[6] But it is doubtful whether the *Ars amatoria* would have been substituted for the Gospel (*quasi evangelium*) in the early part of the reign of Louis VII, or whether indeed the very conception of a parody on church councils would have been tolerated in that devout period. The structure of the *Council* is really one of a debate between women on subjects pertaining to love, a kind of *cour d'amour* held in a convent. Such an idea would rather suit the years when the influence of Eleanor of Poitou and her daughters had become predominant in court circles, or the sixth and seventh decades of the twelfth century. One statement of the nuns, that clerks

> Laudant nos in omnibus rithmis atque versibus (l. 146)

would, in fact, better apply to the generation following the Crusade of 1147. For lyric forms, whether in French or Latin, attained variety in North France only after the introduction of Provençal models about that time.

To these inferences in favor of a comparatively late date in the century for the composition of the *Council*, may be added a decisive argument perhaps. When the few nuns who prefer knights to clerks rally to defend their lovers, they advance the claim that in addition to their other merits knights try to win them by their exploits :

> Audaces ad prelia sunt pro nostri gratia :
> Ut si nos habeant, et si nobis placeant,
> Nulla timent aspera, nec mortem, nec vulnera.
> (ll. 116–118.)

Here we find the fundamental definition of "cortoisie." The man solicits the woman's love, not the woman the man's. And to please her he does deeds at arms, unhorses all comers at any risk. Furthermore, the passage in the *Council* shows that the idea was fully formed. The stage of its development had passed. Now the particular epoch in which this development is supposed to have taken place is the reign of Henry I of England. The customs of "courteous" society found their first eulogist in Geoffrey of Monmouth towards the end of that reign. They made their appearance in French literature with the *Roman de Thèbes*, for the early *chansons de toile* are not "cortois" in tone. There is therefore no reason to suppose that a poem hailing from Lorraine, which takes the ideal of "cortoisie" for granted, antedates the general acceptation of that ideal by the court circles of the Continent. Rather the contrary would be the case. The poet must have

[6] See Everard's translation of *Cato* in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, no. 47, strophe 74 ;—*Richeut* (ll. 746–749) in Méon's *Nouveau Recueil* ;—Uc Catola and Marcabrun in Appel's *Chrestomathie*, no. 85, ll. 37–39.

addressed himself to an audience which fully admitted "cortoisie," at least in this essential respect of winning a lady's favors by deeds at arms.

Another evidence of the presence of a developed "cortois" sentiment may be seen in the commands of the "cardinalis domina" to her nuns concerning their attitude towards their suitors. She bids them keep themselves for clerks only:

> Ne vos detis vilibus unquam et militibus
> Tactum vestri corporis, vel coxe, vel femoris.
> (ll. 185-186.)

Apart from the sensuality of the lines, which would point to the existence of a considerable amount of verse of the same sort, the question naturally suggests itself why "vilibus," a general term, should be used in close contrast with "militibus," the name of a particular class. An obvious answer to this question would be that "vilibus" is a synonym for "villanis," and is substituted here for "villanis" in order to satisfy the requirements of both rhyme and rhythm. Should this assumption be correct, we would then find grouped together the three classes of feudal society, which were recognized by the court poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the clerks, the knights, and the villains.

Through internal evidence we are therefore led to this conclusion: The *Council of Remiremont*, with its romantic spirit and amatory sentiment, would come later in the century than *Thèbes* or Wace's *Brut*, and probably later than the first works of Gautier d'Arras and Chrétien de Troyes. To admit that it antedates them would be to reverse the generally received opinions regarding the development of court poetry in North France. We would therefore place the *Council* not earlier than 1160, and preferably not earlier than Chrétien's *la Charrette*. Waitz' statement regarding the date of the Trier manuscript, and Paul Meyer's belief that the *Council* is the product of the generation of Henry I argue against the validity of this conclusion. But we think that a close examination of the manuscript might extend the time limits set by Waitz, and perhaps modify Paul Meyer's attitude toward the question. If it does not, it would then be in order to change our views regarding the rise of mediæval literature to a somewhat radical extent.

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MILTON'S 'SPHERE OF FORTUNE.'

> For him I reckon not in high estate
> Whom long descent of birth,
> Or the sphere of fortune raises.

These lines of the Chorus in *Samson Agonistes* (170-172), which seem clear enough at first, lead one on closer examination to ask what Milton meant by 'the sphere of fortune.' In ancient and mediæval tradition it was not by her sphere, but by her wheel, that Fortuna wrought vicissitude in the conditions of men.[1]

> Praecipitem movet illam rotam, motusque laborem
> Nulla quies claudit, nec sistunt otia motum.
> Nam cum saepe manum dextram labor ille fatiget,
> Laeva manus succedit ei, fessaeque sorori
> Succurrit, motumque rotae velocius urget.
> Cujus turbo rapax, raptus celer, impetus anceps,
> Involvens homines, a lapsus turbine nullum
> Excipit, et cunctos fati ludibria ferre
> Cogit, et in varios homines descendere casus.
> Hos premit, hos relevat; hos dejicit, erigit illos.
> Summa rotae dum Croesus habet, tenet infima Codrus,
> Julius ascendit, descendit Magnus, et infra
> Sulla jacet, surgit Marius; sed cardine verso
> Sulla redit, Marius premitur; sic cuncta vicissim
> Turbo rapit, variatque vices fortuna voluntas.

On the other hand, the sphere is simply an unemployed accessory of the goddess Fortuna, or, at most, a means of locomotion;[2] it is 'entweder das Symbol ihres stets wandelbaren Wesens, oder drückt, wenn sie, wie z. B. auf den Wandgemälden, deutlich als Weltkugel erscheint, ihre weltherrschende Macht aus.'[3]

[1] Cf. Tibullus 1. 5. 70; Seneca, *Agamemnon* 71; Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* 2, Prose 2; Chaucer, *Knight's Tale* 67. The most elaborate description of her wheel is found in Alain de Lille's picture of the goddess and her abode in his allegorical poem, *Anti-Claudianus*, Bk. 8, Ch. 1 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 210. 560). [Cf. *Publ. of the M. L. A. of A.*, VIII, 303 f.; *M. L. N.*, VIII, 230 f., 235 f.; IX, 95. —J. W. B.]

[2] Cf. Plutarch, *De Fortuna Romanorum* 4.

[3] Peter, in *Roscher, Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* 1. 1505.

The sphere which Milton substitutes for the wheel of Fortune seems not to be any distortion or adaptation of the traditional sphere, but quite a different one, based apparently upon the conception found in Dante. The relevant lines are the following (*Inf.* 7. 73–92):

> Colui lo cui saper tutto trascende,
> Fece li cieli, e diè lor chi conduce,
> Sì che ogni parte ad ogni parte splende,
> Distribuendo egualmente la luce:
> Similemente agli splendor mondani
> Ordinò general ministra e duce,
> Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani,
> Di gente in gente e d'uno in altro sangue,
> Oltre la difension de' senni umani.
> . . . .
> Questa provvede, giudica e persegue
> Suo regno, come il loro gli altri Dei.
> Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue:
> Necessità la fa esser veloce,
> Sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue.
> Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce
> Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode,
> Dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce.
> Ma ella s' è beata, e ciò non ode:
> Con l' altre prime creature lieta
> Volve sua spera, e beata si gode.

A better illustration than this of Dante's tolerant attitude towards the ancient mythology could not be cited. It was his belief that the Greeks and Romans, in their ignorance of the true God, had nevertheless recognized, though imperfectly, many of his spiritual agents who control the motions of the spheres, and had worshiped them as their gods and goddesses. This general conception is clearly set forth in the *Convito*, 2. 5 and 6. As Dr. Moore has shown (*Studies in Dante* 1. 163), it appears in primitive form in Plato's *Timaeus*, and is modified by St. Augustine to the general form in which Dante presents it (*De Civitate Dei* 7. 28). But the representation of Fortune as controlling the motions of her proper sphere in the manner of the other gods, seems to be original with Dante, and is the natural corollary of the doctrine which he received from St. Augustine.[4]

If in Milton's sphere of fortune we have an allusion to Dante's attitude towards paganism, it cannot but be interesting, not to say significant, to any student of Milton's relation to the classics. If the allusion is slight, it nevertheless points to the most significant and beautiful line in Dante's description—

> Volve sua spera, e beata si gode.

Milton seems never to have been wholly at one with himself about classical myths. He is continually making such use of them as shows a deep appreciation both of their beauty and their truth; yet he occasionally seems to suffer a revulsion of feeling, and shrinks from them as from something pagan, and therefore diabolical.[5]

Dante's position was at once more catholic and more just than Milton's; he succeeded in relating the old religion closely and harmoniously to his own. It is pleasant to think that in one of his last allusions to classical mythology, Milton may have been considering an interpretation of paganism which was even nobler than such as he had given.

It may be observed in passing that Milton would not have heard the line,

> Necessità la fa esser veloce,

without being reminded of the famous episode in the Tenth Book of the *Republic*, where Necessity and her daughters, the Fates, preside over the revolutions of the spheres. That the episode was a memorable one with him may be inferred from the noble use which he made of it in *Arcades* 61–73, many years before.

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ÉTYMOLOGIES FRANÇAISES.

Cotret = *cort* + *eret* (< -aricius).

Le *Dictionnaire Général* dit que *cotret* (écrit aussi *coteret*) est d'origine inconnue. M. Thomas, dans la précieuse étude qu'il a publiée depuis peu sur le suffixe -aricius,[1] a indiqué l'origine du

[4] Parts of the passage on Fortune in the *Inferno* are founded upon Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* 2. Met. 1 and Prose 2 (Moore, *Studies in Dante* 1. 285): but Boethius shows no trace of this conception of Fortune's sphere.

[5] *P. L.* 1. 506–525; *P. R.* 2. 174–191.

[1] Antoine Thomas, *Nouveaux essais de philologie française*, Paris, 1904, pp. 83–84.

mot pris dans ses deux sens techniques, en ajoutant que *cotret* au sens de "fagot de menu bois" est moins facile à expliquer ; toutefois, il semble croire que dans ce sens aussi, *cotret* aurait la même étymologie que dans les sens techniques, c'est-à-dire répresenterait COSTA + ARICIUS, et il cite à ce sujet l'opinion de M. Tobler qui "suppose que le mot s'est d'abord appliqué aux rondins qui soutiennent les côtés des voitures, puis aux rondins d'un fagot, puis au fagot lui-même."

Je m'imagine que l'histoire du mot est plus simple. D'abord, l'*s* de la forme *costerez*, le plus ancien exemple rapporté par le *Dictionnaire Général*, ne doit pas faire illusion, puisque la date, 1332, permet de considérer cette lettre comme purement graphique. Ensuite, ce qui caractérise surtout ce fagot, c'est qu'il est *court* ainsi que les bâtons qui le composent. Or, si l'on ajoute à l'ancienne forme *cort* le représentant français du suffixe -ARICIUS, on a **corterez*[2] qui peut sans doute avoir perdu la première *r* par simple dissimilation ; mais, ayant égard à ce qu'exprime notre vocable et par conséquent à sa nature rustique, il est plus probable que nous avons affaire à un cas d'amuïssement par assimilation de la dentale vibrante à la dentale explosive qui la suit. L'amuïssement de l'*r* dans ces conditions devait être un phénomène accompli au treizième et quatorzième siècles dans la plupart des dialectes ou patois qui présentent de nos jours cette particularité. On trouve le même phénomène de phonétique dans deux dérivés de l'adjectif *court* enregistrés par Littré, à savoir *coutauder*, pour *courtauder*, et *couston* (l'*s* ne se prononce pas), forme dialectale de *courton* "brins courts de chanvre."[3] *Cotret* donc, quand il désigne un fagot court ou un des courts bâtons qui le composent, n'est qu'une forme dialectale de ce qui serait en français normal **courteret*, et l'*s* de l'orthographe du moyen âge n'est que le résultat d'une confusion avec *costerez* dérivé de *coste*.

[2] Cf. la forme féminine *corterece* dans le livre précité de M. Thomas, p. 360.

[3] Cependant le *Dictionnaire Général*, s. v. *courton*, dit que "quelques dictionnaires donnent à tort *couston* dans le même sens." Je suis d'avis, au contraire, qu'on doit voir dans cette dernière forme une prononciation dialectale de la première, et que l'*s* n'a été introduite dans la graphie que par confusion avec un mot différent, *couton* (= v. fr. *coston* et prov. mod. *coustoun*).

Dèche < *DĬSTĬCA (δύστυχα).

On n'a pas fait accueil, et pour cause, à l'explication du mot *dèche* "misère, manque d'argent" par quelque dérivé de *debere*, explication que Scheler avait proposée dubitativement. Dans le *Larousse* se trouve une histoire de pure fantaisie selon laquelle ce mot serait redevable de la vie à la prononciation fautive du mot *déception* par un acteur allemand. Quant au *Dictionnaire Général*, il dit que c'est peut-être un substantif verbal de *déchoir*, ce qui ne serait phonétiquement possible que par abrégement argotique de *déchet*, comme dans *occase* pour *occasion*.

Pour confirmer les doutes qu'on peut avoir sur cette origine, on n'a qu'à comparer *dèche* au mot *dètse* qui se trouve dans le glossaire du patois des Fourgs (Doubs) et qui est ainsi conçu : "Dètse, s. f., accident, dommage, blessure ; *sin mau et sin dètse*, sans mal et sans dommage."[4] Voilà bien, je crois, le même mot et qui ne fait pas l'effet d'un emprunt récent à l'argot parisien, car, pour ne rien dire des significations, la phrase toute faite qui est citée a l'air de venir de loin, et il y a bonne chance que *dèche*, *dètse* ait appartenu au plus ancien fond de la langue.

Je voudrais proposer pour ce mot une étymologie qui est inattaquable sous le double rapport de la phonétique et de la sémantique. Les dictionnaires grecs nous font savoir qu'on employait au lieu du substantif αἱ δυστυχίαι, le neutre pluriel de l'adjectif δυστυχής, c'est-à-dire τὰ δυστυχῆ : le sens "malheur, besoin, misère" est le même que celui de *dèche*, *dètse*. Adopté par le latin populaire comme substantif féminin singulier, ainsi que d'autres neutres pluriels grecs, δυστυχῆ serait devenu *DÍSTĬCA selon les lois de l'accentuation latine. On trouve même pour l'adjectif grec, au lieu de δυστυχής, -ές, la forme δύστοχος, -ον, dont le neutre pluriel δύστυχα serait encore plus proche de la forme latine proposée. *DÍSTĬCA en passant par **desca*, **desche* devient *dèche* en français, tandis que dans le patois des Fourgs il doit donner *dètse*, tout comme dans le même patois *lĭsca* donne *lètse* et *pĭscat* donne *pètse*.[5]

On doit ajouter que si le mot n'existe à Paris que depuis une date assez récente, ce qui paraît

[4] *Mém. de la Soc. d'émul. du Doubs*, 1864, p. 258.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 300 et 324.

bien probable, et qu'il ne vienne pas du territoire francien, rien n'empêcherait qu'on l'eût apporté de la Franche-Comté même, car les habitants de cette province doivent naturellement franciser *dètse* en *dèche* selon la correspondance de *pètse, pêche* et *lètse, laîche.*

Palier < *PEDALARIUM.

Le *Dictionnaire Général* dit que le mot *palier* est d'origine inconnue, mais il fait justement observer que la plus ancienne forme enregistrée par Godefroy dans une citation de 1328 est *paalier*, c'est-à-dire trissyllabe, et par conséquent distincte de *pailler* ; pour la même raison on doit refuser de suivre Scheler et d'y voir un dérivé de *pala*.

Je crois que *palier* vient d'une forme du latin populaire *PEDALARIUM qui fut faite sur *pedalem* et dont l'existence est attestée sous la forme féminine dans le provençal *pesaliera, pesalieiro.* Le *Tresor* de Mistral donne pour ce mot la définition que voici : "sablière, semelle, pièce de charpente qui porte le pied des chevrons." La même idée "pièce de support" est précisément celle qu'exprime le français *palier* quand il est employé comme terme de mécanique, ce qui est le cas pour tous les exemples du mot cités par Godefroy s. v. *paaillier.* Notons ici que l'anglais emploie le mot *pedestal* avec la signification de "palier de machine." En latin on avait déjà appelé *podium* une plate-forme élevée à laquelle on aurait pu assimiler un palier d'escalier, mais on avait vu surtout dans ce dernier une marche comme les autres, quoique plus large, entre deux volées d'escalier, et il aurait été difficile de lui donner un nom plus convenable que **pedalarium.* La même idée sémantique se retrouve dans l'allemand *Podest, Pedest,* le moyen haut allemand *Grêde,* et le provençal *trepadou* qui signifient tous "palier d'escalier," et aussi dans l'anglais *foot-pace* "demi-palier."

Sous le rapport de la phonétique en trouvera peu à redire dans la série *PEDALARIUM > **pedalier* > **pealier* > *paalier* > *palier.* De *paalier* on a eu, par deux dissimilations différentes des voyelles contiguës, *poalier* et *paelier,* formes citées par Godefroy, la dernière dans le *Supplément* à l'article *palier.* Les autres formes que l'on trouve dans Godefroy s. v. *poaillier* ne sont que des variantes orthographiques de *poalier.* On pourrait objecter à la série que la contrefinale de *PEDALARIUM devrait donner régulièrement *e* et non *a* ; cependant la règle n'est pas sans exceptions, comme, par exemple, dans *échalier* < *ISCALARIUM. D'ailleurs le représentant de PEDALEM a presque sûrement existé en ancien français —il existe en provençal, comme on peut le voir à l'article *pesal* dans Mistral—et puisqu'il s'agit du suffixe *-alis,* on aurait donc pu former ou refaire **pealier* sur **peal* (pour **peel*) comme on a fait *journalier* sur *jornal* (pour *jornel*). Au cas ou **peel, *peal* n'auraient pas existé, on peut expliquer l'*a* de la contrefinale par l'influence des autres dérivés de *pedem* (*peage, peaigne, peason*) qui avaient un *a* entravé. Cette influence pu avoir lieu surtout à l'époque où, le *d* intervocalique n'étant pas encore amuï, on avait conscience de la parenté du groupe.

Sablière < *SAPPINARIA.

Sablière, "pièce de bois sur laquelle reposent les chevrons, les pieds des étais, etc.," est d'origine inconnue, selon le *Dictionnaire Général.* Littré cite *SCAPULARIA et *STABILIARIA, étymologies proposées, l'une par Ménage, l'autre par Scheler, mais il reconnaît qu'elles sont inacceptables.

Je crois que *sablière* représente le développement rigoureusement phonétique du latin *SAPPINARIA (de *sappinus*), à savoir *SAPPINARIA > **sap'naria* > **sab'naria* > **sablaria* > *sablière.* Au groupe *bn,* inconnu dans la prononciation du latin populaire de la Gaule, s'est naturellement substitué un groupe connu, *bl* plutôt que *br* à cause de la présence de *r* dans le suffixe -ARIA. Ce phénomène de substitution, le même qui explique l'*r* des mots français *coffre, timbre,* etc., est fréquent dans les langues indo-européennes comme le démontrent les exemples qu'en a donnés M. Maurice Grammont dans son livre sur la dissimilation consonantique.[6]

Il va sans dire que *sapinière* a été fait sur *sapin* comme *savonnier* a été fait sur *savon.* Je ne connais pas d'autres mots français qui présentent les mêmes conditions phonétiques, mais je n'en suis

[6] M. Grammont, *La Dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes,* Dijon, 1895, pp. 138–140.

pas moins d'avis qu'on doit compléter la loi pour *b* (non initial) + *consonne* en constatant que dans le groupe *bn*, *b* ne s'amuït pas comme le donnent à entendre toutes les grammaires historiques françaises, mais qu'il persiste par le passage de *bn* à *bl* ou *br*.

Comme *sappinus*, selon Forcellini, paraît avoir désigné originairement non une espèce d'arbres, mais les gros bois de construction tirés de la partie inférieure du tronc de plusieurs espèces d'arbres, l'étymologie que je propose pour *sablière* n'en est que plus assurée.

Littré donne encore au mot *sablière* la définition suivante qui ne se trouve point dans le *Dictionnaire Général* : "Bateau jaugeant au moins cinq tonneaux sur le canal du Midi." Je constate dans Littré et dans Larousse que *sapinière*, *sapine* et *sapinette* désignent aussi des sortes de bateaux. *Sablière* dans ce sens aussi, vient encore bien probablement de *SAPPINARIA ; du moins je ne trouve pas qu'on ait appelé ces bateaux de ce nom parce qu'ils servent à transporter le sable.

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SCOTT'S *IVANHOE* AND SYDNEY'S *ARCADIA*.

Attention has never been called, I believe, to the correspondences between Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Sydney's *Arcadia*. That there are correspondences which are neither slight nor casual, will appear from a comparison of the two works. The broad fact that both romances deal largely with chivalry of course renders probable some general resemblances. Another common general feature of the two works is that, with chivalry, scenes of pastoral life are combined. This is a less conspicuous element in the later romance, but it is there, in the famous first scene, for example, and elsewhere. Again, the scenes of outlawry and the general state of society correspond : Sherwood Forest and Arcadia are strikingly similar. If, then, we compare these works, we shall find that in the main action of each there are three chief moments : the tournaments, the capture and imprisonment of the heroines and hero, and the siege. Let us note the agreeing circumstances in regard to each.

I. THE TOURNAMENTS : (Ar. I, 16 seqq. ; Iv. 8 seqq.)—[1]

Each is of two days' continuance. In the *Arcadia*, Pyrocles enters disguised in rusty poorness of apparel the second day, after the overthrow of many Arcadian knights. The spectators have already measured his length on the earth when he rides up and strikes the shield of the challenger (I, 17. 5).

Ivanhoe enters after the day seems lost to the Saxons. He is splendidly apparelled, but is disguised, and his shield bears a device and word signifying "Disinherited." He rides straight up and strikes the shield of the challenger until it rings again. In both combats the challenger is unhorsed by the breaking of his saddle girth (Ar. I, 17. 7 ; Iv. 8. 86). In each story there is a Black Knight, although the parts played are different. In the *Arcadia*, the Black Knight smites the shield of the challenger just an instant after Pyrocles, and therefore misses his opportunity to fight (17. 5). In the later story, the Black Knight assists Ivanhoe when the odds are against him (12. 126).

Each tournament is followed by miscellaneous sports and contests. (Ar. I, 19 ; Iv. 13. 134). Corresponding to the Eclogues in the earlier work are the ballads in the later (17. 169, 171). Before leaving this topic, the horsemanship of Ivanhoe (8. 84 ; 9. 91) should be compared with that of Sidney's second hero, Musidorus, II, 5. 3.

II. THE CAPTURE AND IMPRISONMENT : (Ar. III, 2 seqq. ; Iv. 19 seqq.)—

In the *Arcadia*, the two heroines, Philoclea and Pamela, and the hero, Pyrocles, are taken captive at a rural festival in the woods and are lodged in Cecropia's castle. The design of the captor is to make one of the young ladies the wife of Amphialus, Cecropia's son (III, 2). In *Ivanhoe*, the two heroines together with the hero of the story and others are taken captive and lodged in the castle of Front de Boeuf, who has designs upon Rebecca and Ivanhoe (19). Compare the separation and

[1] References are to Cross's *Ivanhoe* (Scribner's) by chapter and page ; and to Sommer's *Arcadia*, facsimile reprint (London, 1901) by book, chapter, and paragraph.

disposal of the captives : Ar. III, 2. 5 and 21. 4 ; Iv. 21. 201 seq.

The ordeals of the heroines are similar in the two stories. In the *Arcadia*, Amphialus goes to the chamber of Philoclea and woes her to become his wife (III, 3. 1 seqq.). Note how he has bedecked himself with the most costly apparel : a garment of "black velvet richly embroidered with great pearle," and "about his necke he ware a brode and gorgeous coller." In *Ivanhoe*, De Bracy enters Rowena's chamber and offers to make her his wife (23. 218 seqq.). He has "decorated his person with all the foppery of the times." He wears "a richly furred cloak," and his girdle is "embroidered and embossed with gold work."

Each suitor is the captive of his prisoner (Ar. III, 6. 6 ; Iv. 23. 219). The imprisonment in each case is gallantly ascribed to the beauty of the prisoner.

Amphialus says : "It is you your selfe, that imprisons your selfe : it is your beautie which makes these castle-walls embrace you (3. 5). De Bracy says : "To thyself, fair maid, to thine own charms be ascribed whatever I have done which passed the respect due to her whom I have chosen queen of my heart and loadstar of my eyes" (219).

The scene of gallantry and comparative honorableness only prepares in each instance for the scene of lawless passion. In the *Arcadia* (III, 26. 7), Anaxius, of might and terror in arms like Brian de Bois-Guilbert, seeks to win Pamela to be his paramour : "And withall, going to Pamela, and offring to take her by the chin, 'And as for you, Minion (said he) yeeld but gently to my will," etc. Whereupon Pamela thus rebuffs him : "Proud beast," etc. In *Ivanhoe* (24. 227), the sybil had exclaimed : "Thy life, Minion : what would thy life pleasure them ?" This prepares for the scene in which Brian de Bois-Guilbert makes his dishonorable proposals (230 seqq.).

III. The Siege : Ar. III, 7 seqq. ; Iv. 29 seqq.).

In each story a Black Knight leads the besiegers and distinguishes himself for prowess in arms. Ar. III, 8. 4 : "Into the presse comes . . . . a Knight in armor as darke as blacknes coulde make it, followed by none, and adorned by nothing . . . . But vertue quickly made him knowne."

Iv. 29. 289 : "'A Knight, clad in sable armor, is the most conspicuous,' said the Jewess ; 'he . . . . seems to assume the direction of all arouud him.'"

Scott's Black Knight is afterwards recognized to be Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and Sidney's proves to be his second hero, Musidorus, the friend of Pyrocles and lover of Pamela (Ar. III, 18. 10).

Minor Circumstances of the Sieges:—1. Compare the challenges (Ar. III, 13. 2 and 6 ; Iv. 25. 239 and 243). The ludicrous element is possessed in common by them, although the purport of the two is different.

2. Within each castle is a friend of the besiegers, in each instance a woman : Artesia in Cecropia's (III, 14) and Ulrica in Front de Boeuf's.

3. Compare the ludicrous combat between Clinias and Dametas (Ar. III, 13), and that between Gurth and the miller (Iv. 11). Each is a comic interlude introduced in accordance with the same principles of art. Two other incidents related in each story remain to be noticed. The first is an act of knightly courtesy. In Scott's romance the incident of Ivanhoe's refusal to take advantage, in the lists, when his opponent's horse, by rearing and plunging, disturbed the rider's aim, will be recalled. Ivanhoe wheeled his horse, and having ridden back to his own end, gave his antagonist the chance of a second encounter (8. 87). In the *Arcadia* (III, 16. 4) : "But when his staffe was in his rest, comming down to meet with the Knight, now verie neere him, he perceyved the Knight had mist his rest : wherefore the curteous Amphialus woulde not let his Launce descende," etc.

The second incident is the resuscitation of characters at the convenience of the writer. This is no infrequent device of the Greek romances, whence Sidney borrowed it. It occurs some three or four times in the *Arcadia* : II, 8. 10 ; 9. 1 ; III, 21. 4, and 22. 5 : explanation of the last, 23 (erroneously written 17), 3. Compare also II, 3. 5. The celebrated bringing to life again of Athelstane might well have been suggested by Sidney's examples.

IV. Miscellaneous Points.—*Ivanhoe* opens with the scene of the swine-herd Gurth and the clown Wamba : the *Arcadia* opens with the scene of the two shepherds, Strephon and Claius. That is, both openings are pastoral.

Of the heroes, in the *Arcadia*, Musidorus, who is heir to the throne of Thessalia and Pyrocles, his cousin and friend, heir of the throne of Macedon, have filled Asia with the renown of their unexampled valor. In *Ivanhoe*, the Asiatic exploits of Richard, heir to the throne of England, and Ivanhoe, his friend and heir of Rutherford Grange, form a similar background for the real action of the story.

In each work the counterpart of the chivalry of the heroes is the chastity of the heroines.

Disguises and recognitions are notable features of both works. In the earlier romance Pyrocles can have opportunity to woo Philoclea only by disguising himself; and in disguise he enters the tourney. Ivanhoe only by the favor of his disguise gets an interview with Rowena, and in disguise he tilts in the lists at Ashby. Other disguises and consequent recognitions occur in both stories.

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VARIOUS NOTES.

CARLYLE, *SARTOR RESARTUS* 2. 9.

One of Carlyle's memorable passages is this (*Sartor Resartus* 2. 9, ed. MacMechan, p. 173): 'The Fraction of Life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your Numerator as by lessening your Denominator. Nay, unless my Algebra deceive me, Unity itself divided by Zero will give Infinity. Make thy claim of wages a zero, then; thou hast the world under thy feet. Well did the Wisest of our time write: "It is only with Renunciation (*Entsagen*) that Life, properly speaking, can be said to begin."'

It is rather surprising to find that this is a doctrine, not of the Stoics, but of Epicurus himself. Seneca says (*Ep.* 21. 7): '"Si vis," inquit [Epicurus], "Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniæ adjiciendum, sed cupiditati detrahendum est."' To the same effect Stobæus, *Flor.* 17. 37: Ἐπίκουρος ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἄν τις πλουτήσειεν; 'οὐ τοῖς οὖσι προστιθεὶς' ἔφη 'τῆς δὲ χρείας τὰ πολλὰ περιτέμνων.' And so *Flor.* 17. 24, where the saying is again ascribed to Epicurus: Εἰ βούλει πλούσιόν τινα ποιῆσαι, μὴ χρήμασιν προστίθει, τῆς δὲ ἐπιθυμίας ἀφαίρει. A somewhat similar saying is attributed to Socrates (*Flor.* 17. 30).

In Regnard's *Le Joueur* (1696), Act 5, Sc. 13, the valet, Hector, reading to his master from Seneca, 'Chapitre six. Du mépris des richesses,' concludes:

> 'C'est posseder les biens que savoir s'en passer.'
> Que ce mot est bien dit! et que c'est bien penser!
> Ce Sénèque, monsieur, est un excellent homme.

King, *Class. and For. Quot.*, No. 299, adds, from Vigée's *Épître à Ducis sur les Avantages de la Médiocrité:*

> Je suis riche du bien dont je sais me passer.

CHAUCER, *PARL. FOULES* 353.

In confirmation of my view with regard to *foules*, published in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for April, 1906, Dr. A. E. H. Swaen, of the University of Groningen, calls my attention to the fact that in the Wright-Wülcker *Vocabularies*, *bēo* occurs with the names of birds in the following places: 261. 9; 318. 34; 543. 7, the first time in a section headed *De Avibus.*

BEOWULF 1408 ff.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* 17. 209–10 (418–9) I called attention to the parallel between *Beow.* 1408 ff. and Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 762–3. To the latter passage I now wish to add certain others. A handy translation is that of Miss Harris (*The Tragedies of Seneca*, Henry Frowde, 1904). The first is Seneca, *Œd.* 530–547:

> Est procul ab urbe lucus ilicibus niger,
> Dircæa circa vallis irriguæ loca.
> Cupressus altis exserens silvis caput
> Virente semper alligat trunco nemus;
> Curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ
> Annosa ramos. Hujus abrupit latus
> Edax vetustas; illa jam fessa cadens
> Radice, fulta pendet aliena trabe.
> Amara baccas laurus, et tiliæ leves,
> Et Paphia myrtus, et per immensum mare
> Motura remos alnus, et Phœbo obvia,
> Enode Zephyrus pinis opponens latus.

> Medio stat ingens arbor, atque umbra gravi
> Silvas minores urget, et magno ambitu
> Diffusa ramos, una defendit nemus.
> Tristis sub illa lucis et Phœbi inscius
> Restagnat humor, frigore æterno rigens.
> Limosa pigrum circuit fontem palus.

Another is *Thy.* 649–655, 664–6[1]:

> Arcana in imo regia secessu patet,
> Alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,
> Penetrale regni, nulla qua lætos solet
> Præbere ramos arbor, aut ferro coli;
> Sed taxus, et cupressus, et nigra ilice
> Obscura nutat silva; quam supra eminens
> Despectat alte quercus, et vincat nemus.
> . . . .
> Fons stat sub umbra tristis, et nigra piger
> Hæret palude; talis est diræ Stygis
> Deformis unda, quæ facit cælo fidem.

A third is from the context to the passage quoted in the earlier article. This is *Herc. Fur.* 662–3, 683–6, 689–90:

> Spartana tellus nobile attollit jugum,
> Densis ubi æquor Tænarus silvis premit.
> . . . .
> Qualis incerta vagus
> Mæander unda ludit, et cedit sibi,
> Instatque, dubius, littus an fontem petat.
> Palus inertis fœda Cocyti jacet.
> . . . .
> Horrent opaca fronde nigrantes comæ
> Taxo imminente, quam tenet segnis Sopor.

Various passages from Latin poets on hell and its rivers might be adduced. Among them are the following:

Lucan, *Phars.* 6. 639–646:

> Haud procul a Ditis cæcis depressis cavernis
> In præceps subsedit humus, quam pallida pronis
> Urget silva comis, et nullo vertice cælum
> Suspiciens Phœbo non pervia taxus opacat.
> Marcentes intus tenebræ, squalensque sub antris
> Longa nocte situs, nunquam, nisi carmine factum,
> Lumen habet.

Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 13. 563–4, 568–573, 595–6:

> Tum jacet in spatium sine corpore pigra vorago,
> Limosique lacus.
> . . . .
> At, magnis semper divis regique deorum
> Intrari dignata palus, picis horrida rivo,
> Fumiferum volvit Styx inter sulphura limum.
> Tristior hic Acheron sanie crassoque veneno
> Æstuat, et, gelidam eructans cum murmure arenam,
> Descendit nigra lentus per stagna palude.
> . . . .
> Dextra vasta comas nemorosaque brachia fundit
> Taxus, Cocyti rigua frondosior unda.

Also 12. 126–8:

> Huic vicina palus (fama est, Acherontis ad undas
> Pandere iter) cæcus stagnante voragine fauces
> Laxat, et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus.

Ovid, *Met.* 4. 432–4:

> Est via declivis funesta nubila taxo;
> Ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes.
> Styx nebulas exhalat iners.

Virgil, *Georg.* 4. 478–480:

> Quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo
> Cocyti tardaque palus inamibilis unda
> Alligat, et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.

Virgil, especially in the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*, is the source for all later Latin poets, so far as the description of Hades is concerned. Dieterich says (*Nekyia*, pp. 158–9): 'Vergil hat den Anstoss gegeben zu den zahlreichen Hadesschilderungen der römischen Dichter, die bis in Einzelheiten von ihm abhängig sind. . . . Selten wird auch mit Sicherheit auszumachen sein, woher sie die abweichenden Einzelheiten haben.' He then refers to G. Ettig, *Acheruntica*, pp. 360 ff., especially for the relevant passages in Seneca, Lucan, Silius, and Statius.

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[1] This is perhaps reflected in Shakespeare, *Tit. Andr.* 2. 3. 93–7, 106–7:

> A barren detested vale, you see it is;
> The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
> O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe;
> Here never shines the sun; here nothing breeds
> Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven.
> . . . .
> But straight they told me they would bind me here
> Unto the body of a dismal yew.

See Cunliffe, *The Influence of Shakespeare on Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 70.

NOTES ON CALDERON: THE VERA TASSIS EDITION; THE TEXT OF *LA VIDA ES SUEÑO.*

Ticknor has aptly remarked that the Vera Tassis edition is to Calderon what the First Folio of his plays is to Shakespeare. Its importance has, in fact, never been questioned. But all who have attempted to write the bibliographical history of the edition have approached the task with insufficient first-hand information and little critical discernment. A census of extant copies is a desideratum. Breymann, Calderon's most recent bibliographer, has seen a sufficient number to enable him to present something like a trustworthy account of the chronological order of their publication. Unfortunately, like the merest tyro, he has contented himself with noting, in superficial manner, the title-pages, without reading carefully approbations and prologues. He seems, indeed, to be ignorant of any difficulties.

My sole purpose in broaching the matter now, is to call attention to certain obvious errors and seeming inconsistencies, in the hope that some one may be induced to prepare a full and reliable bibliography.

Ticknor's account, it may be noted in passing, errs in minor details, owing to the fact that several of his copies were not first editions.[1] It was for this reason, likewise, that he fixed the posterior date of publication at 1694, instead of 1691. The first volume to appear was *Parte V*, 1682. It is doubtful whether another volume was issued that year. Morel-Fatio has expressed the opinion that at least six volumes were published in 1682,—Breymann indicates as many. The second part to appear was, apparently, Vol. vi, 1683. La Barrera first noted an edition of 1682. Such a volume has not been found by Salvá, Hartzenbusch, Morel-Fatio, or Breymann. La Barrera was an accurate and painstaking bibliographer; it can be said, however, with dogmatic assurance, supported by irrefutable evidence, that he erred in assigning Vol. i to 1682. If this can be proven, then there is a possibility that he was, likewise, wrong in his bibliography of Vol. vi. When Vera Tassis asked permission to print parts i, ii, iii, iv, he stated that the former privilege had expired in the *previous* year, *ochenta y dos,*—he refers to the fact that a privilege (for ten years) had been granted for the *Quarta parte*, June 18, 1672. This then makes the publication of Vol. i impossible before 1683; the earliest copy known is dated 1685. In this edition of 1685 *el rey* states,—and such a document would not be altered,—that parts v, vi, vii, had already appeared, and that part viii was in preparation. In the *al que leyere*, Vera Tassis adds that he hopes to publish soon ii, iii, iv, ix, x. It will be noted that, according to this statement, Vol. i appeared before Vol. ii. Here arises a difficulty. The *Biblioteca Nacional* has a copy of Vol. ii, dated 1683. This copy Breymann has apparently seen. If the title-page is correct, then, of course, Vol. i, likewise, appeared in 1683, as, also, vi, vii. This is quite possible, so far as Vol. vi is concerned. Breymann says, referring to the unique copy of the 1683 edition of the *Sexta parte:*

> "Die Druckerlaubnisse sind vom Jahre 1682. Daher erklärt sich wohl die jedenfalls irrige Angabe La Barrera's, dasz die sexta parte bereits im Jahre 1682 erschienen sei."

I have recently had an opportunity of examining the Ticknor copy of Vol. vii, which has always been dated 1683. That is, indeed, the date on the title-page. But the volume did not appear until 1684, the *fe de errata* being signed in *Enero ocho de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y quatro años,* and the *suma de la tassa*, likewise, in the same year (1684). The work had apparently been *printed* in 1683.

In Vol. viii (*suma de la tassa*, October 16, 1684) Vera Tassis says:

> "*El Octavo tomo . . . y Quarto en orden de los que mi cuydadosa tarea ha publicado . . . Las demas* [*comedias*] *que en mi poder quedan estan en sus traslados tan inciertos que hasta conseguir otros mas verdaderos avrè de suspender el prosequir en el Noueno tomo: passando à repetir en la Prensa los quatro Primeros. . . .*"

This has been accepted as the first edition of Vol. viii; but that is impossible if the 1683 edition of Vol. ii is genuine or correctly dated.

D. Gaspar Augustín de Lara, writing in the

[1] i. 1685; ii, 1686; iii, 1687; iv, 1688; v, 1694; vi, 1683; vii, 1683; viii, 1684; ix, 1691. I have the following volumes of the Vera Tassis edition: i, 1726; ii, 1726; iii, 1726; v, 1730; vi, 1715; vii, 1715; viii, 1726; ix, 1698.

Obelisco funebre . . . (1684) refers to only parts v, vi, vii, "*aviendo valido,*" he adds, "*al Impresor (como dizen todos los libreros) en menos de vn año, mas de tres mil ducados, sacada la costa de la impresion.*" When this was written, I do not know,[2] but it must have been written in 1683, or 1684, conclusive proof, at least, that parts i, ii, iii, iv, were not reprinted in 1682; in other words, that not more than three volumes could possibly have appeared in 1682. I may note, finally, that a (new?) *suma del privilegeo* was obtained for at least parts iii, iv, July, 1684, whether or not for parts i, ii, I cannot, at present state. How to reconcile this with the existence of an edition of the *Quarta parte*, 1683, in the University Library, Madrid, is another problem which confronts the bibliographer.

. . . .

Much has been written about Vera Tassis. We owe him gratitude for rescuing plays that might have perished. But one may be pardoned for questioning the sincerity of his persistent claims to the friendship of Don Pedro. In such matters sinister and crooked motives are implied by overinsistence. Certainly, *les amis de mes amis sont mes amis,* was not a maxim to the liking of Vera Tassis. There is reason to believe that Vergara was befriended by Calderon. None the less, Vera Tassis speaks of his "*vana ostentación de amigo de nuestro Don Pedro;*" and yet Calderon had referred to him in 1664, as "*mi mas apassionado amigo,*" had permitted him to publish some plays, nay, to "*restaurarlas de los achacados errores.*" And why does Vera Tassis never mention Calderon's other warm friends, Lara and Veragua? To the latter he had sent a list of his plays, used (?) but not mentioned by Vera Tassis. Why, one may ask, was Vera Tassis not among the number of Calderon's guests, on the author's last birthday, when the latter chatted reminiscently of his youth? Nay, "*yo que fui quien mas entranablemente amè à Don Pedro*" neither knew the precise day nor year of Calderon's birth! He states that the author was born January 1st ("*diá de la Santissima Circuncision*") instead of January 17th; 1601, instead of 1600. All this he avers, pompously, "*consta de la Fè de Bautismo. . . .*" Don Juan Baños de Velasco alone refers to Vera Tassis as Calderon's "*intimo amigo.*" This same writer speaks of Vera Tassis as "*mi Amigo.*" (*Aprobacion* to Vol. vi). But nowhere does Calderon even mention his editor—although the latter published two of Calderon's plays in 1679. For my part, I cannot help thinking that Vera Tassis was a self-styled friend. The mixture of a lie was to serve as an adamant for commercial advantage. Much can be inferred from Lara's innuendo, where he is, unquestionably, speaking words of truth and throwing a little light upon what was, apparently, at the time, a kind of literary scandal. Referring to the so-called *Verdadera quinta parte,* he asks, why, if the *Congregación de el Glorioso Apostol* had been made Calderon's literary executor, were parts v, vi, vii, not published by that body? Moreover, alluding specifically to the *advertencias* in the *Quinta parte,* where Vera Tassis is at great pains to prove his intimacy with the author, Lara gives him the lie direct, adding:

> "Aunque, D. Pedro Calderon padeció los penosos habituales achaques de la edad, hasta el vltimo aliento de la vida, le conseruò el cielo tan sano el juizio, que se desmintio humano, si en los aciertos de su muerte se acredito Diuino; que es al contrario de lo que leo en las aduertencias de la verdadera Quinta Parte, pues dizen, que su achacosa edad no permitió pudiesse hazer entero juizio de sus comedias . . . y quien podrà auer quē se persuada, que la memoria de todas las comedias que se ponen en la verdadera quinta Parte estàn rubricadas de Don Pedro, quando el mismo confiessa, que las desconocia por el contexto, y por los titulos; (and, he continues, referring to Vera Tassis' edition,) imprimiendo en nombre de Don Pedro lo que no le passó por el pensamiento escriuir."

Be this all as it may, there can be no doubt whatsoever that Vera Tassis' editions have no more critical value than earlier ones. Morel-Fatio has pointed this out in his edition of *El Mágico Prodigioso,* and it can be shown, perhaps more conclusively, in the case of *La vida es sueño.* Calderon, largely for conscientious scruples, was indifferent to the publication of his comedias. The autos alone he considered worthy of appearing in print. In 1672 he wrote, in the prologue of the *Quarta parte,* to an anonymous friend:

> "Si veis que ya no las busco [*i. e.,* the comedias] para embiarlas, sino para consumarlas, como me aconsejais el aumentarlas [*i. e.,* in print]?"

[2] Why does Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Calderon y su teatro,* p. 49, state that Lara's work was printed 1681?

As a consequence, resort had to be taken to unreliable prints or *traslados*. Even the autographs are defective, inasmuch as they are, to use Calderon's expression, mere *borradores*, not intended for reading. It seems incredible, however, that Calderon should, time and again, protest that none of the editions of his works were correct,—not even the two volumes published by his brother? But Don Pedro had the odd notion that such of his plays as were not correctly printed were not his; none the less, he acknowledged as his those printed in the first four parts! All of them, undoubtedly, abound in errors. It is evident that the author gave little or no assistance to his editors, much less did he read the proofs. Lara could truly say, "Calderon published not a single play."

. . . .

The rest of this note will be limited to a consideration of the relative value of the three texts of *La vida es sueño*: (*A*) published by the author's brother, 1636; (*B*) printed surreptitiously in Vol. xxx of *Comedias famosas de Varios autores*, 1636, presumably at Zaragoza, but doubtless at Madrid; (*C*) Vera Tassis' edition, in the *Primera Parte* (1685?). Second editions of *A–B* need not be considered here.

It is obvious at the outset, that, will or nill, Joseph Calderon's text must serve as a basis, for future critical editions. The piratical edition differs very considerably. There are additions and omissions, and hardly a line is identical. But in some cases its readings must be accepted. It may have been printed from an actor's copy,[3] or it may have been taken down verbatim at the theater. A few illustrations will demonstrate the value of *B*:

l. 326, *A*. y una *rueda* que las pare.
B. una *rienda* que las pare?
l. 347, *A*. Y si humildad y soberbia
no te *obligan*, personages
que han movido y removido
mil Autos Sacramentales.
B. y si humildad y soberbia
no te *mueuen* . . .
l. 448, *A*. es de materia tan *facil*. *BC*, *fragil*.

[3] It is interesting to note that Calderon states that actors were not permitted to dispose of their copies for publication. If they did, it was in garbled form, lest their dishonesty be detected. (Cf. his letter to Veragua.)

It would be interesting to know how Vera Tassis retouched (*retocó*) the play. His edition presents a considerable number of trifling changes and corrections of some typographical errors. He omits, through negligence, five lines, 2047 (*ed.* Maccoll, p. 205, *l.* 1057) and 2923–27, (*ibid.*, p. 235, *ll.* 723–27). The following passages will show that Vera Tassis has some readings in common with *B*. He presumably had at his disposal an intermediate text, lost to us, as he does not make consistent use of *B*, even where it is clearly correct.

l. 16, *A*. que abrasa al Sol el ceno de *la* frente
B. que *arruga* el Sol el ceno de *su* frente
C. que *arruga* al Sol el ceno de *su* frente.
l. 160, *A*. ida; *BC*, huyda.
l. 165, *A*. sacar; *BC*, arrancar.
l. 326, *AC*. rueda; *B*, rienda.
l. 548, *A*. aplaçarnos; *BC*, aplaçamos.
l. 700, *A*. En este misero, en este
mortal Planeta; ò signo,
B. *En aqueste pues del Sol*
ya frenesi, *ya* delito [!]
C. *En aqueste pues del Sol*
ya frenesi, ò *ya* delirio.
l. 1605, *A*. de la docta Academia de sus ruinas
B. en . . . las *minas*
C. de . . . sus *minas*.

Some of these readings of *BC* are to be referred to *A's*; just what value to give to *B*, when not supported by *C*, it is difficult to decide. *B* abounds in errors of all kinds. The new material which it contains is *sometimes* no better nor worse than the rest of the comedia. Until more is known of the ways and means of literary pirates of the time, the variants must be treated with respect. Personally, I incline to the suspicion that *B* represents, with many obvious errors, Calderon's original *borrador* as first acted on the stage, and that *A* reproduces the more finished product, carelessly printed, as given to Joseph for publication. I am aware of objections that may be urged against such a view.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

I.

The familiar triplet in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, III, 15–17 :

> "Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
> And men below, and saints above,
> For love is heaven, and heaven is love."

is perhaps drawn from the refrain of Schiller's *Der Triumph der Liebe* :

> "Selig durch die Liebe
> Götter—durch die Liebe
> Menschen Göttern gleich !
> Liebe macht den Himmel
> Himmlischer—die Erde
> Zu dem Himmelreich."

II.

Writing of Shelley, Browning (*Memorabilia*, 13–15) uses a notable figure :

> "For there I picked upon the heather
> And there I put inside my breast
> A moulted feather, an eagle feather !"

which he apparently borrowed from Young (*The Complaint, Night II*, 601–606):

> "His flight Philander took, his upward flight,
> If ever soul ascended. Had he dropped,
> (That eagle genius !) O had he let fall
> One feather as he flew, I then had wrote
> What friends might flatter, prudent foes forbear,
> Rivals scarce damn, and Zoilus reprieve."

This passage suggests a more definite explanation of Browning's lines than any yet offered, as follows :

The later poet writes in conscious imitation of the earlier. Young states an hypothetical case, ". . . . O had he let fall One feather . . . ." ; and his apodosis is given as contrary to fact, ". . . . I then had wrote . . . .". Browning makes his statement as fact, ". . . . I picked up . . . . an eagle feather !" To follow Young, he must now say, "I wrote . . . ." Not willing to hazard so bold an assertion, he breaks off with the line, for which, I believe, no explanation has yet been offered :

> Well, I forget the rest.

III.

Milton's sounding word-group (*Paradise Lost*, v, 600–601, and elsewhere):

> ". . . . . Angels, Progeny of Light,
> Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,"

harks back, as might be expected, to the Bible (*Colossians* I, 16): ". . . . whether they be thrones or dominations, or principalities, or powers . . . ."

Perhaps, however, the use of two words, *Dominations* and *Virtues*, may indicate that Milton's source was Ben Jonson, *Eupheme*, IX : *Elegy on My Muse* :

> "He knows what work he hath done, to call this guest
> Out of her noble body to this feast :
> And give her place according to her blood
> Amongst her peers, those princes of all good !
> Saints, Martyrs, Prophets, with those Hierarchies,
> Angels, Archangels, Principalities,
> The Dominations, Virtues, and the Powers,
> The Thrones, the Cherubs, and Seraphic bowers,
> That, planted round, there sing before the Lamb
> A new song to his praise . . . ."

Prior liked the group, imitating it in *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*, I, 641–644 :

> ". . . . essences unseen, celestial names,
> Enlightening spirits, and ministerial flames,
> Angels, dominions, potentates, and thrones,
> All that in each degree the name of creature owns :"

And Mrs. Browning, *A Drama of Exile*, Scene 2 :

> "The angelic hosts, the archangelic pomps,
> Thrones, dominations, princedoms, ..."

IV.

The closing scene of *Ivanhoe* seems to be taken from Shenstone's *Love and Honour*. That Scott was familiar with Shenstone's work seems sufficiently indicated by casual references like that in the last chapter of *Quentin Durward*, and more especially that in the prose introduction to *Rokeby*.

In Scott's story, Rebecca loves Ivanhoe, to whom she is, besides, deeply grateful for benefits received, but who loves Rowena, a maiden of his own nation. Rowena herself is a colorless figure, taking no active part in the story. Just after Rowena and Ivanhoe are married, Rebecca calls upon Rowena, and states that she is going with

her father to Grenada, where she will devote her life to the service of her people. It is hinted that she would enter a convent if her race possessed such an institution. She presents to Rowena a casket of costly jewels.

In Shenstone's poem, Elvira is an Iberian maiden, captured by the British, and

> "........ assign'd to Henry's care,
> Lord of her life, her fortune, and her fame."

Henry treats Elvira with the greatest kindness, makes her his friend and companion, and she loves him. When the time of her release comes, and she is about to go back to Spain, she tells Henry of her love, and asks his in return; but learns that his faith is plighted to Maria, an English maiden, who comes into the story only at this point and only by name. Elvira then gives Henry a casket of jewels for Maria, saying that, when she reaches Spain, she will enter

> "........ the sacred cells
> Of some lone cloister........'

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THREE NOTES TO A. DAUDET'S STORIES.

In *Les Vieux*, Daudet wrote: "J'avais déjà choisi mon *cagnard* entre deux roches..." It seems that "*cagnard*" must be labelled "colloquial" rather than "provincial." This appears from an entry by Sainéan in a recent article on the Romance derivatives of Latin canis[1]: "anc. fr. *cagnard*, *cagnart*, lieu abrité ou exposé au soleil (que les chiens recherchent dès qu'ils ressentent un changement de temps) où se retirent les gueux. Encore aujourd'hui le cagnard du Jardin des Tuileries, appelé aussi *la petite Provence*, est toujours rempli de gueux."

In *Les Vieux*, a child is reading from the life of St. Irenæus: "Alors saint Irénée s'écria: Je suis le froment du Seigneur; il faut que je sois moulu par la dent de ces animaux..." As I discovered from meeting the same quotation in J. Schlumberger's poignant study, *Le Mur de Verre* (Paris, 1904), Daudet must have confused St. Irenæus with St. Ignatius of Antioch, in whose well-known epistle to the Romans (iv, i and ii, ed. Lightfoot, ii, p. 648) occur the words: "Frumentum sum dei, et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi." Or did Daudet prefer *Irénée* to *Ignace* on the ground of euphony?

[1] *Mém. d. l. Soc. d. Linguistique de Paris*, xiv, p. 239.

In 1904, M. Hugues Le Roux asserted in public lectures in Chicago and elsewhere that he, and not Alphonse Daudet, was the real author of the story *La Belle-Nivernaise*. It will be remembered that this tale was originally published in English in the *Youth's Companion* (Boston) in 1885. Wishing if possible to control the statement of M. Le Roux, the undersigned, sometime in the summer of 1905, addressed a courteous letter to M. Léon A. Daudet, son and literary executor of A. Daudet, inquiring as to the truth of the matter. This letter has not been honored with a reply. The inference seems to be that, following the example of the illustrious Dumas, Alphonse Daudet in at least one case put out the work of his secretary as his own, for the editors of the *Youth's Companion* state that in the correspondence Daudet more than once referred to *La Belle-Nivernaise* as "ma nouvelle." It was long ago remarked that the choppy sentences and a certain looseness of language observed in the story are quite unlike Daudet's usual style. This fact lends additional support to the idea that the *La Belle-Nivernaise* was not written — though perhaps retouched—by the author of *Tartarin sur les Alpes*.

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RESIDUAL ENS.

The scholastic dignities of *ens* must always be respected. On all occasions this wordlet should be qualified by an adjective profoundly technical. Whether ever before it has been called *residual ens* does not matter; it is important only that the epithet be suggestive of philosophy and science.

Surely the meaning of *residual ens* has unfathomable depths, reaching into the last mysteries of the universe. Less appalling, but really more alarming, is its connotation in the realm of personal conduct. This is duly set forth by the Bishop of Dunkeld, with a negligible feature of ecclesiasticism :

> Quhen halie Kirk first flurist in ȝouthheid,
> Prelatis wer chosin of all perfectioun ;
> For *Conscience* than the brydill had to leid.
> . . . .
> And fra *Conscience* the *Con* they clip away,
> And maid of *Conscience Science* and na mair ;
> . . . .
> And fra *Sci* of *Science* wes adew,
> Than left thai nocht bot this ssillab *Ens*.
> Quhilk in our language signifies that schrew
> Riches and geir, that gart all grace go hens.
>
> Gavin Douglas, *Conscience* (Small, i, 121).

The Scottish editor-in-chief of the *Oxford Dictionary* will not undervalue this citation, which so notably antedates Sir Philip Sidney's "quiddity of *Ens*" (*An Apologie for Poetry*, ed. Schuckburgh, p. 42 f.). Dr. Fennell (*Stanford Dictionary*) had also not gone back beyond Sidney to give ear to the lamentation of the good Bishop.

James W. Bright.

MR. WILLIAM J. CRAIG (1843–1906).

American papers seem not to have noticed the death, on December 12th, 1906, of Mr. William J. Craig, known to many as the editor of the *Oxford Shakespeare*, and as editor-in-chief of the elaborate *Arden Shakespeare*, published in this country by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. Mr. Craig was born in 1843, in the North of Ireland, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he made the acquaintance of Professor William Graham, of Queen's College, Belfast, and of Professor Edward Dowden, who were perhaps his closest friends. After 1874, Mr. Craig lived for the most part in London, although he was for a time Professor of the English Language and Literature at University College, Aberystwith. His published work included the *Oxford Shakespeare*, already mentioned ; a particularly attractive little pocket edition of *Shakespeare*, in forty volumes, published by Methuen ; and the *King Lear* in the Arden edition. At the time of his death, he was working upon a *Coriolanus*, for the same series.

Mr. Craig's great work, however, was a colossal *Shakespearean Glossary*, to which he had given the most of his time for the last twelve years, and for which he had accumulated an immense mass of material. It is to be hoped that his collections may yet be made available to others ; but even if they are not published, they have not been without value, for there are few English scholars who have written in the past ten years about Shakespeare or his times, who have not recorded their indebtedness to Mr. Craig's great learning and generous help.

In addition to Professors Graham and Dowden, Mr. Craig numbered among his particular friends Mr. Sidney Lee, Mr. A. H. Bullen, Mr. Thomas Seccombe, Professor W. P. Ker, and Dr. John Rae. The few Americans who had the privilege of his acquaintance will testify to his kindliness and his unusual personal charm. As a friend wrote of him in the London *Times*, "He was that rare kind of skilled philologist with whom style, thought, and feeling were the only things that counted in literature. A veritable passion for tracing the meaning of words and for illustrating their usage never dimmed his critical perception. As a man Mr. Craig had a genius for friendship. An active sympathy with the aspirations and enthusiasms of youth kept him young at heart to the end. Never happier than when rendering service to others, he placed his stores of learning with self-denying liberality at the disposal of all others. Tolerant of others' foibles, he was when in good health the most buoyant and genial of companions. A keen sense of humour made him alive to the comical character of situations which his tendency to absent-mindedness and his singularly difficult handwriting occasionally provoked. His closest friends were men sharing his own tastes. But he was at home with everybody. The Savage Club had no more popular member. The soul of magnanimity and modesty himself, he only reprobated in others meanness or self-conceit."

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Die altenglischen Säugetiernamen. Zusammengestellt und erläutert von RICHARD JORDAN. (*Anglistische Forschungen* XII.) Heidelberg, 1903. Pp. xii + 212.

The appearance of Jordan's monograph on the Old English mammal-names calls to mind the fact that in recent years considerable attention has been paid to the vocabulary of the early Germanic languages. The first of the special treatises in this particular field was Hoops' *Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen,* Freiburg 1889; this was followed by Whitman's *The Birds of Old English Literature* (*Journal of Germanic Philology* 2. 194 ff., 1898); Palander's *Die althochdeutschen Tiernamen,* Darmstadt, 1899; and Björkman's *Die Pflanzennamen der althochdeutschen Glossen* (*Zs. f. deutsche Wortforschung* 2. 202 ff., 1902).[1]

Jordan acknowledges his chief indebtedness to the treatise of Palander. The work is based upon a fairly complete list of examples, chiefly of the author's own collecting, in which no attempt has been made to normalize the spelling or insert the proper marks of quantity. In the sections treating of grammar and etymology, however, the spelling is normalized, and the macron is used to mark length of vowel. In the citing of examples the author has rarely gone beyond the eleventh century, unless the form of a word of later date places it beyond question in the Old English period.

In the introduction a general view is taken of the whole field. An attempt is made to place together the names that are approximately of the same age and belong to the same speech-period. The chronological assignment of a name is at the best a difficult task; frequently it depends solely upon a questionable etymological relation. There is need, then, of extreme caution in the drawing of inferences, for the investigator is aware that many errors have originated in the omissions and deficiencies of tradition. Jordan is not one of those who always have a root at hand to cover every case; he is cautious and conservative and invariably prefers to state a negative conclusion rather than force an interpretation which the facts will not warrant. His chief conclusions may be summed up as follows:

The mammal-names form an important part of the vocabulary of early Indo-Germanic. Among them are the following names, the plurals of which signify domestic animals: *hund, eoh, cū, stēor, cealf, sugu, bucca, hæfer, hēcen, ēowu, weðer, oxa.* The remainder are the names of beasts of prey, *wulf, otor*; the names of the rodents, *mūs, befor*; and that of the stag, *eolh.*

To the list of words inherited from the Indo-Germanic belong those which are lacking in the Asiatic languages, but which, outside of the Germanic, appear in one or more European languages. Such are the early European *fola, fearh, lox, hearma, īl, heorot, eofor, hwæl, hara,* and the North European *wesend,* common only to Celtic, Germanic, and Baltic.

Then follow those names which are not present outside of the Germanic but are classed as Early Germanic because they are possessed in common by the Old Germanic dialects. In this group the names of wild animals predominate: *fox, bera, mearð, wesle, ācweorna, seolh, rā, ūr. Hors, hengest, swīn, gilte* signify domestic animals; *ticcen* may be placed here, and possibly *ræt.*

To the narrower province of West Germanic belong only the names of modern domestic animals: *ryðða, ram, hryðer, bar, scēp.* The OE. has only *bicce, ræcc, colt* in common with the Norse; only *fōr* in common with the Low German.

The special OE. names are not so numerous as the creations of the Old High German. This is due in part to the fact that the OHG. is more inclined to form new names by composition with appelatives, or with animal names already existing, than is the OE.

Among the borrowed words those derived from the Latin play the most important part. To the oldest class belong *esol, mūl, sēamere, elpend.* These borrowings came through trade; *elpend,* for example, presupposes traffic in ivory. Later in British-Christian times, when a knowledge of lion-names implied an acquaintance with Biblical and ecclesiastical literature, *lēo* was adopted. But

[1] Since this review was written three monographs have appeared:—*Die altenglischen namen der Insekten Spinnen- und Krustentiere,* von John van Zandt Cortelyou. Heidelberg, 1906.—*Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes,* von Richard Jordan. Heidelberg, 1906.—*The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names treated archæologically and etymologically,* by May Lansfield Keller. Heidelberg, 1906.

while *lēo* was thoroughly assimilated, names like *tiger* and *pandher* were only literary foreign words, and were never fully anglicized. *Camel* is met with only in late Northumbrian. In the tenth century, *ylp* was derived from *elpend*. In addition to the words borrowed from the Latin there may be cited that remarkable Germanic-Slavic camel-name which appears in OE. as *olfend*. It is related to the Greek ἔλεφας.

The British-Celtic words are *brocc* and *assa*. The latter form, which is met with commonly in Biblical literature, is doubtless to be traced back to the influence of Irish Christianity.

Our animal names were little influenced by the influx of the Old Norse, which made itself felt most strongly toward the end of the OE. period. Only two words rightly belong here—*hran*, and the composite *horshwæl*, names of two northern animals which Alfred came to know through his intercourse with the Norwegian Ohthere.

On phonetic grounds it can be assumed that the Old French *dain*, analogous to the Lat. *dāmus*, is the source of the OE. *dā*. The continental Germanic influence is so slight at this period that it hardly comes into consideration. Possibly the form *stānbucca* may be placed in connection with the OHG. *steinbock*. Finally, there should be mentioned as a translation of the Lat. *unicornis* the form *ānhyrne*. Corresponding to the poetical kenning is the circumlocution *nihtgenge* for *hyæna* in the glosses.

A trait common to the OE., and in general to the Old Germanic animal-names, is the regular way in which the female is distinguished from the male, the young from the mature.

Palander thus designates two important classes of sex-distinctions: 'In order to separate distinctly the female animal from the corresponding male, either the feminine designations are created out of separate roots or are built up by "*motion*" from the existing masculine forms and common nouns.' The first in general finds application only with domestic animals, among which the distinctions of sex are of the most practical significance to man. In OE., as a general thing, are found the same pairs as in OHG., in which feminine and masculine animal-names of different stems stand over against each other; examples are: *bicce—tifehund*, *myre—stēda*, *gat—hæfer*, etc. The single case in which this suppletive change is found among wild animals is that of *hind—heorot*. This change of stem seems to be based on the distinction between the horned male and the unhorned female.

The second method of forming the feminine animal-names is '*motion*,' which in OE. occurs in suffixal change as well as in composition. The suffixes which are here to be considered are *-ōn*, *-i̯ō*, *-i̯ōn*, *-ini̯ō*. Of these only the last, *-ini̯ō*, is productive in the OE. period. In Mod. E. the suffix *-ini̯ō* appears only in *vixen*, while the suffix *-in* is still productive in Mod. G.

Next to the suffixal change, composition plays the most important part, and in the course of speech-evolution ever gains in significance. Examples are: *ass-myre*, *cū-cealf*, *rāh-dēor*. On the same principle rest the Mod. E. *bitch-fox*, *dog-fox*, etc.

Corresponding to the usual method of prefixing masculine or feminine pronouns in Mod. E. is the reference in Ælfric's *Glossary* (*WW.* 320. 18, 19): ursus: *bera*, but ursa: *hēo*. Finally, there should be noted the rare case in which the difference in gender is expressed merely by the help of the article (cf. Greek ἡ ἵππος). This finds application with the borrowed word *lēo*. The method of designating the young is closely related to that used to distinguish the female; furthermore, only the different stems of the young of domestic animals are analogous; cf. the pairs *hwelp-hund*, *fola-hors*, etc.

In marked contrast to the OHG., the number of OE. diminutives formed by suffixes or composition is very small. With the suffix *-ina* are formed *swīn*, *ticcen*, *hǣcen*. The only diminutives formed by composition are *leon-hwelp* and *hind-cealf*.

The suppletive change of masculine and feminine animal-names shows the only certain disagreement of meaning between Indo-Germanic and Germanic. Sometimes a word which is known outside of Germanic as masculine appears in Germanic as feminine. For example: Lat. *hædus*, 'he-goat' = OE. *gāt*, 'she-goat.' It seems probable that when two or more stems for the designating of a domestic animal were existent, one was used to distinguish the female from the male, the young from the mature, the one name taking from the other a part of its range of meaning, Thus *lamb* signifies in Gothic the common 'sheep,' but in

West Germanic, in competition with *_skapa_, it is particularized into 'lamb.' On similar grounds might be explained the change of meaning from the OE. *hund*, 'dog,' to the Mod. E. 'hound,' 'sporting dog.' In ME. *dogge* occurs conjointly with *hund;* at that period a new differentiation enters, whereby *hund* loses its former meaning, and obtains the new sense of 'sporting dog,' while *dogge* (LOE. *dogga*) retains its general signification.

The problem of the original signification of animal-names presents far greater difficulties than the question of secondary changes of meaning; it resolves itself chiefly into a study of the root, and of the simple idea underlying it. In many cases the primitive sense can be inferred from the related speech-material. The safest interpretations are ordinarily based on external appearances. *Bera*, *befor* are designated 'the brown'; *hara*, 'the gray'; the quills give the name *īl* to the porcupine; and the otter is called *otor*, 'water-animal,' on account of its place of retreat. Abstract significations are *hors*, the 'swift;' *ram*, the 'strong.'

The main body of the monograph is devoted to the discussion of 115 classified mammal-names. These are divided into 10 orders as follows: Pitheci, Apes; Chiroptera, Bats; Carnivora, Beasts of prey; Pinnipedia, Fin-footed animals; Insectivora, Moles; Rodentia, Rodents; Procoscidae, Proboscidians; Perrissodactyla, Hoofed animals; Artiodactyla, Cloven-hoofed animals; Cetacea, Marine animals.

In his treatment of the individual animal-names the author first cites the various spellings of a word, then gives lists of examples, of compounds and derivatives, and finally discusses the meaning and etymology. Under derivatives are given not only the feminine nouns formed on the same stem, but adjectives and other parts of speech as well. Under the head of 'compounds' occur all names into which the word under discussion enters. One might question the wisdom of devoting space to such words as *hors-minte, hors-ðistel*, etc., which bear only a remote relation to the animal, and more properly belong to the province of plant-names. Compounds like *cræt-hors* and *rād-hors* are of course of a quite different category, and find here their natural place.

General names, such as *nȳten, dēor, feoh, orf*, etc., have not been considered. Of this group, *dēor* at least deserves to be included, because it sometimes possesses the individual sense of 'deer'; cf. Oros. 1. 1: *Ohthere hæfde ða he ðone cyninge sohte tamra deor unbebohtra syx hund. Ða deor hi hatað hranas.*

In the preface the author expresses the hope that he has not been too lavish in the citation of examples. Far from criticizing on that score, the student might wish that an attempt had been made to present a complete list. This feature would make the monograph more valuable as a work of reference. The examples are arranged according to cases after the manner of Grein's *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, and as far as examined are accurately recorded.

The present writer has had occasion recently to go over the same ground as that covered by Jordan's monograph, and has noted the following additional words which seem to deserve a place in the list of OE. mammal-names.

The abbreviations used in the references are those adopted by Bosworth-Toller.

I. *Hattefagol*, 'hedgehog.' *Ps. Spl. M.* 103. 19: herinaciis, *hattefagol.*

II. *Nicor*, m., 'hippopotamus.' It is true that ordinarily *nicor* is a general term for water-monster, but in the following references it is equivalent to the Lat. gloss 'hypopotamus.' *Nar.* 20. 29: *Him wæron ða breost gelice necres breostum:* hypopotami pectore. Nar. 11. 11: *Nicoras:* hypopotami.

III. *Mæstelberg*, m., 'fattened hog.' *Mt.* Skt. 7. 6, note: ante porcos, *before bergum; ðæt sindon ða mæstelbergas; ðæt aron ða gehadade menn, and ða gode menn, and ða wlonce menn for hogas Godes bebod und godspelles.*

IV. *Hȳroxa* m., 'hired ox.' *L. In.* (Th.) 61. 1, note: *hyroxan.*

V. *Gestēdhors*, n., 'stud-horse, stallion.' *Bd.* 2. 14; S. 517. 5: *He ðone cyng bæd ðæt he him wæpen sealde and gestedhors:* rogavit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarum.

VI. *Biren*, f., 'she-bear.' This is given as a hypothetical form by Jordan, who apparently overlooked the reference Ct., (OET.) 30, 12: *birenefeld.* It is recognized by both Sweet and Hall.

VII. *Hēadēor*, m., 'stag' or 'deer.' *Chr.* 1086; *Erl.* 222. 29; *Erl. & Pl.* 221. 10: *Hexam.*

9 ; *Norm.* 16. 3 : *Swa swiðe he lufode ða headeor swilce he wære heora fæder.*

VII. *Purlamb,* n., 'wether-lamb.' *Ex.* 12.5 : *Ðæt lamb sceal bion anwintre purlamb clæne and unwemme:* erit agnus absque mascula, masculus, anniculus.[1]

An excellent bibliography of OE. texts and auxiliary helps adds greatly to the value of the work. A German, and possibly a Latin, index would be helpful for reference.

The monograph is in no sense a popular work. The subject is treated chiefly from the philological standpoint, and consequently its strongest appeal is to the student of language. Yet incidentally it makes a few contributions to zoology, and throws side-lights on the life and customs of the OE. period.

Investigators who treat a subject thus exhaustively bring to light the errors of early lexicographers, help to free the language of its burden of spurious forms and meanings, and greatly lessen the labors of those who follow after. Jordan's monograph is in the main a careful and scholarly piece of work, and constitutes a real addition to our knowledge of the OE. vocabulary.

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MAX PLESSOW : Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay (1726). Nebst Neudruck von Bullokars "Fables of Æsop," 1585, "Booke at Large" 1580, "Bref Grammar for English" 1586, und "Pamphlet for Grammar" 1586. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1906. 8vo., clii and 392 pp. (*Palæstra:* Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie, LII.)

As the title implies, the present monograph is a study of fable literature in England from the earliest period to John Gay. The author, in making a list of fable collections prior to Gay, found that a certain collection of Æsop's fables, that of William Bullokar, could not be obtained on the Continent. A trip to England was the result, and the determination on the part of the author to give the world a new edition of this work.

The monograph, therefore, is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a study of fable literature in England down to John Gay. In the second part is the text of Bullokar's "Fables of Æsop," his "Booke at Large," his "Bref Grammar for English" and his "Pamphlet for Grammar."

In the first part the subject-matter is divided according to periods, the principal of which are : (1) Fable Literature of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons ; and (2) Latin Fable Literature in England during the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Several pages are devoted also to the fable literature of Scotland. By the word fable we are to understand exclusively animal tales with a moral application.

The remarkable growth and popularity of fable literature in England, especially in the Latin language, during the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century is emphasized by Dr. Plessow.

The fables of Marie de France and Odo of Cherington were especially well known, and must have been freely copied and imitated. Marie would naturally be very popular among her fellow-countrymen, and they were not few, in England. This seems also to have been true for the Anglo-Norman Nicole Bozon (c. 1300), who inserted fables in his sermons. Bozon was dependent for the greater part of his fables, not on Odo (as Dr. Plessow asserts), but on Marie, or at least, the Alfred-Marie tradition as opposed to the Romulus-Odo tradition.[1]

Attention is called to the fact that in Bozon's fables several English words and even whole sentences are employed. This leads to the mooted question of a lost English Romulus. Dr. Plessow, however, throws no new light upon this subject.

[1] The OE. form of the word 'hog' has only recently been discovered. Professor Skeat writes Dr. H. L. Hargrove in November, 1902 : 'The A. S. gen. plur. *hogga,* "of hoggs," occurs twice in a scrap picked out of an old binding only last week. It is perfectly genuine, and *before* 1066.'—Professor A. S. COOK.

[1] Cf. *A Comparative Study of the Æsopic Fable in Nicole Bozon* (Johns Hopkins Dissertation), Philip W. Harry, 1903. (*University Studies,* University of Cincinnati, Series II, Vol. I, No. 2, March–April, 1905.)

A short chapter is devoted to the Scottish fabulists, and a study of Henryson's fables convinces the author of the present work that Henryson's dependence on Lydgate (who it should be remembered principally follows Marie) appears to be greater than generally supposed. Caxton's influence upon Henryson is also to be noted.

Caxton's two books, *Reynard the Foxe* (1481) and *Fables of Æsop* (1484) show their imprint on later writers of every *genre.* Æsop was the popular author of the day : his fables were translated for the school-children ; they were made use of in political debates and quarrels ; they even invaded the stage. Dr. Plessow has pointed out the great popularity of the fable with all classes of writers during the times, especially, of Chaucer and Shakespeare. He has gone through an immense amount of material and collected the "stray" fables found interwoven with subjects of a different character.

Bullokar's "Æsop's Fables" appeared in 1585. They were translated by him from the Latin, but he tells us that he mislaid his Latin copy after he had finished his work and was consequently unable to say what edition he had used, though he thought as near as he could "ges of" that it was the edition of Thomas Marsh, London, 1580. By reason of some variations in Bullokar's translation, Dr. Plessow holds the opinion, however, that his original was rather the edition of Wynkyn de Worde (1535) and that the edition of Thomas Marsh is from the same source. Wynkyn de Worde's "Æsop" is in turn dependent on the Venice edition of 1534.

Bullokar has in his collection 131 "proper" fables of Æsop, 8 gathered out of divers authors, 95 from Abstemius, 33 from Valla, 99 from Rimicius, and 11 from Poggius. Bullokar's translation did not seem to enjoy any special popularity. His phonetic script (in which the fables were written) was doubtless a hinderance. The edition used by Dr. Plessow is in the British Museum, but there are also other editions of 1621 and 1647.

The fable in England, even more so than in France, frequently becomes satire, and generally political satire, rather than moral. The fables of Gay are of this kind. He attacks the ministers and parliament. The iufluence of La Fontaiue upon Gay is apparent despite his striving after originality. In true German fashion our author makes a careful study of Gay's style, composition, verse and rhyme.

Bullokar wrote his fables "in true ortography with grammar notes." He wished to show his countrymen how false their orthography was at that time and how they must write well. The fact that he selected fables speaks well for their popularity in all circles.

Bullokar was indeed a phonetist. He was convinced that twenty-four letters were not sufficient to picture "Inglish speech," which, according to him, needs forty letters. At that time, many of his countrymen thought, so he complained, that he wanted "to change English speech altogether."

Accompanying the fables are some "short sentences of the Wys Cato." also translated by Bullokar from the Latin. They are in verse and still in "tru ortography." His "Bref Grammar," which was an abstract of his "Grammar at larg," has the distinction of being perhaps the first English grammar ever written.

The chief interest to us to-day in these works of Bullokar (outside of his Fables) lies in the fact that they show that in the sixteenth century there were quarrels concerning the orthography of English speech, and that educators concerned themselves with providing some "remedie" as they are doing to-day. But, on the other hand, a close study of the phonetic script might reveal the fact that certain words at that period had a different pronunciation from what is generally suspected to-day.

Dr. Plessow has given us a careful outline of fable literature in England down to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. His work abounds in information and suggestion that could only be acquired by wide reading and studious effort. A plentiful supply of welcome information on fable literature in England, but more especially that of the later period, has been unearthed by him.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A Language of the Philippines.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—On January 26, 1907, Dr. Charles Wilhelm Seidenadel of Chicago presented to the Philological Society of the University of Chicago selected chapters of his manuscript *First Grammar of The Bontoc Igorot.* The author, who is a trained philologist and a thorough musician, associated last summer for several months with the members of a group of the Igorot tribe, about thirty in number, brought to Chicago at the close of the St. Louis Exposition and exhibited at River View Park. Continuous intercourse with these people, often lasting ten hours each day, enabled Mr. Seidenadel not only to understand their language, but also to converse with them freely in it upon a basis of mutual intelligibility. He was successful in transcribing between three and four thousand complete sentences, which he first repeatedly tested in actual use and then subjected to critical examination and classification for the purpose of the Grammar.

The linguistic and ethnological importance of a study like that here mentioned is clear in the light of our close national relations with the Philippine Islands and of the almost utter lack of trustworthy philological work in the languages of the archipelago. Mr. Seidenadel's remarkable initial success, his singular natural gift and special training for making accurate phonetic transcriptions of the spoken word, and his personal friendly relations with a considerable group of the natives prominent in the Igorot tribe, are, it seems to the members of the Philological Society, strong reasons for expecting from Mr. Seidenadel's further research in this direction results of very great importance for the linguistic and ethnological history of the Islands.

Mr. Seidenadel hopes to secure from some source the means needed for residence in the Philippines to complete his studies of the Bontoc Igorot and to extend his attention to other allied dialects.

Starr Willard Cutting,
Secretary of the Philological Society.

The University of Chicago.

The Etymology of *bore*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—The *Oxford Dictionary* rejects the usual explanation of the verb *bore*, 'to weary,' as a figurative use of *bore*, 'to pierce,' holding that the noun *bore* in the sense of 'the malady of ennui' (1766) is the source of the other senses, aud of the verb itself. An interesting passage from a letter of Lady Sarah Lennox, January 9, 1766 (*Life and Letters*, 1902, i, 179), is worth adding to the quotations given by Dr. Murray, and may perhaps be thought to supply evidence for the priority of the noun :

> "I have given you a pretty good boar upon dress . . . I told you the word 'boar' is a fashionable expression for tiresome people & conversations, & is a very good one & *very* useful, for one may tell anybody (Ld G. Cavendish for example), 'I am sure this will be a boar, so I must leave you, Ld George.' If it was not the fashion it would be very rude, but I own I encourage the fashion vastly, for it's delightful I think ; one need only name a pig or pork, & nobody dares take it ill but hold their tongues directly."

Yet after all it seems more probable that the current etymology is correct. The verb in the sense of 'to weary by tedious conversation' is quoted from 1768, and may well have been in use a few years earlier. *To bore one's ears* in the sense of 'to force one to listen' is duly registered by Dr. Murray, with three quotations, the latest from 1642, and he adds a cross-reference to the verb *bore* 'to weary.' The following additional quotations (especially the second) conduct one easily enough to the latter verb, for it is not difficult to pass from 'to bore a person's *ears* with offensive or tedious conversation' to the simpler 'to *bore* a person.' Such ellipses are common enough.

1665. *The English Rogue* (i, 242 of the reprint): "His prophane and irreligious discourse did so bore my glowing ears, that . . . I could not endure to bear him blaspheme."

1699. *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum*, p. 4 : "If you'll come here you must sometimes expect to be encountred with the Apes and Peacocks of the Town, those useless Creatures that we dignifie and distinguish by the modish Titles of *Fops* and *Beaux*, and what's worse, be compelled to suffer your Ears to be bor'd through and grated with an empty, tedious Din of their dull Impertinencies, or else the squeamish Cox[c]ombs look awry and scornfully upon you, and immediately repute you to be a *proud, ill-natur'd, unmannerly Country Fellow.*"

There is surely no difficulty in getting from the verb *bore* in the figurative sense of 'to weary' to the noun *bore* 'ennui.' As for the adjective *French* in *French bore* (1768),—which Dr. Murray says "naturally suggests that the word is of French origin" and which leads him to hazard the conjecture *bourre*, 'padding,' 'triviality,'—

there is surely no difficulty about it. Instead of indicating a French origin for the *word*, it doubtless indicates a French origin for the *state of mind*. Indeed Dr. Murray himself remarks that the "malady of ennui" was "supposed to be specially 'French.'"

G. L. Kittredge.

Harvard University.

Beowulf, 62.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Having been forced to protest against the charge of "questionable tactics" preferred against me in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxii, 96, I ask your indulgence for handing to you the following brief and final reply in this matter.

1. It is entirely unfair to say that I have "persisted in seeing things in the autotype that surely are not there." I never dreamed of claiming or insinuating that I could see a trace of a *þ* or *a* or *w* or *æ*. I am neither prepared to say what the erased letters were nor what they were not—excepting the *s* which I am quite willing to believe Professor Bryant has successfully rescued. If Professor Bryant has information about the other letters, it is to be regretted that he has not divulged it. I merely cited, by way of concrete illustration, what seems to me a possible case, stating at the same time distinctly that "the nature of the word or words erased as well as the reading of the scribe's original ms. is entirely a matter of speculation." If I am hopelessly unable to grasp Professor Bryant's position, he fails in no less degree to understand my point of view.

2. The reading "*hyrde ic* in *Fat. Ap.* 70," in my letter, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, 256[b], l. 1 f. is a regrettable, but not unnatural slip of the pen (possibly a typographical error), which is in a measure counterbalanced by the occurrence, in l. 10, of the correct form: "*hyrde we* 70." Professor Bryant does not mention the latter quotation, but makes much of the "misquotation." I had not noticed the slip until it was brought home to me in a manner not altogether pleasant. A hand-written duplicate (which I have saved) of the copy sent to the Editors shows the proper plural form *we*.

3. The charge that "the first time [I] referred to the passage [I] gave the wrong line-number" is an interesting puzzle to me. To the very best of my recollection, I never referred to the *Fat. Ap.* passage except in that much abused letter (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, 256[b]). The only explanation I can guess of this terrible charge is that Professor Bryant had in mind somebody else, namely Dr. Schücking, who, on p. 85 of his *Satzverknüpfung*, misprints: "*Hyrde we, þæt Jacob . . .* V. 20" (instead of 70). But I most certainly beg to be excused from acting the part of a scapegoat.

Fr. Klaeber.

Errata.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Permit me to say that in my article printed in last December's issue of this journal there are some errata which I wish to correct. They are as follows:

P. 236a, line 21. *yruþ* instead of *yrnþ*.
line 28. *winierdas* instead of *winierdes*.
P. 236b, line 26. *sapinus* instead of *supinus*.
P. 237a, line 33. *Ledern* instead of *Leder*.
line 37 and 44. *Kunne* instead of *kunne*.
line 48. *Not* instead of *Note*.
P. 237b, line 40. *HH* instead of *Hpt*.

I take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that in his *Contributions to Old English Lexicography*, London, 1906, pp. 6–7, Napier, at Prof. Toller's suggestion, prints as proof for *arsgang* (*latrina*) the same passages from the *Leechdoms* I had quoted to contradict him. He reinforces them by one from his forthcoming edition of *St. Chrodegang's Rule*, p. 113, where we read *þæt meox his argancges*. He now admits the word with the seemingly well-authenticated by-form *argang* as genuine. As to the latter, I beg to refer to my remarks in the forthcoming number of *Anglia*. Concerning *heorþa* (*nebris*) quoted by me, on page 237a, it should be noted that Sweet fails to record it, though Hall and B.-T. have it, as Napier *l. c.* p. 37 points out, quoting from *St. Chrodegang's Rule*, p. 74, *biccene* = *byccene heorðan* (*pelles buccinas* = *hircinas*). The word has been identified with OHG. *herdo* (*vellus*) by Zupitza, *Die Germ. Gutturale*, p. 111. With regard to *thuachl*, erroneously attributed to Epinal by Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*[3], § 222, note 4, observe that the error reappears in Bülbring's *Elementarbuch*, § 133, note and § 528, note 1. With regard to Sievers' statement in § 249, note 2, to the effect that an ancient dat. pl. of *smeoru* is recorded which lacks *-w*, *smerum*, I would ask: Is this not the *smerum* of Lr. 35 (*buccis*) which Sweet, *OET.* p. 529[a], erroneously connects with *smeoru*? Napier, note to *OEGl.* 1, 697, points out the mistake. Finally, I wish to draw attention to two or three words from the oldest Glossaries which, as far as I see, are recorded by neither Hall and Sweet nor Bosworth-Toller: (1) *āsēodan* (*expendere*); on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, ed. Hessels E 542 = Sweet Cp 815, from *Oros.* i, 10[13]; (2) *ǣmonnis* (*excidium*) *ibid.* E 526, absent from Sweet; (3) *bebītan* (*mordicus conrodere*); on record in *EfEf.* 1319 = Cp 616. The reference is to *Oros.* v, 12[2]. *Asēodan* is, of course, a derivative of *sēod* (*marsuppium*).

Otto B. Schlutter.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SCHILLERS EINFLUSS AUF HEBBEL.

Allen Freunden der deutschen Literatur in Amerika muss es zur Freude gereichen, dass das Jahr 1906 hierzulande zwei Arbeiten über Friedrich Hebbel gezeitigt hat. Miss Annina Periam hat als eine der "Columbia University Germanic Studies" eine ausführliche Untersuchung über Hebbels *Nibelungen* veröffentlicht, und Mr. Ernst O. Eckelmann eröffnete bald darauf die "Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs" der New York University mit einer Studie über *Schillers Einfluss auf die Jugenddramen Hebbels.* Von der ersten Arbeit hat der berufenste Kritiker, Prof. R. M. Werner, gesagt:[1] "man muss staunen, dass ein solches Buch in Amerika möglich war"; die zweite möchte ich nun in diesen Spalten einer kurzen Besprechung unterziehen. Sie besteht aus einer Einleitung und fünf Kapiteln mit den Überschriften: (1) *Historische Beziehungen,* (2) *Die Prinzipien der Philosophie,* (3) *Die Prinzipien der dramatischen Theorie,* (4) *Hebbels Kritik,* (5) *Die Jugenddramen Hebbels.* Dazu kommen als *Anhang* eine Reihe von Zitaten aus Hebbels Tagebüchern und Briefen, und die einschlägige *Bibliographie.*

Aus den Kapitelüberschriften ersieht man ohne Mühe was der Verfasser will, aber eben darin fällt auch schon eine gewisse Unbestimmtheit auf. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass nicht von den *Prinzipien der Philosophie* überhaupt die Rede ist; aber was ist unter *Hebbels Kritik* oder gar unter *Historischen Beziehungen* zu verstehen? Doch wohl Kritik der Dramen Schillers und Beziehungen zu Schiller? Im ersten Kapitel finden wir eine gedrängte Übersicht über Hebbels Entwicklungsgang, die zugleich chronologisch und entwicklungsgeschichtlich sein möchte und eigentlich so wenig das eine wie das andere ist; weil einmal die Daten und Epochen nicht deutlich hervortreten, und zweitens das Verhältnis zu Schiller mehr vorausgesetzt als erwiesen wird und als ein ziemlich konstantes erscheint, indem von allerlei anderen Verhältnissen und von allgemeineren ästhetischen Fragen gesprochen wird. Darunter finden sich mehrere gewagte Behauptungen, die doch gerade hier begründet werden müssten. So z. B. "Die Zeit der Jugendentfaltung . . . . ist besonders gekennzeichnet durch den Einfluss Schillers im Frühjahr 1837 in München" (S. 14); "Hebbels Auffassung des Charakters [der Jungfrau von Orleans] war das Ergebnis einer Vergleichung der dramatischen Gestalt Schillers mit der historischen Persönlichkeit" (S. 19); "er befasste sich vornehmlich mit der dramatischen Technik Schillers, wie man wohl annehmen darf" (S. 20); "der vergleichenden Untersuchung der dramatischen Gestalt Schillers und der historischen Persönlichkeit der Jungfrau müssen wir zum grossen Teil Hebbels tiefe Erfassung des Tragischen zuschreiben" (S. 21). Das alles bezweifle ich sehr, und ich glaube, eine einfache Beachtung der Chronologie von Hebbels Äusserungen über Schiller und die *Jungfrau* in München macht es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass zu Hebbels Auffassung des Charakters der Jungfrau von Orleans das Schillersche Stück so gut wie gar nichts beigetragen hat. Die "tiefe Erfassung des Tragischen" suchte Hebbel damals überall, nur nicht bei Schiller.

Die drei folgenden Kapitel sind kürzer, übersichtlicher, und haben nur in Bezug auf das Ganze Bedeutung. Der Kern der Sache steckt im fünften Kapitel. Hier versucht Dr. Eckelmann den Beweis zu erbringen, dass Hebbel bei der Komposition seiner *Judith* beinahe Schritt für Schritt und Hand in Hand mit Schiller gegangen sei, speziell, dass der Aufbau der *Jungfrau von Orleans* sich mit einigen Änderungen in Hebbels *Judith* wieder finde (S. 48). Zur Veranschaulichung dienen ein graphisches Schema und eine Tabelle mit Stoff und "stofflicher Vorlage" (S. 54 f.).

Nun ist zwar nicht zu verkennen, dass die beiden Stücke eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit miteinander haben. Es ist aber sehr die Frage, ob

[1] *DLZ*, 1906, Sp. 3061.

diese nicht mit der Sache selbst gegeben war und nicht im besten Falle rein äusserlich ist. Meinetwegen mag "Bertrams [richtig Bertrand, S. 61] Unglücksbotschaften" (S. 55) "Mirzas Bericht vom Wassermangel" entsprechen, auf jenen basiert ist dieser darum noch nicht; und solange nicht bis zur Evidenz dargetan ist, dass Hebbel jedesmal erst bei Schiller anfragt, wie dies und das zu machen sei, hat es keinen Sinn, "Johannas Unerschrockenheit" als "Vorlage" für "Judiths Schaudern" zu bezeichnen. Für Eckelmann ist es allerdings "Tatsache, dass Hebbels *Judith* gewissermassen eine Polemik gegen Schillers *Jungfrau von Orleans* bedeutet, insofern sie die psychologische Behandlung desselben historischen Charakters darstellt" (S. 60). Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Polemik sowenig Tatsache, als es wahr ist, dass Judith und Johanna ein und derselbe historische Charakter sind. Zugegeben aber, dass Hebbel gegen Schiller polemisiert, sind wir dann noch berechtigt, von "Einfluss" und "Vorlage" zu reden? Die Tabelle auf S. 55 enthält zwölf Hauptpunkte in der *Judith.* Bei vieren fehlt "die auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit Schiller" (S. 54); bei weiteren vier ist die Ähnlichkeit eine auf dem Kopf stehende, also "Polemik"; und es bleiben aus der *Jungfrau von Orleans* "Bertrands Unglücksbotschaften," "Hofszenen in Chinon," "Bestimmung der Johanna," "Johannas prophetische Vision" als etwaige "stoffliche Vorlage" zu "Mirzas Bericht vom Wassermangel," "Volksszenen in Bethulien," "Bestimmung der Judith," "Judiths Beobachtungsgabe"—also Nachahmung. Auch hiervon fällt jedoch "Johannas prophetische Vision" gleich weg, denn der Verfasser gewährt uns keinen Aufschluss darüber, in welchem Verhältnis diese zu "Judiths Beobachtungsgabe" stehen soll, und letztere besteht hauptsächlich darin, dass Judith den Holofernes auf den ersten Blick erkennt (S. 65). Kein Wunder! Und dass Schillers Jungfrau ebenfalls den Dauphin erkennt, will eben nicht viel sagen, denn dasselbe wird auch von der historischen Johanna berichtet. Auf die beiden Berichte, die Hof- resp. Volksszenen, und die "Bestimmungs"-Szenen einzugehen, lohnt sich nicht. Wem es Spass macht, sich zu erinnern, dass vor Holofernes schon Wallenstein ein "gebietendes Auge" besessen habe (S. 68), dem ist es zu gönnen; aber bei einer Liste von achtundzwanzig "parallelen Stellen" (S. 70), womit der Kompilator selbst nichts anzufangen weiss, wollen wir uns nicht aufhalten.

Ich halte Eckelmanns sorgfältige Arbeit zwar für verfehlt, möchte sie aber nicht als wertlos verwerfen. Es ist viel interessantes Material darin zusammengestellt, was zu denken gibt und zur Nachprüfung anregt. Zu bedauern ist es, dass er sein Problem nicht klarer erfasst, und seine Resultate nicht einheitlicher gruppiert hat. Vor allem wünschte ich eine Verständigung über die Bedeutung und Tragweite des Wortes *Einfluss.* Ist Einfluss da vorhanden, wo ein Dichter das verbessert, was sein Vorgänger nicht gut gemacht hat? Ist ein Vorgänger *eo ipso* Muster? Was ist bei zwei ähnlichen Werken das Entscheidende, die Übereinstimmung einzelner Faktoren oder die Verschiedenheit der Produkte als Ganzes? Wenn die Produkte als Ganzes verschieden sind, weshalb soll der Schöpfer des einen gerade in dem andern Motive und Gedanken aufgegriffen haben, die er ebenso gut hätte anderswo hernehmen können? Freilich, wer blindlings darauf ausgeht, "Einfluss" zu entdecken, der findet am Ende, wie Fries,[2] dass sogar Ausrufungszeichen dafür zeugen! Es ist zum Staunen, wie man das Wort immer wieder im Munde führt, ohne sich dabei etwas Rechtes zu denken. Oder hat folgender Satz Eckelmanns wirklich einen greifbaren Gehalt? "Am 10. März 1836 [lies 1838] sah Hebbel den Esslair als Wallenstein. Man kann den tiefen und nachwirkenden Einfluss, den diese Vorstellung in ihm hervorrief, aus den Kritiken in seinen Münchener Briefen etc. deutlich erkennen (S. 23 f.)." In einem "Ideendichter" soll das Spiel eines berühmten Histrionen in einem gleichzeitig als ideenlos erkannten Stücke einen *Einfluss hervorgerufen* haben! Nein, echter und rechter Einfluss ist nur da nachzuweisen, wo man ganz gewiss weiss, dass einem Dichter die "Vorlage" tatsächlich vorgelegen hat, oder aber wo man zwingende Gründe hat, anzunehmen, dass es von vorn herein wahrscheinlich ist, der betreffende Dichter würde die "Vorlage" benutzen, wenn sie zur Hand wäre.

[2] *Vergleichende Studien zu Hebbels Fragmenten*, Berl., 1903, S. 23.

Nicht jede Berührung bedeutet Einfluss, und ein *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* kann nirgends grösseres Unheil stiften, als gerade bei der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung. Von dem Wert der Quellenforschung als solcher sehe ich gänzlich ab ; wo es sich aber um Hebbel und Schiller handelt, da ist sie in der Tat sehr schlecht angebracht. Die weitere Begründung meiner Ansichten muss ich auf eine spätere Gelegenheit versparen. Wen es interessiert, zu erfahren, wie ich diese Dinge ansehe, den verweise ich auf die nächste Nummer der *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (Vol. XXII, pp. 309–344).

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THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT OF *HAMLET* IN THE EDITIONS OF ROWE, POPE, AND THEOBALD.

After the publication of the fourth folio in 1685, there seems still to have been a demand for the cheap separate copies of the plays. *Hamlet*, being one of the most popular, was issued at least twice between 1685 and 1709, at which time Rowe brought out his edition of Shakespeare's works, the first octavo edition. These two quartos, and two others, bearing the dates, 1676 and 1683, are known as the players' quartos of *Hamlet* and are without any considerable textual value.

There is no doubt that Rowe followed the fourth folio, but he did not follow it so closely as has been supposed. Many plays which before had no divisions, he divided into acts and scenes, while he further divided others which had very few. Even when the folios have divisions, he does not always follow these. For example, in the folios the first act of *Hamlet* is divided into three scenes ; Rowe has the same number, but his third scene does not begin at the same point as that of the folios. The second act in the folios is divided into two scenes, which divisions Rowe follows. The folios offer no further division, but Rowe, perhaps following a players' quarto, divides the play into the usual five acts, the last three of which he divides into scenes. Throughout the *Tragedies* Rowe has indicated the place of each of his scenes, but in the *Histories* and *Comedies* he has often neglected to do so, and Pope sometimes supplies these omissions. Although Rowe did his collating with great carelessness, for which he has been severely blamed, he made some happy emendations, and some judicious restorations from the older editions. Too sweeping charges have frequently been made by writers, among whom may be named the Cambridge editors, who say : "it is almost certain that he [Rowe] did not take the trouble to refer to, much less to collate, any of the previous Folios or Quartos. It seems, however, while the volume containing *Romeo and Juliet* was in the press he learned the existence of a Quarto edition, for he has printed the prologue given in the Quartos and omitted in the Folios, at the end of the play"[1] (vol. I, p. xxix). If the printing of the prologue to *Romeo and Juliet* is admitted as evidence that Rowe saw a quarto of that play, which I think it entirely fair to do, then the following selections will show that he must have seen some quarto of *Hamlet*, for he introduces into his text about a hundred and twenty readings from the quartos which are different from those of the folios, and at least nine[2] passages which are found only in the quartos. All the passages omitted in the folios and a large proportion of the readings which Rowe incorporated from the quartos are also in the players' quartos of 1676 and 1703. Many of them are first met with in those editions, as will appear from the following selections, which have led me to conclude that Rowe collated a players' quarto, apparently that of 1676, more thoroughly than any other quarto or folio, except, of course, the fourth folio. The quarto of 1703 is the most carelessly printed of the editions that I have seen.

Not having access to the fifth and sixth quartos, I have relied upon *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1892) for the readings from these two quartos. I have also followed that edition in the divisions into acts and scenes and in the numbering of the lines.

When no authority is given for the first reading, it is to be understood that it is derived from the

[1] Substantially the same statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Rowe, and also in *Shakespeariana*, 1885, vol. II, p. 66.

[2] Cf. pp. 167–8.

quartos and folios not mentioned, and that all editors previous to the one mentioned as authority for the alteration also agree with the first reading. When the quartos from the second to the sixth inclusive and the quartos of 1676 and 1703 have the same reading, the quartos of 1676 and 1703 are not mentioned.

I. I. 113 *palmy*] *flourishing* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
I. II. 37 *To business*] *Of Treaty* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
141 *might not beteeme* Qq. *might not beteene* Ff (*beteen* F 3, *between* F 4). *permitted not* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
I. IV. 5 *Indeed*; *I* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *Indeed I* Ff. *Indeed, I* Q6. *I* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
I. V. 20 *porpentine*] *Porcupine* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
33 *Lethe*] *Lethe's* Q1676 Rowe. *Letha's* Q1703.
170 *so mere* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *so ere* Ff Q6. *soe're* Q1676. *so e'er* Q1703 Rowe.
II. II. 396 *writ*] *wit* Q1676. *Wit* Q1703 Rowe.
414 *pious chanson*] Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *Pans Chanson* Ff (*Pons* F1). *pans chanson* Q6. *Rubrick* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
III. II. 150 *cart*] *Carr* Q1676. *Cart* Q1703. *Car* Rowe.
245 *better,*] *worse* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
III. III. 38 *can I not*] *I cannot* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
88 *hent*] *bent* F 4. *time* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
III. IV. 83 *mutine*] *mutiny* Q1676 Rowe.
IV. IV. 24 *Yes, it is*] *Yes it is* Q4. *Nay 'tis* Q6. *Nay, 'tis* Q1676 Rowe. *Nay it is* Q1703. Not in Ff[3].
30 *buy you* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *buy your* Q6. *b' w' ye* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
60 *imminent*] Q6 Q1676. *iminent* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *eminent* Q1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
IV. V. 102, 103 *The . . . shall be king*] *The . . . . to be king* Q6. *The . . . for our King* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe.
IV. VII. 70 *organ*] *Instrument* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe (*i-* Q1703). Not in Ff.
77 *riband*] Q4 Q5 Q6. *ribaud* Q2 Q3. *Feather* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
115 *weeke* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *wicke* Q6. *Wick* Q1676. *wick* Q1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
122 *spend thrifts sigh* Q2 Q3. *spend-thrifts sigh* Q4 Q5. *spend-thrift sigh* Q6. *spend-thrift-sigh* Q1676 Q1703 Rowe (*S-*). Not in Ff.
161 *stuck*] *tucke* Q6. *Tuck* Q1676 Rowe. *tuck* Q1703.
V. II. 22 *goblines* Q2 Q3. *Goblins* Q4 Q5 Q6 Ff Q1703 Rowe (*g-* Q4). *Goblings* Q1676 Rowe (ed. 2). Cf. pp. 167–8.

Pope's text is based on Rowe's, and in all probability on Rowe's second edition, for he generally has the punctuation of the second edition rather than that of the first; and he has readings in his foot-notes and in his text which occur first in Rowe's second edition (1714).[4] But he followed the first and second folios in excluding the seven plays which were published in the last two folios and in Rowe's editions. These plays are at the end of the volume in the copies of the fourth folio that I have seen, not at the beginning, as the Cambridge editors say (p. xxix). In forming his text Pope used other editions besides Rowe's. I have noted that in the single play of *Hamlet,* while incorporating the passages restored from the quartos by Rowe, he added four others from the same source; and that he further followed the quartos in omitting thirteen [5] passages which are in the folios and Rowe's editions. Only two of the passages which he omitted are noted at the foot of the page, though he says in his preface, "The various Readings are fairly put in the margin, so that every one may compare 'em; and those I have prefer'd into the Text are constantly *ex fide Codicum*, upon authority." He generally accepted

[3] Not in Ff means that more words than the word collated are omitted in Ff.

[4] I. V. 150 *so?*] Q6 Q1676 Q1703 Rowe. *so,* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *so.* Ff. *so*; Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
159 *this that*] *this which* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
II. I. 49 *doos . . . doos* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *does . . . does* Ff Q6 Q1676 Q1703. *do's . . . do's* Rowe. *does . . . do's* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
II. II. 1, 33, 34 *Rosencraus* Qq. *Rosincrance* F1. *Rosincros* F2. *Rosincross* F3 F4. *Roseneraus* Rowe. *Rosincrosse* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
379 *swadling* Qq. *swathing* Ff Rowe. *swathling* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
III. I. 2 *confusion*] *Confesion* Rowe (ed. 2). *confession* Pope's foot-note.
119 *I loved you not.*] *I did love you once.* Rowe (ed. 2) and Pope's foot-note. *I lov'd you not.* Pope.
III. II. 30 *nor the*] *or the* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
78 *his occulted*] *then his hidden* Q1676 Q1703. *his occult* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
271 *raz'd* Qq. *rac'd* Ff Rowe. *rack'd* Rowe (ed. 2). *rayed* Pope. *rack'd, rac'd* Pope's foot-note.
272 *sir.* F1 F2 F3. om. Qq. *Sir.* F4 Rowe. *Sir?* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
IV. IV. 22 *sold*] *so* Rowe (ed. 2) and Pope's foot-note. Not in Ff.
IV. V. 123 *thou art*] *art thou* F3 F4 Rowe. *are you* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
IV. VII. 99 *sight*] *fight* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
115 *wick*] Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. *weeke* Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5. *wicke* Q6. *Wick* Q1676. *wick* Q1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
V. II. 221 *punish'd*] *punished* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
257 Prepare to play. Ff Rowe (Play). om. Qq. Prepares to play. Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.

[5] Cf. pp. 167–8.

Rowe's changes, but drew upon the older editions for about three hundred readings differing from those in Rowe's text, and contributed a like number of readings of his own, adding and omitting arbitrarily. He believed that he could detect the interpolations, and ruthlessly struck out much that is undoubtedly Shakespeare's, while he too often forgot to note that he had made any change. In the play of *Hamlet* his notes of every sort are only about seventy, which certainly is far too few. Moreover, his notes are not always exact, cf. II. II. 414 *pious chanson*] Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Pans Chanson* Ff (*Pons* F 1). *pans chanson* Q 6. *It is* Pons chansons *in the first folio edition.* (Pope's foot-note). III. I. 118 *inoculate*] Rowe. *euocutat* Q 2 Q 3. *euacuat* Q 4. *euacuate* Q 5. *innocculate* F 1. *inocculate* F 2 F 3. *evacuate* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *inocualte* F 4. *innoculate* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. evacuate *in the first edition.* (Pope's foot-note.) And yet, notwithstanding the paucity and inferiority of his notes, Pope's is the first critical edition.

In his notes Pope has some readings from the quartos and first folio which do not appear in Rowe's editions; but the larger number of his notes I believe to be based on Rowe's text, notwithstanding the fact that many agree with the folios. In these notes Pope sometimes cites "the first edition" or "the old edition," by which he he does not mean the first quarto as we know it, but later quartos. I do not doubt that he saw a second or a third quarto, but, judging from the readings given below, I have concluded that he referred more frequently to still later quartos than to these.

I. I. 55 *on't*] *of it* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
I. II. 204 *distil'd*] Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *distil'd* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4. *bestil'd* F 1. *bestill'd* F 2. *be still'd* F 3 F 4. *be-still'd* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
I. III. 133 *moment*] Q 2 Q 3 Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *moments* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *moment's* Pope.
II. I. 4 *to make inquire*] Qq. *you make inquiry* Ff. *to make inquiry* Q 1676 Pope. *to-make enquiry* Q 1703. *make you Inquiry* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
II. II. 418 *valanct* Q 2 Q 3. *valanc'd* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *valiant* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
484 *Marses Armor* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Mars his Armours* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *Mars his Armour* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (*a*- Q 6 Pope).
III. I. 77 *grunt*] *groan* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
life,] *life?* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *Life,* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
118 *inoculate*] Rowe. *euocutat* Q 2 Q 3. *euacuat* Q 4. *euacuate* Q 5. *innocculate* F 1. *inocculate* F 2 F 3. *evacuate* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *inocualte* F 4. *innoculate* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. evacuate *in the first edition.* (Pope's foot-note).
III. II. 185 *fruit*] *fruits* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
271 *cry*] *city* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Pope (ed. 2). *City* Q 1676 Q 1703.
369, 370 *a weasel . . . a weasel*] *an Ouzle . . . an Ouzle* Pope. *An* Ouzle *or* Blackbird : *it has been printed by mistake a* Weesel, *which is not black.* (Pope's foot-note.)
370 *backt* Q 2 Q 3. *black* Q 4 Q 5 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *back'd* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *blacke* Q 6.
III. III. 6 *neer's* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *dangerous* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *neare us* Q 6. *near us* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
III. IV. 122 *an end*] Qq Ff Q 1703 Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope. *on end* Q 1676 Pope (ed. 2).
206 *enginer*] Qq. *Engineer* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (*e*-). Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
IV. VI. 22 *bore of the*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *bord of the* Qq. om. Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
27 *make*] Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. om. Q 2 Q 3. *giue* F 1. *give* F 2 F 3 F 4 Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
IV. VII. 62 *checking at*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *the King at* Q 2 Q 3. *liking not* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
140 *that*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). om. Q 2 Q 3. *the* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
V. I. 88 *fine*] *a fine* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (ed. 2).
174 *a* Qq Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *he* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
V. II. 264 *union*] Ff. *Vnice* Q 2. *Onixe* Q 3 Q 4. *Onix* Q 5. *Onyx* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *Union* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
269 *heaven to*] Q 2 Q 3 Ff. *heavens to* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 (*H*- Q 1676 Q 1703). *Heav'n to* Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *heav'ns to* Pope.
345 *o'er-crows*] *ore-growes* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6. *o'r-grows* Q 1676. *o'regrows* Q 1703. *o'er-grows* Pope.
357 *thinc eternal*] *thine infernall* Q 6. *thine infernal* Q 1676 Q 1703. *In another edition* infernal. (Pope's foot-note in ed. 2).
379 *noblest*] *Noblest* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *Nobless* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (ed. 2).
Cf. pp. 167–8.

Though Pope made some happy conjectures, no one can forget that he was more daring than any other editor in tampering with the text, and that too, when his preface proves him to have been thoroughly conversant with the duties of an editor. Indeed, he never scruples to alter a word, or omit or add one or more words for the sake of the scansion. For such liberties he has been severely censured. Malone, not without some reason, considered that the editor of the second folio, "whoever he was, and Mr. Pope were the two great corruptors of our poet's text."

Pope's second edition (1728) is based upon his first. He introduced some new readings into the

text, and added a few new foot-notes and, occasionally, a new idea to a former foot-note. He adopted some of the readings suggested by Theobald, in all, according to his own statement, "about twenty five Words." This number is not large enough. Of the readings given below he mentioned very few, though he professed to have "annexed a compleat List." [6] In none of his foot-notes to *Hamlet* does Theobald's name appear.[7]

Theobald's first edition was issued in 1733. He had the temerity to criticise not only Pope's translation of Homer, but also his edition of Shakespeare. For such offences Pope made him the hero of the *Dunciad* and this is the portrait by which Theobald was for a long time generally known. The friends of the two men took up the quarrel, and Theobald was handled most unjustly and severely. His assailants ridiculed his taste, charged him with ingratitude, and sneered at his poverty, his pedantry, and his painstaking. Whatever may be said of these charges, he made many emendations of Shakespeare's text that merely plodding mediocrity could not have produced; and by his painstaking he became the first great commentator of that author. Though he received scant honor at the hands of the critics, his edition became so popular that it was reissued many times.

Theobald used Pope's second edition [8] as a basis for his text, and unfortunately was too greatly influenced by it. He collated the old copies more carefully than had been done before, and restored passages omitted by Rowe and Pope, so that his was the most complete edition up to that time. He numbered each act, but not one scene, from the beginning to the end of the seven volumes, is numbered. He has many notes at the foot of the pages, but they are not always to be trusted; for example, *Hamlet*, II. I. 79, he says: "I have restor'd the Reading of the Elder Quarto's,—*his Stockings* loose.—" etc. But *loose* occurs first in Q 1676, all the preceding copies having *fouled* or *foul'd*. He cites readings from the quartos of 1605 and 1611 and from the first and second folios, and thus we know that he had access to these copies, which are also in his list of authors collated.

Throughout the play of *Hamlet* I have noticed no apostrophe denoting possession in the second, third or fourth quartos, or in the second folio. It is extremely rare in the first folio; but in the third and fourth folios and in the quarto of 1676 the growing use of this apostrophe is apparent, and in the quarto of 1703 it occurs still more frequently. Rowe, Pope, and Theobald were even more thorough, and thereafter there remained very little in this line to be done by editors.

The following table notes the passages which are wanting in either the quartos or the folios. It also shows the use which Rowe, Pope, and Theobald made of these passages in the preparation of their editions. In the notation here used Qq includes Q 1676 and Q 1703; Ff stands for the folios; + indicates *present*; — indicates *absent*. The indented lines are those which are omitted in the quartos; the others are omitted in the folios. In the following list I have used the first and second editions of Rowe, Pope, and Theobald.

[6] Cf. Pope (ed. 2), vol. 8.

[7] Cf. below, I. V., 32, 33, 54, etc. In these readings (Theobald) means that the reading was Theobald's conjecture.

[8] I. III. 130 *bawds*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *bonds* Qq Ff Q 1703 Pope. *Bonds* Q 1676 Rowe (ed. 1, 2).

I. IV. 17, 18 *revel east and west Makes*] Pointed as in Qq. *revel, east and west*; *Makes* Pope. *revel, east and west, Makes* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).

32 *star*] *starre* Qq. *scar* Pope, ed. 2 * (Theobald). Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).

33 *Their*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *His* Qq Pope. Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).

54 *we*] *us* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).

I. V. 178 *to note*] *denote* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).

II. II. 233 *her*] *in her* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.

347 *succession?*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *Succession.* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope (*s*-). Not in Qq.

* pp. 167–8.

349 [9] *them*] *them on* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). Not in Qq.

435 *were no sallets*] Qq. *was no sallets* Ff Rowe, ed. 1, 2 (*S*-). *was no salts* Pope. *was no salt* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.

584 *About my braines;* Q 2 Q 3. *About my braines,* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6. *About my Braine.* Ff (*brain.* F 3 F 4). *About my brains,* Q 1676 Q 1703. *About my Brain.* Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *about my brain-* Pope. *about my brain!-* Pope (ed. 2). *about, my brain!-* Theobald.

III. II. 238 *king*] *duke* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).

IV. V. 33 *Ophelia,-*] *Ophelia.* Qq Ff. *Ophelia-* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald. *Ophelia.-* Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope.

V. I. 67 *in him*] *to him* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.

V. II. 318 *thy union*] Ff. *the Onixe* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *the Onyx* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (*o*-). *thy Union* Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *the union* Pope's foot-note. *the Union* Theobald.

[9] 346 by mistake in *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1892).

	Qq.	Ff.	Rowe.	Pope.	Theobald.
I. I. 108–125 Ber. *I think . . . countrymen.*	+	—	+	+	+
I. II. 58–60 *wrung . . . consent.*	+	—	+	+	+
I. III. 18 *For he . . . birth :*	—	+	+	+	+
I. IV. 17–38 *This . . . scandal.*	+	—	—	—[10]	+
I. IV. 75–78 *The very . . . beneath.*	+	—	—	+	+
II. I. 52 *at friend . . . gentleman.*	—	+	+	—	—
II. I. 120 *Come.*	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 17 *Whether . . . thus,*	+	—	+	+	+
II. II. 210, 211 *and suddenly . . . him*	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 238–268 *Let me . . . attended.*	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 321, 322 *the clown . . . sere,*	—	+	+	—	—
II. II. 333–358 Ham. *How . . . load too.*	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 438, 439 *as wholesome . . . fine.*	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 459 *So, proceed you.*	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 498 *mobled . . . good.*	—	+	+	+	+
III. II. 110, 111 Ham. *I mean . . . lord.*	—	+	+	—	+
III. II. 162 *women . . . love, And*	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 166, 167 *Where love . . . there.*	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 213, 214 *To desperation . . . scope !*	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 260 Ham. *What, . . . fire !*	—	+	+	—	+
III. IV. 5 Ham. . . . . *mother !*	—	+	+	—	+
III. IV. 71–76 *Sense . . . difference.*	+	—	—	—	+
III. IV. 78–81 *Eyes . . . mope.*	+	—	—	—	+
III. IV. 161–165 *That . . . put on.*	+	—	+	+	+
III. IV. 167–170 *the next . . . potency.*	+	—	+	+	+
III. IV. 180 *One word . . . lady.*	+	—	—	—	—
III. IV. 202–210 Ham. *There's letters . . . meet.*	+	—	—	+	+
IV. I. 4 *Bestow . . . while.*	+	—	—	—	+
IV. I. 40–44 *Whose whisper . . . air.*	+	—	—	—	+
IV. II. 2 Ros. Guil. [Within] . . . *Hamlet !*	—	+	+	+	+
IV. II. 29, 30 *Hide fox . . . after.*	—	+	+	+	+
IV. III. 26–28 King. *Alas, . . . that worm.*	+	—	—	+	+
IV. IV. 9–66 Ham. *Good . . . worth !*	+	—	+	+	+
IV. V. 62 *He answers.*	+	—	—	—	—
IV. V. 93 Queen. *Alack, . . . this ?*	—	+	+	—	+
IV. V. 158–160 *Nature . . . loves.*	—	+	+	+	+
IV. V. 162 *Hey non . . . nonny ;*	—	+	+	—	—
IV. V. 196 *I pray God.*	—	+	+	—	—
IV. VII. 36 *How now ! . . . news ?*	—	+	+	—	+
IV. VII. 36 *Letters . . . Hamlet :*	—	+	+	—	+
IV. VII. 41 *Of him . . . them.*	+	—	—	—	—
IV. VII. 68–81 Laer. *My lord . . . graveness.*	+	—	+	+	+
IV. VII. 100–102 *the scrimers . . . opposed them.*	+	—	—	—	+
IV. VII. 114–123 *There lives . . . ulcer :*	+	—	+	+	+
IV. VII. 162 *But stay, . . . noise ?*	+	—	—	—	—
IV. VII. 163 *How . . . queen !*	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 34–37 Sec. Clo. *Why, he . . . arms ?*	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 102, 103 *is this . . . recoveries,*	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 117 *For such . . . meet.*	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 179 *Let me see.*	—	+	+	—	—
V. I. 269 *woo't fast ?*	+	—	—	+	+
V. II. 57 *Why . . . employment ;*	—	+	+	—	+
V. II. 68–80 *To quit . . . here ?*	—	+	+	+	+
V. II. 106–135 *here is newly . . . sir ?* Osr.	+	—	—	—	+
V. II. 137–141 Ham. *I dare . . . unfellowed.*	+	—	—	—	+

[10] Pope put lines 17–36 *This . . . . fault.* in the margin and omitted lines 37 and 38.

		Qq.	Ff.	Rowe.	Pope.	Theobald.
v. ii. 152, 153 Hor. *I knew . . . done.*		+	—	—	—	+
v. ii. 189–200 Enter . . . *instructs me.*		+	—	+	+	+
v. ii. 216 *Let be.*		+	—	—	—	—
v. ii. 232 *Sir, . . . audience,*		—	+	+	—	—
v. ii. 246 *Come on.*		—	+	+	—	—
v. ii. 278 Laer. *A touch, a touch,*		—	+	+	+	+
	Q 2 Q 3	Q 4 Q 5 Q 6, Q 1676, Q 1703				
i. i. 43 Ber. *Looks . . . Horatio.*	+	—	+	+	+	+
i. v. 117 Hor. *What . . . lord?*	+	—	+	+	+	+
ii. ii. 32 *To be commanded.*	+	—	+	+	—	—
ii. ii. 406–408 Pol. *If . . . follows not.*	+	—	+	+	+	+
iii. iv. 101 Queen. *No more!*	+	—	+	+	—[11]	+

ii. ii. 164 *And . . . thereon* omitted in Q 6; present in the other editions above mentioned.

[11] Pope (l. 102) omitted Ham. also.

Aura Miller.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

CHARMS FOR THIEVES.

B. M. ms. Arundel 36,674, fol. 89.

> Disparib^s^ meritis pendent tria corpora ramis
> Dismas & Gesmas medio divina potestas
> Alta petit Dismas,[1] infelix infima Gesmas
> Hæc versus di[s]cas ne furto ne tua perdas.

Jesus autem transiens p medium illorum ibat, irruat super eos formido & pauor in magnitudine, brachii tui, fiaut imobilæ quasi lapis, donec pertrauseat populus tuus quem possedisti + Christsu vincit + Christus regnat + Christus imperat + Christus hunc locum & famulum tuum ab omni malo protegat & defendat. Amen & dic Euangelistum S. Joannis et pater nosters 5. Aves 3. Creed.

B. M. ms. 2584, fol. 73b.

Pro larronibus & *in*imicis meis (on margin, in later hand *Contra* lat*r*ones).

> Disp*ar*ibus m*er*itis pende*n*t t*r*ia corp*or*a ramis[2]
> Dismas & Gesmas medio di*vi*na potestas
> Alta petit dismas, i*n*felix ad i*n*fima gesmas
> Nos & res n*ost*ras servet di*vi*na potestas.

Stande ȝe stille in þ^e^ name of þ^e^ t*r*inite & for þ^e^ passion of ihn crist & for his deþ & for his uparyse þ^t^ ȝe stille stonde til ich byde ȝou go. Tunc dicatur v pat*er* no*sters* & v Aves iii (+).

> God þ^t^ was y bore in bethleem[3]
> & baptized i*n* flum jordan
> þer inne was no þef
> but god him self þat was ful lef
> god & seint trinite saue alle þings þ^t^ is me lef
> wiþinne þis hous & w^t^oute
> & alle þe way aboute. I be teche god to day & to nyȝt & to seint feyþfolde þat he kepe vs & oure hom from alle maner of wyckede nemys be þe *grace* & by þe power of oure lady seynte marie.

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[1] For the history of the two thieves, Dismas and Gismas (or Gesmas) who were crucified, the one on the right, the other on the left of our Saviour, see the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, chap. 23; Cowper's *Apocryphal Gospels*, London, 1867, p. 190. Here the names are given as Titus and Dumachus. On their flight into Egypt, the Holy Family are beset by robbers in a lonely place in the desert. Titus, moved with compassion, wishes to let them pass in peace, offers Dumachus forty drachmas, and holds out his girdle as a pledge. The infant Christ then prophesies that after thirty years these two thieves shall be crucified with him, Titus at his right hand and Dumachus at his left, and that Titus shall go before him into paradise. In the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, i, chap. 10, the penitent thief is called Dysmas, the name of the other not being given. Later on in this same gospel, however, pt. ii, chap. 10, the names of both are given as Dysmas and Gistas. In the *Story of Joseph of Arimathea*, chap. 3, the names appear as Demas and Gestas. See further *La Legende Dorée* (Wyzewa), Paris, 1902, p. 198; and Longfellow's version of the incident in his *Golden Legend*. In Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1900, p. 198, St. Dismas is mentioned as the patron saint of thieves.

[2] In the ms. the whole is printed continuously as prose.

[3] This Jordan charm was originally used only for staunching blood, (Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen*, *Palæstra*, xxiv, 34), but was later extended to thieves, fire, snakes, and other such objects or elements whose course might be stopped by the virtue of the words.

ȝif any þeues hider take[4]
þ^{t} þei stande stille as any stake
as euer þer was any y bounde
& as euer was þe mulston. Ihn of nazaret kyng of jewys be w^{t} us now & euer. Amen.

Ms. Bibl. Bodl. Ashm. 1378, fol. 61–62, (beg. XVI cent.).

fol. 61 :

\+ As y^{u} lord dyddest stope & staye[5]
for thy chosen po^{e}pell the red sea,
\+ the ragyng see waves lacking ther course
tyll they had passed pharoos forse ;
and as at Josue his Invocation
y^{e} son abode over gabaon,
the mone abode & made hir staye
in aialon that valleye ;
& as thy sone Jesus did appease
the wynd & see & made them sease,
when his disciples w^{t} fearefull spryte
from his shape ded hym excyte ;
So lorde of hosts staye eche one
of those that seake my confusyon ;
make them stonde
as styll as stone,
w^{t} owt corporall moving,
Vntyll my stretched
arme shall make
a syne to them
ther way to take
As moses stretched
the Red sea moved
to show his course
as be hoved
As thou lord arte
the king of blesse
lord messyas
grante me this
then saye
Dismas et gismas medioque devina potestas
Summa petit dismas
Infelix ad Infima
Gismas
nos et res nostras
Salvet devina
potestas.
finis

fol. 62 (also fol. 77, margin).

Dismas et gismas medioque[6]
devina potestas
Summa petit dismas
Infelix ad Infima Gismas
nos et res nostras
Salvet divina potestas. finis.

B. M. MS. Addit. 36,674, fol. 89, XVII cent. This charme shall be said at night or against night about ye place or feild or about beasts without feild, & whosoever cometh in, he goeth not out for certaine.

On 3 crosses of a tree[7]
3 dead bodyes did hang,
2 were theeves, ye 3d was Christus,
on whom our beleife is ;
Dismas & Gesmas
Christus amidst them was ;
Dismas to heauen went,
Gesmas to heauen [hell] was sent.
Christ y^{t} died on y^{t} roode,
for Maries loue that by him stood,
& through the vertue of his blood,
Jesus save vs & our good,
within & without,
& all this place about,
& through the vertue of his might,
lett no theefe enter in this night,
nor foote further fro
this place that I upon goe,
but at my bidding there be bound to do
all things that I bid them do,
starke be their sinewes therewith,
& their lims mightless,
& their eyes sightless,
dread & doubt
en[v]elope about ;
as a wall wrought of stone,
so be the cra*m*pe in the tone,
crampe & crookeing
& fault in their footing,
the might of the Trinity,
haue those goods & me,
In ye name of Jesus, holy benedicite
all about our goods bee,
within & without,
& all place about,
then say 5 pater nosters 5 aves, & 1 creed in honore*m* 5 plagar*um* Christi & 12 Apostolor*um*.

Bibl. Bodl. Ashm. MS. 1447, fol. 34b (XV cent.).

A carme for þ^{e}v^{e}ys[8]

[4] On margin in later hand is written *þe wey*, showing ignorance of the meaning of the word *take*, "betake themselves."

[5] A mutilated copy of this charm appears in Bibl. Bodl. Douce MS. 116, fol. 1.

[6] See also Bibl. Bodl. Rawlinson MS. C. 814, fol. 3.

[7] In the MS. there is no division into lines, but all is written as prose.

[8] This charm appears also in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Dd. VI 29, fol. 78b. See note 3, above.

Y^{u} bedlyeme God was borne bytweene to bests he was layd yn that place wasse never þeffe no man but the holy gost [9] trenytte þ^{t} ylke selve god þ^{t} ther was borne defend your hodye & housse & dwell [9] fro thevys and al maner myschevys & harmys wher so ever we wyend be land or by wat^{r} by night or by day by tyde or by tyme. Amen purchryte.

Bibl. Bodl. e Mus. 243, fol. 34.

Theeves to wthstande.

In Bethlehem god was borne, between 2 beastes to rest he was layd in y^{t} sted ther was no man but y^{e} holy trinite, the same god y^{t} ther was borne defende our bodies & our cattell from theves & all maner of mischeeves & harmes whersoever we wend ether by water or by land by night or by day.

Amen/

God was iborn in bedlem
Iborin he was to ierusalem
Ifolewid (=ifulwed) *in* þe flum iordan
þer nes inemned ne wulf ne þef.

Ashburnham ms. of 12th cent.

See R. Priebsch, *Academy*, May 23, 1896, 428.

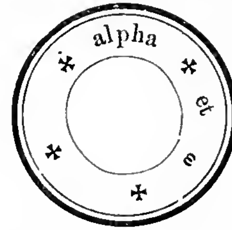
Bibl. Bodl. ms. e Mus. 243 fol. 36 (xvii cent.)

Another night spell [red ink].

In no*mine* patris et filii et sp*irit*us sa*n*cti. Amen.

I beseeche y^{e} holy ghost this place y^{t} heare is sett,[10]
wth ye father & ye sonne theeues for to lett,
yf there come any theeves any of thes goods away to fett,
ye trinite be the^{r} before & doe them lett,
& make them heare to abyde till I agayne come,
through the vertue of ye holy ghost, ye father & ye sonne
Now betyde what will hetyde
through the vertue of all ye saints heare you shall abyde,
& by ye vertue of mathewe mark luke & John,
ye 4 Evangelists accordinge all in one,
y^{t} you theeves be bounde all so sore
as St. Bartholomewe bounde the devell wth ye heare of his heade so hore
Theeves, theeves, theeves, stande you still & here remain
till to morowe y^{t} I come agayne
& bid you be gone in god or the devels name,
& come no more here for doubt or for further blame/
then say In principio erat verbu*m*, etc.

Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 60.



Here I ame and fourthe I moste
& in Ihus Criste is all my trust
no wicked thing do me no dare
nother here nor elles whare
the father w^{t} me the sonne w^{t} the
the holly goste & the trinite
be bytwyxte my gostlely enemies & me
In the name of the father & the sonne
And the holly goste. Amen
Amen

Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 73.

To binde a house
a gaynste theffes

Sainte wynwall and sainte braston and sainte tobas [11]
and sonne that shineth so bright
in heuen [s]on highe
he fetched his light
in the daye and nyght
to dystroy all poyson w^{t} his beames so bright.

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THE USE OF CONTRASTS IN SUDERMANN'S PLAYS.

Allusions made by Bulthaupt, Friedmann, Kawerau, Landsberg, Heilborn,[1] and others, to contrasts in Sudermann's plays attracted my attention to this subject, and I venture to present here a part of the results of a renewed survey of the field made with the intention of closely observ-

[9] Erased in ms.

[10] In the ms. there is no division into lines, but all is written as prose. A fragment of this same charm appears in Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 77; see also Bibl. Bodl. Douce ms. 116, 103.

[11] In the ms. written as prose.

[1] H. Bulthaupt, *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels.* Band iv, Oldenburg, 1901. S. Friedmann, *Das deutsche Drama des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1904, Band ii. W. Kawerau, *H. Sudermann*, 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1899. H. Landsberg, *Moderne Essays zur Kunst u. Lit. Sudermann*, Berlin, 1901. E. Heilborn, Reviews of Sudermann's plays in *Die Nation*, Berlin.

ing this detail of Sudermann's workmanship. I entertain the hope that a record of my study may aid those who are seeking signs of increase or decline in the artificiality of Sudermann's work, and that it may prove interesting to those who are watching the development of his dramaturgic art.

To some it might seem that such a task were one of supererogation, for, from the time of Sophocles down to the present day, dramatists have consciously or unconsciously followed the dictates of their artistic sense and have sought to increase the effectiveness of their productions by presenting variety in the personalities that move before us, and by appealing to the varied emotions that stir the human heart. "Diversity in unity" was long ago regarded as one of the essentials of beauty; and "it is a secret law of all artistic creation that the subject invented calls for its contrast, the chief character, for an opposing player, one scenic effect, for another quite different. The Germanic races, in particular, feel the need of carefully infusing into all their creations a certain totality of feeling." [2]

Every reader will judge for himself and will draw the lines to suit his taste in marking off the boundaries of what is natural and what is affected; but I do not seriously doubt that after reading again some of Sudermann's plays, it will be felt that the author's eyes were always searching for antitheses, perhaps I ought to say for contrasts, and that now and then his method is decidedly too plain, that, in some instances, the charge of artificiality so frequently brought against him is somewhat justifiable.

In his first play, *Die Ehre* (1889), that brought Sudermann immediate and unquestioned renown as a playwright, antithesis is abundant. In fact, it has been said that the play probably owed its decisive success to the force and sharpness with which social contrasts were presented.[3]

The rich, and, in their own estimation, for the most part, righteous family of Mühlingks in the manor house (*Vorderhaus*), the poor, depraved and vulgar family in the tenement (*Hinterhaus*), furnish at once two scenes of action and two sets of characters as different as possible. They are brought before us with the precision of alternation: first act, *Hinterhaus*; second act, *Vorderhaus*; third act, *Hinterhaus*; fourth act, *Vorderhaus*. In the *Vorderhaus* there are husband and wife, son and daughter; in the *Hinterhaus* there is practically the same thing. On both sides the husband and wife are about on a plane of morality; one child is good, the other is bad; in the *Vorderhaus* the daughter is good, the son is bad; in the *Hinterhaus* the son is good, the daughter is bad.

Graf Trast, a rich aristocrat returns after years of absence to find himself wholly out of touch and sympathy with the ideas of honor among his own class of people; Robert Heinecke, the plebeian, returns to find himself after years of absence wholly at variance with the notions of decency such as his family entertain. Indeed, when one stops to think, one has before one what *looks* like contrasts carefully calculated and balanced.

Much might be said in detail as to the contrasts presented by *Vorderhaus* and *Hinterhaus* regarding manners, morality, and ideas of what constitutes honorable behavior, as to the contrasting personalities of Alma Heinecke and Lenore Mühlingk, of Robert Heinecke and Curt Mühlingk, as to Lenore, the counter of her family, the Mühlingks; as to Robert and his own family, the Heineckes; but it is all quite evident, and I shall dwell no longer on this play. Most of these particulars have been spoken of incidentally by Hanstein, Landsberg, Friedmann and others. As might naturally be expected in the incipient stages of dramatic activity, indications of artificiality are somewhat plainer, the marks of crafty workmanship are not sufficiently concealed, and when the light of criticism is turned on, the conscious effort to set polarities before us, is noticeable. This is intentional, of course, in the matter of social distinctions and as to what constitutes ideals of honor in different spheres of life; but it is perhaps not intended to be so conspicuous in other component parts of the play.

"*Sodoms Ende* (1891), bears the same relation," says Landsberg (p. 50), "to *Die Ehre* as a painting in which the colors pass imperceptibly into one another bears to a harsh engraving which has been made with the special intent of emphasizing contrasts." On closer investigation, the

[2] Gustav Freytag, *Technik des Dramas*. 7. Auflage, Leipzig, 1894, p. 72.

[3] Friedmann, II, 333.

contrasts presented in *Sodoms Ende* come out almost as clearly as in *Die Ehre*, and I do not think that Landsberg goes quite far enough in his comparison. *Sodoms Ende* is replete with contrasts, though they may be less noticeably juxtaposed than in *Die Ehre*, and the shading a trifle less abrupt. Instead of pitting against each other two different castes in society, such as *Vorderhaus* and *Hinterhaus* in *Die Ehre*, we are now confronted with two utterly distinct and antagonistic phases of a single caste, that of the upper middle class. The first act introduces the smart, witty circle of shallow, immoral social butterflies that swarm in the pestilential atmosphere of the luxurious residence owned by Adah Barczinowsky, who is a sort of spiritualized Messalina, the adulteress immediately responsible for the utter decay of Willy Janikow's genius and morality. Here we face a shocking set that puts a premium on mock witticism and contempt for all that is accounted pure and good. But what a different spectacle confronts us in the second act when the lifting of the curtain reveals the plain surroundings of the humble abode of Janikow's parents, who have previously suffered financial shipwreck and are now eking out a scant existence, sacrificing self and all but honor in order that their talented but "invertebrate" son may meet his social obligations. The pitiful and unselfish mother, who, in addition to all her drudgery, keeps a pension and gives private lessons, the somewhat blunted old father who gets up at four o'clock on cold winter mornings to attend to his duties as an overseer, Willy Janikow's faithful friend, Kramer, who has squandered his little means on Willy and now shares with him the paltry pittance secured by tutoring, and Klärchen, the intended bride of Kramer, whose only thought is of others,—thus the picture of a world of immorality, of wealth, of cynicism, of wit, of selfishness is shut out from our vision and in its stead comes one of love, of duty, of devotion, of self-sacrifice. This scene is continued through the third act, but, in the fourth, we are brought back again to the surroundings of the first act. A brilliant ball is going on to heighten the effect. No greater difference could well be devised. The curtain sinks at the close of the third act on a darkened and deserted stage. Willy Janikow, in a state of half intoxication and nervous derangement, has just sneaked into Klärchen's bed-chamber, and while he is enacting a brutal crime at the silent hour of late night, the almost inaudible tones of Kramer's voice are heard repeating the lines of a speech he is laboriously learning to deliver the next evening, proclaiming in exalted praise Willy Janikow's greatness and genius. The sublimity of Kramer's devotion on the one hand, and the beastly, unspeakable ingratitude of Willy Janikow on the other, stir us profoundly by their tragic contrast in the awe-inspiring stillness and darkness of the night; and when the curtain rises on the next scene of capricious and lavish elegance in Adah Barczinowsky's salon while, through the half-opened portières at the rear we catch glimpses of the flitting feet of brilliant dancers in a blaze of light, keeping step to joyous strains of music intermingled with merry peals of laughter, it is undeniable that colors as distinct and different as possible have been juxtaposed in this appalling picture.

There are three prominent personages in Adah's world,—herself, her ward and niece, Kitty, whom she will marry to Willy Janikow in order to keep him in her net, and Dr. Weisse, the *raisonneur*. These three are genuine contrasts to three others that we find at Janikow's, Mrs. Janikow, Klärchen and Riemann. Willy Janikow stands alone in that he is the embodiment of characteristics the opposites of which are found in his two friends, Riemann and Kramer. He is such a contemptible weakling that to call him the hero of the play might be misleading. This spoiled and degenerate son, who squanders the hard-earned money of his impoverished parents and of his self-sacrificing friend, Kramer, rewards the latter by seducing his (Kramer's) fiancée, his own foster-sister, defenceless Klärchen. He is so basely ungrateful, so lascivious and so remorseless, so unmindful of duty and morality, that one's heart sickens with disgust at him. His lack of purpose and energy contrasts most sharply with the indefatigable probity of his artist friend, Riemann, and his immeasurable selfishness, with the supreme self-effacement of Kramer. Thus all the prominent characters are provided with the contrasting background that Sudermann feels they need.

The social contrasts of *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*

bear a certain resemblance and yet are quite different. In the former, the rich young son, after years of absence spent in luxury and refinement during which he has become a polished man of the world, returns to a family that is and has been sunk too deep in corruption and coarseness ever to be elevated therefrom and he must finally repudiate them with a sense of intense relief. In *Heimat* (1891) it is the daughter who after years of adventure has become a great prima donna and comes back to find herself utterly beyond accord with the strict and straight-laced ideas of morality and propriety entertained by her father and his friends. Her flight would have been just as inevitable, too, had not a stroke of apoplexy removed the inexorable old man just soon enough to prevent a tragedy or her departure.

"Two worlds are again contrasted,—the conservatism of old times, and the fermentation of the new, the conventions of provincial morality and the looseness of the metropolis, the traditional spirit of caste in a pious military circle and the impetuous desire for freedom and life in an artistic personality." (Landsberg, p. 51.) The conflict is very severe; the "altruistic morality of old time family life defends itself with the savage fierceness of a lawful owner vindicating his rights."

Magda, who when a young girl of seventeen years, was driven from home and finally disowned by her father because of her refusal to marry young Pastor Heffterdingk, has fought desperately and gained for herself a splendid position of renown and independence in the great world of art outside: "das Leben im grossen Stil, Betätigung aller Kräfte, Auskosten aller Schuld, was In-die-Höhe-kommen und Geniessen heisst." She has obeyed none but herself and has developed her personality to the utmost. She is a representative of individualism, of the right to live for one's self: "Ich bin ich und durch mich selbst geworden was ich bin." But her aged father, Colonel Schwartze a. D. represents the strict old moral code, "die gute, alte, sozusagen familienhafte Gesittung." His house and family are absolutely governed by his inexorable will that is always determined by strict observance of duty as he sees it. He is proud of his soldierly sternness, and believes that his old regiment still trembles when it thinks of him. He has become, as he imagines, a dauntless defender of altruism.

Pastor Heffterdingk is the possessor of a noble and lofty soul, and to him alone is due the little sweetness and charm infused into the gloom that has settled about old Colonel Schwartze. He teaches self-sacrifice, obedience to authority, love; and his example is a justification of the Christian principles he imparts. His evangelic simplicity and his deep insight into the workings of the human heart form a fitting relief for Magda's inconsiderate frankness and candor, for her individualism and love of liberty. These two figures in opposing worlds of ideals have been likened to "Christ and Nietzsche's Antichrist."[4] As a contrast, too, to the fierce, domineering self-assertive figure of Magda, the sweet, submissive, self-effacing sister, Maria, fills in the circle of those who by their diametric difference furnish all the shades needful in the picture to set off the brilliance of Magda, the wayward artist. For purposes of illustration, passages might be quoted from scenes in which Magda is opposed to her father and the ladies of the committee on the one hand, and on the other, where she meets her former lover, Pastor Heffterdingk. Contrasts in personality and ideals could not be more emphatically marked and they pervade the play from its beginning to its end.

The three one-act plays entitled *Morituri*, of the year 1897, are more conspicuous for contrasts when compared with one another. They represent the conduct of those who are doomed to die but under circumstances totally dissimilar, and in utterly different spheres of life.

Teja is a historical personage of the sixth century, he is in the midst of historical setting, his death is to result from circumstances that reflect nothing but honor on him, he will die a soldier's death, since his little band of Goths is hopelessly encompassed by the Romans and Byzantines. Fritzchen, on the other hand, is modern to the last degree, and he dies a disgraceful death, the result of extraordinary folly. He is a man who faces an end that is in his opinion the only escape from intolerable shame. In *Teja* almost the whole of a historical race perishes, in *Fritzchen* only one

[4] See Friedmann, pp. 344–349.

man, the victim of sin, but not a hero. The mockery and play of *Das Ewig-Männliche* furnishes an enlivening contrast to the two painful tragedies that precede it, a sort of satyr-play as of old, and, as has been said, somewhat like the clown of the Shakespearean plays, to relieve the strain put upon the nerves by relentless tragedy.

In the last scenes of *Teja* we behold the grim, relentless warrior, whose hands have been stained with the blood of cruel discipline, into whose life no gleam of sunshine has ever come before, romping gleefully with his bonny bride on the very brink of destruction.

In regard to *Fritzchen,* Friedmann (p. 360) remarks that instead of the heroic and antique style in *Teja* we now have the modern and naturalistic, instead of the force and strength of old, the lamentable weakness of modern times and the mendacity of our morals. Besides this, there is the contrast between the perfect outward politeness and the inner brutality of military circles, between the external polish of the nobleman and the ravenous beast within his heart ever ready to pounce upon its victim. Of course these remarks are true only in a limited sense. Perhaps it may be pardonable to give a few lines of the closing scene wherein Fritzchen bids farewell forever to his delicate mother. Jauntily waving adieu from the terrace in the background, he cries with counterfeit gaiety: "*Wiedersehn, wiedersehn,*" and goes straightway to his disgraceful doom. As the curtain sinks upon the harrowing close, his mother, with a happy smile upon her face, gazes out into the distance and relates a vision of the preceding night: She says, "Heavens, the boy! How handsome he looks, so brown and healthy. You see, he looked just so last night. No, there can be no deception in it. But I *told* you how the Emperor brought him into the midst of all the generals! And the Emperor said . . ." The curtain falls, and we are left with the pathetic contrast in the mother's happy illusion and the pitiless end awaiting the boy.

The collection known as *Morituri* may not contain the best exemplifications of antitheses in Sudermann's work, but because of the very high rank taken by *Teja* and *Fritzchen,* I have thought it best to say something about them in my paper.

Johannis (1898) is a play of marked contrasts. Its tragedy and its action are based on the antithesis of the teaching of Jesus and that of John. John, the preacher of penitence and severity, of uncompromising punishment to be inflicted on the sinner, is confounded, disarmed and delivered to his enemies in consequence of impotence resulting from the effect of the message of love from Jesus: "Love your enemies," etc., just as he is about to lead his disciples in stoning Herod and his adulterous wife to death. John is the embodiment of austerity and solemnity, whereas Herod is the one around whom skepticism has made a void in which resounds the hollow laugh of witticism. Self-indulgence is the only law by which he is governed. Vitellius, the Roman commisssoner at Herod's court, is a fitting complement in the contrast. Sensual and self-indulgent too, he is a glutton of renown, a Roman swelled to the point of bursting with the contemptuous pride of his race. Vitellius and Herod taken together make a background against which the Forerunner of Jesus stands out most prominently. And what could illumine more glaringly the marmorean purity of the Forerunner's character than the corruption in Herod's court? Adulterous Herodias and Herod, proud and gluttonous Vitellius, beautiful and lascivious Salome are dressed in all the colors of sin, whereas John is clothed in the spotlessness of stern austerity. Fair and false Salome has her counterpart too, in the gentle, pure, unselfish Miriam whose life goes out in humble sacrifice for love of John and his exalted teaching. Salome is, moreover, in possession of a personality in itself a contrast,—beautiful, joyous, fascinating, poetical, she is false as she is fair, as venomous as she is beautiful, as sensuous as she is gay, as shameless as she is captivating. Now what could be more apparently incongruous than that so young and romantic a maiden who sings of the rose of Sharon and of the lily of the valley should offer illicit love to savage and repellant John? Act 4, scene 6, Salome says: "I have made thank offerings as she did of whom the song tells, and I have performed secret vows. Then I went out into the twilight to seek thy countenance and the flash of thine eye. Come, let us enjoy love until the morning. And my companions shall watch upon the threshold and greet the early morning with their harps." John: "Truly thou art mighty . . . for thou art sin."

Salome: "Sweet as sin am I." John: "Go!" Salome: "Dost thou drive me away?" (She rushes through the gate.)

Of the setting of the various acts it may be noticed that the *Vorspiel* is enacted in a wild and rocky region in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It is night and the moonlight gleams dimly through the broken clouds. In the distance, on the horizon may be seen the fire of the altar of burnt offering. Dark figures are passing in the background. The second act introduces us into Herod's palace, then comes the shoemaker's house in the third act, then the Temple. In the fourth act, a prison in a Galilean town, and lastly, in the fifth act, the gorgeous banquet scene and dazzling close in Herod's palace.

Die drei Reiherfedern (1898) is very clearly a drama of contrast, for the truth it teaches in its symbolism is that strength and firmness of purpose, will, determination and unrelenting energy will win and control; that a dreamy, visionary and romantic nature, with its insatiable longings and fancies, its instability and indecision, cannot avail.

Hans Lorbass, the strong-willed, practical man of energy, is placed as a companion and contrast by the side of the vacillating, romantic dreamer, Prince Witte, "the unwearying child of desire," and when the latter's idle roaming in search of his ideal is done, when his death comes as a result of his failure to grasp and comprehend his ideal while in possession of it, then Hans Lorbass the practical worker, the energetic realist, survives the dreamer, will assume his duties and responsibilities, and will control the realm the former should have governed. The words that flow from his lips in the first scene, and in the last, contain the substance of the play and reveal alike the destiny of both men:

> Denn bei jedem grossen Werke,
> Das auf Erden wird vollbracht,
> Herrschen soll allein die Stärke,
> Herrschen soll allein wer lacht.
>
> Niemals herrschen soll der Kummer,
> Nie wer zornig überschäumt,
> Nie, wer Weiber braucht zum Schlummer
> Und am mindesten, wer träumt.

And at the end,—

> Meins (mein Werk) muss neu beginnen!
> Gern scharwerkt' ich weiter und hetzte mich wund
> Als meines Lieblings Henker und Hund,
> Doch weil das nimmer geschehen kann,
> So tret' ich nunmehr sein Erbe an:
>
> Dort drüben gibt's ein verlottertes Land,
> Das braucht eine rächende, rettende Hand,
> Das braucht Gewalttat, das braucht ein Recht;—
> Zum Herrn—werde der Knecht!

Certain other contrasts may be mentioned which, though existing, are not necessarily the result of intention. Prince Witte's wife is the personification of the self-sacrificing instinct, Widwolf, the Duke of Gotland, the personification of self-seeking. Hans Lorbass is the faithful attendant on his master, Witte; whereas Sköll can scarcely be accounted true to his lord, the Duke of Gotland. The queen is the very essence of virtue and purity, but her lady in waiting, Unna Goldhaar, succumbs readily, for all we know, to Witte's adulterous weakness. Finally, one's attention is arrested by the great contrast in scenery afforded by the first and by the last acts. The first, on the lonesome Norse sea-shore skirted by the silent graves of unknown dead, colored with the mist of somber symbolism; and the second, third and fourth acts in the castle with all the pomp, splendor, bustle and excitement of court life. In the fifth act we return to the scene of the first, that has grown more somber in the interval. The first act is the embarcation of Witte and Lorbass on the sea of life, high hopes swelling the sails of their idealism; the last act is the end of life, after all the disillusions of experience.

Es lebe das Leben, the most successful of Sudermann's more recent plays, is reported to have been decidedly the theatrical event of the season, (1902). Bulthaupt (p. 473) remarks that "the contrast between man and woman which is disclosed in *Johannisfeuer*, particularly in the third act, is again exhibited here in an ennobled and refined form." That is true in a sense, for the feelings and conduct of the heroine, Beate v. Kellinghausen, are the converse of those of her guilty associate, Richard v. Völkerlingk, in the face of exposure and death. He is driven to despair by the consciousness of guilt and the wrong done his friend. He believes that his strength is gone and that the harmony of his life is destroyed. Beate exults in the happiness she

has had and believes she has done the best she could. Part of a conversation between her and Richard in the eleventh scene of the fourth act will evince this. Beate (referring to a famous speech just delivered by Richard in the Reichstag in defence of the sanctity of the marriage tie) says: "I laugh because you denied us to-day and all our long silent happiness before the people. Wait, dear friend, the hour will come when the cock will crow thrice, then you will weep bitterly. I do not reproach you. It is not *your* conscience. It is the conscience of everybody that haunts you. I am a foolish woman. What do *I* care about everybody. It seemed to you a sin, to me it was a step upward to myself, to the infinite fulfillment of the harmony which nature had in view with me. And because I felt that"—Richard interrupts her: "So you deny all guilt in our case?" Beate replies: "I deny nothing. I affirm nothing. I stand on the other shore of the great stream, and laugh across at you. O you, you! (laughs) Renunciation! . . . Now that it's all at an end, I'll confess it to you. I have never been resigned. I longed for you day and night, feverishly, distressfully . . when you were with me, when you were away, always, always. I played the part of the cool friend and bit my lips till they were sore, my heart was broken with sorrow . . and yet I was happy, unspeakably, inhumanly." In the eighth scene of the third act Richard had said in regard to his coming speech: "You call it (my feeling) conscience, I call it a joint or common feeling. I say to myself constantly: how can I answer for what I am going to say there before God and the world, if that which I live and do screams mockery in His face?. . . The sanctuary of matrimony, in all its moral exaltation, as the divine pillar, to a certain extent, of all human society, I am to bring before the eyes of the cynics in the party opposed to us. . . . And this pillar in me is broken . . . I find intellectual justification for you and for myself, only in case I think just as materialistically and cynically as those who are enemies to our order. . . And not even that. What we call God is for them 'social expediency.' And this pseudo-God is even more merciless, if possible, than Jehovah of the old covenant was. With the convenient device: 'Conform to my words and not to my works.'—I cannot manage. . . What I give, I must give without inner contradiction, harmonious. And so my every thought runs away to nothing, thus from every premise flows the contrary of that which I will and must conclude . . and whithersoever my natural judgment would force me, if it were not influenced by—by— . . . Pardon me, I am so tired. My brain will furnish no more evidence. First the torments of yesterday evening when a single recoiling wince might have hurled us both into destruction. Then the long night of labor over my desk. . . In the first place it cost me a desperate bit of will-power to concentrate my thoughts after what I have experienced. But then theoretical considerations got such power over me that I awoke not until that moment as if from a dream, and asked myself: What is to happen? . . . Oh, Beate, truth, truth. To be once again in harmony with myself. For the bare right of having again a conviction, I would joyfully throw everything away, my little bit of personal existence, my life,—everything." How different from the spirit of the woman who drinks a toast to the joys of life just before committing suicide to save her friend and family from scandal and ruin. Before assembled friends at her table she says: "Just see, dear friends, you are always crying: 'Long may he live, long may he live!' But *who* really lives? Who *dares* live? *Some*where something is in bloom, and a glimpse of its color comes over to us, and then we secretly shudder like criminals. . . That is all that we have of life. Why, do you believe that you live, or do I? (Standing up with a sudden inspiration). Yes, I do. My existence has been for my body and soul nothing but a long struggle against death. I am scarcely acquainted with sleep any longer. Every free breath I draw is a gift of mercy . . and yet I have never forgot laughter,—and in spite of it all I have been full of thankfulness and happiness. And I lift this glass and cry out of the fulness of my soul: (almost in a whisper) "Es lebe das Leben, meine Lieben Freunde!"

Apart from this fundamental difference in the two leading characters and the passages quoted, contrasts by no means unnatural, forced or theatrical, nothing else has been found to speak of here, so that, in regard to the subject under consideration, of the plays as yet written by Sudermann, this is one of the freest from artificiality.

Of *Stein unter Steinen* (1905), Heilborn re-

marks in *Die Nation* (1905–6): "Beside the criminal, Biegler, who has been released, and who has now become a watchman at a stone mason's yard, there stands a girl who has a child by one of the journeymen. She has been kept subservient to him by false promises of marriage and has been brutally treated. For both of the chief characters, Sudermann's flexible fancy has created contrasting figures. By the side of that discharged convict who is struggling hard with life and fate, is placed another discharged convict, Struve, a comic figure, who speaks with enthusiasm of life in the house of correction, and he would not be unwilling to return to it. The heroine sighs over the shame of having given birth to an illegitimate child ; her friend, a poor, deformed creature, the daughter of the master stone mason, longs for love and a child, even if the latter were the fruit of thousandfold shame. And, furthermore, the master himself is a philanthropist, and is glad to offer refuge to released criminals. The police commissioner who visits him boasts of his own kindly feelings for criminals, but does not hesitate a moment to expose publicly the secret of the man who has just succeeded in getting honorable work. One may say that for contrasts care has been well taken, the antithetical skeletons are skillfully covered with flesh and blood."

Some marked contrasts may be pointed out in *Das Blumenboot* (1905), but perhaps not many more than would ordinarily be found in a play of serious purpose having so many in the *dramatis personæ.* There must be variety in order that deadly monotony be avoided. Of the characters, I have only time to say that there are several contrasting sets and that the moral standards and ideals that govern them are opposed. Illustrations would require many pages. The four acts take place in the handsome residence of the Hoyers, whereas the *Zwischenspiel* between the second and third acts is in a low club of ultra Bohemian type, patronized by an ordinary set of actors and artists from variety theaters. It is called *Das Meerschweinchen*, and to this Fred Hoyer takes his young wife on the night of their wedding, as he had promised the curious and advanced young lady he would do. So, we get a glimpse of two different faces of vice : the repulsive and repellent one in the *Meerschweinchen*, the polished and refined visage in the town-residence belonging to the Hoyers and in their villa near Berlin.

I do not care to pronounce judgment with conclusiveness, but if *Stein unter Steinen* be conceded to be an important criterion, then it must be admitted that Sudermann is still as fond of the artifice of contrast as he was at first, and that he uses it to almost as great an extent. But *Johannisfeuer* (1900), *Es lebe das Leben*, even *Sturmgeselle Socrates* (1903), and *Das Blumenboot*, point rather toward a diminution in the glaring extent to which the ingenious device is employed. *Es lebe das Leben*, which, in a way, has as little of it as any of the plays yet published by Sudermann, is the only one of his most recent works that has achieved marked success in Germany. But the fact that *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*, in which contrasts play the greatest role, have also had the greatest success, tends to bear out Ibsen in the statement that "the personages of a play must be sharply contrasted in character and in purpose."

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SHAKSPERE AND THE CAPITOL.

The Capitol of Roman antiquity was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Mons Tarpeius : in a wider sense, the whole hill, including the temple and the citadel. With the deterioration of classical Latin we find the word used for any heathen temple ("In Capitoliis enim idola congesta erant." *S. Hieronymus adversus Luciferianos.* cap. I., cited by Ducange); then in the sense of a place of justice ("aedes in qua jus dicitur." *Gloss. Saxon. Aelfrici*, cited by Ducange); and, finally for the meeting place of the Senate (Jo. de Janua, "Capitolium dicitur a Capitulum quia ibi conveniebant Senatores sicut in Capitulo claustrales," cited by Ducange).

According to Mommsen (*Bk.* I, vii) the original meeting place of the Senate was within the area of the Capitol, but it was removed in very early days to the space where the ground falls away from the stronghold to the city, and there was erected the special Senate house called from

its builder Curia Hostilia. Here then the Senate met except under extraordinary circumstances, when, indeed, they could and did assemble in any consecrated building. At the time of Cæsar's assassination the Curia Hostilia was in process of reconstruction, under his orders, and meetings were held in Pompey's theatre. In North's *Plutarch* Cæsar is said to have been murdered in the Senate house, though there is one allusion which undoubtedly refers to the temporary meeting place :—"The place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre."

That Shakspere places the scene of the tragedy in the Capitol is usually regarded as an instance of conscious and deliberate variation from North's *Plutarch*. But is it not possible that Shakspere in thinking of the setting of his great scene had no intention of departing from the narrative which had so strong an attraction for him and to which he was so deeply indebted? May it not have been that to his mind "Capitol" was only another name for the Senate house?

There was undoubtedly a very general impression that the Senate did meet in the Capitol, and consequently that the Capitol was the scene of Cæsar's death. It will be remembered that in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 108, Polonius, recalling his student days when he did enact Julius Cæsar, says :

> I was kill'd i' th' Capitol : Brutus kill'd me.

an indication that in some University play familiar to Shakspere, (possibly Dr. Edes' *Cæsaris Interfecti*, acted at Christ Church, Oxford, 1582), the scene of the assassination was placed in the Capitol.

The idea is found in the thirteenth century. In the *Life and Acts of the most victorious Conqueror Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*, by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, we have :—

> Julius Cæsar als, that wan
> Britain and France, as doughty man,
> Africke, Arabe, Egypt, Syry,
> And all Europe also hailly,
> And for his worship and valour,
> Of Rome was made first Emperour.
> Syne in his Capitol was he,
> Through them of his counsel privie
> Slain with punsoun right to the dead ;
> And when he saw there was no read,
> His e'en with his hand closed he,
> For to die with more honesty. ll. 537–550.

In the Lincoln MS., *Morte Arthure*, 1400?, the word occurs three times, once speaking of the Capitol as a distinct building, and twice as the meeting place of the Senate.

> Thei couerde þe capitoile, and keste doun þe walles.
> M. M. Banks, l. 280.

> That on Lammesse daye thare be no lette founden,
> þat thow bee redy at Rome with all thi rounde table,
> Appere in his presens with thy price knyghtez,
> At pryme of the daye, in payne of ȝour lyvys,
> In e kydde Capytoile before þe kyng selvyn,
> When he and his senatours bez sette as them lykes.
> *Id.*, ll. 92–97.

Also :—

> Now they raike to Rome the redyeste wayes,
> Knylles in the capatoylle, and comowns assembles,
> Souerayngez and senatours.
> *Id.*, ll. 2352–2354.

Chaucer expresses the same notion :—

> This Julius to the Capitolie went
> Upon a day, as he was want to goon ;
> And in the Capitolie anon him hente
> This false Brutus and his othere foon.
> *Monk's Tale.*

Coming back to Shakspere we find in *Julius Cæsar*, I, ii, 187, 188 :—

> As we haue seene him in the Capitoll
> Being crost in Conference, by some Senatours.

which would seem to imply the scene of a regular senatorial debate. In *Titus Andronicus* and in *Coriolanus* it becomes perfectly evident that Shakspere conceived of the Capitol as a *building* in which the meetings of the Senate took place :

> Keepe then this passage to the Capitoll :
> And suffer not Dishonour to approach
> Th' Imperiall Seate to Vertue ;
> *Titus Andronicus*, I, i, 12–14.

And again :—

> And in the Capitoll and Senates right,
> Whom you pretend to Honour and Adore,
> That you withdraw you.
> *Id.*, I, i, 41–43.

Later in the same scene there is the stage direction (F.[1]) "Flourish. They go up into the Senat house."

Coriolanus (III, i, 239) speaks of "th' Porch o' th' Capitoll :" and again (II, i, 90–93) Brutus says to Menenius :—

Come, come, you are well vnderstood to bee a perfecter gyber for the Table, then a necessary Bencher in the Capitoll.

This scene ends :—

Brutus. Let's to the Capitoll,
And carry with us Eares and Eyes for th' time,
But Hearts for the euent.
Scicin. Haue with you.

Act II, ii, begins with the stage direction (F.[1]):—

Enter two Officers, to lay cushions, as it were, in the Capitoll.

After a discussion between them the direction goes on :—

A Sennet. Enter the Patricians, and the Tribunes of the People, Lictors before them : Coriolanus, Menenius, Cominius the Consul : Scicinius and Brutus take their places by themselues : Coriolanus stands.

Later in the same scene Coriolanus goes away rather than hear his deeds discussed. When he re-enters he is greeted with—

Menen. The Senate, Coriolanus, are well pleas'd
To make thee Consull.
II, ii, 96, 97.

Later, II. iii, 151–154,—

The People doe admit you and are summon'd
To meet anon vpon your approbation.
Corio. Where? at the Senate-house?
Scicin. There, Coriolanus.

We have also, *Id.*, V, iv, 1–7 :—

Menen. See you yond Coin o' th' capitol, yon'd corner-stone?
Scicin. Why, what of that?
Menen. If it be possible for you to displace it with your little finger, there is some hope the Ladies of Rome especially his Mother, may preuaile with him.

That Shakspere shared this idea with at least one other Elizabethan dramatist may be determined by turning to Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece.* Here we have the same use of "Capitol" for the Parliament house :—

Tarquin. The King should meet this day in parliament
With all the Senate and Estates of Rome.
. . . .
Lucretius. May it please thee, noble Tarquin, to attend
The King this day in the high Capitol?
I, i.

In discussing the prospects for this day, Valerius says—

I divine we shall see scuffling to-day in the Capitol.
I, i.

Brutus arising to address the assemblage says—

I claim the privilege of the nobility of Rome, and by that privilege my seat in the Capitol. I am a lord by birth, my place is as free in the Capitol as Horatius, thine ; or thine, Lucretius ; thine, Sextus ; Aruns thine ; or any here.—I, ii.

And again the idea of a splendid building—

Think how that worthy prince, our kinsman king,
Was butchered in the marble Capitol. II, i.

Is it not possible that so general a conception points to some common source, some definite, albeit incorrect notion of Roman archeology? Can we turn to a possible source of this general error?

About the time that the attempt was made in the twelfth century to restore the Senate to Rome, a guide book was put forth for the use of pilgrims to the Eternal City. It was a compilation by some one unknown, and was entitled *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*: the earliest extant copy is of the twelfth century, and is in the Vatican library. It proved immensely popular, going through many editions and translations in the succeeding centuries, and, of course, losing no whit of its wonderfulness at the hands of monkish copyists. A MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, with additions, omissions, and rearrangements is in the Laurentian library at Florence, and being entitled *Graphia, Aurea Urbis Romae,* is ordinarily distinguished as the *Graphia.*

Says Gregorovius, in *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (M. A. Hamilton) :—

"The twelfth century favoured the earliest studies of Roman archeology. The Senators, who flattered themselves that they had restored the republic on the Capitol, calling to mind the monumental splendours of ancient Rome, rebuilt in imagination the city of wonders of their ancestors. . . . . At the time of the restoration of the Senate, the *Graphia* and *Mirabilia* assumed the form in which they have come down to us ; they were henceforth disseminated in transcripts, but were also reduced to absurdity by ignorant copyists. . . . The piecemeal origin

of the *Mirabilia*, at any rate, cannot be denied; nevertheless the original recension is missing. . . .

"In this curious composition, written by an unknown scholar, concerning *The Wonders of the City of Rome*, Roman archaeology, which has now attained such appalling proportions, puts forth its earliest shoots in a naïve and barbarous form and in a Latin as ruinous as its subject. . . .

"The book . . . contains nothing more or less than the archeological knowledge of Rome, in an age when Italy made courageous effort to shake off the barbarism of the Middle Ages, the rule of priests, and the tyranny of the foreigner, at one stroke. The book of the *Mirabilia* consequently appears the logical consequence of the archaeological restoration of the ancient city in the time of the formation of the free commune."

Gregorovius, IV, 653–664.

As the *Mirabilia* and *Graphia* accounts of the Capitol show some differences it may be permissable to quote both:—

Capitolium quod erat caput mundi, ubi consules et senatores morabantur ad gubernandum orbem, cuius facies cooperta erat muris altis et firmis diu super fastigium montis vitro et auro undique coopertis et miris operibus laqueatis. Infra arcem palatium fuit miris operibus auro et argento et aere et lapidibus pretiosis perornatum, ut esset speculum omnibus gentibus.

Templa quoque quae infra arcem fuere, quae ad memoriam ducere possum, sunt haec. In summitate arcis super porticum crinorum fuit templum Iovis et Monetae, sicut repperitur in marthirologio Ovidii de faustis. In partem fori templum Vestae et Caesaris, ibi fuit cathedra pontificum paganorum, ubi senatores posuerunt Iulium Caesarem in cathedra sexta die infra mensem Martium. Ex alia parte Capitolii super Cannaparam templum Iunonis. iuxta forum publicum templum Herculis, in Tarpeio templum Asilis, ubi interfectus fuit Iulius Caesar a senatu. . . . Ideo dicebatur aureum Capitolium, quia prae omnibus regnis totius orbis pollebat sapientia et decore.[1]

Mirabilia, Cod. Vaticanus 3973.

Capitolium erat caput mundi ubi consules et senatores morabantur ad gubernandum orbem. Cuius facies cooperta erat muris altis et fermis super fastigio montis vitro et auro undique coopertis et miris operibus laqueatis ut esset speculum omnibus gentibus. In summitate arcis super porticum crinorum fuit templum jovis et monete. In quo erat aurea statua jovis sedens in aureo trono. In tarpeio templum asilum ubi interfectus est julius cesar a senatu.

Graphia, Laurentian MS.[2]

In connection with the last sentence quoted it is suggestive that the title of Dr. Edes' play, mentioned above, should have been *Cæsaris Interfecti.* It is difficult, however, to imagine just what idea was conveyed by the sentence as a whole. The "templum asilum" is probably the temple of which Plutarch speaks:—"Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be setled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitives and afflicted persones, which they called the temple of the god Asylaeus. Where there was sanctuary and safety for all sortes of people that repaired thither," North's *Plutarch*, *Romulus*, Nutt's reprint, ed. Wyndham. But why should it have been supposed to be the scene of Cæsar's death? Unless, indeed, there was some notion that he fled there for sanctuary which was violated by the conspirators. At all events, English literary tradition seems to have ignored the templum asilum, but to have clung to the conception of the Capitol as a distinct and imposing building, the meeting place of the Senate. One reason for this may be that the templum asilum is not mentioned in the passage of the *Polychronicon* quoted below.

Considering the popularity of this precursor of Baedeker it is not hard to account for the widespread notion of the Capitol as the scene of Cæsar's death. But the *Mirabilia* influenced English literature through another channel than the Latin text itself. The *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, c. 1327, has a description of Rome, transferred in

[1] The Capitol is so called, because it was the head of the world, where consuls and senators abode to govern the Earth. The face thereof was covered with high walls and strong, rising above the top of the hill, and covered all over with glass and gold and marvellous carved work. . . . . . . Within the fortress was a palace all adorned with marvellous works in gold and silver and brass and costly stones, to be a mirror to all nations; . . . . . . Moreover the temples that were within the fortress, and which they can bring to remembrance, be these. In the uppermost part of the fortress, over the *Porticus Crinorum*, was the temple of Jupiter and Moneta, as is found in Ovid's Martyrology of the *Fasti*, wherein was Jupiter's image of gold, sitting on a throne of gold. Towards the market-place, the temple of Vesta and Caesar; there was the chair of the pagan pontiffs, wherein the senators had set Julius Caesar on the sixth day of the month of March. On the other side of the Capitol, over *Cannapara*, was the temple of Juno. Fast by the public market-place the temple of Hercules. In the Tarpeian hill, the temple of Asilis where Julius Caesar was slain of the Senate. . . . . And it was therefore called Golden Capitol, because it excelled in wisdom and beauty before all the realms of the whole world.—Tr. F. M. Nicholls, 1889.

[2] These extracts from the *Mirabilia* and *Graphia* are from *Codes Urbes Romae Topographicus.* C. L. Urlichs, 1871.

large measure, with due credit to one "Master Gregorius," from the *Mirabilia*. To the sufficiently amazing statements of the *Mirabilia* are appended extra absurdities, such as might come from the gossip of pilgrims. Of the *Polychronicon* there are more than one hundred Latin MSS. extant, besides translations into English of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It was printed by Caxton, 1482, and by Wynkin de Worde, 1495, and a glance at the few words therein devoted to the Capitol will demonstrate the connection with the *Mirabilia* :

"Item in Capitolio, quod erat altis muris vitro et auro coopertis, quasi speculum mundi sublimiter erectum, ubi consules et senatore mundum regebant, erat templum Jovis in quo statua Jovis aurea in throno aureo erat sedens."

This passage in the translation of John Trevisa, 1387, runs as follows :

"Also þe Capitol was arrayed wiþ hiȝ walles i-heled wiþ glas and wiþ gold, as it were þe mirrour of all þe world aboute. Þere consuls and senatours gouernede and rulede al þe world, as moche as was in here power ; and þere was Iupiters temple, and in þe temple wer Iupiters ymage of golde, sittynge in a trone." [3]

That Heywood was indebted to the *Polychronicon* rather than to the *Mirabilia* itself is shown in a speech in *The English Traveller,* I, i :

Sir, my husband
Hath took much pleasure in your strange discourse
About Jerusalem and the Holy Land :
How the new city differs from the old,
What ruins of the Temple yet remain,
Or whether Sion, and those hills about,
With the adjacent towns and villages,
Keep that proportioned distance as we read ;
And then in Rome, of that great pyramis
Reared in the front, on four lions mounted ;
How many of those idol temples stand,
First dedicated to their heathen gods,
Which ruined, which to better use repaired ;
Of their Pantheon and their Capitol—
What structures are demolished, what remain.

Higden mentions Mt. Sion and the Temple on its side and goes on to the relative positions of the Mt. of Olives, Calvary, and Golgotha, and also the villages of Bethpage and Bethany. The good monk was also responsible for the motion of the pyramis on four lions mounted, a traveller's tale concerning the obelisk in front of St. Peter's, of which he says :—

Hanc autem pyramidem super quattuor leones fundatam peregrini mendosi acum beati Petri appellant, mentiunturque illum fore mundum a peccatis qui sub saxo illo liberius potuit repere.

With all due allowance for the high color of a guide book, whether in the twelfth or the twentieth century, the reader naturally wonders what this edifice may have been which the *Mirabilia* describes as of such dazzling splendour. Gregorovius is of the opinion that it was really the Tabularium that the Middle Ages regarded as the Senate house :

"Among the ruins of ancient monuments on which the eye rested on the Capitol, there were none mightier than the ancient office of State Archives, or the so-called Tabularium, belonging to republican times, with its gigantic walls of peperino, its lordly halls, and its vaulted chambers. The author who described the city in the twelfth century, and, in his cursory enumeration of the hills, only mentioned the Palatium of the Senators, must undoubtedly have thereby understood this mighty building. The populace, looking on the marvelous work, imagined that the ancient Consuls or Senators had dwelt within it, and the nobility of the twelfth century, beyond the church of Aracoeli, found no more fitting spot for its meetings ; neither did the populace discover one more suitable when they determined to reinstate the Senate. We must consequently suppose that the Tabularium, which later became the actual Senate-House, had already been adapted to the uses of a Senate. It was here that the shadow of the Roman republic reappeared in 1143, hovering fantastically over the ruins—itself a legend or a vision of the antiquity whose remembrance gladdened the hearts of its degenerate descendants.

Gregorovius, IV, 477.

And in a note to the above—

"Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155) summoned the Romans to restore the Capitol ; could this mean anything but to restore the greatest ruin, the Tabularium, as the meeting place of the Senate, and also, perhaps, to restore the Arx?"

This conception of the Capitol was not only widespread, but it persisted even while the men of the New Learning had a clear understanding of the matter. Taking the date of *Julius Cæsar* as 1601 and Heywood's *Lucrece* as 1608, we have in 1604 *Julius Cæsar* by William Alexander, Lord Stirling. This is a dreary Senecan waste, but the

[3] The quotations from the *Polychronicon* and Trevisa's translation are taken from the edition of Churchhill Babington.

Messenger who describes the tragedy to Calpurnia is perfectly correct in his archeology :—

> Then Caesar march'd forth to the fatall place ;
> Neere Pompeys Theatre where the Senate was.

And Ben Jonson in *Sejanus*, 1603, and in *Cataline*, 1611, shows his exact knowledge in making the Capitol the Arx or citadel, and in having the Senate meet in any consecrated building. However, Ben Jonson whisks the Senate about to an extent which would seem to exaggerate the facts, for authorities agree that meetings outside the regular Senate house, the Curia Hostilia, now covered by the church of S. Adriano, took place only under special conditions, such as prevailed on the fatal Ides of March.

In *Sejanus*, III, i, Tiberius swears—

> By the Capitol
> And all our gods,

and *Cataline*, IV, i, opens in "A Street at the foot of the Capitol."

In *Sejanus*, V, x, the Temple of Apollo is given as the scene of the Senate's meeting, and later in the same scene we have—

> *Terentius.* The whilst the senate at the temple of Concord
> Make haste to meet again.

In *Cataline* IV. ii the Praetor says,—

> Fathers, take your places.
> Here in the house of Jupiter the Stayer,
> By edict from the consul Marcus Tullius,
> You're met, a frequent senate.

There is something restless and uncomfortable, a certain lack of dignity, in this picture of a peripatetic body, meeting hither and yon all over Rome. Perhaps the early poets and Shakspere and Heywood had the best of it, romantically speaking, in their imposing vision of an imperial building with high walls and strong, rising above the top of the hill, and the glitter and splendour of the covering of glass and gold and marvellous carved work.

> As farre as doth the Capitoll exceede
> The meanest house in Rome ; so farre my Sonne
> This Ladies Husband heere, this, (do you see)
> Whom you have banish'd, does exceed you all.
> *Coriolanus*, IV. ii, 39–42.

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Molière. A Biography. By H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR. Dutton and Co., New York, 1906.

Unlike Shakespeare, Molière is so well accounted for, both as a poet and as a man, that a genuine Molière-question has never existed. Though there has been much theorizing on the nature of his art, speculative criticism has had little concern with the main facts of his life, or with that favorite theme of critics, the order of his works. Contemporary chronicle, allusions laudatory and libelous, the *Life* by Grimarest in 1705, and the very valuable 'Registre' of the actor La Grange—are quite sufficient to explain all essential points in his career. Thus, the biographer's task here would appear simple, were it not that biography depends as much on interpretation as on document, and that good interpreters are rare. As Renan once said to Tennyson : "la vérité est dans une nuance." To wring from the documents this illusive quality, to give to each detail its proper shade or color, and thereby to reanimate the facts—this in itself requires analytic and imaginative powers of a high order.

Apparently Mr. Chatfield-Taylor is alive to this responsibility, for he attempts, above all, to reconstruct the personality of Molière. As he states in his preface, his intention is to interpret, for English readers, "Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life." One cannot quarrel with him for thus delimiting his subject. He has chosen the kernel from which all study of the poet should proceed ; and—it may at once be said—he has handled his subject in a stimulating way. We are given a vivid picture of the poet's early surroundings : his father's comfortable bourgeois-home in the rue St. Honoré, and the respectable but cramped existence for which it stood ; of the young Poquelin's longing for greater freedom, and his consequent flight to the stage. Then follow his period of apprenticeship with the 'Illustre Théâtre' and its light-hearted companions — the Béjarts, the storm-and-stress years in the provinces, so fertile in experience : as comedian first to the Duke of Épernon and then to the Prince of Conti, that fickle friend of Molière's school-days. And finally we read of the return to Paris, the 'Précieuses Ridicules' in 1659, the poet's worldly success and the friendship of the King,

the culmination of a momentous struggle in 'Tartuffe,' and the sudden heroic death. All of these events, a drama in themselves, Mr. Taylor sets vividly before the mind's eye, adorned with ample incident and anecdote, and expressed in an interesting and often brilliant style.

If there is a general criticism to be made of Mr. Taylor's treatment, it is that his enthusiasm, a valuable asset in a biography, often oversteps the mark and inspires statements difficult of substantiation. As when he speaks of the trio—Louis XIV, Mazarin and Molière—as "the greatest despot, the greatest knave, and the greatest genius of France." Or, again, when comparing 'Tartuffe,' 'Don Juan' and the 'Misanthrope,' he refers to the last-mentioned as "the greatest unit in this trilogy of unrivalled brilliance." Or in citing, without proper qualifying adjectives, the opinion of Coquelin that Molière is Shakespeare's "equal in fecundity, his superior in truth." Such statements are not only unscholarly, being incapable of proof, but prejudice an argument which is otherwise logical and, in general, convincing.

To consider more specific questions: Mr. Taylor takes the subjective view that Molière's plays are mainly an expression of his own life, an epitome of his personal experience. This playwright, we are made to think, is distinctive in that he placed his personal and family history on the boards for public contemplation. It is doubtless true that Molière, like Shakespeare and Goethe, blended his life with his art, incorporating into his works bits of his own experience. And yet, probably no great writer ever generalized more on mankind in order to render men broadly and permanently human.[1] Superiority over self is the mark of a great soul, and it is one of the traits of genius to transcend the bounds of personality and become universal. Boileau's favorite expression for Molière was: "le grand contemplateur"; whereby he meant not that his eye was turned inwardly upon himself but outwardly on the world of men in which he lived. Thus, though the 'Misanthrope' may in parts reflect the misogyny of the lover of Armande Béjart, Alceste is preëminently the sentimentalist ill at ease in the indifferent, intellectual atmosphere of court circles. That is why the character appealed so strongly to the Rousseau of a later age, but evoked so little sympathy from the poet's contemporaries. Comedy, as George Meredith so convincingly points out in his well-known essay, is distinctly the product of society; and it is from a deep and broad observation of the great society about him that Molière's comedies arose. Few critics, it seems, will therefore admit with Mr. Taylor, that Mascarille, Eraste, Alceste and Argan "are, part by part, Molière himself, concealed little more than the ostrich with its head in the sand."

Molière's relationship to Louis XIV is set forth in Chapter IX, perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book, and certainly one of the most important. This curious friendship between the absolute sovereign and the social outcast—for an actor was necessarily that—has always been a favorite theme of discussion. After reviewing the opinion of others, Mr. Taylor cleverly escapes the dilemma by saying: "it was the talent of the one to kindle, and of the other to be warmed by, the fire of honest fun which made these geniuses of comedy and kingship understand each other." In other words, he repeats that typically French apothegm: "ce qui produit la familiarité, ce ne sont pas les douleurs partagées, c'est la gaieté en commun," but leaves the real question unexplained. For it seems probable that Louis did not regard his comedian as any ordinary jester, and that his sympathy for him sprang from a deeper source than mere laughter—from some sincere emotional or intellectual kinship with him. Molière, we know, was a disciple of Rabelais and Montaigne. His life shows his unswerving confidence in Nature as the soul's guide. Obey the law of your own being, "fais ce que voudras"—as Rabelais had said—and the problem of existence is solved. It is unnecessary to elaborate the point. Thus it becomes evident at once why the youthful Molière was drawn to Lucretius. He was an epicurean in an age of formalism. But was not Louis just as free? A moulder of convention for lesser men, he himself obeyed the impulses of genius; whereas Molière reflected convention as in a mirror. Hence a common spiritual freedom united the two men. Now, as

[1] The question of Molière's subjectivity is ably discussed by Ph. Aug. Becker in the *Zeitsch. für vergl. Literaturgeschichte*, XVI (1905), pp. 194–221. See, also, E. Rigal, *Revue d'histoire litt.*, IX (1904), pp. 1–21.

long as Molière ridiculed the foibles of humanity, Louis could but rejoice. It must have pleased him to have his whimpering marquesses held up to scorn. But when with 'Tartuffe' the mighty fabric of the church was shaken, the King was compelled to protest, for the church was the mainstay of his realm. And so it happened, for political rather than personal reasons that Louis withdrew his public support from Molière after 1669.

Mr. Taylor has the usual Saxon preference for the 'Misanthrope,' which to him represents the apogee of Molière's power. However excellent this play may be, it is questionable whether Molière's power ever waned ; in the opinion of many he died in his intellectual prime. It is worth noting also that M. Coquelin, whom Mr. Taylor cites in another connection, places 'Don Juan' at the head of the poet's plays (*International Quarterly*, 1903, pages 60 ff.). Certainly the latter comedy has something Shakespearian in its breadth and scope, without lacking any of its creator's sense of reality. M. Coquelin further makes clear Don Juan's similarity to Richard III—the great difference being that Don Juan's weapon is impertinence and that Richard's is irony. This trait explains Don Juan's pretended hypocrisy, the stumbling-block of so many Molière commentators, with whom Mr. Taylor here allies himself. In addition, the analogy of 'Tartuffe' and the 'Malade Imaginaire,' which Mr. Taylor mentions, is upheld by a comparison of Argan with Organ, the former of whom seeks to insure the welfare of his body, the latter that of his soul as well,—both being types of extreme selfishness.

From minor errors of detail the book is singularly free. M. Abel Lefranc[2] has recently made out a good case for dating the 'Étourdi' in 1655, instead of 1653 as Mr. Taylor argues. The Arnauld d'Andilly mentioned on page 213 is evidently a slip for Antoine Arnauld, who was the true leader of the Port-Royalists. The Bibliography, which contains only works that had been specially consulted in preparation of the book, should, it seems, have included : Coquelin's essay mentioned above, Brunetière's article[3] on the philosophy of Molière, Weiss's lectures[4] on him, and Stapfer's 'Molière et Shakespeare'[5]—all of which are of general interest and value.

On the whole, the work is very well done, down to the minor details of execution. In this the biographer, the illustrator and the printer all had a share. Professor Crane, whose pupil Mr. Taylor was, contributes an interesting introduction. In closing, be it said that the blank-verse translations of Mr. Taylor are the best rendering we have of Molière in English. Let us hope that he will see fit to complete them, so that English literature may permanently possess the masterpieces of the greatest modern comic genius.

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Molière, by MR. H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR. Duffield and Company, New York, 1906. xxv and 446 pages.

To many a reader of this Life of Molière will undoubtedly come the question which occurred to the present writer : Why did not some *Fachmann* write this book? Whatever the answer to this question may be, here is a great opportunity lost, for the work is so written that it may well be called definitive.

The author's aim has been "to tell the story of Molière's life to English readers . . . . to interpret Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life, rather than write an exhaustive criticism of his dramatic works." It is true, the book is not an attempt to catalogue and analyse fully the Italian, Spanish, or Latin sources of all the plays that lend themselves to this treatment. Faithful to the object he set out to attain, the author does not wander very far from Molière's life. Yet a deal of this source-discussion is scattered through the book. Some of the foreign sources have been only cursorily indicated, but there is enough information on this subject given to suit all the purposes of the ordinary seminar work in Molière. Besides, there is exhaustive criticism in more than

[2] *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 15th year, 1st series, 1906.

[3] In his *Études crit. sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, 4e ser., 1891, pp. 179–242.

[4] Paris, 1900 (Calmann Levy).

[5] 5th ed., Paris, 1905.

one instance, notably in the discussion of *Les Précieuses ridicules, L'École des femmes, Don Juan, Le Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope*, and the group of plays satirising the physicians. A practically complete bibliography, a chronology, and an index coöperate in making a scholarly work of unusual merit and usefulness.

The author divides Molière's plays into five groups, based upon the manner in which "the poet's muse was affected by his life." The Italian period includes his firstlings, only four of which have been preserved, viz.: *La Jalousie du Barbouillé, Le Médecin volant, L'Etourdi* and *Le Dépit amoureux*. In the "Gallic" group he is no longer bound by Italian fetters. Now he needs "only to study society," and he produces *Sganarelle, Les Précieuses ridicules, L'École des maris, L'École des femmes*, and *Le Médecin malgré lui*. His success in amusing the King brings forth such comedies as *Les Fâcheux, Le Mariage forcé, L'Impromptu de Versailles, Le Favori, La Princesse d'Elide, Mélicerte, Le Sicilien, Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, Les Amants magnifiques, Psyché* and *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, which the author classes under the heading of "time-serving." The plays in which Molière seriously attacks the foibles of contemporary society are called "militant" and include *Le Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope, L'Amour médecin* and *Le Malade imaginaire*, while such works as *Amphitryon, George Dandin, L'Avare, Le Bourgeois gentilhomme, Les Fourberies de Scapin* and *Les Femmes savantes*, written for business reasons, are classed as "histrionic."

This classification is intimately connected with the author's object as before stated. In interpreting Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life, Mr. Chatfield-Taylor appears to develop the thesis that Molière, the greatest author of comedy, brought to bear upon his most objective of arts a most subjective nature, and that he succeeds best where a comedy is the direct expression of his subjectivity. In other words, *Les Précieuses ridicules, L'École des maris, L'École des femmes, Le Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope* and some of his doctor-plays contain Molière's most notable work. That this subjectivity takes the form of polemics upon a broad scale is a corollary, for, according to the author's definition, comedy is criticism in lighter vein and in dramatic form of the foibles of contemporary society. When his polemics stoops to "Billingsgate warfare," as in *La Critique de l'école des femmes* and in *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, the result is poor comedy. Where, as in *L'Avare* and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, the foundation of the personal experience is lacking, we admire Molière's consummate art, his perfect workmanship, but our hearts are not stirred, we are only amused.

A distinct feature of the book is the sympathy, as well as the faithful accuracy with which the intimate life of Molière is portrayed. Trollope's *Life of Molière*, accurate and brimful of facts as it is, lacks this sympathetic, this literary touch. It is a book of reference. But Mr. Chatfield-Taylor's work, while possessing the merits of Trollope's *Molière*, is readable from beginning to end. Here and there are touches of humour and pathos which can come only from one who is endowed with the literary instinct. Any one reading Chapter XVIII cannot help being impressed with the dramatic value of Molière's life, of all life. The metrical translations of illustrative passages show excellent mastery over that most subtle of poetic forms, blank verse.

Great pains have been taken to make the illustrations historically exact. The artist, Jacques Onfroy de Bréville (JoB), examined the original documents and plates contained in the archives of the *Comédie française*, the *Bibliothèque nationale*, etc. The costumes of the *Comédie française* and the *Théâtre de l'Odéon* were placed at his disposal. The famous *fauteuil de Molière* and the interior of Gély's barbershop have for the first time been reproduced together. For the drawing representing Molière and the poet Bellocq making the King's bed at Versailles the original architect's drawing in the *Estampes nationales* was used, because the room itself was considerably altered in 1701. In the sketch depicting Armande Béjart in Molière's room, the furniture and effects have been reproduced from the description given in the inventory of the poet's property, made a few weeks after his death.

For his Molière scholarship Mr. Chatfield-Taylor has already been recognised in France, where he has been made *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*[1] and given the cross of the *Légion d'hon-*

[1] Spain and Portugal had already rewarded the author for his studies of Spanish life with the decorations, respectively, of "Chevalier, Order of Isabella the Catholic" and "Chevalier, Order of St. Iago." His *bagage littéraire* consists of seven novels and many articles in periodicals.

neur. Wherever possible all statements have been verified from first-hand sources. In building the book the author has collected a Molière library not equalled by many college libraries in the United States.

Professor Crane, of Cornell University, has given the work an instructive and appreciative introduction.

F. C. L. van Steenderen.

Lake Forest University.

English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer. By William Henry Schofield, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.

Middle English literature has had to wait a long time for a satisfactory historian. However laudable for the time which produced them may have been the chapters on the subject in Warton's *History of English Poetry,* and however convenient those in Morley's *English Writers,* both works are mainly descriptive, give little aid to an understanding of the subject, and are quite untrustworthy as regards facts. ten Brink's *History of English Literature,* for all its judiciousness, and M. Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People,* for all its charm, are neither exhaustive nor otherwise adequate to the needs of the special student or the capable general reader. Therefore, Professor Schofield's book, while in no sense a great one and necessarily not a final one, is even more indispensable than it is excellent.

The arrangement of the book is the feature which most obviously calls for comment. Following the example of the late Gaston Paris and of other French writers, the author has divided his material not chronologically but according to its literary *genres* or subject-matter. He has even improved, if one may be permitted to say so, on the arrangement adopted by the great French scholar in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age,* by making his own less mechanical. After the introduction come chapters on Anglo-Latin, and Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French literature, the English language, romance, tales, historical, religious and didactic works, and songs and lyrics, followed by a conclusion, a suggestive chronological table, an excellent working bibliography and a full index.[1] In view of the present state of our knowledge and the prevalent unfamiliarity with mediæval literary categories, such a division of the material was certainly the best, and is one reason why the book will be far more useful than ten Brink's. But the fact should not be disregarded that this is largely an expository, almost a pedagogical, device; that it is untrue to nature and unfair; that it greatly exaggerates what the author calls the static character of mediæval literary types. We may hope that the time will come when the literary history of mediæval England may be written in such a way as will make its intellectual and artistic changes from the twelfth to the fifteenth century nearly as plain as those of any later period. Professor Schofield himself says (p. 24), "Study, however, shows one century developing naturally out of another. From the barbarity of the dark ages to the affectations of the pre-Renaissance epoch is a long but steady progression." He actually does make an attempt (on pp. 28 and 98) at a chronological characterization of the Latin literature of the period. Would it not even have been well, perhaps, if his final chapter had been a chronological retrospect? This would have afforded an admirable prelude to the treatment of Chaucer and his contemporaries, to which all students are looking forward in Dr. Schofield's next volume.

One of the most interesting and illuminating chapters in the book is the introduction, on the conditions under which Middle English literature came into existence; on the linguistic, political, ecclesiastical, and social peculiarities of mediæval England, and on such classes of men, significant for literary history, as the clerks and minstrels. One might suggest that the five-page conclusion, on similar subjects, and the five-page Chapter IV,

[1] The omission here of the romance of *Athelstone* may be noted, however (see p. 275). The suggestion may be made that it would save much fingering of pages, if the reference to the main treatment of each subject were printed in heavy-faced type.

on the English language, might well have been worked in with it. Such a point as this illustrates the lack of final and mature revision and verification which one frequently notices in the book. In these chapters, however, and usually, indeed, throughout, the writer has kept constantly in mind how much assistance the ordinary reader requires for the comprehension of mediæval literature, and has given it in a living way.

A novel feature of the book is the amount of space (a quarter of the whole) given to Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French literature. In the attempt to be at once condensed, exhaustive, and vivid, the first and longer of these chapters (especially its second half) is somewhat desultory and rambling; indeed, other parts of the book possibly leave something to be desired in perspicuity and significance of transitions and minor arrangement. In consequence of this, and also of the author's familiarity with Old Norse literature, he is not seldom in these chapters betrayed into irrelevancies.[2] But the presence of these chapters seems an admirable feature, and that for two reasons. They call attention to the amount of characteristic and meritorious intellectual and artistic work which the mediæval English did in other languages, and to the neglected problems in literary history which it involves. And they should help to kill the old notion that from the Conquest to Chaucer's day England was an intellectual desert merely because literature in English was ill-written and only for the uncritical classes. More than this, it may even be said that a historian of this period gives a false impression and neglects his duty who confines himself to literature in the English language. For this reason, it seems to the reviewer that Professor Schofield's book might much more properly have been called *The Literary History of England* than *English Literature. De facto,* that is what it is.

By far the most interesting and valuable chapter is that on Romance, which fills more than a third of the volume. This vast, intricate and far-reaching subject few living men could have treated with more thoroughness, discrimination, and freshness than we find here. Dr. Schofield has been fairly conservative, and (it seems to the reviewer) has refrained from brilliant guesses and immature decisions quite as much as one could expect. He has, of course, treated the romantic cycles genetically, from the point of view of French romance and its origins. At times his fondness for mediæval French sophistication and refinement has made him a little less than appreciative of the native English spirit; it is singular that one who has written so much on *King Horn* should not do more justice to that admirable poem. But, on the whole, this chapter is one of the most useful and illuminating treatments of romance to be found anywhere; and is certainly the best to be found in English.[3]

In the last five chapters there is a noticeable falling off in both matter and manner. However it may be with the chapter on tales, it is not surprising that a writer's enthusiasm should wane perceptibly before the reading and writing involved by the chapters on historical, religious, and didactic works, and that somewhat desultory and even arid subject, the Middle English songs and lyrics. One cannot but regret, however, that the book was not delayed till a more finished treatment of these subjects had been possible, for which we should have been all the more grateful because of its difficulty.

In a book of this compass it is inevitable that small slips and inaccuracies should occur; in this book they are possibly unduly frequent. Trifling though many of the following are, perhaps they are worth noting:—Page 111, line 11. For "two hundred years," read "three hundred."—Page 112, foot. The "agreement of John and Philip Augustus" seems hardly to represent the facts accurately.—Page 116. Is it quite accurate to speak of Thomas' *Tristan* as an "Arthurian romance?"—Page 130. Schofield has confused the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which was never *de fide* until 1854, with the feast of her Conception.—Page 191. It certainly seems probable that Emare was carried not to Wales but to Galicia; the legend of the miraculous voyage of the body of St. James to Compostella would help, and we may observe (on the principle which

[2] *E. g.*, on pp. 52, 65, 71, 75, 89, 90, 105–6, 125; even later, as well, on pp. 151–3 and 368 (last paragraph).

[3] In connection with Schofield's mention of Marie de France's *Guingamor* (pp. 192, 199), a curiously close parallel to that lay may be noted in the Japanese *Lay of Uráshima*; see F. V. Dickins' *Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 136–146.

Schofield uses in his essay on *Horn and Rymenhild*), that it is only a week's sail from Rome (see Gough's edition, pp. 22, 36).—Page 236. Surely it was not Caxton who gave its name to Malory's *Morte Darthur*; see his colophon.—Page 246. Does not Dr. Schofield miss the essential point in the story of the begetting of Galahad? Lancelot was far from indulging "a guilty love for the daughter of the Grail-King." See Malory, XI, 2, 3.—Page 260. What evidence has Dr. Schofield shown earlier for an "Anglo-Saxon version of the Tristram-story?" The extremely interesting parallel between Marie's lay of *Chievrefoil* and what the Grein-Wülcker *Bibliothek* calls *Die Botschaft des Gemahls,* which he points out on pages 201–2, can hardly be called such.—Page 265. There is a strange error in saying "there still exist three French redactions of the story of Horn, . . . from which were derived three corresponding English versions." The first of these French redactions certainly does not exist now, and some would deny that it ever did. Nor do we know that "the hero in the first English version was a Norseman"; on the contrary, it is the Saracens who drove him out who were originally Norsemen.—Page 281. Edward I is oddly confused with Edward III. See Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum* (Roxb. Club), p. 92.—Page 304. The *Foray of Gadderis* does not occupy "some 14,000" lines in the Scottish *Buik of Alexander*, but less than a quarter of that amount (cf. page 303).—Page 318. "*George à Green, Pindar of Wakefield*" are, of course, one and the same tale; as no one would infer from Schofield's punctuation.—Page 321. It is difficult to see why the *Squire's Tale* is omitted from the list of *Canterbury Tales* which are "Oriental in character."—Page 324. Is it desirable or even reasonable to represent Chaucer's motive for including coarse stories in his great collection as a sense of obligation? Certainly no parts of the *Canterbury Tales* force on us more the impression of having been written *con amore.*—Page 334. The summary of *The Vox and the Wolf* seems to mistake two delightful touches, in lines 27–40, 249–50; the fox eats three of the hens, and rejoices that Segrim has made a holy end.—Page 336. The creature called a "mereman" in the *Bestiary* is obviously what we call a mermaid.—Page 340. The incorrect statement, at the bottom of the page, about Chaucer and Lydgate seems to be due to a confused recollection of what was said on page 296 about Lydgate's *Story of Thebes.*—Page 343. Chauntecleer's "forty lines, or more," on dreams are really more than four times forty.—Page 344. Why is the *Seven Sages* called "one of the earliest Middle English poems?" And why is it attributed to the thirteenth century? Cf. Schofield's own table, page 463, and pages 37–8 of Dr. Killis Campbell's dissertation.—Page 346. In no version of the Husband-Shut-Out story in the above romance that the reviewer can find is the husband "put to death for his pains."—Page 361. It surely is hardly proper to call the *Historia Britonum* "Geoffrey's *Brut.*"—Pages 362, 412. Why perpetuate the custom of calling Robert Manning *of Brunne*, instead of *Bourne*, the modern name of the place? We do not speak of "William of Malmesberie."—Page 383. Since the accurate eccentricity of Orm's spelling is dwelt on, it is a pity that in the five quoted lines there are five mistakes in reproducing it.—Page 401. It is also a pity that the paragraph on the *Vision of Thurkill* did not more accurately follow Dr. Becker's dissertation, from which most of it is derived; even if the original was not consulted. The knight was not vainglorious, nor could the theatre in which the damned perform very well be "purgatorial." This is only one of rather frequent errors or loosenesses of language as to ecclesiology; *e. g.*, monks, friars and canons are all called "monks."—Page 413. Robert Manning was not the heretic and precursor of Wyclif which Dr. Schofield implies that he was. He declares that the priest selected to offer masses for the dead ought to be "good and clean," but hardly makes their efficacy depend on his being so (see *E. E. T. S.*, line 10,500).—Page 423. The "Sidrac" whom Dr. Schofield enrolls among "worthies of antiquity" is "Syrac" or "Syrak" in the poem under discussion, and is really, of course, Jesus the son of Sirach. Most of his sage words there quoted may easily be found in the book *Ecclesiasticus.*—Page 430. The Elizabethan dialogue, and the like, is surely descended rather from the Italian *dubbio*, the Platonic dialogue and the Virgilian eclogue than from the mediæval debate.—Page 437. In the last line of Godric's song, should we not read,

with one of the MSS., *wunne* for *winne*?—Page 438, bottom. In the form in which the hymn to Mary is printed, even the special student cannot see that the lines are of seven accents.—Pages 444–5. In the *Cuckoo* and *Alisoun* songs, *swike* here certainly means *cease*, and not *deceive*; *lud* seems much more likely to mean *sound* or *voice* (M. E. *lude*) than *land* (M. E. *lede, lud*, which means *people, nation*: *N. E. D.*), and *hendy* certainly does not mean *strange*, but always *pleasant*.—Page 451. Laȝamon's *Brut* does not exist in a unique MS.; cf. pages 459, 461.—Page 462. The Popes were at Avignon only till 1377; after 1378 only the antipopes were there.—Misprints may be noted on pages 92 (line 7, read "slyding"), 325 (line 9), 347 (line 27, read "*Novelle*"), 382 (line 6, read "Henry II"), 383 (line 5, read "þohhtesst"), 470 (line 32). Pages 174 and 175 are unluckily turned about.

The best thing about the book is no doubt the amount of condensed, accessible information which it contains. Some might perhaps criticize it for a lack of philosophical generalization, for not extracting more tangibly, at times, the spiritual characteristics of the Middle Ages. But it can hardly be denied that for a history it errs on the right side, and from what it does give us we can form our reflections for ourselves. After the world has talked so long about the Middle Ages in ignorance of some of their most significant products, there may well be a truce to generalization. This vast amount of fact is communicated in a style which, though at times not without oddity, is clear, nervous, and animated. And the reader is frequently struck by the freshness and justness of the author's criticisms on subjects on which many writers could have offered no criticisms at all; by the grasp and penetration which have enabled him to go to the heart of a subject, and through the thick veil of mediæval literary convention and literary helplessness to seize upon a writer's essential character.

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An Anthology of German Literature (Part 1), by Calvin Thomas, LL. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. 8vo., vi and 195 pp.

The tasks that Professor Thomas sets himself in his publications are all worth while. The present volume is no exception. Max Müller's German Classics has done good service and will not be supplanted by the *Anthology*, but where an inexpensive and condensed survey of German literature is desired preference will be given to the newer work. Part 1 offers 39 selections, ranging from the Hildebrandslied to Johann Geiler and Sebastian Brant and covers therefore a period of some seven centuries. As the *Anthology* is intended for students who "would like to know something of the earlier periods but have not studied, and may not care to study Old and Middle German," the language used is in all cases modern German. The translations or adaptations are in part by Simrock, Bötticher and other literati and scholars, in other cases Professor Thomas has relied upon his own skill.

The editor's "first principle": "to give a good deal of the best rather than a little of everything" will certainly command universal approval and no one will question that the selections given show good judgment and sense of proportion. Doubtless almost everyone acquainted with early German literature will miss one or more old friends whom he would like to see included. That, however, is unavoidable in a volume of this compass. But if the writer may make a suggestion for a second edition, I would enter a plea for Frau Ava, especially if Hrotswitha is to be excluded. It is not without significance for the culture of the age that now and then a woman essayed to express herself in verse. If the limits of the present volume *must* be observed we could sacrifice the Old Saxon Genesis, as long as the Heliand and Otfried are so well represented. The brief historical and explanatory remarks that introduce each selection or set of selections contain much information that will prove helpful to the students for whom the work is intended. Here and there, however, these paragraphs seem to have been prepared in too great haste or without proper regard for the effect they are sure to produce upon minds unable from lack of inde-

pendent study to do aught but accept the judgments they here find ready at hand. Thus it is manifestly unfair to Gottfried von Strassburg to describe him as "a graceful and cunning psychologist of sensual passion"—this and nothing more. If the same unqualified statement were returned to an instructor by a student the former, I imagine, would make haste to show that Gottfried was neither a "psychologist" nor "cunning" in the modern acceptance of the terms. Certainly, also, the average student will place too high a value upon Brant's Narrenschiff when he reads that "it was Germany's first important contribution to world-literature." I am inclined to believe also that the advantage gained by employing, even occasionally, twentieth century colloquial English is more than offset by the danger of becoming unhistorical. Tho the fact may be as stated, is it not in a deeper sense untrue to say that Thomasin of Zirclaere, in choosing for his poem the title *Der wälsche Gast*, was making a "bid" for the hospitable reception of his book in Germany? And does it not force the note a little to describe the simple tho vigorous comic figures in the Vienna Easter Play as a "peripatetic quacksalver," his "cantankerous wife" and "scapegrace clerk"? A question of a different kind that suggests itself is, why is no resumé of the *Nibelungenlied* given when *Gudrun* is epitomized so successfully in fourteen lines? The footnotes are helpful, but I doubt whether even the most careful reader would secure a clear idea of the poem from the material given. Misleading, it seems to me, is the translation of the title of Heinrich von Melk's well-known poem of satire and admonition as "Remembrance of Death." By *Erinnerung an den Tod* is surely meant *memento mori*.

I find myself, also, unable to agree with Professor Thomas in interpreting the line from the strophe introductory to the Ezzoleich:

> Ezzo begunde scriben, Wille fant die wise

as "Ezzo began to write, will found the way (*i. e.*, the meter)." It is true that where there is a will there is a way, but the absence of the demonstrative with Wille and the forced, if not impossible explanation of wise as "way" constrain me to accept the safer, even tho less ingenious interpretation:

> Wille composed the melody.

Fra Wille, therefore, was more successful than our editor in following out Mephisto's advice:

> Associiert Euch mit einem Poeten,

tho, as our volume proves, Professor Thomas is quite equal to the task of producing a pleasing and scholarly *Anthology* even when he is obliged to combine versifex and editor in one person.

H. Z. Kip.

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La Chanson de Roland. A Modern French Translation of Theodor Müller's Text of the Oxford Manuscript, with Introduction, Bibliography, Notes and Index, Map, Illustrations, and Manuscript Readings, by J. Geddes, Jr. New York and London: Macmillan, 1906. 12mo., cloth, pp. clx, 316. 90 cents net.

The present volume belongs to Macmillan's French Classics. In care of preparation and of execution, the volume deserves a place in the front rank of American publications. While the scholarship displayed is largely assimilative, it is also in many ways original. The editor has made thoroughly his own the vast mass of Roland literature, has coördinated and sorted it out, judged it and placed it before us. The opinions which he expresses are, with very few exceptions indeed, conservative and sound. The author's style, both in his critical comments and in the translation, is clear, direct and worthy of the subject of the poem. One thing which deserves especial commendation, is the distinctly sympathetic attitude of the editor towards his subject. There is here none of the omniscience and condescension which, absurdly enough, characterize much of our editing. The editor's pen knows how to write such words as *may, perhaps, possible.*

The colored *Carte topographique de la Chanson de Roland*, which precedes the Introduction, is one of the valuable features of the volume, and will come to most readers as a revelation. The Index at the back of the book is extremely serviceable. A careful examination will show it to be almost without error.

The following observations are modestly offered in a spirit of comment rather than of criticism :

On page xx, the translator says that the version of the Oxford *Roland* is thought to date from about 1080, but that older texts probably once existed, since the hero "must have been a subject of general interest during the three centuries preceding." This language squares well with the probable facts, but the same can hardly be said of that used on pages xlix–li, where it is stated that the original text from which comes the Oxford version was not much earlier than the date of the Norman conquest of England. This statement, to be sure, is in accord with the opinions usually expressed on this subject, but it seems to me that any sound theory of popular epic poetry necessitates our supposing that the Oxford version —like every other—came in a direct and probably uninterrupted genesis from poems sung in the ninth century or from the close of the eighth. The fact that the language of these remote periods was "elementary and rude" (cf. page l) simply means that the poetry partook of these qualities, and can not be taken to mean that there was no poetry. The editor well says, on page lxxxi, "that an epic is more than the work of a man, and is the production of many generations of primitive civilization." To my mind, the process of development was so gradual that, at no stage of the operation could one say : "Here begins the Oxford version."

The sentence beginning in the fourth line of page lxxxi might be clearer if it read : "The possibility that the earlier literature of France possessed epic poems did not even occur to the men of letters."

The statement of the order of publication of the volumes of the second edition of Gautier's *Epopées* is correctly given on page xcii. Numerous errors are made in other handbooks concerning this edition : see even the excellent *Ouvrages de Philologie Romane et Textes d'Ancien Français faisant Partie de la Bibliothèque de M. Carl Wahlund*, Upsal, 1889, page xii.

In line 2, page cxxi, correct 189 to 180. On page cxxxvii, under No. 261, correct 1865 to 1885, and, on the same page, under No. 263, correct 1889 to 1890. On page cliii, under No. 338, after the colon, add : Parte II, 1900. The seventh edition of G. Paris' *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland* is given (page cxix) as of the year 1903. The date is given as 1902 in the *Bibliographie des Travaux de Gaston Paris*, 1904, page 57. I do not know which date is the right one.

The translation offered by Professor Geddes is in prose, and, as such, attempts no poetic ornamentation. It is simple, clear, and not lacking in the dignity which the lofty subject comports. In his rendering of line 735, the editor has abandoned the reading of Müller ; he has probably done well in so doing, but it would have been wise to indicate by a note his preference for *sevent* over *set*. Elegant as is the translation of line 744, it seems to me better to keep a little closer to the meaning of the word *vasselage*. In rendering *ajustée* of line 1461, I should prefer to treat the word as a past participle, and to so indicate it. The translation "pas de lâche pensée !" for the words "n'en alez mespensant" of line 1472, although following the accepted meaning of the line, seems to me erroneous.

The explanatory notes constitute one of the best constructed parts of the new volume. I add a few words with regard to several of these notes. The language concerning Balaguer, on page 168, is somewhat confusing : "unknown place . . . . , the farthest eastern point which Roland's arms reached, is in Catalonia, about three miles from Lerida." In fact, many maps show this town : vid., for example, *Parallela Geographiæ*, by P. Brietius, Paris, 1648, Vol. I, p. 309. The place is not mentioned in the atlas of Ptolemy dated 1462, but appears in other editions. The immediate surroundings of Balaguer include Lerida, Fraga, and the Segre, and are rich in legends. A distinction should probably be made between Balaguer and *les ports de Balaguer*, which are named in many poems. The latter place seems to me to be the important pass in the Col de Balaguer, which is the name of a chain of hills on the road from Tarragona to Tortosa : vid. *Romania*, XXXIV, page 240, Note 1. Some ancient maps show a town, Balaguer or Balaer, on the sea at this point, vid. *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, translated by Ruscelli, Venice, 1561. The editor is doubtless aware of all of these facts, but chooses, for reasons not clear to me, to con-

sider the town of Balaguer to be unknown. The remark of Professor Geddes on page 182, where he says that the mention of Cerdagne in line 856 (terre Certeine) does not satisfy the conditions of the passage, is justified. The name appears in a number of poems, sometimes perhaps under the form *Certeine terre.* In the uncertain condition of our present knowledge of the geography of Catalonia, it would be unwise to speculate on the possible real application of this name. The same remark may be made with regard to *Bire* and *Imphe* (see the celebrated lines 3995–98 of the *Roland*). The editor does well to reject (page 234, cf. page cvi) the jaunty identification proposed by K. Hofmann, *Romanische Forschungen,* I, page 429. The most valuable suggestion that has been made on this subject is perhaps that of G. Paris, *Orson de Beauvais,* pages 182–183. There is other evidence to give weight to the suggestion of G. Paris, but this is not the occasion for a long discussion. The editor shows again good judgment in placing *Noples* and *Commibles* among the unknown places. He might have mentioned among the interesting discussions of these names that of G. Paris, *Romania,* XI, page 489. Paris favors the variant *Morinde* instead of *Commibles,* and rejects the suggestion of *Moranda* as not fitting. This latter name in the form given does not of course suit the assonance, but a town Moranda seems to have been known to some ancient geographers, if we may judge by a map in my possession, dated at Lyons in 1538 and showing evidence of having been copied from a much older map. A town Moranda appears on this map in the immediate neighborhood of *Ronnsvallis.* The reading *Commibles,* as Paris says, would probably indicate Coïmbre, which seems to me a perfectly good reading, in spite of the objections that have been brought against it. Or, one might see in the reading *Commibles* a derived form of the Spanish *Colibre,* a coast town not far from Perpignan, whose name is, according to P. de Marca, derived from an ancient *Caucoliberum* or *Caucoliberis,* according to others from *Illiberis.*

The phrase on page 184: "Throughout the period known as the *Cycle de Guillaume* (tenth and eleventh centuries)," is unfortunate. Perhaps the following wording would better render the thought: "period whose events are celebrated in poems of the *Cycle,*" etc.? On page 187, the sentence beginning in the second line seems to need some slight qualification, such as: "Traces or possible imitations of this episode are to be seen in," etc.

The refutation of the *Chronique de Turpin* by Leibnitz is mentioned on page xcii. The earlier refutation by Claude Fauchet might have been mentioned also: *Oeuvres,* I, page 229 b. The statements made on page 206 concerning *la brèche de Roland* find confirmation in the *Codex de St.-Jacques-de-Compostelle,* edited by Fita and Vinson, Paris, 1882, pages 15 and 43. We are told in these passages that the stone cut by Roland was preserved in a church at the entrance of the valley of Roncevaux. The supposed date of the *Codex* is about 1130. The editor speaks of the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne* and of the *Voyage de Charlemagne*; see the index. It would be better to adopt one of these names,—the former preferably. On page 211, he ascribes this poem to the twelfth century. Although its date is still somewhat problematic, the arguments for the eleventh century seem to me to have the greater weight. The reference to Rabel in the index, page 302, seems to contain an error. The word *Willehalm* is misprinted on pages cxl and 315. The reference, on the latter page, should read "p. cxl."

RAYMOND WEEKS.

University of Missouri.

The Complete Dramatic and Poetic Works of William Shakespeare, edited by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

The mechanical excellences of this edition of Shakespeare deserve especial notice. All the plays and poems are comprised in a single volume, which, altho extending to 1250 pages, is convenient for either reading or reference. The line numbers of the Globe edition are retained; the page is open; the type clear and of fair size; the printing and and the proof-reading excellent; everything contributes to make this easily the best one-volume edition of Shakespeare.

The volume is also notable for many merits other than the mechanical. The biographical sketch and the introductions to the separate plays are models of judicious condensation and comprehensiveness. Nothing of importance in the entire field of Shakespearean research seems to have escaped the editor. His few pages of comment must be regarded as constituting not only valuable introductions to the reading of the plays, but also singularly competent summaries of the results of Shakespearean criticism up to the present time. His esthetic comments in particular are compact, suggestive, and sane to a degree rarely attained. He has also attacked with scholarly thoroughness the enormous task of editing the text. As a result we have the first American edition for many years that is based upon an independent examination of folio and quartos; and a text that in many particulars presents improvements upon that of any preceding edition of the complete works.

The text of each play is based on a single source, quarto or folio as the case may be, and all additions from another source are bracketed. Consequently the integrity of the text is clearly indicated; and we are never in doubt whether we are reading quarto or folio, or a modern composite of the two. The exact stage directions of the original editions are also preserved; and all additions to stage directions, or designations of act or scene due to later editors are bracketed. These distinctions, so essential for all students of the early drama, are of no little importance for the ordinary reader of the plays, who ought certainly to be informed what is original and what sophisticated. Similarly in accord with the best methods of textual criticism is the editor's conservatism in retaining the reading of the early edition wherever it is intelligible in preference to later emendation.

In one respect this adherence to the folio may excite some doubt. The large number of cases in the folio where *ed* is printed instead of *'d* leads Professor Neilson to conclude that the *ed* was sounded more frequently than we are accustomed to hear it, and that a different elision was made from that usual to-day; hence, for example, he prints *threat'ned* rather than *threaten'd*. It is to be hoped that Professor Neilson will publish a full analysis of his data bearing on this question, since it is one of considerable importance for the meter of the plays.

In another matter, that of punctuation, he has made a still more radical departure from preceding editors. The punctuation of the Folio is inconsistent and often absurd, and certainly does not represent Shakespeare's own usage. It does, however, preserve, along with the idiosyncracies of the compositors and the exigencies of the printing office, certain practices prevailing in Shakespeare's time and different from our own. In all critical editions the punctuation has been greatly changed and modernized; but, as these critical editions began early in the eighteenth century, and as each editor has retained much of the punctuation of the preceding editors, the result is that the Cambridge or Globe or more recent editions present a peculiarly composite punctuation,—sometimes that of late nineteenth century, sometimes of the early years, sometimes that of eighteenth century editors, Pope, Theobald, or Johnson, and sometimes reminiscent of the Elizabethan punctuation as represented in the Folio. Realizing all this, and realizing that our practices in punctuation are still changing and by no means arrived at any general agreement, the editor of Shakespeare finds the problem of punctuation a complex and difficult one. Professor Neilson has solved it by re-punctuating throughout frankly according to modern usage.

In many instances this is an improvement. Commas and semicolons appear with greater intelligibility and less inconsistency than in most other editions. In other cases the gain is not so apparent. The dash, used sparingly by preceding editors and restricted by Dyce to indicate either an unfinished speech or a change in the person addressed by the speaker, is used by Professor Neilson to indicate any abrupt break in the sense. For example, in the 119 lines of Act II, Scene 1 of *Hamlet*, where it is so used but once in the Cambridge or Oxford editions and not once in the Folio, it is so used four times in the present edition. On the whole, the more restricted use of earlier editors seems to have the advantage; for the dash is likely to be over-used in dramatic dialogue, unless conventional restrictions are adhered to.

It is, however, the substitution of the period for the colon that produces the most noticeable alterations in the text. The colon in Elizabethan usage, as Ben Jonson tells us in his *Grammar*, marked "a pause," "a distinction of a sentence, though perfect in itself, yet joined to another," and further distinguished from "a period." This usage prevailed in the eighteenth century; but to-day the colon has been largely replaced by the semicolon on the one hand and the period on the other. The substitution of a semicolon for a colon makes little difference to the eye; but the substitution of a period changes the entire appearance of the sentences. Instead of a piece of discourse, broken by stops but continuous to the eye, we may have a series of short sentences apparently equally disconnected from one another.

A few lines from Hamlet's best known soliloquy may illustrate the difficulties of punctuating Shakespeare and the importance of the treatment of the colon. The letters, F, C, N represent the Folio, Cambridge Editors, Neilson. When F is

omitted, there is no punctuation at that place in the Folio :

To be, or not to be (F, C : N :) that is the question (F : C : N.)
. . . .
That flesh is heir to (F ? C, N.) 'Tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die (C, N ;) to sleep (F, C ; N ;—)
To sleep (F, C : N ?) Perchance to dream (F ; C : N !)
Ay, there's the rub (F, C ; N ;)
. . . .
Must give us pause (F. C : N.) There's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life (F : C ; N.)

In these six lines there are eight places in which Professor Neilson punctuates differently from the Cambridge editors. Once he restores the period of the F. for the colon of later editors ; but twice he substitutes a period for the colon of F., and once an exclamation mark and once an interrogation for colons of C., and a comma and semicolon of F.

It would seem that modernization of punctuation ought to rectify obvious errors, to supplant the old when it is misleading in accord with modern usage, and to rectify sophistication due to editorial peculiarity or to by-gone fashions ; but that one should hesitate to adopt changes that alter distinctly the appearance of lines or suggest a change in emphasis. The colon marking a pause might still be generally retained in Shakespeare as it is in editions of Addison or De Foe.

This matter of the colon, tho not of great importance in itself, may illustrate the thoroughness of Professor Neilson's editorial work and the importance which it must have for Shakespearean students and editors. It may also serve as an example of the numerous questions of detail in the text of Shakespeare that still await authoritative determination. It cannot be said that the labors of the textual critics have resulted in a text of Shakespeare that is an authoritative one. The monumental works of Dr. Furness and of Messrs. Clark and Wright deserve, of course, all respect. But the Variorum does not attempt to supply a text for the general reader ; and the Cambridge Shakespeare is now forty years old, and its later revisions have left it still defective in many respects, which any competent editor to-day would alter. A new text is needed for a standard library edition, for the use of scholars, and indeed as a basis for the school editions which yearly multiply. The general principles which should guide its editing are well determined, but many matters remain that can be decided only by a representative body of scholars.

A committee which would decide on debatable questions and which would supervise the editorial work of individual members might successfully undertake the task. At a time when editions of Shakespeare are so numerous, and when elaborate reproductions of original editions are so readily undertaken, and when collaborative undertakings in criticism are in fashion, the opportunity for a standard text of Shakespeare seems ripe.

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La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei : An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Twelfth Century, by Denis Pyramus, edited, with Introduction and Critical Notes, by Florence Leftwich Ravenel. Philadelphia, 1906. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Vol. v, edited by a committee of the Faculty : President M. C. Thomas, *ex-officio* ; Professors E. P. Kohler, D. Irons, and H. N. Sanders.)

The basis of this monograph is a new copy of the unique London manuscript, executed for the editor, we are told, by Mr. E. A. Herbert, and reviewed by Miss E. Fahnestock. The editor's work consists chiefly in a study of the language of the *Vie Saint Edmund* for the purpose of determining the date of the author, Denis Pyramus. The conclusion reached is that the *Vie Saint Edmund* was written between 1190 and 1200 ; G. Paris previously had placed the work "at the end of the twelfth century." The language of copyist and author are carefully distinguished, and a comparison of the latter is made with the language of the *Lois Guillaume* and the Cambridge Psalter, of Adgar, Chardri, and Frère Angier. "In general," remarks the editor, "the language of Adgar corresponds strikingly with that of our text." At first sight this opinion seems to accord but ill with the date 1190–1200, for Adgar is named (p. 48) as of "about 1170," —a generation earlier. Mrs. Ravenel, however, might have cited Gröber, who places Adgar in the last decade of the twelfth century.

It will be remembered that the *Vie Saint Edmund* had been edited in part by Michel, in 1838, and in full by T. Arnold, in 1892. Mr. Arnold's edition was that of a historian who included the French poem among the voluminous "Memorials" —mostly in Latin—of St. Edmund's Abbey. The present editor reproduces, with some fullness, G. Paris' severe remarks upon Mr. Arnold's lack of preparation for the task of editing an Old French text. Mrs. Ravenel adds some strictures of her own, complaining that Mr. Arnold neglected obvious emendations, that he often emended where the manuscript is right, and finally that some of his conjectures, definitions and notes were absurd. In the interest of fairness it seems necessary to

show that Mrs. Ravenel lays herself open repeatedly to the same reproaches, and to some others no less serious.

Chief among these is that the editor has generally failed to go to the bottom of the linguistic questions involved. Of these, we may select two as of particular importance: (1) the question of metre, and (2) the question as to the reduction of *ie* to *e*.

Did Denis Pyramus, as Gröber affirms, construct metrically correct lines, or not? Mrs. Ravenel's answer is unsatisfactory. She seems unaware that in an Anglo-Norman poem, presumably written in octosyllables, a verse in which a ninth or a tenth is the last tonic syllable is on a very different footing from that of a verse in which the last tonic is the seventh, or even the sixth. In the text before us, lines often remain too long by one or two syllables; others, often easily emended, are left too short. 203 MS. and editor: *Il sentre demanderent quil sunt*; obviously, *Il s'entredemandent qu'il* (or *qui*) *sunt*. 1158, *Ke la dame ert de grant age* (read *eage*). Similarly: 20, *metterai* for *metrai*; 149, *pussent* for *peüssent*; 266, *Oïrent* for *Oënt* or *Oient*; 308, *poines* (?) for *poinz*; 627, *Son offerande* for *s'offrande*; 1164, *of le* for *al*; 2113, *gelins* (!) for *gelincs*; 1443, *oiz* for *oëz*; 2284, *gemist* probably for *geinst*, etc., etc. Is hiatus found in mid-verse (*e. g.*, 981, 2187, 2722, 3416, etc.)? The editor does not raise this question.

These are cases where a judicious change might have restored the author's metre: The editor frequently inserts or discards a syllable to the detriment of the metre. 135 MS.: *E pus jesque Uterpendragun*; editor: *Pus jesque*, etc. 1281 MS.: *Si est mult grant signifiance*; editor: *Si est* [*de*] *mult*, etc. 3414 MS.: *Par force les unt en nefs mis*; editor: *en* [*lur*] *nefs*, etc. So 1455, 2722, etc. Moreover, Mrs. Ravenel seems not to understand the proper use of the sign of dieresis: 103, *Saïsnes* (*Saisnes* correctly 419); 1438, *aït* HABEAT; 2404, *traïstrent*; 794, *resceüt*; 2889, *dulceür* (!), etc.

Still more serious liberties are taken with correct readings of the manuscript in the supposed interest of metre, or of grammar: *ne* is often altered to *ni* (148, 1731, 2798, etc.); *departir* is transferred to the First Conjugation (381; the rime-word *lotir* is well known); *miedi* is replaced by *midi* (1181, 1449); *tel*, and other adjectives of Declension II, are forced to appear as *tele*, etc. (1441, 1545–6, 2899, 2900); *respons* is changed to *response* (2328); *requeste* to *requist* (?) (3483); *cointe* to *coint* (510, 1047, 1343); *le boëlin* to *la boeline* (1381), altho *boëlin* occurs in rime at 1455; *occeïssent* to *ocisent* (2342); *païs*[1] must be read as one syllable (1973); the Old French word-order is *le vus*[2] not *vus le* (2238), etc., etc.

The French language, unfortunately for the poets but happily for scholars, has never possessed this high degree of elasticity: the editor's *seintment* (1654) must—not may—be *seintement*; *errantement* (3416, 3427) and *entendantement* (1832) cannot stand; *soventement* (2874) is inadmissible as well as unnecessary; *vaslez* (3659), introduced instead of the obscure *vasez* of the manuscript, did not rime in the twelfth century with *desvez*, nor has the difference between the two vowels involved disappeared from modern French.

For the matter of the date of Denis Pyramus and his work, the question, Had or had not *ie* been reduced to *e*? has its importance. As is known, compositions not showing this change were placed by Suchier in the first period of Anglo-Norman literature. Mrs. Ravenel states (p. 18) that in the *Vie St. Edmund* "not more than half a dozen" examples are found where *ie* and *e* rime: "187, *bacheler* : *conquester*" (this, of course, is not a case in point, *bacheler* being good Old French); "1553 [error for 1653] *justiser* : *mer*" (a suspicious couplet, and cp. 715, *justisier* : *mestier*, and 771, *justisiers* : *dreituriers*). A rapid review of the rimes in question reveals some 290 pairs with *e* unmixed, and about 120 with *ie* unmixed. There remain, however, 3189 *cessez* : *jugiez*, 869 *waimenter* : *conseillier*, and 3133 *enfundrer* : *drecier*, a percentage so small as hardly to warrant the exclusion of the *Vie saint Edmund* from Suchier's first group. Equally in need of a more thorough examination, because of their bearing upon the question of date, were the rimes like 2974, *merciëé* : *conquesté* (add 681, 877, 1343, 3965, 2720). Here, it seems, Denis Pyramus is to be classed with Wace and Guillaume le Clerc, while in Marie's *Lais* we find a case of the later *merciier*.[3]

Two or three other questions of language[4] are dismissed either with a hasty generalization, or overlooked. At page 18 the editor states that "*-ant* does not rhyme regularly with *-ent*: cp., however, 1459, *talent* : *portant*." Mrs. Ravenel omits to mention that at 1587 we have *talent* : *oriënt*, and that *oriënt* (not *oriant*) seems assured for the author (cp. 400, 1179, 1471, 2090). A glance into Suchier's *Grammar* (p. 67) would have shown that the Norman poets, including

[1] By a confusion of ideas, Mrs. Ravenel refers to the word *païs* (p. 17) as one containing "a true diphthong."

[2] The editor leaves unchanged throughout the incorrect *li* (tonic masculine) in spite of the rather broad hint of the rime *lui* : *ambedui* (3443, and 3603).

[3] Cp. Suchier's *Grammatik*, p. 24.

[4] I refer to the questions (1) as to the metrical value of words of the type of *eüstes*, *empereür*, *decoleür*, etc., in which syneresis would be surprising indeed; (2) as to the metrical value of *maladie*, *veraie*, *-eient*, etc.; (3) as to the word *evesque*, which Denis Pyramus seems at times to use as a word of two syllables.

Marie, employ *talent* and *talant*; to these Denis Pyramus should have been added.

Insufficient care has been given to the punctuation. At times a dependent phrase is cut off from the principal clause (1685–6), or from its verb (1841). Indeed, the editor not infrequently places a period in the *beau milieu* of a sentence (1297, 2119, 2122, 2309).[5]

As a linguistic study the work is somewhat pretentious and, on the whole, superficial. It can hardly be said to be worthy of the tradition established by Prof. Menger at Bryn Mawr College. Had the author omitted nearly all the introductory matter; had she attacked the text soberly and carefully, aiming to assemble and arrange all the material furnished (much of it is of great interest); had she then succeeded in formulating satisfactory answers to a few of the more important questions of metre and grammar; had she appended to the whole a fairly complete glossary—a real and important service would have been rendered to Romance studies. As the work lies before us, there is doubt whether—aside from the new copy of the manuscript (executed by others) and with the further possible exception of the association of Denis Pyramus with Adgar, as mentioned above—this effort on the part of the editor has led to any important results. In fact, as G. Paris said of Mr. Arnold's edition of the *Vie Saint Edmund*, "This edition can render but very little service during the period which must elapse before a better one appears."

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The King's English [Preface signed H. W. F. and F. G. F.]. Second edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906.

The King's English, the second edition of which follows immediately on the first, is a new instance of an old and well-known type of composition. Its title might have been *Five Thousand Errors of English Speech*; for it takes its place with that long list of books which strive to teach one how to speak and write English by telling what one may not do. The compilers have shown great industry and not a little judgment in collecting their examples. Among British sources, the newspapers and a few modern authors such as Stevenson, Huxley, Benson, Miss Corelli, etc., are chiefly drawn upon. The British citations have thus the pertinency of contemporary use. The same cannot be said for the examples from American English, Emerson and Prescott being the only American writers from whom frequent illustrations are taken. These authors serve fairly well, however, to point the compilers' moral, which is the viciousness of American usage. The material of the book is well ordered, so that one inclined to use it can do so conveniently and rapidly.

The one canon of use which the book recognizes is correctness. It assumes a sort of hard and fast standard etiquette of English speech, familiar, of course, to the compilers but assumedly unknown to the rest of the world. This etiquette the compilers graciously set forth for the guidance of others less fortunate than they. Much of their counsel is undoubtedly good, as indeed is true of most conventional books of etiquette; but the tone of authority, not to say superiority, with which it is presented is surely calculated to drive all except the most humble-minded into a perverse rebellion against even such of their decisions as are innocent. There are, however, instances enough which offer ground for reasonable difference of opinion. Opening the book at random, we find illustrations on almost every page. Thus the following sentence, from the London *Times*, "A boy dressed up as a girl and a girl dressed up as a boy is, to the eye at least, the same thing," we are told must have the verb in the plural. Yet on logical grounds how easy it is to defend either singular or plural in the sentence. In the following sentence from Stevenson, "But though I would not willingly part with such scraps of science, I do not set the same store by them," the compilers ask us to change *would* to *should*. Thackeray is chastised for writing *that* instead of *whether* in the sentence, "I doubt, I say, that Becky would have selected either of these young men." For the sentence, What wonder that the most docile of Russians should be crying out, 'how long!' we are told that the 'correct' punctuation would be:—long?"? If this is correct, let us even dwell in our error!

The defenders of King's English are—not unexpectedly though quite gratuitously—the sworn enemies of American English, Mr. Kipling, for his sins, being classed with the Americans. The compilers admit that Mr. Kipling is "a very great writer," but strongly fear that "he and his school are Americanizing" the British public. This Americanization is shown in "a sort of remorseless and scientific efficiency in the choice of epithets." Several illustrations are quoted which are said to be "extremely efficient"—their efficiency apparently being their defect. The compilers wisely attempt no logical defense of their position, but conclude with the following familiar

[5] The line references in the Introduction are provokingly inexact. On page 18, out of 19 references, seven are incorrect. In a cursory reading, serious misprints were noted in ll. 145, 563, 1611, 1818, 2327, 3840.

echo of insular British opinion: "Any one who agrees with us in this will see in it an additional reason for jealously excluding American words or phrases. The English and the American language and literature are both good things; but they are better apart than mixed."

Despite some wise remarks about cheap and slang phraseology, the compilers use such English as "reach-me-down archaisms"; neglecting their own advice with respect to the sparing use of foreign quotations, within the space of two pages they employ four trite Latin phrases, *mutatis mutandis*, *ex officio*, *corpus vile*, and *reductio ad absurdum* (twice); and in the face of their own severe strictures on polysyllabic humor and the use of the big word, they have not been saved from speaking of "bad hypertrophy of the grammatical conscience."

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The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. Churton Collins, Litt. D. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. 2 vols., 8vo., xii + 319 and 415 pp.

That the value of an edition of this kind will depend almost altogether on the faithfulness with which the original text is reproduced, or else the care with which it is freed from obvious errors, is a truth which is fully realized by Professor Collins. "Each play," he tells us in the preface, "was transcribed literally from the oldest Quarto extant; . . . and to the text of these Quartos my text scrupulously adheres, except where the reading of some of the later Quartos either makes sense of nonsense or presents a reading which is obviously and strikingly preferable." Criticising previous editions of Greene, he states that no other edition would have been necessary had Dyce "adhered faithfully to the original, had he been thorough in collation," and less sparing in his notes and introductions. Grosart's judgment "was unhappily not equal to his enthusiasm, his scholarship to his ambition, or his accuracy to his diligence." Accordingly when to Professor Collins was entrusted the preparation of this edition, he determined, he says, "to spare no pains to make it, so far at least as the text was concerned, a final one."

If, then, the reviewer of this work lays stress on the correctness or incorrectness of the text, no injustice will be done thereby. The criticisms which follow are based on independent examination of several of the Quartos, most of which are to be found in the British Museum, and a careful comparison of their text with that of Professor Collins. It is believed that very few of the errors cited here have been noted elsewhere in print.[1]

Many textual errors are merely misprints. So apparently are to be judged in the text of *Alphonsus*, l. 86, "little" for "litle"; 275, "renowne" for "renowme"; 306, "than" for "then"; 489, "to" for "do"; 569 and 615, "Atropos" for "Attropos"; f. n. to p. 96, "Micos" for "Milos"; in *Orlando Furioso*, l. 86, f. n., "Calvars" for "Caluars"; in *James IV*, l. 652, f. n., "tombe" for "tomb"; 2451, f. n., "learns" for "learne." In spite of the exercise of every precaution misprints will creep into all published works, but certainly in the reprinting of exceedingly rare Elizabethan texts, scholars have a right to demand that the number of such errors be reduced to a minimum.

In many other places the editor or the transcriber silently corrects the reading of his original. Throughout *James IV* the names of the speakers occur in very different form from that of the Quarto. For example, the first three speeches are assigned to "Boh.", "Ober.", and "Boh." respectively, where the Quarto spells out each word. In the same play l. 1691, the Quarto has, "*car vous est mort*," but Professor Collins prints without note, "*car uous estes morte*." Again, l. 627, Q. reads "tene"; Collins silently changes to "leuy." In *Friar Bacon*, 354, occurs the word "price" in the text, and in a footnote, "prize" is cited as a variant of Dyce and Ward; but it is nowhere stated that the three quartos of the play consistently read "prise." At l. 412 of the same play we have "vale of Troy," where again all the quartos read "vale by Troy," and the correction is silently made. *George a Greene*, 208, Collins reads "< and > Sir Nicholas Mannering." Since conical brackets are used in this edition to indicate the insertion of words not found in the Quartos, one is surprised in turning to the Quarto to see the words, "and Nicholas" in place of the three words expected. In the same play, lines 56–60, 64–66, 79–82, 114–115, 119–121, 125–128, 134–138, 140–144; and in *James IV*, lines 1127–1129, 1154–1155, 1168–1171, and 1179–1182, all of which the Quartos print as verse, are silently changed to prose. Perhaps Professor Collins was justified in making each one of these changes, but his readers should have been notified of the fact that they are changes.

If Dyce is to be criticised for not adhering

[1] For a more extended review of the book and another list of textual blunders, the reader is referred to the article of W. W. Greg in the *Modern Language Review*, Cambridge, Eng., I, 238–251.

"faithfully to the original," one would not expect to find in this text even minor errors due to deliberate carelessness on the part of the editor or of the transcriber. Yet one cannot read through the plays without gaining the impression that words have been capitalized entirely at random, and according to no fixed principle. That this is not due to the editor's faithful adherence to the original is shown by the fact that in the text of *Alphonsus*, for example, capitals are employed where they are not used in the Quarto at lines 23, 43, 45, 116, 187, 235, 274, 275, 281, 305, 372, 394, 434, etc. In the same play, "and" is printed in place of the "&" of the Quarto at lines 47, 127, 415, 933, etc. This last mistake occurs again in *James IV* at lines 37, 49, 272, 295, 748, 1481, etc.; but the complementary blunder, the printing of the ampersand for the "and" of the Quarto, is found in *James IV*, 195, 224, 254, 255, 283, 285, 1111, 1115, 1420, 1426, 1437, 1471, etc. When errors like these occur with such frequency, one's faith in the finality of this text is rudely shaken.

But after all, these may be matters of detail which of themselves are of little importance. Carelessness becomes more reprehensible when it leads an editor into absolute misstatements of fact concerning the texts to which he asserts that his own text "scrupulously adheres." Such a misstatement occurs in the *Alphonsus* with reference to the stage direction after line 174. In a footnote Professor Collins says that in the Quarto the words are not italicized but are printed "as part of text." An examination of the Quarto in question will show that the words there are italicized and are not printed as part of the text.[2] In *George a Greene*, line 87, Professor Collins corrects the spacing of the verse in the Quarto, stating in a footnote that the Quarto spacing is "bonnet | To the bench." In reality, the spacing of the Quarto is "bonnet to | The bench." Inasmuch as the sole purpose of the note is to give the line in its original spacing, the error is worthy of remark. *Orlando Furioso*, line 37, "Sauours"; Dyce is accredited with the variant, "favours," which in fact is the reading of both Quartos of the play. *James IV*, 590 reads: "For by the persons sights there hangs some ill." A footnote informs readers that in the Quarto the word next to the last in the line reads "from," but that Grosart prints it "som . . . . as if from Q." In a further note on the line in the same volume, page 354, Professor Collins observes: "This is very difficult; the 'from' plainly makes no sense. Dyce silently prints 'some' and Dr. Grosart 'som.'" Grosart's silence is commendable, since "som" is the exact reading of the Quarto, and the "from" is of modern manufacture.

Thus it may be gathered that in spite of the editor's declaration of his scrupulous adherence to the originals, his text is carelessly printed from beginning to end. Of the thoroughness of his collation, even less is to be said. A very few illustrations will suffice to make clear his shortcomings in this respect.

In the first twenty lines of the *Looking Glasse* it is not stated that in the opening stage direction Qq. 2, 3, read "Creet"; that in line 1, Q. 3 gives the speaker's name, "Rasni," and Qq. 2, 4, read "triumphant" for "tryumphant"; that in line 2, Qq. 3, 4, have "pompe"; that in line 4, Qq. 2, 4, read "Caualieres"; that in line 5, Qq. 2, 3, 4, read "Rasnies"; that in line 7, Q. 2 has "fortuns"; that in line 8, Qq. 2, 3, 4, have "Rasnies," Q. 2, "excelleney," Q. 3, "excellencie"; that in line 10, the reading of Qq. 2, 3, 4, is "streames"; that in line 11, Q. 4 reads "City"; that in line 12, Q. 4 reads "dayes iourneyes"; that in line 17, the same Quarto has "footstoole," and in line 18 has "feet." Similar confusion may be observed in the variants given for the text of the same play, on page 157 of the first volume. There as to line 407 it is stated that "so" is the reading of Qq. 2, 3, 5; it is also the reading of Q. 4. In line 411 "Remilias" is the reading of Qq. 2, 4 as well as of Q. 5. In line 412 "excellencie" is found not only in Q. 5, as stated, but also in Qq. 2, 3. In line 417 "eye" is the reading not alone of Qq. 2, 5, but of Qq. 3, 4 as well. In line 420 "plac'd" is the reading of Q. 3, "plaste" of Q. 4, where the reverse statement is made. In line 424, Qq. 2, 3, 4, contain the variant "Mustering" though the fact is not noted. One effect of all these omissions is to make the text of Q. 5, which "was apparently unknown to Dyce," seem much more important than it really is. Throughout this play Professor Collins has apparently noted nowhere that Q. 3 reads consistently "Remelia," when all the other quartos have "Remilia."

Another illustration of the thoroughness with which the collating has been done, may be taken from the text of *Friar Bacon*, vol. II, page 19. Variants given on this page are: "63, surpast, Q. 3; 66, than] then, Qq. 2, 3; 69, Court of Loue, Qq. 2, 3; 78, *Pallas*, Qq. 2, 3." These variants are not mentioned: 64, Damsel, Q. 3; 65, townes, Qq. 2, 3; 67, honors, Qq. 2, 3; 70, selfe, Q. 2; 76, Milkehouse, Q. 2; 80, chees, Q. 3; 81, cristall, Q. 2, cristal, Q. 3; 86, work, Q. 3; 87, Tarquin, Q. 3, Rome, Qq. 2, 3; 88, louely maid, Q. 2, lovely maid, Q. 3; 93, learn, Q. 3; 96, diuells, Q. 2, devils, Q. 3. It is acknowledged that each one of the variants omitted indicates merely a difference in spelling among the various

[2] Mr. Greg, in his review, calls attention to a precisely similar misstatement as to the stage direction after l. 334.

Quartos, but if the editor does not care to note orthographic differences, why should he include in his brief list the variants "than" for "then" and "Pallas" for "Pallace"? The inclusion of such variants leads the reader to believe that a thorough collation has been attempted. Textual omissions or errors like these might be cited from almost every page of the edition. Those mentioned have been chosen practically at random.

Other features of this work must be passed over briefly. The elucidatory notes, though judicious, will not prove especially illuminating to ordinary students. The special introductions to the plays are apparently products of haste and frequently contradict statements made elsewhere in the volumes.[3] To the General Introduction the editor would probably attach more value than to any other part of the work. His discussion of Greene's life and writings, while not marked by brilliancy of form or treatment, displays sanity in dealing with questions which have certainly provoked the exercise of other qualities in the past. In particular, his rejection of Grosart's theories as to Greene's ordination to the ministry and the authorship of *Selimus* will command general assent. It is to be regretted that Professor Collins did not know that he was anticipated in both cases, as well as in his proposed chronological order of Greene's plays, by Professor Gayley, whose introduction to the *Friar Bacon*[4] is the most sensible and accurate discussion of Greene's work that is now in print. Professor Collins's similar ignorance of Professor Manly's text of the *James IV*[5] with the emendations there proposed, is another cause for regret.

But most of those who are attracted to the book, especially that large class of scholars to whom the original Quartos are inaccessible, will be disposed to welcome the publication primarily as an authoritative text of Greene's plays. Their expectations will not be realized. For the statements made in the preface as to the fidelity and care with which the most important part of the task has been undertaken, are totally misleading.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

University of Texas.

[3] For example, opinions expressed concerning the date of *Alphonsus*, I, 70, 74–75 are inconsistent with I, 39–42 on the same subject.

[4] *Representative English Comedies*, New York, 1903, pp. 397 ff.

[5] *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Boston, 1900, II, 327 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TELL ME, WHERE IS FANCY BRED.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Has the immediate source ever been pointed out of the song in *Merchant of Venice*, III, 2:

> Tell me, where is fancy bred,
> Or in the heart or in the head?
> How begot, how nourished?
> Reply, reply.
> It is engender'd in the eyes,
> With gazing fed; etc.?

A remote source is certainly the sonnet of Jacopo da Lentino, quoted by d'Ancona in his *Manuele della Letteratura Italiana*, Florence, 1904,—I, 62:

NATURA E ORIGINE D'AMORE.

> Amore è un disio che vien dal core,
> Per l'abbondanza di gran piacimento;
> E gli occhi in prima generan l'Amore,
> E lo core li dà nutricamento.
> Bene è alcuna fiata uomo amatore
> Senza vedere suo 'nnamoramento;
> Ma quell' amor, che stringe con furore,
> Da la vista de gli occhi ha nascimento.
> Che gli occhi rappresentano a lo core
> D'ogni cosa che veden bono e rio,
> Com' è formata naturalemente.
> E lo cor che di ciò è concepitore,
> Immagina; e piace quel disio;
> E questo Amore regna fra la gente.

Perhaps some student of sources and of the various versions of conventional themes will find an interest in tracing the origins of this thirteenth century sonnet, and the links between it and Shakespeare's song.

L. M. HARRIS.

College of Charleston.

MARY LUCRETIA DAVIDSON.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I beg to call to the attention of your readers a biography of the American poetess, Mary Lucretia Davidson, in Italian, with selections from her poems, by Professor G. V. Callegari of the University of Padua.[1] It is nothing new that the study of English literature should be cultivated by learned Italians, but that an author so little known in her own country as Lucretia Davidson should be made the subject of special study is remarkable. Some explanation is to be found in the preface to this edition, from which one gathers that there is a personal and sentimental element, connected with the play by Gia-

[1] Lucrezia Maria Davidson, con un saggio delle sue poesie. *Padova, Verona*, Drucker, 1906.

cometti in which the life of the poetess is dramatized, in the making of the book. It is, therefore, a labor of love, but none the less creditable to the author and his nation, as evidence of their far-reaching interest in literature, and flattering to us.

J. E. Shaw.

Johns Hopkins University.

An Unnoted Source of *L'Allegro*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The various editors of the works of Milton have determined many of the sources of *L'Allegro*, but one source seems to have been unobserved. I refer to the introductory verses of the narrative lyric, 'The Sunne when he had spred his raies,' which appeared in the second edition of Tottle's *Miscellany*, among the poems attributed to 'Unknown Authors.' The opening verses of the poem read as follows:

The Sunne when he had spred his raies,
And shewde his face ten thousand waies,
Ten thousand things do then begin,
To shew the life that they are in.
5 The heauen shewes liuely art and hue,
Of sundry shapes and colours new,
And laughes vpon the earth anone.
The earth as cold as any stone,
Wet in the teares of her own kinde:
10 Gins then to take a ioyfull minde.
For well she feeles that out and out,
The sunne doth warme her round about,
And dries her children tenderly,
And shewes them forth full orderly,
15 The mountaines hye and how they stand,
The valies and the great maine land,
The trees, the herbes, the towers strong,
The castels and the riuers long.
And euen for ioy thus of his heate,
20 She sheweth furth her pleasures great.
And sleepes no more but sendeth forth
Her clergions her own dere worth,
To mount and flye vp to the ayre,
Where then they sing in order fayre,
25 And tell in song full merely,
How they haue slept full quietly
That night about their mothers sides.
And when they haue song more besides,
Then fall they to their mothers breastes,
30 Where els they fede or take their restes.
The hunter then soundes out his horne.
And rangeth straite through wood and corne.
On hilles then shew the Ewe and Lambe,
And euery yong one with his dambe.
35 Then louers walke and tell their tale,
Both of their blisse and of their bale,
And how they serue, and how they do,
And how their lady loues them to.
(Arber's reprint, p. 230.)

The general similarity of this succession of morning pictures to those in *L'Allegro* is of course apparent, but the correspondence is not merely a general one. Thus with verses 1–6, compare *L'Allegro* 60–62:

Where the great Sun begins his state,
Robed in flames and amber light,
The clouds in thousand liveries dight.

With verses 15–18, compare *L'Allegro* 73–78:

Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim, with daisies pied;
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it sees
Bosomed high in tufted trees.

With verses 31–32, compare *L'Allegro* 53–56:

Oft listening how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumbering morn,
From the side of some hoar hill.
Through the high wood echoing shrill.

With verses 35–38, compare *L'Allegro* 67–68:

And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.

Ever since Warton first proposed that 'the word *tale* does not here imply stories told by shepherds, but that it is a technical term for *numbering* sheep,' opinion has been divided as to the meaning of this last couplet. In support of his position, Warton cites W. Browne, *Shepheard's Pipe* (1614), *Egl. v.*:

Where the shepheards from the fold,
All their bleating charges *told*;
And, full careful, search'd if one
Of all the flock was hurt or gone;

and Dryden, *Vergil, Bucol.* 3, 33:

And once she takes the *tale* of all my lambs.
(Todd, *Milton's Poet. Wks.* (1842) 3, 394).

On the other hand, the more popular interpretation, that the shepherd talks of love, is, as Masson observes, 'more pleasing,' and it is a custom as old as the Greek pastoral life. This interpretation receives weighty support from the comparison instituted above.[1]

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[1] Gavin Douglas's *Prolong of the twelt buik* (cf. Warton, iii, 220 f.), which for other reasons should be kept in mind in connection with the poem cited from Tottle's *Miscellany*, is also sympathetic with that other 'tale' that always will be told:

And thochtful luffaris rowmys to and fro
To leis thar payne, and plene thar joly wo;

but the satisfaction of a 'more pleasing' conclusion, the abettor of many a popular fallacy, must be restrained when, as in the present instance, there is no escape from the tamer satisfaction of advocating what is indisputably clear. —J. W. B.

// MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ALL OF THE FIVE FICTITIOUS ITALIAN EDITIONS OF WRITINGS OF MACHIAVELLI AND THREE OF THOSE OF PIETRO ARETINO PRINTED BY JOHN WOLFE OF LONDON (1584–1589). III.

One striking point of this list is the absence of licenses for all books, whether Psalms of David or *Ragionamenti* of Pietro Aretino from 1584 up to the *Arte della Guerra*, s. a. and 1587, and then again their regular presence in all cases, whether religious books or Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino, after that time. The explanation for this is found in the Star Chamber Decree of June, 1586, mentioned above. For while the Lambard draft of an Act of Parliament[1] in 1580 did not wish to meddle with unpatented books printed in a foreign language, this decree does not recognize any exception as far as the language is concerned and demands 'that no person—shall ymprint—any booke—Except the same book—hath been heeretofore allowed, or hereafter shall be allowed before the ymprintinge thereof, accordinge to th[e] order appoynted by the Queenes maiesties *Iniunctyons*, And been first seen and pervsed by the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and Bishop of LONDON,' reservations being only made for her Majesty's service. The *Arte della Guerra* can only apparently be posterior to this date because there is no reason to assume that an application for a license would have been refused, since even the English translation of it could appear repeatedly and had been dedicated to the Queen in person. Hence its preparation had probably been begun before the issue of that decree and its print may have been completed in 1586 because the title page with 1587 is a substitute for the original one and therefore does not prove that the book itself was printed in that year. The *Historie* which likewise bear the date of 1587 are later than it and presuppose its existence.[2] The *Pastor Fido*, on the other hand, may have been exempted from the requirement of a license because it was destined for a royal wedding and not printed at Wolfe's but at the editor's expense.

Another striking thing is the absolute indifference towards actual fact in dating not only reprints but also original publications from a foreign place, or even from two different places at the same time, *e. g.*, the *Historie* from Piacenza, the *Descrittione* from Anversa, the *Asino d' Oro* from Roma, the *Columbeis* from Londinum and Lugdunum, the *Arte della Guerra* from Palermo and nowhere. The reason for such a singular proceeding lay in business considerations. As London was located in the 'ultime parti di Europa' and as in particular the printing of Italian books there was still such a new thing, London publishers were afraid that the date of London might put their books at a discount in Italy and other parts of the continent. Testimony to this effect is borne by no lesser man than Giordano Bruno in the interrogatory to which he was subjected by the Holy Inquisition at Venice in 1592.[3] *Inter* [*rogatus*] *: Se li libri stampati sono in effetto stati stampati nelle città e luochi secondo l'impression loro, o pur altrove. Resp* [*ondit*] *—tutti quelli che dicono nella impression loro, che sono stampati in Venetia, sono stampati in Inghilterra, et fu il stampator, che volse metterve che erano stampati in Venetia per*

[1] This draft proposed to establish Governors of the English Print, without whose permission no work or writing 'eyther in the Inglishe tongue only, or in any other language and the Inglishe tongue iointly' should henceforth be printed. It was designed to check the bad moral effects of the ever increasing print of light literature.

[2] The *Arte* is the only volume of the series which appeared without a preface to the Reader and with so many misprints that it does not seem to have enjoyed the same supervision. The Preface to the *Historie* does not include the *Arte* in the enumeration of the writings of Machiavelli which still remain to be published. This proves that it must have been printed before.

[3] The original documents [perhaps with slight modernizations of spelling?] are published from the Venetian Archives by Domenico Berti in his most interesting work: *Bruno da Nola, Sua Vita e Sua Dottrina, Nuova Edizione*, 1889, p. 399.

venderli più facilmente, et acciò havessero maggior esito, perchè quando s' havesse detto, che fossero stampati in Inghilterra, più difficilmente se haveriano venduti in quelle parti, et quasi tutti li altri ancora sono stampati in Inghilterra, ancor che dicano a Parigi, o altrove.' In fact, type, spacing, initials and other ornaments all tend to show that his *De l' infinito universo et Mondi* and *De la causa, principio, et Vno,* both *Stampati in Venetia,* as well as his *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante, Stampato in Parigi, De Gl' Heroici Furori* and *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo,* both *Parigi, Appresso Antonio Baio* and *La Cena de le Ceneri,* s. l., are all products of the same London press which, in spite of expert opinion to the contrary quoted in the Quarterly Review, October, 1902, p. 495, I still hold to have been that of Vautrollier rather than that of John Wolfe or somebody else.[4]

If other London printers had no scruples about putting the names of foreign places on their books in order to have a better sale for them, there was no reason why John Wolfe should have had any, and we see how he even carried his shrewdness so far as to issue the same book under two different titles, one for the foreign market and one for home consumption. Not the copy of Stella's *Columbeis* with London on its title, but that with Lyons was sent to the Frankfort fair, just as in the case of the *Arte della Guerra,* not the copies with Palermo, which did not enjoy a special reputation as a place of printing on the continent, but those *sine loco* were sent to Frankfort[5] and are found to this day in most continental libraries.

The licenses in the Stationers' Registers which appear to be either inexact or transferred to others or not used at all are the following :

1. *The historie of China,* both in Italian and English, Sept. 13, 1587.
2. A booke in Italyan, Intytuled *Libretto de Abacho.* To be prynted in Italyan and Englishe | April 9, 1589.

2*. to be printed in Englishe and Italian | *Libretto Di Abacho per far imparare gli fighioli, gli principii Dell' Arithmetica* | Aug. 27, 1590.

3. *Essame degli Ingegn*[*o*]*s,* to be printed in Italian and Englishe, Aug. 5, 1590.
4. *a letter sente to Don* BERNARDIN DI MENDOZZA, *with th*[*e*] *advertisementes out of Ireland,* in the Italyan tongue, Oct. 23, 1588.
5. *Il decamerone di* BOCCACCIO | in Italian . . . Aucthorised by Th[e] archbishop of CANTERBURY, Sept. 13, 1587.
6. *Lettere di* PIETRO ARETINO (no language stated). (Oct. 14, 1588.)

In the case of No. 1 Wolfe seems to have presented a Spanish instead of an Italian original, for he printed in the following year for Edward White: *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, etc., Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke.* As for Nos. 2 and 2*, which are apparently identical, I am inclined to suspect that the book itself was printed in English and that only the title was both in Italian and in English, as in the case of the Italian grammar of Scipio Lentulo, translated by Henry Granthan, reprinted by Vautrollier in 1587.[6] A copy of Wolfe's *Libretto* does not exist

[4] A detailed proof is out of question in this article. I, therefore, confine myself to saying that John Wolfe who is the only other London printer who could possibly be considered as the printer of Giordano Bruno, does not seem to me to have printed these volumes. Not only tradition and the fact that he was a Frenchman speak in favor of Vautrollier, but also typographical reasons. Thus the italics and the spacing of the lines in the stanza beginning : '*Mio passar solitario*' in the *Epistola Proemiale* of Bruno's *De l' infinito vniuerso et Mondi* are identical with those in *Alexander Dicsonus a lectori S.* in *Alexandri Dicsoni Arelii de vmbra rationis et iudicij,* etc. *Londini, Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius Typographus,* 1583.

[5] *Collectio in unum corpus omnium librorum Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum necnon Germanice, Italice, Gallicè & Hispanicè scriptorum, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno* 1564 *usque ad nundinas Autumnales anni* 1592, *partim noui, partim noua forma, & diuersis in locis editi, venales extiterunt.—in tres Tomos distincta—Francofurti—Officina Nicolai Bassei* M.D.XCII. I, 586 *Julii Cæsaris Stellæ, Nob. Rom. Columbeidos libri priores duo. Lugd.* 1586. A (*i. e.* autumn fair of 1586) and III, 28 : *I sette libri dell' arte della guerra,* etc., 1588. V. (*i. e.* lenten fair of 1588). This collective catalogue, as well as some of the separate fair catalogues, show that Wolfe sent his Latin and Italian books there very diligently. I have only failed to find those of 1584 ; the *Asino d' Oro,* which is omitted in this Collection, is contained in a catalogue of the lenten fair of 1589.

[6] *La Grammatica* | *di M. Scipio Lentulo* | *Napolitano da lui in latina lingua Scritta,* | *& hora nella Italiana, & Inglese* | *tradotta da H. G.* | *An Italian Grammer* | *written in Latin by Sci-* | *pio Lentulo a Neapolitane : And tur-* | *ned into Englishe by Hen-* | *ry Granthan.* | device | *Imprinted at London*

in the British Museum, but, if it corresponded to the *Libretto de Abaco*, printed by Francesco de Tomaso di Salo e compagni, Venetia, s. a., it contained only sixteen octavo pages of multiplication tables and the like which did not call for an edition in two languages. No. 3 was apparently transferred to Adam Islip and printed by him in English for R. Watkins under the title: *Juan de Dios Huarte Navarro, Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of men's wits—Translated out of the Spanish tongue by M. C. Camilli. Englished out of his Italian by R[ichard] C[arew]*, etc. 1594. The time is the same when the other transfers from Wolfe to Islip occurred, which were discussed at some length in note 2. A reprint of the Italian text in England seems to be out of the question, because it would have been impossible to compete with Aldo and other Italian publishers who were printing it at the time.[7]

No. 4 appears to have been ceded to Vautrollier and printed in English only, unless the '*Essempio d'una lettera mandata d'Inghilterra à Don Bernardin di Mendozza*, etc., in 8°, *In Leida*, found in a Frankfort lenten fair catalogue of 1589 should be printed by Wolfe, which, in view of an edition with a similar title given in the British Museum Catalogue with another publisher's name, is not likely. The title of the English edition—there is more than one—printed by Vautrollier for Field, which Mr. Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum has kindly looked up for me, reads: '*The Copie of a Letter sent out of England: to Don Bernardin Mendoza Ambassadour in France for the King of Spaine, Declaring the state of England . . . Whereunto are adioyned certaine late Aduertisements* [*out of Ireland*], *concerning the losses and distresses happened to the Spanish Nauie* [*i. e.*, the famous Armada], etc.' Our theory that Wolfe transferred his licenses in the case of this book and the preceding to Vautrollier and Islip becomes practically a certainty by the fact that no license is recorded for either of the latter. The Beadle of the Company would not have brooked any attempt at an infringement of his rights.

Nos. 5 and 6, finally, have as it seems, neither been printed by Wolfe nor by any other London printer. As for the *Decamerone* a more careful consideration of the financial side of the question may have sufficed to induce Wolfe to abandon the project. For while in the cases of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino all of whose works had been forbidden by the Roman church there was not only no Italian competition but an Italian demand, here the reverse was the case. New editions of the *Decamerone* were appearing constantly and even if Wolfe's colaborer had succeeded in obtaining a better text than Salviati's,[8] it is not probable that it could have competed with the Italian texts of the day. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to account for the apparent non-existence of Wolfe's *Decamerone* by the assumption that the Archbishop of Canterbury retracted his consent, as a little over thirty years later a license granted for 'Decameron of Master John Boccace' was 'recalled by my lord of Canterburyes command' March 22, 1620 (III, 667).

In the case of the Letters of Pietro Aretino there was no Italian competition to be feared, yet either a realization of the magnitude of the enterprise which far surpassed any he had undertaken yet, or a disagreement with his colaborer regarding the details of the plan may have caused Wolfe to abandon the matter. For in the Paris edition of

by Thomas Vautrollier | dwelling in the Blackefriers | 1587. The first edition printed in 1575 has only an English title. Since I have been obliged to cite this grammar, I will add a phonetic item from the first edition, page 17: 'Neither will I omyt hovv farre the pronunciation of vouelles, is to be obserued: O and E are pronounced somtymes more darkely and somtymes more clearly. And most darkely in these wordes, *Amòre, Colòre, Ardòre*, and such like. But E is pronounced more clearly in this vvorde *Erba*: and O, in this vvorde *Ottima*. Neuerthelesse the manner of pronouncing cannot be shevved by vvriting: vvherfore it is to be learned of him, that hath th' Italian tonge.'

[7] Aldo in 1590, others in 1582 and 1586.

[8] *Il | Decamerone | di Messer | Giovanni Boccacci | Cittadin Fiorentino, | Di nuouo ristampato, e riscontrato in | Firenze con testi antichi, & alla sua | vera lezione ridotto | dal | Cavalier Lionardo Salviati* | etc. *Seconda Editione* | flower-de-luce in elaborate setting | *In Firenze Del mese d' Ottobre. | Nella stamperia de' Giunti*, M.D.LXXXII. It is doubtless to one of Salviati's editions that Barbagrigia (*Ragionamenti*, 1584) refers when he says of his own prospective edition of the centonouelle: '*Le quali anchora vn giorno spero di darui a leggere, cosi compiute, come egli le compose, & non lacerate, come hoggi i vostri Fiorentini ve le danno a leggere, con mille ciancie loro, per farui credere d'hauerle ritornate a la prima lettura.*'

1609[9] 'the letters fill six octavo volumes and his colaborer's plan to classify the letters according to their contents under the heads of '*Consolanti, Confortanti,*' etc., cannot be called a felicitous one if it was feasible at all. Whatever may have induced Wolfe to give up his project, it cannot be supposed that he really carried it out in view of the fact that the British Museum does not possess a single volume of it and that a Paris bookseller could undertake the sumptuous publication twenty years later.

The Fictions of Barbagrigia and Antoniello degli Antonielli and the Personality of Wolfe's Italian Colaborer.

Barbagrigia is not an invention of John Wolfe's colaborer but of Annibale Caro, the author of the *Commento di Ser Agresto da Ficaruolo sopra la prima ficata del Padre Siceo* and the *Nasea.*[10] Yet while Caro puts his graceful poetic preface in the mouth of this fictitious person in order to forego the necessity of writing two prosy ones, Wolfe and his colaborer use Barbagrigia and his double, Antoniello degli Antonielli, and their Heirs merely in order to conceal their own names. Nor do they take pains to adhere to this fiction very logically, for the Heirs of Antoniello publish the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* in 1584 and Antoniello himself the *Arte della Guerra* three years later; Barbagrigia's own preface to the *Ragionamenti* I & II is dated October 21, 1584, that of his Heir to the *Commento di Ser Agresto* January 12 of the same year. Then both Barbagrigia and Antoniello and their Heirs disappear from the scene and other stampatori with and without a name take their places; with Machiavelli first, the Heirs of Giolito, then a printer without a name, with Pietro Aretino first a nameless man, then Andrea del Melagrano. Even if these changes of printers were not accompanied by several changes of type, of which four different kinds are used in our eight editions, it would be clear that it was Wolfe's desire to offer fresh inducements to foreign purchasers and not to advertise himself exactly as the printer of the much decried *Discorsi* and *Prencipe* and such a piece of pornographical literature as the *Ragionamenti* I & II. I say to advertise, because the whole fictions were too transparent not to be known to the initiated in London and, as we have seen above, he did not refrain from using the device of the palm-tree, the guardian of the secret, anew when five and six years later he printed the books of Gabriell and Richard Harvey for which it seemed particularly appropriate.

But who was Wolfe's colaborer? and do Barbagrigia and Antoniello conceal the same person? As to the second question, I think there can be no serious doubt that it is one and the same person, however much the prefaces of the *Ragionamenti* I & II and of the *Commento* may differ in tone in some of their parts from that of the *Discorsi.* Special points in common are, above all, first the desire of publishing as complete a set as possible of their respective authors' works, and then the effort, or at least the pretense at an effort, to obtain as good texts as possible. The printer to the Heirs of Antoniello speaks of having tried to obtain the authors' autograph manuscript of the *Discorsi* and mentions the editions used by him, and Barbagrigia and his successor always lay stress upon their wish to present a text that is exactly as the author has composed it and the latter likewise mentions the texts used by him in case of the *Comedie.* To be sure these would be matters of course to-day, but they are unique in the whole history of the reprints and translations of Machiavelli from 1532 to 1660. If, then, the two stand for one and the same person, who was it? Certainly a native Italian of literary taste. That is evident from the character of the language, from the whole tenor of the prefaces and when he speaks of London as a place (*per altro nobile & illustre*) *nella quale non ci è per l'adietro giamai stampata* (*che io mi sappi*) *cosa alcuna di conto,*[11] which a patriotic Englishman would never have said. Among the native Italians with whom Wolfe is

[9] There is only one print of this edition, but there exist two different title-pages of the first and fourth volumes; on one of the latter the year is M.D.C.VIII. instead of M.D.C.IX.

[10] The original edition seems to be the one of 1539, which contains besides the leaf with the title 77 numbered and 20 unnumbered pages. On the last: *Stampata in Baldacco per Barbagrigia da Bengodi: con Gratia, & Priuilegio della bizzarissima Academia de Vertuosi—alla prima acqua d'Agosto, l'Anno.* M.D.XXXIX.

[11] Preface of the *Discorsi.*

known to have entertained business relations scarcely more than one man can seriously come into question. Giacopo Castelvetri, the editor of the *Columbeis* and the *Pastor Fido* was too distinguished ; the same would be true of Alberico Gentili[12] and his brother Scipio, who besides writes a very different style. Battista Aurellio, a man of most earnest religious interests, and Francesco Betti, a sufferer for faith' sake who probably never saw English soil, cannot have lent Wolfe a hand at all. This leaves only Manelli, the translator of Tacitus' *Agricola*, of whose circumstances and life in England unfortunately nothing is known to me; and Petruccio Ubaldino, the author of Wolfe's first Italian book, in whose life, character and style of writing there is nothing that would forbid us to see in him the colaborer for whom we are looking, unless it be that he would not have made the disparaging statement about books printed in London in view of the recent publication of his own *Vita di Carlo Magno*.

Petruccio Ubaldino does not only usher in and herald Wolfe's publication of Italian books, but his transfer of his patronage from Wolfe to Field, whether after a difference of opinion about the Letters of Pietro Aretino, or other matters, or after a peaceable separation, marks also the end of it, for no Italian book has left Wolfe's press after 1591. Under such circumstances it may perhaps be regarded as more than a mere coincidence that the editor of Wolfe's last work of Aretino speaks of presenting it *'in guisa di nouella phenice'* and that a new phenix is the very device which Ubaldino henceforth uses on all his books save his *Rime.*[13] Furthermore we know that, though he had originally come to England to find employment in military service, he was obliged to make a liviñg with his pen during the years of his business connection with Wolfe and had a hard time doing so. In his *Descrittione del Regno di Scotia*, dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, Count of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, 1588, he speaks of the *'continouata procella'* of his *'nemica fortuna'* and implores them to aid him *'con libera mano'* or *'con charitevole opera.'* Three years later in his *Vite delle Donne Illustri*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, the last book of his printed by Wolfe, he reminds the Queen of his past services to the Crown and describes his recent condition saying: *'sono stato costretto per non passare il tempo in vn'otio biasimeuole; et per nutrir la mia famiglia, lontana affatto da ogni essercitio otioso, ad essercitar la penna,'* an appeal which, by the way, does not seem to have been fruitless because some of his following books are dated 'Della Corte.' Nevertheless he never became quite happy again, annoyed by the misty air of England which Elizabeth alone can make serene :

> *Voi sola in me seren potete, e chiaro*
> *Render l'aer granato hoggi da nebbia*
> *Noiosa à gli occhi miei, acre, e mordace.*[14]

troubled by the gout which makes life a burden to him[15] and not always free from pangs of conscience about his former doings and writings. Nor would it be a surprise if the same man who as Barbagrigia contemptuously referred to the *'Masticatori di Pater nostri, et Caccatori di Auemarie'* and who as his Heir in introducing the *Commento di Ser Agresto* said : *lascia gracchiare i Cornacchioni, che non seruono hoggimai d'altro nel mondo, che di spauentar i bamboli, et le donniciuole, che si crederebbono, leggendo somigliante galanterie, di douer cader tutte fredde ne le bollente caldaie di satanasso,'* should speak at another time, as Ubaldino does in one of his sonnets to God :[16]

> *Deh voglia il Ciel, ch'in questi vltimi giorni,*
> *Doppo tanti anni rei passati, e vissi:*
> *Quant'io mal feci, ahi lasso, e quant'io scrissi*
> *Corregga, e fugga di Sathan gli scorni.*
>
> *Gradisci, ô Padre, ô Dio, ch'io homai ritorni*
> *Sotto'l soaue giogo: e i pensier fissi*
> *Da qui innanzi habbia in te sempre, e gli abissi*
> *Apri di tua pietà senza soggiorni.*

[12] Alberico Gentili was one of the most noted professors of law of his time. Two books of his printed by Wolfe are mentioned by Arber, v, 127 and 147.

[13] The device of the new phenix is found on the titles of the following five books : *Parte Prima delle breui dimostrationi et precetti vtilissimi*, etc., 1592 ; *Lo Stato delle tre Corti*, etc., 1594 ; *Scelta di alcune attioni et di varii accidenti*, etc., 1595 ; *Militia del Granduca di Thoscana*, etc., 1597, and *La Vita di Carlo Magno*, etc., 1599. The device of the *Rime*, etc., 1596, is an adder which has struck its teeth in a finger and is held over a fire.

[14] *Rime*, First Sonnet.

[15] *Militia del Granduca*, etc. Dedication to Elizabeth.

[16] *Rime*, Carta E, 3 back. The chronology of this sonnet is offering difficulty because, if Ubaldino states his age correctly as 11½ lustri, *i. e.*, about 58 years, it cannot very well have been composed after 1585 when he had only published one out of the nine books of his own.

Finally, there are a number of stylistic peculiarities in which Petruccio Ubaldino and the writer of the prefaces to the editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino resemble each other, such as the frequent use of the parenthesis, the inclination to assume an air of modesty by inserting *s'io non erro* or *s'io non m'inganno*, and a pronounced didactic tendency. Thus Ubaldino says in the Aggiunta al Lettore in his *Vite delle Donne Ill: 'Et si sono fatte l'annotationi per tutta opera in margine, parte per memoria delle cose auuenute, & parte per precetti, & ammaestramenti necessarij à chi legge historie,'* and the writer of the Preface of the *Ragionamenti* III: '*Oltre a cio saran in margine notate le di lui belle e proprie maniere di scriuere, tutte le comparationi e tutti i prouerbi . . . le quali (i. e., maniere di dire) se ne le menti vostre noterete, come vo credere, vi faranno tanto honore, e tanto vtile vi recheranno ne lo scriuere, e nel comporre,* etc.'

All these things make a pretty strong chain of circumstantial evidence that Petruccio Ubaldino was John Wolfe's colaborer in the eight editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino. A direct admission on his part that he wielded his pen also in that line is lacking.

Editions of Pietro Aretino and Machiavelli published in Italy during the first half of the following century.

Although the works of both Pietro Aretino and Machiavelli were so strictly prohibited in Italy that an open reproduction of them was entirely out of question, there were subterfuges by means of which it was possible to reprint them that were far from being as innocent as the fictions of Barbagrigia and Antoniello degli Antonielli and the names of Italian cities and London title-pages. On the one hand some of the works of Pietro Aretino were issued under different titles as the works of other actual authors, on the other the names of Pietro Aretino and Nicolo Machiavelli were transformed into Partenio Etiro and Amadio Niecollucci, and then a number of their works with their original or more or less altered titles published under the names of those fictitious authors. In addition to this the texts were more or less tampered with and, while Wolfe's colaborer had at least aimed at obtaining the very best texts and refrained from making any changes which he did not deem corrections, now sometimes in a downright insipid way not only everything that actually touched the representatives of the church and religion was removed, but also innocent references to Popes and other church dignitaries were changed or omitted.

Thus Pietro Aretino's *Marescalco* and *Hipocrito* are issued as the *Cavallarizzo* and *Finto* of Luigi Tansillo, Vicenza, 1601 and 1610, and the *Cortigiana* as the *Sciocco* of Cesare Caporali '*[n]ouamente data in luce da Francesco Buonafede (!!)*,' Venetia, 1604. A *Vita di Maria Vergine* by Partenio Etiro appears in Venetia, 1628; *Le Carte Parlanti: Dialogo nel quale si tratta del Giuoco con moralita piaceuole* by Partenio Etiro, Venetia, 1650; and besides several more works of Partenio Etiro *De' Discorsi Politici, e Militari Libri Tre, sceltifra grauissimi Scrittori da Amadio Niecollucci Toscano*, Venetia, 1630, and again 1648. While *Le Carte Parlanti* and the *Cavallarizzo*, apart from one apparently involuntary long omission, show comparatively few alterations, the *Cortigiana* and, as may be imagined, more still the *Hipocrito*,[17] the Tartuffe of the Italian Renaissance, have suffered considerably and, not to speak of minor omissions and transpositions, some whole chapters have been omitted from Machiavelli's *Discorsi*. The absence of other works of Machiavelli is probably due both to their being fewer in number and less adapted to disguise and to the appearance of the Testina which tried the trick of a false date. In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXI (1906), p. 197, I have shown its terminus *post quem* was 1588 (1581 was of course a misprint), now I can say that its second print is posterior to 1609, but that it certainly existed in 1637 when it is found in the catalogue of a private library in Lyons.

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[17] In the *Hipocrito, e. g.*, the Hipocrito is a man '*che pende tral prete, e tral frate*,' '*che affige il viso in terra, e col breuial sotto al braccio.*' He is staying '*o per le chiese o per le librarie*,' and when addressed, interrupted in his '*diuotioni.*' In the *Finto* the Finto is a person '*che pende tra il grauissimo, & il leggerissimo*,' '*che affige il viso in terra*,' the '*breuial*' being omitted. He is found '*o per librarie, o sù cantoni*' and is merely interrupted in his '*quiete.*' All the pointedness of Pietro Aretino's characterization has disappeared.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

CHAUCER, *Knight's Tale* 810–811.

This couplet runs (cf. 1668–9):

> Yet somtyme it shal fallen on a day
> That falleth not eft withinne a thousand yere.

On this Skeat's note is: 'From the Teseide, v. 77. Compare the medieval proverb:—"Hoc facit una dies quod totus denegat annus." Quoted in Die älteste deutsche Litteratur; by Paul Piper (1884); p. 283.'

The lines in the *Teseide* are:

> Ma come noi veggiam venire in ora
> Cosa che in mill'anni non avviene.

Froissart puts a similar expression into the mouth of John of Gaunt (A. D. 1386). It forms the conclusion of a little story (*Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 11. 344): '"Messire Thomas," dist le duc, "soiés une autre fois plus advisé, *car ce advient en une heure ou en ung jour, qui point n'advient en cent.*"'

That the expression was proverbial, at least in the Elizabethan period, is indicated by its occurrence, in a somewhat modified form, in Henry Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abington* (1599), where it is put into the mouth of Nicholas, the serving-man, otherwise known as 'Proverbs,' because, as another of the characters says, he is a 'proverb-book bound up in folio.' Here it runs (4. 3)[1]: 'Well, that happens in an hour that happens not in seven years.'

'*Leafen.*'

In Herman Melville's *Typee* (pp. 170, 271 of John Lane's edition), the word *leafen* occurs in a sense not recognized by *NED.*, namely, 'made of leaves.' The passages are: 'Others were plying their fingers rapidly in weaving *leafen* baskets in which to carry the fruit.' 'Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in *leafen* baskets.'

[1] I owe this reference to Miss Elizabeth W. Manwaring, graduate student in English at Yale University.

Dream of the Rood 54.

On *forðēode* I say in my edition: 'Kemble and Grein treat this as a transitive verb of which *scīman* is the object. Kemble translates "invaded"; Grein renders in the *Sprachschatz* by "opprimere, subigere," adducing OHG. *fardūhian*, and in the *Dichtungen* by "unterdrückt" ("es hatte der Schatten unterdrückt den Schein der Sonne"). Dietrich renders by "supprimere," and Stephens by "fell heavy."'

It seems to me now that *forðēode*, which has caused scholars so much difficulty, may be a scribe's blunder for *sweðrode* (*-ede*, *swiðrode*, *-ede*, *-edon*, *-odon*). Cf. the following:

Gen. 133–4:

> Geseah deorc sceado
> sweart swiðrian.

Exod. 113:

> scinon scyldhrēoðan, sceado swiðredon.

Gu. 1262:

> scān scīrwered; scadu sweþredon.

But especially *An.* 836-7[a]:

> scīre scīnan. Sceadu sweðerodon
> wonn under wolcnum.

It will be seen that the association of *sceadu* and *sweðrian*, *scīr* and *sweðrian*, and even *scīnan*, *sceadu*, and *sweðrian*, is not unexampled in Old English. The nearest parallel to our passage is that from *Andreas*. If with this we compare

> scīrne scīman; sceadu sweðrode
> wann under wolcnum,

(*sweðrode* instead of *forðēode*), we shall see how natural the substitution appears. If now we consider the individual letters, we discover that of the eight involved, five—*r*, ð, and *-ode*—are common, and that the manuscript forms of *s* and *f* are almost identical (cf. MS. *cræstga* for *cræftga*, *Chr.* 12). We might picture the evolution somewhat as follows: *sweðrode* > **swerðode* > **fwerðode* > **fwrðcode* > *forðeode*. This does not, of course, imply that each of these blunders was actually made. If the original form were *sweoð(e)rode* (cf. *An.* 465), the *eo* of the second syllable might be still more easily accounted for.

SPENSER, *F. Q.* 1. 1. 1. 6.

In the line,

> His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,

none of the senses of *chide* in *NED.* is satisfactory. Chiding implies noise, and what noise would a horse employ to signify dissatisfaction with his bit?[1] If Spenser had employed 'champs,' instead of 'chide,' it would have seemed more appropriate. He evidently is imitating Virgil, *Æn.* 4. 135[2]:

> Stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumantia mandit,

though no one appears to have noticed the fact. This is translated by Phaer (1558), 'on the fomy bit of gold with teeth he champes.' Barnaby Googe (1577) has (*Husb.* 3. 115):

> There stamping standes the steed, and foomy bridell fierce he champes.

Stanyhurst (1583) renders, 'on byt gingled he chaumpeth.' Another imitation seems to be in Quarles (1621), *Hadassa*, Int. 222 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 2. 45):

> There stands a Steede, and champes his frothy steele.

Sylvester, Du Bartas's *Fourth Part of the First Day of the Second Weeke* (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 1. 126), has:

> But th' angry Steed, rising and reining proudly,
> Striking the stones, stamping and neighing loudly,
> Cals for the Combat; plunges, leaps and praunces,
> Befoams the path, with sparkling eyes he glaunces;
> Champs on his burnisht bit. . . .

Where Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 27. 70, has

> Et eran poi venuti ove il destriero
> Facea, mordendo, il ricco fren spumoso,

Harington's rendering (1591) is (27. 56):

> While he, that stately steed *Frontino* vew'd,
> That proudly champing stood upon his bit,
> And all his raines with snowlike fome bedew'd.

[1] Dryden (*Pal. and Arc.* 3. 457) has:

> The courser pawed the ground with restless feet,
> And snorting foamed, and champed the golden bit.

Would this, perhaps, warrant us in assuming that Spenser's *chide* means 'snort?'

[2] Other lines which might be compared (besides *Æn.* 7. 279) are: Æschylus, *Prom. Bound* 1009; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4. 1604–6; Tibullus 1. 3. 42; Ovid, *Art.* 1. 20; *Am.* 1. 2. 15; 2. 9. 29, 30; Statius, *Theb.* 3. 268.

Milton's (*P. L.* 4. 858–9)

> But, like a proud steed reined, went haughty on,
> Champing his iron curb,

may be from Aeschylus, *Prom.* 1009–10:

> δάκνων δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοζυγὴς
> πῶλος βιάζει, καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχει.

Dryden (1697) has:

> —Paws the ground,
> And champs the golden bit, and spreads the foam around,

and for a similar line (*Æn.* 7. 279):

> With golden trappings, glorious to behold,
> And champ betwixt their teeth the foaming gold,

where the original is:

> Tecti auro, fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum.

On the other hand, Caxton has the verb *gnaw* (*Eneydos* (1490), E. E. T. S. Extra Series, No. 57): '. . . gnawynge his bytte garnysshed wyth botones[3] of golde, all charged wyth the scume of the horse.' Chaucer's (*L. G. W.* 1208)

> The fomy bridel with the bit of gold,

does not help us as respects the verb, but his (*K. T.* 1648–9)

> The fomy stedes on the golden brydel
> Gnawinge

shows what verb he prefers. The latter, though it translates Boccaccio, *Tes.* 7. 97,

> Quivi destrier grandissimi vediensi
> Con selle ricche di argento e di oro,
> *E gli spumanti lor freni rodiensi,*

may be ultimately referred to Virgil.

As Caxton and Chaucer have *gnaw*, Gawin Douglas has *gnyp*, as a variant of *runge* (cf. Fr. *ronger*). Thus, for *Æn.* 4. 135, Ruddiman (1710) gives us, from the Ruthven MS.:

> Gnyppand the fomy goldin bit gingling,

where Small reads (Elphynstoun MS.):

> Rungeand the fomy goldin bitt jingling,

and the edition (from the Trinity MS.) of the Bannatyne Club (1. 196. 11):

> Rungeand the fomy goldyn byt gynglyng.

For *Æn.* 7. 279 Small's edition has:

> Thai runge the goldin mollettis burneist brycht,

[3] Douglas' *mollettis*, below.

the variants being: Ruddiman, *rang*; Ruddiman, *burnist*; Bannatyne, *burnyst bright.*

Gower, though he knows the verbs *r(o)unge* and *gnaw*, as shown by *Conf. Am.* 2. 520:

> For evere on hem I rounge and gnawe,

prefers *chew* with reference to the bit (which he calls bridle). Thus, *Conf. Am.* 3. 1629:

> Betre is upon the bridel chiewe;

and 6. 929–30:

> —upon the bridel
> I chiewe.

Fairfax prefers the verb *eat.* Where Tasso writes (*Ger. Lib.* 10. 15),

> Fumar li vedi ed anelar nel corso,
> E tutto biancheggiar di spuma il morso,

Fairfax translates:

> The coursers pant and smoke with lukewarm sweat,
> And foaming cream, their iron mouthfuls eat.

Shakespeare, too, goes his own way (*Ven. and Adon.* 269):

> The iron bit he crusheth 'tween his teeth.

In none of these, save possibly in Dryden, as quoted in the first foot-note, do we find any warrant for Spenser's *chide.*

Did the bit jingle, as well as the bridle? It would seem so, from Douglas' and Stanyhurst's translations. Skeat (on *Cant. Tales* A 170) explains

> And, whan he rood, men mighte his brydel here
> Ginglen in a whistling wind—

as due to 'the habit of hanging small bells on the bridles and harness,' and this seems borne out by B 3984 and the other passages he quotes. Instances, indeed, occur as early as Greek times (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 963 (the amusing compound, κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους); Euripides, *Rhes.* 307. On the other hand, Gascoigne (1576) has rings in mind (*Complaint of Philomene: Steele Glas*, ed. Arber, p. 90; *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 2. 223):

> And in hir left a snafle Bit or brake,
> Bebost with gold, and many a gingling ring.

The ψάλιον, sometimes translated 'bit,' and by some considered to be a curb-chain, is interpreted by Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiqq.*, as a cavisson. In any case, it produced a sound when the horse was in motion (Aristophanes, *Peace* 155: χρυσοχαλίνων πάταγον ψαλίων; Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* 6. 10: ψαλίων κρότον καὶ χαλινοῦ κτύπον. The *Dict. des Antiqq.* says (p. 1336): 'Il est facile, en effet, de comprendre qu'il devait retentir en heurtant les anneaux de la longe et les divers accessoires suspendus autour de la tête.'

SPENSER, *F. Q.* 1. Int. 3. 5.

Did Jonson, when writing (in 'Queen and huntress, chaste and fair')

> Lay thy bow of pearl apart,

have in mind Spenser's

> Lay now thy deadly Heben bowe apart?

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THE PLAYS OF PAUL HERVIEU.

M. Hervieu is the author of nine plays, which bear the following titles and dates of production:

Les Paroles restent, 1892.
Les Tenailles, 1895.
La Loi de l'homme, 1897.
La Course du flambeau, 1901.
L'Énigme, 1901.
Point de Lendemain, 1901.
Théroigne de Méricourt, 1902.
Le Dédale, 1903.
Le Réveil, 1905.

Point de Lendemain, though first produced before the *Cercle de l'union artistique* in 1890, was not given real publicity till 1901, when it was presented at the Odéon.

If we had only the first of these plays before us we might ascribe to the author an originality all his own, independent of any source, and indebted to his time only for the setting and subject of his drama. At the outset of his dramatic career the critics were unanimous in characterizing his talent as original and even singular, not to say unique. His success was heightened by the novelty of his subject. In *Les Paroles restent* he has made a

tragedy of which gossip is the mainspring and the hero. I know of no other play based so entirely on this motif, and I know of no author, in novel or in drama, who has been so successful in subordinating the element of love, which nearly all literature in these two genres teaches us to regard as the paramount human interest. Nay, I should except one surpassing genius, Balzac, who had the profaning power to substitute the god of money in the shrine of love. And let me assert here, though I find my opinion corroborated by no critic—indeed, French critics do not always trouble themselves about sources—that Balzac is beyond doubt one of the literary ancestors of Hervieu, in his realism of objective observation, no less than in his inability at times to suppress his own ego, in his characters moved each by some single dominant passion, even in his style, *qui choquait les habitudes prises*, and the merits of which were contested till the critics understood that a new message needed a new language, and recognition, at first withheld, was forced. Let me quote from the classic and reactionary Brunetière in his review of *Les Tenailles*[1]: "Il y a des défauts qui n'en sont plus dès qu'ils sont, je ne dis pas la rançon ou l'envers mais la condition de certaines qualités —et tel est bien le cas de ceux que l'on reprenait chez M. Paul Hervieu. Si l'on a pu s'y tromper jadis, nous ne craignons plus que l'on s'y méprenne après le succès des Tenailles, et nous nous en réjouissons pour l'auteur, mais encore plus pour nous, et pour l'art."

We need not be surprised to learn that charitable friends attempted to deter Hervieu from the dramatic career. They told him that his play, plunging as it does, *in medias res*, neglected the rule that *le théâtre est l'art des préparations.* They complained of his rudeness of attack and his too vigourous touch. "Ce style solide et contourné," says Larroumet,[2] "d'un relief métallique et coupant, paraissait à beaucoup le contraire d'un style de théâtre." We may rejoice to know that the author did not sacrifice his originality upon the altar of this well meaning but stupid friendship.

Les Paroles restent shows us a society of idlers, *blasés, ennuyés,* finding their chief interest in the *flirts* of the members of their set and in destroying if possible the reputation of the women concerned. One woman, Régine de Vesles, is *dépaysée* in this atmosphere of virulent gossip, but is unable to escape its poison. She moves along, unwitting, with her reputation in ruins about her. Nohan, indiscreet author of the scandal, atones by his remorse and love, and their passion, elevated by her nobleness and purified by suffering, is about to attain consummation when malicious gossip, envious of so chaste a union, destroys the lover's life. "Les paroles restent—et elles tuent" is the climax of the play.

I repeat, the play is original, it is even disturbing in its originality. We may imagine resemblances to other authors; thus Régine recalls Renée de Mauperin, the Comte de Ligueil might be a Don Ruy Gomez togged out in modern clothes; Lady Bristol is the typical English silhouette of French literature. But amid doubts certain features stand out clearly. The play is logical, it is lacking in *hors d'œuvre,* it is a play with a purpose, that purpose is a moral one, and in spite of the oddity of the subject that purpose is clear: it is a defense of marriage, or rather an attack upon conditions that mar the married state. We need not seek further for the immediate ancestry of Hervieu. Dumas *fils* is his parent, perhaps with a collateral descent from Augier, but Dumas *fils,* the initiator of the modern play, with its direct observation of life, its rapidity of dialogue, its logic and simplicity of means, lives again in Hervieu, and with a more complete reincarnation in that Hervieu adopts also the morality of purpose which Dumas had transmitted to no previous heir.

If any doubt remains it is dispelled by *Les Tenailles.* Never did Dumas advance a problem with more boldness or in clearer terms. With *Les Tenailles,* too, the manner of Hervieu, a little uncertain yet in *Les Paroles restent,* is fixed. In the latter play there are some accessory rôles, there is, as in Dumas, an effort to please. But in *Les Tenailles* we have the acme of restraint, of sobriety. There are only the actors indispensable to the plot. Five characters suffice for the discussion of a moral and social problem, for the tragic exposition of a duel between two wills.

[1] *Revue des deux mondes*, 1895, page 953.

[2] *Revue de Paris*, 1897, page 139.

This struggle between two wills, hedged in by the law, which is a fortress for one, a prison for the other, and exasperated on the one hand by selfishness, on the other by suffering, such is the theme of *Les Tenailles*, a theme which is to be repeated with variations, in *La Loi de l'homme* and *l'Énigme*. We face the problem in the opening speeches of the two women in the play.

> *Pauline.* Enfin, qu'est-ce que tu reproches à ton mari ?
>
> *Irène, avec force.* Je lui en veux de ne pas l'aimer.

It is a thunderbolt hurled at the legal violation of marriage, *à la Dumas fils* ; but the subtler nature of the problem bears witness to the passage of Bourget and the feminism of modern France, while the realism of the chief characters, dramatically foreshortened each to a single dominant passion, is stamped with the influence of Balzac and his successors. Fergan, with his passion for mastery and being always in the right, and Irène, with her enthusiasm for the ideal, represent the opposing poles of an irremediable incompatibility. It is but natural that she should find in another that happiness hitherto denied her, natural, too, that the consequences of this fatal union should wreck the lives of both in inevitable tragedy. I know of no more tragic climax than the end of *Les Tenailles.* Irène, to keep her son with her, confesses to Fergan that he is not the father of her child. The husband's pride is broken, he demands the divorce which he formerly refused to grant. But Irène in her turn refuses. "Je ne l'accepte plus. Ma jeunesse est passée, mes espérances sont abolies, mon avenir de femme est mort." "Alors, qu'est ce que vous voulez que je devienne, ainsi, face à face avec vous, toujours, toujours? Quelle existence voulez-vous que je mène?" "Nous sommes rivés au même boulet. Mettez-vous enfin à en sentir le poids et à le tirer aussi. Il y a assez longtemps que je le traîne toute seule."

I have said that the subject of *Les Tenailles* is also that of *La Loi de l'homme.* But it is here still more tragic and more painful. A woman, deceived by her husband, is unable to find in the law the means whereby to prove her grievance, though in a like case of fault on the part of the wife the husband would be amply protected. She must content herself with a separation *à l'amiable*, which leaves her her daughter but takes her fortune. The purpose of the play is to show the iniquity of the law, and it is well shown. The logic of the situation leads to an inevitable dénoûment and an equally inevitable *quod erat demonstrandum.* The faithless husband keeps his mistress ; the abandoned wife brings up her daughter. But the mistress has a son born in honourable wedlock, and during a visit of Isabelle to her father the two young people meet and love. To prevent this marriage, which appears to her in the light of an unnatural union and one which delivers her daughter into the hands of her enemies, Mme de Raguais reveals the infidelity of her spouse. D'Orcieu, the husband of the latter's mistress, after the first spasm of rage and despair, insists on saving appearances from the wreck of honour, and decrees that Mme de Raguais shall return to her consort, as he himself will continue to live with his faithless wife. Thus is the heroine doubly a victim, and must take up her heavy burden and bear it in agony and without resignation to the end. The triumph of the young lovers, rising flower-like from this morass of immorality, only serves by contrast to emphasize the ruin of their parents' happiness.

But so truly are we the children of our works, in literature as well as in character, that the episode which ends so dramatically *La Loi de l'homme* becomes the germ of the next play, to my mind the greatest the author has yet produced. The sacrifice of parents to children is the subject of *La Course du flambeau.* Here again Hervieu has distinguished himself, as in *Les Paroles restent*, by the originality of his theme, and by the power to maintain its interest at the expense of the ever-recurring topic of love. The reference of the title is to the λαμπαδηφορίαι of the Greeks, in which citizens in relays ran and transmitted one to the other a torch kindled at the altar of the divinity whose feast they celebrated. "Chaque concurrent courait, sans un regard en arrière, n'ayant pour but que de préserver la flamme qu'il allait pourtant remettre aussitôt à un autre. Et alors dessaisi, arrêté, ne voyant plus qu'au loin la fuite de l'étoilement sacré il l'escortait, du moins, par les yeux, de toute son anxiété impuissante, de

tous ses vœux superflus. On a reconnu dans cette Course du flambeau l'image même des générations de la vie." But Hervieu is impartial. This is evidently his own view, but he shows us the reverse of the medal in the reply of Sabine to the speech just quoted: "Je ne conçois pas ainsi les relations de famille. A mon point de vue recevoir la vie engage autant que la donner . . . . Puisque la nature n'a pas permis aux enfants de se fabriquer tout seuls, je dis, moi, qu'elle a donc eu l'intention de leur imposer une dette envers ceux qui les mettent au monde." These views form the motives for action of the principal characters of the play, who are more numerous than usual with Hervieu. Mme Fontenais's thought is all for Sabine, Sabine's for Marie-Jeanne, Marie-Jeanne's for her husband; childless as she is, he is to her *et mari et enfant*. At the supreme moment of choice Sabine kills her mother for her child, who in turn abandons her without hesitation. There is something of the fatalism of the old Greek play about this piece, yet not the fate predestined by the gods, external and superior to humanity, but a fate inherent in human nature, and all the more terrible in that it does not relieve its victims of responsibility. The subject is simply treated, logically developed toward the final catastrophe; nothing is superfluous, though the number of interests involved has led to greater length than usual. There is in this play *un grand souffle de tragédie* which sweeps everything before it, even our preconceived notions of the duties of parents and children, and leaves us convinced, for the moment at least, of the truth of the author's thesis.

While *La Course du flambeau* is long and somewhat difficult of analysis, *L'Énigme* is the very essence of brevity and conciseness. There are but two acts, the plot is extremely simple, the style clear-cut and devoid of ornament. The play opens in the hunting-lodge of the two brothers Raymond and Gérard de Gourgiran, where they are sojourning with their wives, Giselle and Léonore, the Marquis de Neste, their cousin, and Vivarce, a friend. Neste, left alone with Vivarce, shows him that he is aware of the latter's intrigue with one of the wives, which one, he does not know. They are alike in manner, calm and undisturbed. Their husbands are equally serene in their conjugal bliss, in which, however, there is little of the ideal, their natures being rather coarse than subtle, characterized by a devotion to sport and to the careless, frivolous life which their social position makes possible. Vivarce denies at first, but to no purpose. Neste seeks to dissuade him from continuing the intrigue. But it is not a commonplace *liaison*; it is a *grande passion.*

A general conversation later in the evening, *à propos* of a *fait divers* in the newspaper, reveals to us the views on the violation of marriage of the different actors in this drama. Raymond thinks that deception deserves death; his sense of property seems the dominant trait in his character, and he would slay the thief of his wife's affection as he would the poacher trespassing on his preserves. Giselle and Léonore think the punishment too severe. Gérard would spare the erring wife but slay the traitor. Vivarce agrees with him. Neste preaches forgiveness of human frailty.

Subsequently, Vivarce is discovered and suicides. Léonore, whose lover he was, betrays herself by her emotion. Gérard is true to his theory. "Je ne te tuerai pas ! . . . Je ne te chasse pas non plus. Je te garde pour te forcer à vivre!" Can we say that the deeper enigma is solved when Gérard declares that "Ce sont les hommes de notre espèce qui, à travers les temps, assurent le règne du mariage, en veillant sur lui, les armes à la main, comme sur une majesté," and when Neste in the closing words of the play retorts: "C'est par nous autres, amis fervents et respectueux de la vie, c'est par nous, pécheurs, qui, dans la créature, soutenons notre sœur de faiblesse, c'est par nous que finira pourtant le règne de Caïn" ?

Point de Lendemain, really his first play, though little known until its production at the Odéon in 1901, is a dainty episode of gallantry. Though scarcely more than a literary trifle it is interesting and important as showing very clearly the influence of Bourget.

Théroigne de Méricourt is difficult of analysis, with its complex historical tableaux of the Revolution. It shows the misinterpretation by the mob of the lofty ideals of reform. I am not so sure of the classification of this drama. Hervieu has been eclectic; one is reminded in turn of Hugo's *Cromwell*, of *L'Aiglon*, of *le Théâtre libre*, and it may be that in the crucible of his magic talent

these and other dramatic elements have been fused into a new variety. The technic of the stage is so important in this play that one would need to see it acted in order to form an intelligent criticism. It is a work *à part*.

No such doubt arises in considering his 1903 production, *Le Dédale*. He returns again to Dumas *fils* and his dramatic evolution is accentuated anew. The title is well chosen. The Cretan labyrinth wrought by Dædalus, the cunning artificer, was not more difficult to trace than the psychic mazes whose involutions we here thread under the artist's guidance, nor did the youths and maidens, Attica's tribute, look with greater horror on the bull-headed monster to whom they were sacrificed than do these victims of their self-wrought fate upon the dread phantoms their frenzied consciences conjure up. Hervieu's "Labyrinth" is a puzzle made of the delicate interrelations of men and women in the world to-day, and his Minotaur is Divorce.

The elements of the problem are simple: their arrangement is the *impasse*. Max de Pogis and his wife, Marianne, are divorced because of an infidelity of the former, committed in a moment of caprice through no weakening of love for his wife. The latter, though her happiness lies in ruins about her, lives on for the sake of her child, sustained by pride and by the friendship of Guillaume Le Breuil, a man who comes to love her truly, purely, to give her his whole life, and eventually to win her hand through friendship, pity, and also because she must save her reputation in the eyes of the world, which has begun to couple her name with his. The pain of her first love is deadened; in respect for her new husband and love for her boy she finds a semblance of peace, which, however, is rudely disturbed by the reappearance on the scene of Max de Pogis, who sets up a claim to a share in the education and guardianship of their son. The woman for whom he had deserted his wife is dead, and the child is now to him, as to her, the only real interest. Meeting at the bedside of the little Pierre during a dangerous illness, the old love blossoms anew. Marianne discovers that Max has always loved her and he wins her back to his arms. She cannot now go back to her loyal second husband; that would be a double degradation. She cannot divorce him and re-marry her first husband—that is contrary to the law of France. Guillaume learns the situation, and, though heart-broken, consents to renounce Marianne if Max will do likewise, but the latter refuses, knowing that she loves him. Marianne determines to reject both and to live on for her child, but De Pogis comes to persuade her to leave France with him. He meets Le Breuil; a quarrel and struggle ensue, at the end of which the second husband drags the first over a precipice into a whirlpool beneath in which both meet their death.

The climax has been criticised as melodramatic, but it evolves naturally from the intense jealousy of the two lovers and from the determination of the first husband not to give up his wife, knowing that he is loved by her. It is a fitting end to the play, but not by any means a solution of its problems. For these indeed we feel that there can be none.

There is a sub-plot and counterpart to the story of Max and Marianne in the domestic affairs of the Saint-Érics, whose course touches the main plot sufficiently to be not merely episodic, but an integral part thereof. Here it is the wife who is fickle. She is brought to her senses by the death of her child, a victim of the same epidemic of diphtheria which so nearly carries off the little Pierre de Pogis. She is utterly broken, but the great heart of Marianne, though bearing bitter burdens, has yet room for comfort and sympathy for her friend. The frail, frivolous black figure in the arms of Marianne is shaken by a great gust of tragedy.

In point of art, the stark simplicity and grandeur of Æschylus or Sophocles are equalled here. In point of human interest, Greek tragedy with its externally intervening fate, blind, undeserved, seems pale and trivial beside this tragedy from within, this drama of responsibility more dread than an Erinnys, resulting in a hell on earth compared to which the fields of Asphodel were paradise.

Have we not here, too, one of the essential differences between antiquity and the Christian era? The gay and sensuous life of Greece and Rome may not now be lived with impunity, because we feel that the joys and sorrows of this life are not

caprices of the gods, the one great gift of Deity being the choice and the opportunity to make or mar our fates.

Though in this play we tread with Hervieu upon pestilential ground there rises lily-like from its bosom the flower of the sanctity of marriage. This is the lesson he inculcates, though to do so, instead of holding up a good example, he seeks to deter us by showing us an evil one. In spite of an almost perfect art Hervieu is no apostle of art for art's sake; he instructs as well as pleases; a moralist, continuing the tradition of his literary ancestor, Dumas *fils*, he makes of the stage a pulpit whence he addresses the congregation of the world.

Le Réveil is, as its title indicates, an awakening, the awakening to duty—or shall we say to necessity?—of a pair who for a moment believed they might forget the world and break loose from all the complex bonds fettering them to their respective spheres and enjoy the fruition of an ideal love at the expense of a family and, on his side, of a nation. Thérèse de Mégée, though married and herself the mother of a marriageable daughter, has never known love. It comes to her in the guise of a young prince of a Balkan state, whose family has been banished as the result of a revolution. The father of Prince Jean hopes to restore not himself but his son to the throne, and has made all arrangements for the necessary political upheaval, in which Jean is to lead. He refuses, preferring Thérèse. Touched by the sacrifice, and her resistance beaten down by his pleadings, she is ready to give herself to him. A clandestine meeting is arranged. But the old Prince Grégoire discovers the lovers, separates them by violence, and allowing Thérèse to believe that Jean is dead, he sends her home to her family. The suffering of this followed by the comforting care of her husband reawakens her to a sense of duty. She realizes as if for the first time the devotion of her husband and the disgrace she was about to bring upon him and their child. It becomes necessary in the interests of the latter to attend that very evening a dinner at the house of her prospective parents-in-law. Thérèse, after a struggle, rises to the occasion, and as she appears in her drawing-room in evening attire, Jean who has finally escaped from the custody of his father, enters. "Vous m'avez cru mort, et vous vous faisiez belle!" he cries. "Vous n'avez pas assisté à mon calvaire," she replies. Both realize that a happy consummation of their love is impossible and both yield to the fate of circumstances.

In this most recent play Hervieu attained a new triumph, both in the applause of the public and in that of the critics, though a few of the latter (M. Emmanuel Arène, in the *Figaro*, M. François de Nion in the *Écho de Paris*, M. Émile Faguet in the *Débats*), from a truly French point of view, regret the subordination of psychology to action.

I have already indicated some of the sources from which I consider Hervieu to derive. But his talent is too complex thus summarily to be dismissed. Throughout his works, novels as well as dramas, we see the evidences of an erudition which modesty only partially conceals. One is sure that he has carefully studied not only the great masters of seventeenth century France, but also that antiquity from which they drew their early inspiration. His dramatic style may truly be called classic, in its purity and simplicity as well as in its geometric logic of construction. In his novels, such as *Flirt*, *L'Exorcisée*, *L'Armature*, his solidity is disguised by a mystic subtlety of analysis which belongs at once to the psychologist and to the symbolist, recalls Bourget and Maeterlinck. But the drama, compelling brevity and clearness, has caused the author to abandon all oddity of phrase. By his irony and the tenderness we feel beneath it, by his voluntary logic and his mastery of the stage he places himself in the direct line of descent from the elder Corneille, with whose situations, indeed, his own are sometimes strikingly parallel. His plays do not present merely individual adventures, but such as have far-reaching social significance.

We may, I think, divide his dramas roughly into two groups: the first, in direct continuation of Dumas *fils*, consisting of *Les Tenailles*, *La Loi de l'homme*, *L'Énigme*, and *Le Dédale*, whose manifest purpose is a general defence of the rights of woman; and the second, more original in subject, but perhaps less so in style, whose motif is the fatality which disengages itself from environment, comprising *Les Paroles restent* and *La Course du flambeau*. Atypical forms, representing at-

tempts along lines later abandoned, are *Point de Lendemain* and *Théroigne de Méricourt*, while *Le Réveil* seems a vigorous fusion of his two main dramatic doctrines, the sanctity of marriage and the fate which is circumstance.

M. Hervieu is still in the forties and he has attained already, in novel and in drama, a sure and honorable position in the history of French literature. Though it is too soon to risk a final judgment, we feel that his plays will live, because they represent, above and beyond their local and temporal atmosphere, general characters and universal problems whose importance is as lasting as the human race itself.

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NOTES ON THE SPANISH DRAMA.

The Case of Calderon's *La Vida es Sueño*. The Cloak Episode in Lope's *El Honrado Hermano*. Was Tirso One of the Authors of *El Caballero de Olmedo?*

Life is a dream was first published by the author's brother, Joseph, in the *Primera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca* . . . 1636; the approbation was signed November 6, 1635. The editor says in the dedicatory preface that he published the collection, not so much because of the "*gusto de verlas impressas, como el pesar de aver visto impressas algunas dellas antes de aora por hallarlas todas erradas, mal corregidas, y muchas que no son suyas en su nombre, y otras que lo son en el ageno* . . ." There is no record of any edition whatsoever of *La vida es sueño* prior to 1636.

Hartzenbusch saw in Lope de Vega's *El Castigo sin Venganza*, licensed 1634, a reference to Calderon's play; the passage is as follows,—quoted from the manuscript noted below:

> "Bien dicen que *nuestra vida*
> *Es sueño*, y que toda es sueño,
> Pues que no solo dormidos,
> Pero aun estando despiertos,
> Cosas imagina un honbre . . ."

But it may be observed: firstly, the autograph copy of *El Castigo sin Venganza* in the Ticknor Library is dated August 1, 1631; secondly, the expression, *dicen que nuestra vida es sueño*, is much too vague to be a specific reference to a contemporary play which must have been recognized at once as a masterpiece. Had Lope intended an allusion to his rival's comedia, he would have accompanied his remarks with words of ironical congratulation or of blunt reproach. He would not have said "dicen," nor enlarged upon the philosophical content of the thought that life is such stuff as dreams are made of, if that thought had just been illustrated so tangibly by Calderon. The concept was, in sooth, a commonplace long before *La vida es sueño* was written. Two centuries earlier the translator of the so-called *Libro de los Gatos* had said: "*Mas si los hommes pensasen en este mondo que cosa es, e commo non es otra cosa sinon sueño.*"[1] The same thought may be contained in Hurtado de la Vera's *Comedia intitulada d'el sueño d'el Mundo*, 1572. Parallel expressions are found in the several versions of the Duke of Burgundy anecdote, which in varied form is the basic element of Calderon's main plot. In Luis Vives' version reference is made to the *vitæ somnium*. Rojas, in his *Viage entretenido*, says, *veis aquí, amigo, lo que es el mundo, todo es un sueño*, and in the same author's play, *El natural desdichado*, in which the Duke of Burgundy anecdote was first dramatized in Spain, occur the lines:

> "¿Veis aquí lo que es el mundo?
> Todo, amigos, es un sueño."

Finally, to cite only one non-peninsular use of the expression, the Pomeranian, Ludwig Halle, in 1605, published a dramatization of the same episode, entitled: "*Somnium Vitæ Humanæ das ist: Ein Newes Spiel darin aus einer lustigen Geschicht von Philippo Bono . . . Gleich in einem Spiegel gezeiget wird das vnser zeitlichs Leben mit all seiner Herrlichkeit nur ein nichtiger vnd betrueglicher Traum sey* . . ." But what is even more to the point, Lope in his *Barlán y Josafá*, dated 1611, when Calderon was eleven years of age, used very similar words:

> "Dejé un perpétuo desvelo,
> Dejé un sueño de la vida
> Dejé una imágen fingida
> Idolatrada del suelo . . ."

[1] *Enxemplo* xxxviii.

One may deduce the legitimate conclusions: (1) *dicen que nuestra vida* need not imply a reference to a contemporary comedia; (2) had Calderon's play been written, and had Lope intended an allusion to it, he would not have used such a vague expression as "*dicen*"; (3) in view of the excellence of *La vida es sueño*, of its author's prominence by this time and of Lope's knowledge of all that his rival was producing, we may conclude, it seems, that the play in question had not been written, or, at least, had not appeared in print, or on the stage, by August 1, 1631. The only posterior date[2] that can be fixed with any degree of certainty is the date of the license of the first part of Calderon's plays, November 6, 1635.

Again, but by a somewhat complicated process, it may be shown that the anterior date of *La vida es sueño* is considerably subsequent to November 4, 1629. In *Primero soy yo* occurs the passage:

> "¿Quien pensara que yo hiciera
> Pasos de: La vida es sueño?"[3]

Primero soy yo is mentioned in *Basta callar*[4]; in the latter play allusion is probably made to *El galán Fantasma*. This last link is weak, but Schmidt's conjecture[5] seems to be correct. *El galán Fantasma* is alluded to in *La dama duende*, which play, in turn, refers to the baptism of Prince Baltasar Carlos, November 4, 1629, and is the only work in the series that can be dated with certainty. Hartzenbusch's arguments, to show that *Basta callar* was written prior to 1635, are, of themselves, not conclusive.[6]

Prof. Lang has noted that a scene in *Life is a dream* has a parallel in Enciso's *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, licensed April, 1633. Dr. Schevill has discussed the suggestion at considerable length, concluding in favor of the priority of Enciso.[7] His train of reasoning seems logical and his conclusion a just one, but until the dates of the two plays are determined beyond controversy, final judgment must be deferred.[8] Granted that Calderon plagiarized in ninety-nine cases, nothing is proved for the hundredth. Even though the scene in Enciso's play harks back to the original history of Don Carlos, the parallel scene in *Life is a dream* is quite natural and dramatically appropriate. There is always a possibility that Enciso may have turned to Calderon's play when dramatizing the similar situation in the life of Prince Carlos.

* * * *

Stiefel has recently studied, with wonted thoroughness, the cloak episode in Lope's *El Honrado Hermano.*[9] He suggests as a possible source, Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*, and adds two shorter versions from Pinedo's *Liber facetiarum*, likewise, of the sixteenth century. Leite de Vasconcellos has since published a modern Portuguese version.[10] The story occurs in another *libro de chistes*, Melchior de Sancta Cruz's *Floresta de apotheghmas*, first published in 1574, and frequently afterwards, although the work is now exceedingly rare. Sancta Cruz's version is, in the main, like Timoneda's, but if Lope recurred to a printed text for his form of the episode, it was, if we may judge from the close, to Timoneda's. Sancta Cruz's version is as follows:

"Vn escudero fue a negociar con el Duque de Alua don N. y como no le diessen silla, quitose la capa, y assentose en ella. El Duque le mandò dar silla. Dixo el escudero: vuestra señoria perdone mi mala criança, que como estoy acostumbrado en mi casa de assentarme, desuanecioseme la cabeça. Como vuo negociado, saliose en cuerpo, sin cobijarse la capa. Trayendosela vn page, le dixo, seruios della, que à mi ya me ha seruido de silla, y no la quiero lleuar mas acuestas."[11]

* * * *

[2] I have refrained from making use of the *Loa sacramental de los títulos de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, of doubtful date and authorship. If, however, it is by Lope, then, as Prof. Marden suggests to me, we have a posterior date, the death of Lope August 27, 1635, reference being made in the *Loa* (l. 80) to Calderon's play.

[3] Ed. Rivad., IV, 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 256.

[5] *Die S. Calderon's*, p. 107.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, 671.

[7] *PMLA.*, 1903, 204 ff.

[8] Since writing the above I have secured a copy of the 1774 edition, as, also, Schaeffer's translation of the play (Leipzig, 1887),—not consulted by Dr. Schevill. One needs must agree with Schaeffer's conjecture (p. 7), that one form of the play was written between 1621 and 1629.—Of the plays in Dr. Schevill's bibliographical list (p. 199) I have nos. 5 and 6 (two copies).

[9] *ZRPh.*, 1905, 333.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1906, 332.

[11] *Septima parte, capitulo primero*, No. xxvii, ed. Brusselas, 1629. See now, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígines de la Novela*, II, XLVI, n.

In his edition of *Ocho comedias desconocidas* (1887), Schaeffer published an anonymous play, *El Caballero de Olmedo,* in which the final words of leave-taking are :

> "Carrero, Telles y Salas pide
> perdonen Vs M ."

Schaeffer, remembering that the text is lamentably corrupt, and believing that three authors were referred to, changed *pide* to *piden.* He knew of no Telles, and no Carrero, but Salas might be Salas Barbadillo. Stiefel took exception to the emendation, for Spaniards often have three names.[12] At the same time he called attention to a dramatist Carrero, mentioned by Schack and Barrera. In his edition of Lope's play of the same title, Menéndez y Pelayo suggests the emendation *Claramonte pide.* Restori while reviewing the Spanish scholar's study,[13] passes over the emendation, refers to the play as by *tres ingenios,* and adds : "*Ma non credo che i cappricciosi nomi di Carrero, Telles y Salas dei versi finali sieno di comici: Salas ve ne sono parecchi, ma ignoro vi fossero dei Carrero (nè Porto carrero) e di Tellez [!] trovo solo una Catalina nella compagnia del Balbin al 1° settembre 1629 . . .*"

Two considerations may be offered here ; if they do not solve the problem, they may, at least, be interesting in and for themselves. Critics have all been aware of the manuscript of the play, dated 1606. Through the kindness of Sr. Paz y Melia, it is possible to quote here the final lines :

> "Oy Elvira se despide
> de ti, y Morales pide
> perdón, a vuestras mercedes."

It will be noticed that the lines differ from the Schaeffer text, and that Carrero, Telles and Salas are not mentioned at all. Morales may be Alonso de Morales, actor and playwright, but the name is a common one in the annals of the Spanish stage.

Returning to the Schaeffer version, printed probably before the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, there were undoubtedly dramatists by the name of Carrero and Salas, and of course there was a Tellez. Gabriel wrote under the pseudonym Tirso de Molina, but there is nothing whatsoever to preclude a reference to him by his real name ; Lope, for instance, referred to him as Tellez. That we should have the form Telle*s* need cause no anxiety. The confusion is easily explained. In Barrera (585) will be found Tell*os,* for Tellez (de Meneses). In Claramonte's *Letania moral,* approved 1610, Tirso is referred to as Telle*s.* This note will have served a purpose if it calls attention to the importance of Claramonte's work for the history of a most obscure and intricate period of Spanish literature. Up to the present only the *inquiridon de los ingenios invocados,* and the few *quintillas* cited by Gallardo have been used. In the *inquiridon* Tirso appears as fray Gabriel Tellez. Folio 364, in a poem to Sancte Ramon non nat, patron of childbirth, we read :

> La lengua ò Ramon moued . . . .
> Mas si soys Merced por dos
> Ramones, en las acciones
> otro Ramon os da Dios
> para que de tres Ramones
> aya trinidad en vos.
> El con inmortal decoro
> Os cante, sino despierta
> Telles su acento sonoro,
> mas dexad que perlas vierta
> por sus labios Pico de oro . . .

The Ramon alluded to is Alonso Ramon or Remon. Barrera says : "*El padre Remón debió de entrar en la religión Mercenaria poco antes del año de 1611.*"[14] Now, as the *Letania moral* was approved May 23, 1610, it must be inferred that he had entered the order as early as 1608, or 1609.[15] 'Pico de oro' was Fray Hernando de Santiago, identified as follows in *Mercurius Trimegis* . . . Patone 1621, *fol.* 165 : "*Todo esto es de Frai Hernando de Santiago, llamado por su bien decir Pico de oro.*"

* * * *

The *Caballero de Olmedo* was written in 1605 or 1606, as reference is made (p. 329) to Lope's *La Noche Toledana,* written after April 8, 1605. The only accessible text is unusually corrupt, and this ought to have saved it from the severe criticism which Lope's editor and apologist metes out

[12] *LBlGRPh.,* 1889, 309.
[13] *ZRPh.,* 1905, 358.
[14] *Catálogo,* p. 316.
[15] Remón was a *Mercenario* as early as 1605 ; *cf. Comedias de* Tirso de Molino, *ed.* Cotarelo y Mori, 1906, p. viii.

to it. The subject is disagreeable in the extreme, reminding one of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedie.* But the exposition of the constancy of Elvira and of the villainy of the English count is powerful. Certain parts would be a credit to even such a master as Tirso. It must be confessed, however, that the wing flags all too often. One might be pardoned for insisting upon the archæological interest of the scene at the bull fight. How modern are the cries of the *aguador* and *frutero!*

> "¡Agua y anís, galanes: ¿quien la bebe? . . .
> ¡A ocho ciruela regañona!
> ¡Avellanas tostadas, caballeros!
> ¡Oh qué rico turrón! Es de Alicante,
> y lo doy á cincuenta y dos la libra . . ."

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THE DATE OF COLERIDGE'S *MELANCHOLY*.[1]

Coleridge's "Melancholy: a Fragment," was printed in *Sibylline Leaves*, 1817, with the statement that it was "First published in the *Morning Chronicle*, in the year 1794." Campbell in the Globe edition gives that date, but with a question mark, adding that he "searched the *M. Ch.* of 1794 for the verses, but without success."

Two years after the Globe edition was published appeared Mr. E. H. Coleridge's two-volume collection of his grandfather's *Letters*, including many that had not before been printed. Among these is one from Coleridge to Wm. Sotheby, dated Aug. 26, 1802, which seems to confirm the early date of the verses, though another paper is named as the place of first publication. Coleridge is acknowledging the receipt of a volume of Bowles's poetry that Sotheby had sent him:

". . . . I well remember that, after reading your 'Welsh Tour,' Southey observed to me that you, I, and himself had all done ourselves harm by suffering an admiration of Bowles to bubble up too often on the surface of our poems. In perusing the second volume of Bowles, which I owe to your kindness, I met a line of my own which gave me great pleasure, from the thought what a pride and joy I should have had at the time of writing it, if I had supposed it possible that Bowles would have adopted it. The line is,—

> Had melancholy mused herself to sleep.

I wrote the lines at nineteen, and published them many years ago in the 'Morning Post' as a fragment, and as they are but twelve lines, I will transcribe them:

> Upon a mouldering abbey's broadest wall,
> Where ruining ivies prop the ruins steep—
> Her folded arms wrapping her tatter'd pall
> Had Melancholy mused herself to sleep.
> The fern was press'd beneath her hair,
> The dark green Adder's Tongue was there;
> And still as came the flagging sea gales weak,
> Her long lank leaf bow'd fluttering o'er her cheek.
> Her pallid cheek was flush'd; her eager look
> Beam'd eloquent in slumber! Inly wrought,
> Imperfect sounds her moving lips forsook,
> And her bent forehead work'd with troubled thought.

"I met these lines yesterday by accident, and ill as they are written there seemed to me a force and distinctness of image in them that were buds of promise in a schoolboy performance."

The expression "I met these lines yesterday by accident" and the indefiniteness of the date of publication ("many years ago") suggest that he had the fragment before him in the shape of an undated clipping from the *Morning Post* while he wrote. Guided perhaps by this suggestion, the editor of the *Letters* has since found the earliest known print of *Melancholy*—in the *Morning Post* for December 12, 1797.[2] The five years between 1797 and 1802 may well have seemed many to Coleridge. Bearing in mind the lapse of time, the established tendency of romantic poets in general

[1] This note was written and sent to the Editors of *M. L. N.* before I knew that Mr. Coleridge had found the lines in the *Morning Post.* I have attempted to recast it in the proof,—not, I feel, very successfully.

[2] E. H. Coleridge, "S. T. Coleridge as a Lake Poet," *Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature*, XXIV, 110. It had escaped the notice of Campbell, who had "not detected any of Coleridge's contributions to the *Morning Post* before the beginning of 1798"; and Dr. Haney in his Coleridge bibliography (1903) seems to have followed Campbell, listing *Fire, Famine and Slaughter*, Jan. 8, 1798, as Coleridge's first contribution to the *Post.*

and Coleridge in particular to assign early dates to their compositions, and the fact that Coleridge did print no less than ten poems in the *Chronicle* in 1794, we have probably a sufficient explanation of the assertion in *Sibylline Leaves* that the fragment was first printed in the *Chronicle* in 1794. 1797 is pretty certainly the date of the first appearance of *Melancholy*. The same year is also, notwithstanding what Coleridge wrote to Sotheby about the lines being a "schoolboy performance," the probable date of their composition.

The dating of so slight a fragment as *Melancholy* would not justify this lengthy note, even to a Coleridge student, were it not that the lines bear some internal evidence of belonging to a later period than Coleridge assigns them to,—to the most interesting and important period of his whole poetical career. The "fern," the "dark green Adder's Tongue," the "long lank leaf," are strongly suggestive of that ash-tree dell at Nether Stowey which made so deep an impression on the poet's imagination in the years 1796 and 1797. Professor Dowden has pointed out[3] the chief instances of its appearance in Coleridge's verse,—in *This Lime Tree Bower my Prison*, in *Osorio*, and in *Fears in Solitude*. Copies of the first-named poem sent to Southey and Lloyd, in the summer of 1797, shortly after it was composed, describe the "plumey ferns" "sprayed by the waterfall"; in *Osorio* (composed the same summer) the plumey fern has become "the long lank weed," and so it appears in the printed form of *This Lime-Tree Bower*—"the dark green file of long lank weeds." The adder's tongue is not mentioned in any of these poems, but that the "ferns" and "weeds" mean the same plant that is named in *Melancholy* is shown by an entry in Dorothy Wordsworth's Journal (Feb. 10, 1798): "Walked to Woodlands, and to the waterfall. The adder's tongue and the ferns green in the low damp dell." It is further shown by two botanical notes. When Coleridge printed *This Lime-Tree Bower* in the *Annual Anthology* for 1800, he annotated l. 17 as follows:

"'*Of long lank weeds.*' The Asplenium scolopendrium, called in some countries the Adder's tongue, in others the Hart's tongue: but Withering gives the Adder's tongue as the trivial name of the Ophioglossum only."

This note was retained in *Sibylline Leaves*, and afterwards. In *Sibylline Leaves* also l. 7 of *Melancholy* has this note:

"A botanical mistake. The plant, I meant, is called the Hart's Tongue; but this would unluckily spoil the poetical effect. *Cedat ergo Botanice*;"

which is merely a modification of the note originally printed in the *Post*:

"A plant found on old walls, and in wells and moist edges.—It is often called the Hart's-tongue."[4]

There can be no doubt that, at least when this note was written, the "fern," the "dark green Adder's Tongue," and the "long lank leaf" of *Melancholy* were identified in Coleridge's mind with the "plumey ferns," the "dark green file of long lank weeds," that so impressed his imagination in the ash-tree dell at Nether Stowey. In view of the fact that no one has found the fragment in print earlier than December, 1797, we are I think justified in believing that *Melancholy* in the form in which we have it was not "a schoolboy performance," and that its "force and distinctness of image" are a product of the great year at Stowey.

This date accords also with Bowles's alleged borrowing mentioned in the letter to Sotheby. But as a matter of fact Bowles was probably thinking of another poem of Coleridge's rather than of *Melancholy*.

The passage to which Coleridge refers is in Bowles's *Coombe Ellen*:

> "Here Melancholy, on the pale crags laid,
> Might muse herself to sleep; or Fancy come,
> Witching the mind with tender cozenage,
> And shaping things that are not."

Coombe Ellen was "written in Radnorshire, September, 1798," and published the same year—

[3] "Coleridge as a Poet," *New Studies in Literature*, 313 ff.

[4] In the version of *This Lime-tree Bower* sent to Southey in July, 1797, Coleridge had already commented in a note on the "plumy ferns":—"The ferns that grow in moist places grow five or six together, and form a complete 'Prince of Wales's Feathers,'—that is, plumy."

a year after the appearance of Coleridge's fragment in the *Morning Post.* The resemblance is evident, and rather striking. "Pale Melancholy" has "sat retired" since Collins so stationed her in 1748, but she first "mused herself to sleep" in Coleridge's imagination.[5] Not, however, for the first time in the fragment under consideration.

In the autumn of 1796 Coleridge and Lloyd spent a week with Poole at Nether Stowey, the result of which was a poem to Lloyd, published in the *Poems* of 1797 under the title *To a Young Friend on his Proposing to Domesticate with the Author.* It is an enthusiastic description, very slightly allegorized, of the beauties of nature that will surround the poet and his disciple when they are settled at Stowey. The dell is not pictured sharply and definitely as it was to be later, in the poems of 1797–8, but it is a part of his recollection of the place, recurring more than once in the poem. And this poem it is that one constantly recalls while reading *Coombe Ellen.* In it are to be found almost all the concrete items of Bowles's description: the dashing torrent, the red berries of the ash, the sheep wandering on the perilous cliff, the towering crag. I should have to copy a large part of both poems to show all the relations and resemblances. Finally, in it occurs the very fancy that Coleridge mentions in the letter to Sotheby, and in the same language, save that a synonym is used:

"Calm Pensiveness might muse herself to sleep."

Here, then, is a sufficient Coleridgean antecedent for Bowles's line, indeed for his whole poem, in a piece he is rather more likely to have seen than he is to have seen *Melancholy,* tho of course he may well enough have seen both. "About the 6th of September [1797]," says Campbell, "having completed *Osorio* to the middle of the fifth act, [Coleridge] took it over to Shaftesbury to exhibit it to the 'god of his idolatry, Bowles.'" This was his first meeting with the sonneteer. No doubt he took with him, if he had not already sent, a copy of the 1797 *Poems*; very likely he read to Bowles the lines *To a Young Friend, &c.,* very likely also the first draft of *This Lime-Tree Bower,* in connection with the scenes in *Osorio* in which the same material had been used. Coleridge was an impressive reader, especially of his own poetry. Bowles doubtless studied Coleridge's verse with enthusiasm after that meeting; and when, a year later, he found himself in Radnorshire in the midst of scenery such as Coleridge had celebrated, he imitated the lines to Lloyd in *Coombe Ellen.*

Melancholy, I believe, is no more a schoolboy performance than is *Time Real and Imaginary.* Very likely the fancy of Melancholy musing herself to sleep *was* early, a product of the time when Bowles was in the ascendent. It has no necessary connection with Stowey, tho as we have seen he introduced it into his first Stowey poem in 1796. But the lines he printed in the *Morning Post* in December, 1797, and sent to Sotheby in 1802 as a product of his nineteenth year, surely took shape not in 1791 or 1794, but after 1796—after he had seen the Quantocks, and the ash-tree dell in particular.

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[5] Tho it was from Bowles, apparently, that he learned to feel a special delight in the verb *muse.* It is the best-loved word in Bowles's vocabulary, and became scarcely less a favorite with his young admirers the Pantisocrats. It occurs five times in the first ten sonnets in Gilfillan's edition of Bowles, frequently in association with an evening landscape, a cliff or a hillside with a castle (cf. first two lines of *Melancholy*). It gave a name for Coleridge's *magnum opus* of those days, the *Religious Musings*; it comes in characteristically in the *Monody on the Death of Chatterton*; a sonnet of Lovell's quoted by Cottle (*Reminiscences,* p. 3, Amer. ed. of 1848) cannot avoid it; and Coleridge himself took occasion to ridicule it as a mannerism of the school in the first of the Higginbotham sonnets. It goes back of course to Collins's *Ode to Evening.*

OE. *werg, werig* 'ACCURSED'; *wergan* 'TO CURSE.'

The elder school of lexicographers, for example, Ettmüller, *Lex. An. Sax.,* p. 97, Bouterwek, *Ein An. sächs. Glossar.,* p. 297, Grein, *Sprachschatz,* ii, 662–3, treated *werg, werig, wergan, &c.,* meaning 'accursed, to curse,' as having a short vowel. Also the Bosworth-Toller marks the vowel as short, although—unfortunately—entering *werg, werig, wyrig* under *wearg.* Kluge, *An.*

sächs. Leseb.[3] enters *wyrgan*, verb, as short, but does not record the nominal form *werg, werig*; doubtless for him the vowel is short in all forms. Of late years, however, the practice has crept in of regarding the *e* as long and writing the lemma *wērig*; see Cook, *Christ*, p. 290, and Krapp, *Andrew*, p. 234. To whose doctrine this parallelling of *werg, werig* 'accursed' with *wērig* 'weary' may be due, I am unable to say; perhaps to the example of Sweet, who in his *Stud. Dict. of An. Sax.*, p. 205, enters *wierig**, *ē*†, *y* 'accursed.' Clark Hall, *Concise An. Sax. Dict.*, p. 365, col. *b* (near top), enters *wyrge* and (farther down) *wyrig*, both forms with short vowel. Now, although Clark Hall is unjustifiable in his *wyrge* with final *-e*, and although the Bosworth-Toller is absurd in entering *werg, werig* under *wearg*, nevertheless the phonology of Ettmüller, Bouterwek, Grein, namely *wĕrg, wĕrig*, is right and the *wērig* of Cook and Krapp and the *wīerg* of Sweet are flatly wrong. See the passing remark by Cosijn, *Beitr.* XX, 109–110. Concerning Krapp in particular, I have grounds for suspecting that his personal belief is against *wērig*.

Every investigation of the question should start from the familiar *warg*, Icel. *vargr*, OE. (WS.) *wearg*, OS. *warag*. The ultimate relations of Germanic *warg-s* have been fully discussed by Kauffmann, *Beitr.* XVIII, 175–187. I have not space for even the briefest résumé of Kauffmann's exposition. Let it suffice to say that a *warg-s* was a person who had committed an inexpiable offence, a parricide, who was solemnly thrust out of the community and handed over to the punishment of the gods. The 'wolf' (werwolf) is a Scandinavian development. In OE. the word was reduced to mean a miserable one in general, a wretch to be shunned and execrated. Hence the gothic verb *ga-wargjan* 'to condemn, curse,' OE. *wiergan, wergan*.

What, then, is the explanation of the OE. nominal forms *werg, werig*, &c.? That the Bosworth-Toller is wrong in equating them with *wearg*, the breaking of *warg*, will be evident to one looking more closely into the phonology of the so-called breakings. In OE. the broken vowel begins palatal and ends guttural; of necessity consonants *after* the vowel are also in the guttural position. The clearest utterance on this point is found in Bülbring, *Altengl. El.buch*, § 139:

> "Die Brechung hat ihren Grund in der velaren, und wenigstens z. T. vielleicht auch labialen, Artikulation bezw. Nebenartikulation, welche den brechenden Konsonanten eigen war: χ [Bülbring's sign for the OE. *h* velar spirant § 480] war jedenfalls auch nach *e* und *i* velar und ähnelte wohl der hinteren Varietät, die heutzutage z. B. von Schweizern (in *iach* 'ich') gesprochen wird; das lange sowohl als das gedeckte *r* wurde mit Hebung der Hinterzunge und vielleicht mit Lippenrundung gesprochen; ebenso das aus dem Urgerm. stammene *ll* und das gedeckte *l*, soweit sie Brechung hervorriefen, d. h. also wie ne. *ll* in *hall, full*."

From this it is clear that a velar or labial (non-palatal) breaking *r* in the combination *rg, rh*, could not have evolved a parasitic palatal vowel between the *r* and the *g* or *h*. See Sievers, § 213, Anm. on *byrig* (**burgi*) and *burug*. Conversely, if *-rg-, -rh-* is non-palatal, the parasitic vowel will also be non-palatal, an *a, o, u*; this we find in OS. *warag*. According to the Bosworth-Toller assumption: *werg, werig* = *wearg*, we should expect such forms as **werug*, **werag*. Yet these are precisely the forms which we never find; we encounter only forms of the *-rig-* type, *e. g.*, *weriga, weriges, werigra, werigum, wyrigra*. Especially significant are such forms as *se werga feond*, *Bede* 216/2 (*wer*[i]*a* MS. B, Miller, II, p. 230), *þa wergan gastas*, 214/16 (*wérian* MS. B, Miller, II, p. 229). Too much importance need not be attached to the accent in *wérian*. In a text so tangled up and fitful as the OE. *Bede* accent-writing must be of the slightest conceivable significance; see *únalyfedre*, 110/25 (MS. B, Miller, II, p. 101). The accent in *wérian* can indicate nothing more than a late OE. lengthening (sporadic) in open syllable, Sweet, *H. E. S.* § 392. Of far greater significance is the phenomenon that the reduction of *werigan* to *werian*, of *weriga* to *weria* marks the extreme *palatalization* of *g* in the direction of the *y*-sound.

If *werg* is not = *wearg*, what then is it? Only one explanation suggests itself to me, namely, to assume a stem **wargi-* parallel with the more usual *warg-o-s*. This **wargi-* would produce OE. *werg, wierg, wyrg* in accordance with the familiar principles of OE. phonology, while *werig, wyrig*,

&c., are merely the same forms with palatal parasitic vowel, like *byrg, byrig* from **burgi-*. Clark Hall's *wyrge*, however, with final *-e* in the lemma, runs counter to Sievers, §§ 133, 269, 302.

On the negative side one has a right to call upon the upholders of the **wērig* form for some explanation. What can be the etymology of **wērig* 'accursed'? OE. *ē*, apart from a very few words like the adverb *hēr*, is the *i*-Umlaut of *ō* or of *ēa, ēo*. Now, if there are such stems as *wōr-* (or *wēor-*, *wēar-*) *-ig*, assuredly they have left no trace. Why Sweet in particular should enter *wīerig** (in his phonology *īe* is the *i*-Umlaut of *ēa, ēo*) yet enter the verb *wiergan* (*i*-Umlaut of *ea, eo*) is a puzzle. In what Ablaut relation are *ea, eo, ēa, eo*? Whereas *warg-o-* and **warg-i-* fit into the OE. vowel system without a wrench. For the connection between *warg-* and Latin *virga, virgula*, see Kauffmann; the 'twig' was attached to the neck of the parricide as a symbol and badge.

A few words upon the metrical aspects of **wērig* versus *werg*. A hemistich of the type **fēond | wērigne* or **wērigne | fēond* would point conclusively to **wērig*. But there is no such hemistich; the reader may satisfy himself by consulting Grein. There is not a line in OE. poetry which compels us to scan **wērig*; on the contrary, *wĕrig* is the almost unavoidable scansion. For example, *werige mid werigum, Andrew* 615*a*; read either: *wérge mid | wérgum* or *wĕrìge mid | wĕrìgum*, as unmistakably preferable to *wérige mid | wérigum*, which—according to Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, § 78.5—we should stress: *wérìge mid | wérìgum*.

A final word of correction. The Bosworth-Toller cites *Genesis* 906 under *wearg* 'accursed,' although more than twenty years ago Sievers, *Beitr.* x, 512, corrected the MS. *werg* to *wērig*. It will be well to examine the passage in full:

> þu sceealt wideferhð werig þinum
> breostum bearm tredan bradre eorðan, &c.

The emendation *bradre* for the MS. *brade* is by Dietrich, *Zs. f. d. Alt.* x, 318. Properly interpreted, the passage means: 'Thou (the serpent) shalt all thy life weary on thy breast(s) tread the lap of the broad earth.' This is fairly equivalent to: 'Upon thy belly shalt thou go,' *Gen.* III, 14.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *PERICLES*, v, 1, 1–101.

It is now almost universally admitted that, with the possible exception of a few scattered phrases, the first two acts of *Pericles* are not from Shakspere's hand. The last three, however, seem to reveal his mind and art at nearly every point. Even the repulsive scenes in the brothel were probably revised and in part rewritten by the master, with the especial purpose of glorifying Marina's character. No scene save these,[1] in Acts III-V, has hitherto been challenged.

There is, nevertheless, at least one passage of considerable length—the first hundred lines of the fifth act—which may well awaken suspicion. It shows surprising poverty of style and thought if compared with the portions immediately preceding and following, and betrays, furthermore, some important inconsistencies which demand explanation. One of these is something of which it is difficult to believe that Shakspere could have been guilty. He is careful to represent Marina as a model of young womanhood, and so well does he succeed that she is not unworthy to be placed beside those wonderful creations of his best plays—Imogen, Hermione, Cordelia, for example. Now Marina, like Cordelia, is attractive in no small degree by reason of her modesty; yet in the passage under suspicion she is given a speech which is wholly out of accord with this modesty:

> "I am a maid,
> My lord, that ne'er before invited eyes,
> But have been gazed on like a comet."

If this is Shakspere's touch, the only remaining theory is that her character is drawn in a glaringly inconsistent fashion. And this I believe to be next to impossible, for in 1608 (the year in which *Pericles* was probably staged) he was in the full maturity of his genius.

Another inconsistency is concerned with Marina's occupation. It was first noted by Mr. F. G. Fleay (*A Shakespeare Manual*, p. 210), who, however, did not deny Shakspere's authorship of the passage:

> "She is all happy as the fairest of all,
> And with her fellow maids is now upon
> The leafy shelter that abuts against
> The island's side." (v, 1, 49–52.)

[1] The Gower prologues, or choruses, however, are admittedly non-Shaksperean.

In IV, 6, she is represented as desirous to "sing, weave, sew and dance," in order to earn money for the bawd in whose power she has been placed. And in the prologue to Act V she is taking pupils in singing, dancing, and embroidering :

> "And her gain
> She gives the cursed bawd."

Now it is true that Shakspere was sometimes careless concerning such details, but it is probable that in this case the mistake was a result of an attempt to graft parts of two different versions of the play.

Such an attempt is again suggested by the fact that the proper name, Mytilene, is not pronounced in the same manner in the hundred lines under suspicion as in the other portions. In V, 1, 43, it is Mýtilĕn, as is shown by the meter, whereas in line 177 of the same scene—almost certainly a Shaksperean passage—it has the ordinary pronunciation, the final *e* being sounded. In the closing couplet of the Gower prologue, or chorus, to IV, 5, the pronunciation is again Mýtilĕn, as is proved not only by the meter but also by the rime and the quarto spelling :

> "Patience, then,
> And think you now are all in Mytilene."
> (Quarto, Mittelin.)

All the choruses are admittedly non-Shaksperean. We may expect, therefore, to find this shortened form once more ; and in the prologue to V, 3, we do find it :

> "What minstrelsy and pretty din,
> The regent made in Mytilene."
> (Quarto, Metalin.)

It is true that Shakspere occasionally used two forms of the same word, for metrical reasons (Desdemona and Désdemŏn); but it can hardly be shown that he does so here, for the full list of examples enables one to make this statement : in the (probably) non-Shaksperean portions we have the trisyllable only, four times (IV, 4, 51 ; V, 1, 3 ; V, 1, 43 ; V, 2, 273); in Shakspere's portion, the quadrisyllable only, also four times (V, 1, 177 ; V, 1, 188 ; V, 1, 221 ; V, 3, 10). In two of these Shaksperean lines it is possible to scan the word as a trisyllable, but the other scansion is the more natural. Furthermore, it is significant that the long pronunciation does not occur even once in the non-Shaksperean lines ; and this must be explained. The burden of proof would seem to rest upon those who believe Shakspere to be the author of V, 1, 1–101. Though not in itself final, the inconsistency strikingly corroborates the other kinds of evidence.

Further proof is afforded by a curious break after line 84 in this first scene of the fifth act. When Pericles exclaims "Hum, ha !" he shows extreme anger. Othello uses the same words (separately) in his most highly wrought states. Apparently, then, Pericles follows these exclamations with a blow ; for Gower,[2] Twine,[3] and Wilkins's novel[4] all mention it, the two last named adding Marina's lamentations. Both stage-direction and text seem to have dropped out. The gap must be one of several lines, since Marina's first words, in the play as we now have it, show no lament or agitation. That there was a blow, nevertheless, is shown by the question which Pericles asks, a few lines beyond (V, 1, 127–130):

> "Didst thou not say, when I did push thee back—
> Which was when I perceived thee—that thou camest
> From good descending?"

And at another point, this time in the (probably) non-Shaksperean portion (V, 1, 100–101), Marina herself says :

> "My lord, if you did know my parentage,
> You would not do me violence."

How shall we reconcile these statements with the absence of a stage-direction? It is possible that it is merely a careless omission, and that ten or fifteen lines of dialogue have also perished ; for the text of the whole play is hopelessly corrupt. But it is also possible that here again is an example of the attempt to graft one version upon another. At any rate, the several kinds of evidence presented, when taken as a whole, may well give us pause.

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[2] *Confessio Amantis* (*Appolinus the Prince of Tyre*), Circ. 1393.

[3] *The Patterne of Painfull Adventures.* Laurence Twine, 1576.

[4] *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Being the true History of the Play of Pericles, as it was lately presented,* etc. 1608.

FÜRBRECHEN :

WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE 105–14 (WILMANNS[2]).

In this well known *Spruch*, the poet champions the cause of the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia. In the face of the accusations of the latter's enemies and quite regardless of the double-handed nature of the political game played by Hermann in his attitude to the imperial throne, Walther here urges upon Otto's attention the fairness of treatment accorded by Hermann to his imperial opponent. For the Thuringian fights in the open. He is no coward. *Die zagen truogen stillen rât: Sie swuoren hie, sie swuoren dort und pruoften ungetriuwen mort.*

In view of Walther's enthusiastic defense of Hermann the meaning of the first three lines of this Spruch, which has hitherto been in doubt, seems to the present writer clear. The lines are :

Nû sol der Keiser hêre
fürbrechen durch sîn êre
des lantgrâven missetât.

Franz Pfeiffer offers this comment upon the word *fürbrechen* : "*fürbrechen* bedeutet als trans. zum Vorschein, ans Licht bringen ; hier jedoch kann der Sinn des Wortes, wenn nicht Verderbnis vorliegt, nur sein : *nachlassen, nachsehen.* Bechstein schlägt vor (Germ. XII, 476) *vergessen*" ; Wilmanns echoes this view in his edition of the poet's works, p. 364, footnote 14, where he says : *fürbrechen*, Lexer im Mhd. Wb. 3, 585 erklärt : 'herauskommen machen, offenbaren,' gegen den Sinn, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt. Wir erklärten früher unter Verweisung auf Gr. 4, 862, 868 *fürbrechen* als gleichbedeutend mit *brechen für des lantgrâven missetât*, über dieselbe hinausgehen, darüber hingehen. Paul (*Beitr.* 2, 553) wandte ein, dasz *für* keine untrennbare Verbindung mit dem Verbum eingehen könne, wie sie angenommen werden müsse, wenn der erforderliche Sinn herauskommen solle ; er verlangt, dasz man *verbrechen* lese, spricht sich aber über den Sinn nicht aus." Wilmanns then adds that *übeltât verbrechen* occurs in the Passional (*Hahn* S. 218, 25) with the meaning *punish* (*strafen*). But he adds that this meaning is out of place in case of Walther's *Spruch*, and ventures the conjecture that the poet used a technical hunting term (*Weidmannswort*) here. He explains that the hunters *verbrechen* the trail of an animal, by sticking a twig into the ground, as a sign that others are to refrain from pursuing the game (cf. *Laber*, str. 69). The poet's meaning would be, then, according to Wilmanns, a plea that the Emperor should act the part of huntsman and yield no further to accusations against the Landgrave.

While this is ingenious, it is not convincing, in view of the fact that it disregards two serious difficulties. First, the MSS. have *für*brechen not *ver*brechen ; second, the normal meaning of what the MSS. contain is, at least more consonant with the situation in question than is any other thus far suggested. For Walther's zeal as a champion of Hermann is here so great that he begins his *Spruch* by a regular challenge for the Emperor to *prove* or *make clear* (*fürbrechen*) the heinousness of the Thurnigian's actions. "For," he adds at once, "he was an honorable (open, above-board) opponent."

"Wand er was doch zewâre
sîn vîent offenbâre."

The cowards intrigued in silence. They (like the Duke of Bavaria and the Margrave Dietrich) pledged themselves by oath in all directions and plotted secret mischief. The case against them is clear ; but let the Emperor show wherein the open hostility of Hermann was anything but honorable difference of opinion. This is the argument of Walther, and in the light of it Lexer's definition of *fürbrechen* seems adequate.

Walther meets us here, not as the humble apologist for the acknowledged misdeeds of the Landgrave, but as the outspoken vindicator of his friend's integrity. The proposed interpretation bears strong incidental testimony to the independent attitude of the poet towards current politics. Its implications for the character of Walther are far more important than its bearing upon the meaning of the word *vürbrechen*.

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ROBERT GREENE'S *What thing is Loue?*

In view of the fact that Mr. John Churton Collins in his recent *Plays and Poems of Robert Greene* has said nothing of the poem *What thing is Loue?* (except to refer the reader to Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, 129), I wish to point out the somewhat interesting history of the poem.

It first appeared in Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) as follows :[1]

> What thing is Loue? It is a power diuine
> That raines in vs : or else a wreakefull law
> That doomes our mindes, to beautie to encline :
> It is a starre, whose influence dooth draw
>   Our heart[2] to Loue dissembling of his might,
>   Till he be master of our hearts and sight.
>
> Loue is a discord, and a strange diuorce
> Betwixt our sense and reason, by whose power,
> As madde with reason, we admit that force,
> Which wit or labour neuer may deuoure.
>   It is a will that brooketh no consent :
>   It would refuse, yet neuer may repent.
>
> Loue's a desire, which for to waite a time,
> Dooth loose an age of yeeres, and so doth passe,
> As doth the shadow seuerd from his prime,
> Seeming as though it were, yet never was.
>   Leauing behinde nought but repentant thoughts
>   Of daies ill spent, for that which profits noughts.
>
> Its[3] now a peace, and then a sodaine warre,
> A hope consumde before it is conceiude,
> At hand it feares, and menaceth afarre,[4]
> And he that gaines, is most of all deceiude :
>   It is a secret hidden and not knowne,
>   Which one may better feele than write vpon.

The poem next appears in *England's Parnassus, or The Choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets* (1600), p. 172. It had lost the first stanza, had two new lines substituted at the end, and had been otherwise slightly changed. But, most interesting of all, it was attributed to the Earl of Oxford. This attribution seems not to have been questioned since then. In the *Theatrum Poetarum*[5] the poem is given as a specimen of Oxford's verse. Dr. Grosart included it in his collective edition of Oxford's poems.[6] Even Mr. Sidney Lee, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, although he refers to the three poems in *England's Parnassus* attributed to Oxford, does not note the mistake. The version of the poem in *England's Parnassus* is as follows :[7]

> Loue is a discord and a strange diuorce
> Betwixt our sence and rest, by whose power,
> As mad with reason, we admit that force,
> Which wit or labour neuer may diuorce.
>   It is a will that brooketh no consent,
>   It would refuse, yet neuer may repent.
>
> Loue's a desire, which for to waight a time,
> Doth loose an age of yeares, and so doth passe,
> As doth the shadow seuerd from his prime,
> Seeming as though it were, yet neuer was.
>   Leauing behind, nought but repentant thoughts,
>   Of dayes ill spent, of that which profits noughts.
>
> It's now a peace, and then a sudden warre,
> A hope, consumde before it is conceiu'd ;
> At hand it feares, and menaceth afarre,
> And he that gaines, is most of all deceiu'd.
>   Loue whets the dullest wits, his plagues be such,
>   But makes the wise by pleasing, dote as much.

The poem appeared again, in a still further mangled form, in *The Thracian Wonder*. The playwright, of course, borrowed directly from Greene, for he was dramatising the *Menaphon*.[8] This version is as follows[9]

> Love is a law, a discord of such force,
> That 'twixt our sense and reason makes divorce ;
> Love's a desire, that to obtain betime,
> We lose an age of years pluck'd from our prime ;
> Love is a thing to which we soon consent,
> As soon refuse, but sooner far repent.

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[1] I follow the reprints of Arber and of Grosart, which agree throughout. Mr. Collins's version of the poem, though reproducing the same 1589 edition, differs slightly.

[2] "hearts"—Collins.

[3] "'Tis"—Collins.

[4] "a farre"—Collins.

[5] Edition 1800, p. 88.

[6] *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV.

[7] Since *England's Parnassus* is inaccessible to me, I give the poem as reprinted by Dr. Grosart in *Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford* (*Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, IV), p. 68.

[8] See *Modern Philology*, III, 317.

[9] *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*, ed. by William Hazlitt, IV, 129.

THE STAGEABILITY OF GARNIER'S TRAGEDIES.

Of all the classic tragedies of the sixteenth century none perhaps seem to us moderns so little adapted to stage representation as those of Garnier. Lanson admits that the poet seems to write for the

reader only and finds little to warrant us in believing that his tragedies were played to any extent, except possibly *Bradamante.*[1] As for Rigal, he is of course quite convinced that these tragedies were not written for the stage at all and finds some difficulties that hardly exist to prove his point.

The first of the Garnier tragedies is the *Porcie,* published in 1568. The subject of the play is the self-inflicted death of Portia, wife of Brutus, upon learning of the death of her husband on the battlefield. The play is made up of long narratives and monologues and contains little, very little, of dramatic life, but after all, in view of the literary and artistic conditions of the time, that does not justify us in saying that the poet has no care for scenic possibilities.[2] The play is stageable, Rigal's objections to the contrary notwithstanding. One of the two chief difficulties insisted upon by him is the appearance of Antony and his lieutenant along with a chorus of soldiers in the third act before the messenger has had time to relate to Portia the death of Brutus, "Le lieu adû changer," he says, "nous étions à Rome avec Octavie et les femmes romaines, nous voici près de Philippes avec M. Antoine et ses troupes" (*op. cit.*, p. 27). This amounts almost to a misrepresentation, for the text makes it perfectly clear that this scene is laid in Rome. Antony's first words are :

O Beau seiour natal esmerueillable aux Dieux v. 1013.

and a little farther on, vv. 1027–1030,

Ie reuoy maintenant ma desirable terre.
Ie viens payer les vœux, qu'enuelopé de guerre,
Sous la mercy du sort, ie fis à vos autels,
Si ie pouuois domter les ennemis mortels.

He is, then, just returning to Rome, and the unity of place is saved. To introduce an act containing these discussions between the forebodings of Portia and their realization is not perhaps according to the highest dramatic economy. But the poet was young ; a tragedy had to have five acts ; Megara's forecast ; Portia's presentiments ; the messenger's story of the death of Brutus, and the nurse's story of the death of Portia furnished material for only four. To have inserted this act of rather irrelevant material anywhere else would have been even more disastrous ; accordingly the poet put it where it would do the least harm, leaving the spectators as well as his readers to assume, if they chose, that Antony, the soldiers and the messenger came by the same boat, or more likely hoping that the clumsiness of it all would escape their attention—if it did not his own.

The other great difficulty in the way of stage representation, *i. e.*, dramatic probability raised by Rigal, is the alleged discrepancy between the words of the nurse and those of her mistress in the fourth act. In this act the messenger gives a complete account of the battle, the death of Brutus and the bringing back of his body at the command of Antony. Thereupon after a hundred verses or so Portia begins to address her complaints to the body as though it were actually upon the stage, although nothing in the text indicates precisely how or when it got there. But after all this is no great difficulty and the verses even lend themselves to a fairly effective stage-setting. Now in the fifth act when the nurse is relating the occurrences of the fourth to the chorus she says : v. 1880,

Quand ma paure maitresse
Eut ENTENDU que Brute, auecque la noblesse
Qui combatoit pour luy d'vn si louable cueur,
Auoit esté desfaict, et qu'Antoine vainqueur
Lui renuoyoit son corps, qu'à grand' sollicitude
Il auoit recherché parmi la multitude :
Apres force regrets qu'elle fit sur sa mort,
Apres qu'elle eut long temps ploré son triste sort,
Retiree en sa chambre, entreprit, demy-morte
De borner ses langueurs par quelque briefue sorte.

Note. Even these last four verses give difficulty to Rigal, although the first two are a perfectly literal and brief description of what happened in the fourth act, and the last two will be supplemented in the narrative which is to follow, v. 1890 ff. In regard to these verses Rigal exclaims triumphantly : "Décidément la nourrice n'a pas vu le corps de Brutus ; elle ne s'est même pas aperçue que sa maîtresse fut en proie à une hallucination" (*op. cit.*, p. 26). There is little occasion for such a remark ; the nurse says that Portia had HEARD these things ("eut entendu"), and so she had throughout 146 verses. That Portia's preoccupation is the body of her husband, which she SAW, is quite natural ; that the nurse should be more impressed by the account of the catastrophe which she HEARD rather than with the dead body of Brutus, is also

[1] *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1903, p. 416.
[2] *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, ~~1904~~, p. 27. 1905

entirely natural, and there is therefore absolutely no infringement of dramatic probabilities in the passage in question.

Porcie could well have been played upon a stage representing the conventional street or open space in front of the palace of Portia, the palace of Octavius, and possibly the senate. Had the poet the proper means at his disposal, and he might hope to have them as we have shown (*The Mise en Scène of the Italians applied to the classic tragedies of the sixteenth century*, p. 8), one extremity of the stage could well have been made to represent the harbor. Here Antony and his soldiers would appear in the third act on their way to the palace of Octavius or the Senate, and in the next act the messenger would be seen passing on his way to tell Portia of her great bereavement.

The text contains at least two indications of the action : one in the second act (v. 465), where the nurse perceives Portia approaching :—

> Las ! mais ne voyé-ie pas s'acheminer vers moy
> La fille de Caton regorgeante d'esmoy?

Eight verses later Portia appears. And in the beginning of the last act the nurse calls to the chorus of citizens, v. 1794 :—

> Accourez Citoyens, accourez, hastez-vous, etc.,

and the chorus of women respond :—

> Allons ô troupe aimee, allons voir quel mechef
> Ceste pauure maison atterre de rechef.

From a modern point of view there can be little question of dramatic effect in this tragedy. The long speeches, some of them without any apparent connection with the action of the play are as undramatic as possible to us, but not necessarily so to the poets and the select audiences of the sixteenth century. Corneille, speaking of the monologue in *Clitandre*, plead in excuse of its length :—"Les monologues sont trop longs et trop fréquents en cette pièce ; c'était une beauté en ce temps-là ; les comédiens les souhaitaient et croyaient y paraître avec plus d'avantage." In the sixteenth century that was even more true, and not merely the actors, such as there were, but especially the poets, were fond of these monologues and believed—"y paraître avec plus d'avantage."

After the *Porcie* an interval of nearly five years elapses before Garnier produces another play. This interruption,—due possibly to discouragement, as there is no notice of the representation of the *Porcie*,—is broken in 1573 and 1574 by two plays, the *Hippolyte* and the *Cornélie*. The first of these is composed in close imitation of the *Phedra*, attributed to Seneca, and can hardly be considered playable. In the fifth act, for example, the messenger tells Theseus of the death of his son and urges him to erect a befitting tomb ; in the very next scene Phèdre appears addressing complaints to the body of the hero, which is represented as already lying in the tomb. As for the *Cornélie*, while it contains nothing absolutely unstageable, it is composed in a way to make one agree with Rigal that "il n'y a que de la rhétorique ou de la poésie désordonnée et un manque de réalité scénique peu contestable."

Now, after the *Cornélie*, there is another significant pause of about four years before the poet begins a series of plays which appear quite regularly at the rate of about one per annum : *Antoine*, 1579 ; *Antigone*, 1580 ; *Bradamante*, 1582 ; *Les Juives*, probably in 1583.

As for the *Antoine*, Rigal finds in it: "Quelques indications précises" (*op. cit.*, p. 33), but believes that they were such as would have been naturally suggested by Plutarch's life of Antony, which Garnier used as a source (p. 33). This, of course, proves nothing as to the author's intention. Alexandre Hardy, for example, dramatized the Greek romance of Theagenes and Chariclea, as well as sundry other romances ancient and modern, and there can be no doubt that he had the *mise en scène* very much in mind. The *Antoine* could have been played, according to Rigal, on a stage representing the camp of Octavius outside of Alexandria, the palace of Cleopatra and the approaches and interior of the sepulchre, but he believes that such a *mise en scène* was quite beyond the reach of those who prepared the representations of these plays. Now this is again a magnification of the difficulties, for the text nowhere calls for the palace of Cleopatra. In the second act, where the queen and her attendants appear for the first time, the scene is laid before the sepulchre as is clear from her own words, v. 687 f. :

> Mais ce pendant entrons en ce sepulcre morne,
> Attendant que la mort mes desplaisances borne.

She appears but once more and that is in the fifth act where, as before, she is in or at the entrance of the tomb, v. 1812 :

> Hé puis-ie viure encore
> En ce larual sepulchre, où ie me fais enclorre?

The stage setting thus becomes very simple. Alexandria in the background, before the wall of which would be represented at one end of the stage the camp of Octavius, and on the other the tomb and its approaches.

In the *Troade*, Rigal also finds that the first, third, fourth and fifth acts possess "un incontestable réalité scénique" (*op. cit.*, p. 36 f.). But, alas! the fourth is entirely out of harmony with the second. Now this is the whole difficulty: In the fourth act a messenger relates to the captive Trojan women the death of Astyanax who, forestalling the action of the Greeks, cast himself down from the lofty tower to which he had been carried. This had taken place before a vast concourse of people, some of whom had sacrilegiously climbed upon Hector's tomb to witness the execution. Now, inasmuch as the deed could be witnessed from Hector's tomb, and inasmuch as the action of the second act was laid before said tomb, Rigal, apparently feeling that Andromaque was bound to remain rooted to the spot during the third act, declares: "Cette fois nous heurtons à une impossibilité évidente." But the scene of the fourth act is laid before the tent of Hecuba (cf. v. 2295 ff.) near the harbor, and Andromaque is there to hear with her mother the death of Astyanax and of Polyxène from the lips of the messenger. One quite naturally supposes that after the wily Ulysses has succeeded in wringing from the unhappy mother the secret of her son's concealment in his father's tomb she has come away; she has left the tomb of her husband and come to her mother's tent as was eminently natural. Accordingly she did *not* see the immolation of her son and there is no contradiction, no "impossibilité scénique" whatever.

(*Note.* The rather abrupt change of scene in the third act, while abrupt, is quite within stage conventions. Pyrrhus uses five verses to stir up the zeal of his followers as they march from the camp of Agamemnon to the tent of Hecuba in order to seek for Polyxène. Plenty of examples could be found in support of such procedure.)

As for the *Antigone* (1580), Rigal admits that if: "On voulait mettre en scène Antigone sur un théâtre disposé comme celui de Hardy, on y arriverait sans difficulté sérieuse" (*op. cit.*, p. 41). He believes, however, that it is to be looked upon merely as "un pur exercice d'humaniste" (45).

The *Bradamante* is known to have been played, and in it Garnier seems to show some preoccupation for the *mise en scène* as has generally been recognized (cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 416).

And this brings us to *Les Juives*, the last of Garnier's tragedies and generally considered to be the best. Rigal admits in this play that the poet: "ne manquait pas d'imagination visuelle et se figurait assez souvent les personnages qu'il faisait parler"; still he thinks that this tragedy: "n'était pas encore pour lui une œuvre de théâtre vivant d'une vie nette dans un milieu scénique bien déterminé" (*op. cit.*, p. 209). To prove this Rigal finds a great many difficulties in the way of stage presentation which seem to me entirely imaginary.

The stage would represent three general divisions. One side the fields where the women and children are kept captive; the center the palace, or the entrance to the palace, of Nebuchadnezzar; the other end of the stage the prisons, where are confined Zedekiah the pontiff, and perhaps other male prisoners. The places occupied by the captives are quite clearly defined in the text. Halmutal says, addressing the chorus of Jewish women, "Pleurons donques, pleurons sur ces molteuses riues" (v. 359); as the queen of Assyria comes towards them she speaks of the surroundings as "Ces belles campagnes" (v. 571); obviously the fields along the banks of the Euphrates. Zedekiah describes his place of imprisonment in these terms, v. 1283 f.:

> Voyez comme enchaisnez en des prisons obscures,
> Nous souffrons iour et nuit de cruelles tortures,
> Comme on nous tient en serre estroittement liez,
> Le col en vne chaisne, et les bras et les pieds.

It is in these places that the second and third scenes of the second act, and the whole of acts four and five are laid. The first act might from its character take place anywhere and the rest of the play would be represented before the king of Assyria.

At the end of the fourth act Nebuchadnezzar visits Zedekiah in prison and at the end of a violent scene bursts into a passion and exclaims to his attendants, "Empoignez-le, Soudars, et le tirez d'ici," v. 1497. Zedekiah defies him to do his worst and is rewarded with the promise of an exemplary punishment. Rigal makes a great difficulty of this. "Pourquoi tirerait-on Sédécie hors de sa prison?" (*op. cit.*, p. 207), "pourquoi veut-il qu'on les amène et qu'on les atraîne jusqu'à lui puisqu'ils sont enchaînés à ses pieds." But this is made perfectly clear with the opening of the next scene in which the Prevost informs us that Zedekiah has been taken from his prison in order that he be forced to see his sons put to death before his eyes. The presence of the chorus after Zedekiah has been removed from the prison is also a source of great trouble to Rigal, for how could these Jewish women be in the prison and not know what had happened? As a matter of fact, there is nothing in the chorus referring to the Jewish king, but there is, as if to remind us of the locality, another reference to those shores of the Euphrates where the chorus will end its life sighing in captivity. (Cf. v. 1557 ff.) There would certainly be no great strain of the conventions at this point, and the whole passage, far from being confused as Rigal represents, is, on the contrary, quite clear, and the stage picture is not difficult to form. As for the objection that different characters recite from twenty to thirty verses on the stage before their presence is perceived or before they perceive the presence of others; that is a common practice of modern dramatists, and a convention no more abused by Garnier than it is, for example, by Molière.

Les Juives is a tragedy full of life and action. There is doubtless too much action, but every verse of it could have been acted on a stage such as we have described and acted effectively, too, without any great violence to the conventions as then understood. As far as the play itself is concerned, there is no reason why we must look upon it as a "déclamation dramatique et dialoguée." And likewise to a greater or less extent are all of the tragedies of Garnier playable, or *were* playable, with the probable exception of *Hippolyte* and *Cornélie*, which stand somewhat apart from the others in time as well as in character.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Primera Crónica General ó sea Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289; publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Tomo I—Texto. Madrid: Bailly Baillière é Hijos, 1906. 8vo., iv + 776 pp.

This volume, which forms number five of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, is noteworthy in two respects; namely, for the great historical, literary and linguistic value of the text it contains, and for the fact that the editor is the one man pre-eminently fitted for the difficult task of editing the text in question. With the publication of his *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* in 1896, the name of Menéndez Pidal became indelibly associated with the old Spanish Chronicles. Since the year 1896 Pidal has published many further studies dealing, directly or indirectly, with the *Crónica General* and the scope of these studies may be illustrated by mentioning his *Crónicas Generales de España* and *El Poema del Cid y las Crónicas Generales de España*, both of which appeared in the year 1898; and the *Alhacaxi y la elegía árabe de Valencia* which was published in 1904.

As an historical document the *Primera Crónica General* is the first real history of Spain in the vernacular, being the legitimate successor of the earlier *Anales* and the Latin histories of Rodrigo de Toledo and Lucas de Luy. As a literary monument it is one of the earliest specimens of Spanish prose, and the varied subject matter, the dignity of style, the richness of vocabulary and idiom, make it of inestimable value for the study of the beginnings of Spanish literature. The literary value of the *Crónica General* is especially in evidence when we consider that the remaining prose works written or inspired by Alfonso the Wise, are primarily technical in character; for example, his works on astronomy, his treatise on chess, dice and checkers, his legal codes and single laws, to say nothing of the fragmentary *Septenario*. Furthermore, the specific relation between the *Crónica General* and Spanish epic poetry is most important. Copying as it did the earlier epic poems and forming a primary source for later epic ballads, the relation of Alfonso's *Chronicle* to the various phases of epic poetry can now be studied with the care and detail that were impossible heretofore.

The earliest printed text of the *Crónica General* was published by Florian de Ocampo, Zamora, 1541, and reprinted in Valladolid, 1604; since then the *Crónica* has not been reprinted or edited. Not long after the appearance of the 1541 edition, Jerónimo Zurita discovered that Ocampo's version seemed to be replete with most

serious errors and omissions; in short, the need of a new and reliable edition was made known over three centuries ago. Pidal, in the preface to the present volume, discusses the various futile plans for publishing a reliable edition of the *Crónica General*: the first by Tomás Tamayo y Vargas, Royal Chronicler of Philip IV, between the years 1625 and 1637; the second by Juan Lucas Cortés, at the command of Charles II; the third by the Spanish Academy, which appears to have abandoned the project shortly after 1863; finally, the edition contemplated by the original *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* which ceased its editorial work in 1878. It would seem, however, that the third and fourth failures are in part atoned for, in that a member of the Spanish Academy has at last published an edition in the new *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.*

Pidal's edition contains the critical text and variants, and forms a volume of seven hundred and seventy-four double column pages. The forthcoming second volume will contain an explanation of the method adopted in the text construction, enumeration and study of the manuscripts; also a study of the date and sources, vocabulary, index of proper names, and, as appendix, the *Crónica Abreviada de don Juan Manuel.* It is not improbable that a year or more will pass before the appearance of the second volume. Hence, it is to be regretted that the editor did not include in Volume I some account of the manuscripts with their dates and interrelations; even a note supplementing the material furnished in the *Inf. de Lara* and *Crónicas Generales de España* would have been a most welcome guide for the numerous variants that accompany the text. In any case, however, an account and estimate of the editor's critical work would have to be postponed to a second article, when Volume II shall have appeared. In the meantime, we have access to a reliable version of Alfonso's *Chronicle.* The reading and consulting of this massive work is simplified not only by a table of contents (which is lacking in the Ocampo edition), but by running titles at the top of each page, numbered lines for each column of text, and consecutive numbering for the eleven hundred and thirty-five chapters.

The text is divided into two parts. The first part contains the *Prólogo* and chapters 1–565, beginning with *De cuemo Moysen escriuio el libro que ha nombre Genesis, e del diluuio,* and continuing to the election of King Pelayo. This first part corresponds, approximately, to Ocampo's first two books. The second part contains chapters 566–1134, and ends with the title of a missing chapter which treated of the *Miraglos que Dios fizo por el sancto rey don Fernando, que yaze en Seuilla, despues que fue finado.* The basic manuscript for the first part is Escorial Y-i-2, that for the second part is Escorial X-i-4, and the volume contains a full page facsimile of each.[1] The total number of MSS. cited in the variants is more than two dozen, but this gives no adequate idea of the number actually collated by the editor. Riaño knew thirty-one MSS. of the *Crónica General* as early as 1869, and Pidal used thirty-three for his previous edition of the chapters on the *Infantes de Lara* alone. The variants to the present edition at times include a MS.-reading of later chronicles not directly related to the *Primera Crónica General*; for example, *Cron. de 1404,* and *Cron. de Castilla* (p. 564, col. 2). Finally, several early printed works are used to throw light on the critical text: Ocampo's edition is utilized throughout the text; the 1512, 1593 and 1594 (Huber) editions of the *Crónica del Cid* are used in connection with the chapters dealing with Rodrigo Diaz (cf. p. 532, col. 2); the *Crónica de San Fernando,* Sevilla, 1526, is cited frequently in connection with the reign of Ferdinand III. In short, Pidal has accomplished a most valuable as well as most laborious work, and has utilized all extant sources of information for the elucidation of his text.

It is well known at the present time that the edition of Ocampo is a very creditable piece of editorial work, though the particular MS. he used has disappeared. Nevertheless, the MS. used by Ocampo was not the *Crónica General* itself, but a reworking of a version now lost, which lost version contained many variations from Alfonso's original. Hence Pidal has designated Ocampo's edition as one of the versions of the *Tercera Crónica General,* since it is later than a second reworking known as the *Crónica de 1344.* As we might naturally suppose, the Ocampo-text is, at times, far different from the *Primera Crónica General,* and shows not only omissions but additions and transpositions. A general idea of these divergencies has already been given by Pidal in a previous publication.[2] A portion of the title of the book under review states that "se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289." This statement is based on a passage in the reign of Ramiro I, where the author or compiler, after generalizing concerning the reconquest of Spain from the infidels, remarks:

"et la an ganada dessos enemigos de la Cruz, et del mar de Sant Ander fastal mar de Caliz, sinon poco que les finca ende ya; et es esto ya en el regnado del muy noble et muy alto rey don Sancho el quarto, en la era de mill et CCC et XXVII aunos." (Cf. p. 363, col. 1.)

[1] These are the same MSS. for which Riaño showed a preference in 1869. Cf. *Discursos leidos ante la Academia de la Historia,* Madrid, 1869, p. 44.

[2] *Crónicas Generales de España,* pp. 83–85.

This reference to the date is not found in the Ocampo text; it is lacking also in two MSS. of the *Primera Crónica* and one MS. of the *Crónica de 1344*.

As a linguistic document the *Crônica General* holds a place commensurate with its literary and historical importance. This new edition affords the means of solving many problems of language and style, and contains a fund of illustrative material bearing on questions of historical grammar. For example, proclysis of atonic pronouns is not confined to contraction of identical vowels and to cases where the atonic pronoun comes between the verb and the auxiliary (*tornar sa, tornado sa*). The first part of the *Crónica General* shows at times a construction that the reviewer has not noted in the manuscript of the second part; namely, *et sapoderauan dellas* (18, 2. 22), *e sapoderassen de la cibdat* (32, 1. 13), *tanto tamo* (40, 1. 52), *quanto mal ma uenido* (42, 1. 19), *que yo en tal punto mayuntasse contigo* (39, 2. 49), *e desta guisa sapoderaron dEspanna* (15, 1. 22). It is evident that the question of apocope of atonic pronouns in prose must be restudied in the light of the new text, and we await with interest the promised contribution on this matter by Pidal himself.[3]

One further point may be cited in illustration of the linguistic element. The *Poema del Cid* contains two striking examples of anacoluthon where 'well' or 'well and good' must be understood as the apodosis of a conditional sentence, in order to make intelligible a following *si non.* The first example occurs in the Cid's reply to the Jews when they ask a *piel vermeja* as a bonus:

> "Plazme," dixo el Çid "da qui sea mandada.
> Siuos la aduxier dalla; si non contalda sobre las arcas."
> (l. 181.)

In the second example, the Cid, taking leave of Minaya whom he is sending on a mission to Castille, says:

> "A la tornada, si nos fallaredes aqui;
> Si non, do sopieredes que somos, yndos conseguir."
> (l. 832.)

The *Primera Crónica General* shows three similar constructions in passages that are not found in the Ocampo text. The following example is a close parallel to those cited from the *Poema del Cid*, in that the future subjunctive occurs in the first clause and the second clause is introduced by *si non*:

> "Si lo quisiere el fazer; si non, quel dixiessen que el farie y lo suyo." (497, 2. 5.)

[3] Cf. *Cultura Española*, 1906, p. 1106.

A second example shows the future subjunctive in the first clause but *pero* instead of *si non* in the second clause:

> Si este consseio fuere tenido por bueno et tomado en buena parte, pero trae periglo conssigo. (698, 2. 3.)

The scope of the anacoluthon is still further extended in the following sentence where the two supplementary relative clauses take the place of the affirmative and negative conditional clauses:

> "Los eristianos fueron todos confesados, los que podieron auer clerigos, et los que non, unos con otros."
> (726, 2. 28.)

Which may be translated, 'Those who were fortunate enough to find priests, so much the better for them; those who could not find priests, confessed to each other.' If this interpretation is correct, it seems advisable to substitute a semicolon for the comma after *clerigos*, likewise after *parte* in the preceding example, thus making the punctuation uniform with that of the remaining three examples cited above. It is not the intention of the present review to study or mention the various linguistic problems suggested by the text, but it is hoped that the foregoing citations may suffice to emphasize the interest of the text for the student of language.

The editorial work has been done with the greatest care and too much credit can not be given for the skill shown in the punctuation of the many lengthy and involved passages which would otherwise remain obscure. There is, however, a lack of uniformity in the syllabification of the consonant groups *ss, nn* and even *rr*. The first two are so distinctly digraphs in Old Spanish as are *rr, ll,* or *ch*. To be sure, the division of syllables is very inconsistent in the early MSS., but in a critical edition the editor is not going beyond his prerogative in avoiding such forms as *pens-sar* (419, 2. 7.), *ssen-nalada* (740, 1. 39.), *cor-rió* (372, 2. 12.), side by side with the more correct forms *ua-ssallo* (719, 2. 33.), *se-nnor* (693, 1. 41.), *ye-rras* (377, 2. 1.).

The following misprints have been noted: *manerad e* for *manera de*, 30, 1. 14; *qartie* for *partie*, 130, 1. 32; *pue* for *que*, 130, 1, 35; *lo* for *la*, 161, 1. 19; *qne* for *que*, 166, 2. 45,–243, 2. 2,–260, 2. 22,–284, 1. 15,–726, 2. 7; *Bab.-nnia* for *Babilonia*, 221, 2. 43; period 243, 2. 55; *ei* for *el*, 293, 2. 14; period, 368, 2. 25; *mueste* for *muerte*, 384, 1. 4; *aqui* for *aqui*," *los* for *las*, 399, 1. 21; *scnnor* for *sennor*, 592, 1. 5; *mando et* for *et mando*, 601, 1. 50; *torna, bodas* for *tornabodas*, 603, 2. 22; *tue* for *fue*, 767, 1. 14. There are, furthermore, a few cases where misprints seem a plausible explanation for certain unusual (though not impossible) forms or constructions, which show no variant readings in the

other MSS.; for example, *tod estas tierras*, 7, 1. 8; *en mediel puerto*, 32, 2. 51; *mostraron io*, 33, 2. 4; *descubiertamientra*, 67, 1. 19; *con tod*, 251, 1. 12; *beldos*, 274, 1. 30; *muchodumbre* 305,1. 37; *demotrar*, 315, 2. 49; *mietre*, 377, 1. 46; *buenna*, 414, 1, 38; *non sabien niguno*, 570, 1. 24; *con llos*, 726, 1. 20.

The *Crónica General* is one of the great books of Spain; and bearing in mind the great length of the text and the large number of extant MSS., the present edition is probably the most laborious single piece of critical editing within the field of Spanish literature. Let us hope that the appearance of the second volume will not be long delayed.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Milton's Fame.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs: — Have students of English literature noted the following *locus* in the history of Milton's fame? On December 15, 1690, the Swiss scholar, Vincent Minutoli, wrote to Bayle, the author of the *Dictionary*: "Tous les Anglois lettrés que j'ai connus, m'ont extrêmement prôné ce Poëme écrit en leur langue par Milton et intitulé Adam [i. e. *Paradise Lost*]; ils m'en ont parlé comme du *non plus ultra* de l'esprit humain," etc. (*Choix de la Correspondance Inédite de Pierre Bayle*, ed. by E. Gigas, Copenhagen, 1890, p. 579). There are numerous earlier *loci* than this, and that of William Hog is exactly contemporary, but none seems to me quite so significant as this disinterested testimony of an intelligent foreign witness.

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The Eyes as Generators of Love.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In reply to the note of Mr. Harris in your issue of June last, I would say that the idea of the eyes as generators of love may well have reached Shakespeare thru some medium other than Jacopo da Lentino, who himself obtained it probably from the troubadours, refugees at the court of Frederic II. The doctrine, 'traces of which,' says L. F. Mott,[1] 'were found in earlier writers, was developed by Chrétien de Troyes with such subtlety, that it became an essential element of the theory of love. All the later poets employ it, and Huon de Méri[2] alludes to it as the property of Chrétien.'

Mr. Mott refers to a number of passages in *Cligés*; one may here suffice:

"Ce qu' Amors m'aprant et ansaingne,
Doi je garder et maintenir,
Car tost m'an puet granz biens venir.
Mes trop me bat, ice m'esmaie.
Ja n'i pert il ne cos ne plaie,
Et si te plains? Don n'as tu tort?
Nenil: qu'il m'a navre si fort
Que jusqu'au cuer m'a son dart tret,
N'ancor ne l'a a lui retret.
Comant le t'a donc tret el cors,
Quant la plaie ne pert de hors?
Ce me diras, savoir le vuel!
Par ou le t'a il tret? Par l'uel.
Par l'uel? Si ne le t'a creve?
An l'uel ne m'a il rien greve,
Mes el cuer me grieve formant, etc.
(*Cligés*, l. 686 sq.)

Foerster places the composition of *Cligés* between 1152 and 1164, *i, e.*, a century or more before the Sicilian poet.

Flamenca, a poem much nearer to Jacopo in point of time, furnishes further testimony as to the wide dissemination of the theory in question:

Conssi Amors la poinera
Ab lo dart ques ieu al cor
S'ella nom ve dins o defor?
Car s'il m'auzis o sim parles,
O si m'auzis (corr. vezes) o sim toques
Adonc la pogra ben combatre
Fin'amors per un d'aquetz quatre, etc.
Flamenca, 1st ed., Meyer, l. 2746 sq.

It is a typical case of the itinerary of ideas—from France or Provence to Italy, thence perhaps to England—there are some gaps in the course.

Dante may have learned the doctrine from his literary ancestor, Jacopo. That the great poet gave due honor to the comparatively unknown one is proven by *Purg.* XXIV, 52 sq.,—a passage remarkable for its pithy criticism.

In the well-known sonnet,[3] "Amore e cor gentil sono una cosa," Dante says:

"Beltate appare in saggia donna pui,
Che piace agli occhi sì, che dentro al core
Nasce un desio della cosa piacente:
E tanto dura talora in costui,
Che fa svegliar lo spirito d'amore:
E simil face in donna uomo valente."

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[1] *System of Courtly Love*, p. 31.

[2] *Tournoiment de l'Antecrit*, p. 77.

[3] *Vita Nuova*, XX.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ORIGIN OF THE VOW MOTIF IN THE *WHITE WOLF* AND RELATED STORIES.

This cycle of stories may be divided into two groups. In the first group, the father in order to escape death promises to sacrifice to an animal whatever he meets first on his return home. In the second group, he promises to return to the monster himself in case neither of his daughters is willing to go in his stead.

1. GROUP I.

According to the legend of the *White Wolf*,[1] a man who is about to set out on a long voyage asks his three daughters what he shall bring them on his return. The two oldest daughters ask for dresses and the youngest desires a talking rose. After reaching his destination the father purchases the dresses, but when he inquires about the talking rose, he is told that there is no such thing in the world. Finally, however, he arrives at a castle, where he finds the rose that he desires, and immediately after plucking it a white wolf rushes toward him threatening to kill him. The wolf agrees to pardon him on condition that he shall bring him the first person that he meets on returning to his home. The father makes the promise and the first person that he meets on his return is his youngest daughter, who, after learning of the vow that her father had made, goes at once to the castle of the white wolf, who is condemned to take the form of a wolf during the day and resumes his human form at night.

Likewise, in the story of *The Soaring Lark*,[2] a father, who is on the point of setting out on a long journey, promises to bring his youngest daughter a singing, soaring lark. By chance he came to a castle in the middle of a forest, and, seeing a lark in a tree near by, he had his servant climb the tree and catch it. But as soon as he approached the tree a lion sprang from behind, and, threatening to devour him, agreed to spare his life only on condition that he would promise to give him whatever he met first on his return home. The first one who greeted him on entering his house was his youngest daughter, who in fulfilment of the vow made by her father, took leave the following morning and went to the castle of the lion, an enchanted prince, who by day had the form of a lion, and by night resumed his natural human figure.[3]

The vow motif in group I seems to have been borrowed from the vow of Jephthah, to which it bears a very striking resemblance. With reference to Jephthah's vow the author of *Judges*[4] says: "And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands,

"Then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering."

Then, just as in the case of the legend of the *White Wolf* and similar stories, the first person that meets Jephthah on his return home is his daughter.

2. GROUP II.

According to the story of *la Belle et la Bête*,[5] there was once a rich merchant who had three sons and three daughters. When the father was on the point of setting out on a long voyage, two of his daughters asked him to bring them dresses,

[1] See *Romania*, x, 117–119.

[2] See *The True Annals of Fairy-Land*, edited by William Canton and illustrated by Charles Robinson, London (without date), pp. 162–170. Compare also *Romania*, x, 120.

[3] For other stories connected with the theme of the *White Wolf* compare *Romania*, x, 119–121.

[4] See *The Holy Bible*, *Judges*, XI, 30–31.

[5] See *Contes des Fées* par Madame d'Aulnoy et Madame Leprince de Beaumont, Paris (sans date), pp. 193–211.

fur capes and other costly apparel. The youngest daughter hesitated to ask for anything at first, but, on being questioned by her father, finally told him to bring her a rose. Before reaching home the merchant came to a place where he found some roses and, remembering the request of his youngest daughter, plucked a branch. Thereupon a horrid monster approached him and agreed to spare his life only on condition that one of his daughters should go to the palace to die in his stead. The merchant swore that he would return to the palace within three months to receive his punishment in case his daughters should refuse to go. The youngest daughter then went to the palace of the monster in order to save her father's life.[6]

The oldest form of the vow motif in the stories under consideration is doubtless represented by the versions of group I, where the father promises to sacrifice to a horrid monster whatever he meets first on his return home. On the other hand, group II, according to which a father promises to sacrifice to an animal a definite person, either himself or one of his daughters, probably represents a later development of the theme of group I.

That the vow motif was not originally a part of the legend of the father who gives his daughter to a monster is shown by the fact that the versions that represent the form of this story before it was combined with the other themes contained in the *White Wolf* do not show this motif.

According to a Sicilian[7] story the youngest daughter of a poor man goes into the fields with her father one day in search of some wild horse-radish. Finding the plant that she desires, she pulls it up and in the very place from which she had taken the horse-radish she discovers a hole from which is heard a voice complaining because the door of its house had been removed. The man then complains of his poverty, whereupon the voice tells him to leave his daughter and promises to give him a large sum of money in return. The father finally gives his consent and the young girl goes to live in a beautiful palace.

Likewise, in an Italian[8] story, Tulisa, the daughter of a poor woodcutter, is one day picking up pieces of dead wood near an old well when she hears a voice saying: "Will you be my wife?" The girl is frightened and runs away, but after a repetition of the adventure the father goes to the well where he promises his daughter to the monster in return for wealth.

The continuation of this story, as well as that of the Sicilian[9] tale given above, bears a striking resemblance to the second part of the fable of *Psyche.*[10] The first part of this fable also contains the motif of the monster to which the father gives his daughter. In the fable, however, the father gives Psyche to a serpent in obedience to the command of an oracle, while in the other stories he gives her to an animal that promises to make him rich.

The foregoing study leads one to believe that in the group of stories connected with the fable of *Psyche* we probably have the original form of the theme, according to which a father consents to the marriage of his daughter with a monster, and that to these pagan tales was later added the vow motif under the influence of the vow of Jephthah as already indicated.[11]

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. Scotch, Eng. dial. *drumly* 'turbid, dreggy, muddy,' related to EFries. *drummig* 'trübe, dick, dreckig, schlammig, moderig,' *drum* 'Trübes, Dickes, Bodensatz, Dreck, Schlamm, Moder,' need not be regarded as derived from the Germ. stem *drōƀ-* 'trübe; trüben.' It is rather from a synonymous base. Compare Lith. *drum̃sti*

[6] For other stories connected with Group II, compare *Romania,* x, 121–122.

[7] See *Romania,* x, 125. For a similar story compare also Stanislao Prato, *Quattro Novelline popolari livornesi,* Spolète, 1880, pp. 43–44.

[8] See *Romania,* x, 127; *Asiatic Journal,* New Series, vol. II.

[9] The second part of these two stories has been omitted here, because it throws no light on the sources of the legend of the *White Wolf.*

[10] See *Romania,* x, 126.

[11] For the stories used in the first part of the *White Wolf,* compare *Romania,* x, 122–124.

'trüben,' *drumstas* 'Bodensatz,' *drumstùs* 'trübe,' etc. These correspond so closely that they look more like loanwords than cognates.

2. NE. *dud*, *duds* from ME. *dudd*, *dudde* 'a coarse cloak' is unexplained. I have nothing definite to offer in regard to the ultimate origin of the word, but find the following, with which it may be compared: NIcel. *dúða* 'swathe in clothes,' LG. *dudel* 'das gröbste Sackleinwand,' *dudel*(*ken*) 'herabhängender Flitter an Kleidungsstücken,' EFries. *bedudeln* 'bedecken, einhüllen,' *dudel*, *dudelmüts* 'eine gestreifte Haube.'

Now, it is at least possible that the primary meaning of these words was 'something fluttering, flap.' In that case the words may be referred to a pre-Germ. base *dhŭ̄dh-* 'shake, flutter, flap.' Compare NE. dial. *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' *dudder* 'shiver, tremble,' Gk. θύσσομαι 'schüttle mich,' etc., Skt. *dhūnṓti* 'schüttelt,' ON. *dýia* 'schütteln' (cf. Brugmann, *Grdr.* II, 1047).

For meaning compare Av. *-δwōžən* 'sie flattern,' Skt. *dhvajá-* 'Fahne,' ON. *dúkr* 'Tuch, Tischtuch,' OS. *dōk*, OHG. *tuoh* 'Tuch,' NE. *duck* 'Segeltuch' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 139). These also may be referred to the base *dheu-* in Skt. *dhūnṓti*.—Gk. θυλάς, θύλακος 'sack, pouch,' θύω (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 188).

3. OE. *fīfel* 'monster, giant,' ON. *fífl* 'Riese, Ungetüm riesischen Ursprungs, Tölpel, Narr,' *fífle* 'Narr,' *fimbol-vetr* 'Riesenwinter,' etc., to which add ON. *-fambe* in *fimbol-fambe* 'Erztopf,' Norw. *faame*, *fume*, Dan. dial. *fjambe* 'Dummkopf' point to a base **pemp-*, which we may compare with Lith. *pam̃pti* 'aufdunsen,' *pamplȳs* 'Dickbauch,' *pum̃puras* 'Knospe,' Lett. *pa'mpt*, *pe'mpt*, *pu'mpt* 'schwellen,' *pa'mpulis* 'Dicker,' *pempis* 'Schmerbauch,' *pumpa* 'Buckel,' LRuss. *pup* 'Knospe,' ChSl. *pąpŭ* 'Nabel,' etc., and perhaps also Gk. πέμφιξ 'breath, air; bubble; blister,' πομφός 'bubble, blister' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 360). A synonymous base **pompn-* (or **pomb-*) occurs in Dan. *fomp* 'thickset person,' Norw. dial. *fump*, *famp* 'clumsy lout,' etc. (cf. Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog*, I, 180).

4. NHG. *kühn*, NE. *keen*, etc. are regarded as coming from a Germ. *kōni-*, *kōnja-* 'wise, knowing,' a verbal adjective of the Germ. root *kan-* 'know.' Thus the word is explained in Schade, *Wb.* 525; Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *kühn*; Skeat, *Et. Dict.* s. v. *keen*; Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog*, I, 372; Walde, *Et. Wb.* 418, etc. The word is left unexplained by Franck, *Et. Wb.* 482.

The doubt implied by Franck is more than justified. To get at the primary meaning, let us see in what sense the word was used in various dialects. It is defined as follows: ON. *kǿnn* 'erfahren, umsichtig, verständig, kundig, geschickt' (Möbius), 'klug, verständig' (Gering), Icel. *kœnn* 'clever, skilful, sagacious, shrewd' (Zoëga), Norw. dial. *kjøn* 'klog, begavet med skarpe sanser, kjæk, modig, stiv i holdning, stolt,' Dan. *kjøn* 'net, smuk' (Falk og Torp), OE. *cēne* 'bold,' ME. *kene* 'bold, bitter, sharp,' NE. *keen* 'vehement, earnest, eager, ardent, fierce, animated by or showing strong feeling or desire, as, a *keen* fighter, *keen* at a bargain; such as to cut or penetrate easily, having a very sharp point or edge, sharp, acute; sharp or irritating to the body or mind, acutely harsh or painful, biting, stinging, tingling; having a cutting or incisive character or effect, penetrating, vigorous, energetic, vivid, intense; having or manifesting great mental acuteness, characterized by great quickness or penetration of thought, sharply perceptive, etc.' (*Century Dict.*, older definitions are here omitted), OHG. *kuoni* 'kühn, audax, fortis, bellicosus, asper, acer' (Schade), NHG. Swiss *χüen* 'gesund, frisch von Farbe,' etc.

Now to derive *kühn*, *keen* from *kennen*, *können* one must shut his eyes to all the meanings except such as are found in ON. *kǿnn* 'klug, verständig.' If that be the original meaning, then let no one ever again doubt any combination because of the difference in meaning. Great differences may and do exist in related words, and that in itself is no bar to connecting them. But we ought at least to make an attempt to explain the differences logically.

Instead of starting from the signification of this word in the Norse, I take NE. *keen* in its most common uses as best representing the original meaning. From 'sharp, keen' come, without any unnatural changes, the various significations of this Germ. word. Thus from 'sharp' came 'shrewd, acute, keen-witted; fierce, severe, bold; bitter, stinging, harsh; eager, earnest; bright, fresh, etc.' Compare the following: Lat. *ācer*

'sharp, keen; dazzling, stinging, pungent, fine, piercing; violent, severe; hasty, fierce, angry; active, ardent, spirited; acute, penetrating, sagacious, shrewd,' Gk. ὀξύς 'sharp, keen; dazzling, etc.; quick, hasty, passionate; clever, shrewd, etc.' NE. *keen* could be used in translating these words more than any other single word. A similar variety of meanings is seen in other words for sharp, keen.

Keen may therefore be referred to the root *gen-, gŏn-* 'angular, sharp' in Gk. γωνία 'corner, angle,' γόνυ 'knee,' Skt. *jānu*, Lat. *genu*, Goth. *kniu*, etc.: Gk. γένυς 'chin,' γένειον 'beard,' γενῄς 'edge of an ax,' Lat. *gena* 'cheek,' Goth. *kinnus* 'Kinnbacke,' etc.: Lett. *zůds* 'scharfe Kante; Kinn,' Lith. *żándas* 'Kinnbacke,' Gk. γνάθος 'point, edge of a weapon; jaw,' etc.

It is possible that *keen* was originally an *u*-stem: pre-Germ. **ĝōnu-*, fem. **ĝōnu̯ī*. Compare OHG. *kuono* adv., *kuon-heit*, *kuon-rāt* with OHG. *harto* adv. (Goth. *hardus*), *herti* (Goth. acc. *hardjana*). In this case we may compare *keen* directly with Gk γωνία, Skt. *jānu*.

5. NE. *quiz* 'a puzzling question, banter, raillery, etc.', as a verb 'puzzle, banter, chaff, etc.' has not been satisfactorily explained. It is quite possible that the word was influenced in meaning by *question*, but we may regard it as a genuine Eng. word meaning primarily 'squeeze, press,' whence 'tease, annoy, quiz.' Compare OE. *cwȳsan* 'bruise, squeeze,' perhaps with *ȳ* for *ī* and related to Icel. *kveisa* 'colic, gripes.' Norw. *kveise, kvisa* 'blister,' MLG. *quēse* 'eine mit Blut oder Wasser unterlaufene Quetschung der Haut.' If any parallel is needed to establish so natural a development in meaning, compare Du. *knijpen* 'pinch, nip: oppress, quiz.'

6. OHG. *serawēn, serwēn*, MHG. *serwen* 'innerlich abnehmen, entkräftet werden, hinwelken, hinsiechen, absterben,' MLG. *serwen* 'entkräftet werden, kränkeln' may come from a base **sergᵘ̯h-*. Compare Lith. *sergù* 'bin krank, kranke,' Lett. dial. *sergu* 'bin krank,' Ir. *serg* 'krankheit.'

7. Goth. *aiza-smiþa*, OHG. *smid* 'Schmied,' etc. are referred to a root *smī-* in Gk. σμίλη 'knife for cutting and carving,' σμινύη 'hoe' (cf. Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 119; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*[2] 422, and others). No doubt *smith* goes back to a root *smĭ-*, which is in the Gk. words, but certainly not in the sense of those words. A *smith* was not 'a cutter or carver' (and the meaning 'worker in wood,' which ON. *smiðr* also has, may properly be regarded as a transferred meaning), but 'a forger and molder,' *i. e.* one who, after softening by heat the material to be worked, rubs and beats and bends it into the desired shape. On this underlying meaning is based MHG. *gesmīdec* 'leicht zu bearbeiten, geschmeidig; nachgiebig.'

This puts *smith* in line with the following: Gk. μαλακός 'soft,' μαλάσσω 'soften: soften metal, wax, etc., for working,' μαλακτήρ 'a melter and molder' (χρυσοῦ); Lat. *mulceo* 'stroke, soothe, soften': *Mulciber*.—Skt. *dĕghdi* 'bestreicht,' Lat. *fingo* 'form,' Goth. *digan* 'kneten,' *daigs* 'Teig,' OE. *dāg* 'dough; mass of metal.'

Similarly *smith* is derived from *smĭ-* in Gk. σμῆν 'rub, wipe, smear'; Goth. *bismeitan* 'beschmieren'; Norw. dial. *smika* 'streichen, glätten,' ON. *smeikr* 'glatt; schüchtern,' OHG. *smeih* 'Liebkosung, Schmeichelei,' MHG. *smeiche(l)n* 'schmeicheln,' etc.

8. NE. colloquial *snoop* 'pry about, go about in a prying or sneaking way' is not simply an Eng. variant of *snook* 'lurk, lie in ambush, pry about.' Compare ON., Icel. *snópa* 'hang about,' and also ON. *snópa* 'schnappen, mit leerem Munde Kaubewegungen machen,' Norw. *snōpa* 'naschen, schmarotzen,' EFries. *snōpen*, Du. *snoepen* 'naschen,' ON. *snapa* 'schnappen,' Icel. *snapa* 'sponge, schmarotzen.' Beside Germ. *snap-, snōp-* occur synonymous *snĕƀ-, snaƀ-, snapp-* in MHG. *snaben, sneben* 'schnelle und klappende Bewegung machen, schnappen, schnauben, etc.', *snappen* 'schnappen,' OHG. *snabul* 'Schnabel,' ON. *snefia* 'aufspüren,' *snáfa* 'umherschnobern,' etc.

9. ON. *váttr* from **wahtaz* 'witness,' *vátta* 'witness to, affirm, prove' seem to be unexplained. For some years I have referred these words to the IE. base *u̯equ̯-* in OHG. *giwahannen, giwahinen* 'gedenken, erwähnen, erzählen,' *giwaht* 'Erwähnung, Ruhm,' Lat. *voco* 'call,' *vōx* 'voice,' Gk. ἔπος 'word,' ὄψ 'voice,' εἶπον 'spoke,' Skt., Av. *vac-* 'speak, tell,' etc. This combination seems to me so obvious that it may have been made before.

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A "LOCAL HIT" IN EDWARDS'S *DAMON AND PYTHIAS.*

A good example of a "local hit" in a play of the early English drama, is found in one of the comic passages of Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* (1564), which was performed both at Westminster before the Queen and at Edwards's own university of Oxford. The passage has to do with the huge hose that the young pages wear, and gets its point from the fact that large hose and general extravagance in dress were so much the rage at Oxford that the authorities at the university had made most detailed regulations that year regarding the wearing apparel of all its dependents.

These sumptuary laws are stated by Anthony á Wood in his *History and Antiquities of Oxford* (ed. Gutch, vol. ii, p. 153 ff., *The Annals.* Anno Domini 1564). Among them is the following, "against the excess of apparel that was used by sorts of Scholars, namely, that 'no Head of a House, graduat or Scholar, having either living of a College, Scholar's Exhibition, or spiritual promotion in any College or Hall, should weare any shirt with ruffs either at the hand or collar, except it be a single ruff without any work of gold, silver, or silke, and that not above an inch deep. Also that none of the said persons should wear any falling collar which falleth more than an inch over the Coat or other garment. *That they should not weare any cut hosen, or hoses lined with any other stuff to make them swell or puff out. Then also that they have but one lining, and that lining close to the legge, and that they put not more cloth in one pair of hose than a yard and an half at most,* and that without buttons, lace or any gard of silk. That they should not openly wear any dublet of any light colour, as white, green, yellow, &c.' which orders were imposed on the said persons with mulcts to the breakers of them."*

Now, with this compare the passage referred to in *Damon and Pythias.* Grimm the Collier of Croyden, and the youngsters Jack and Will friendly pages to rival philosophers, are the chief funmakers of the tragicomedy. Jack and Will strut on to the stage in their huge breeches, an immense exaggeration of the exaggerated fashion, which are trebly ludicrous when worn by such midgets. The scene must have made an instant hit with the university audience, even before a word was spoken. Then the dialogue follows (Dodsley's *Old Plays,* ed. 1825, vol. i, pp. 232–233):

Grimme. Are ye servants, then?
Wyll. Yea, sir; are we not pretie men?
Grimme. Pretie men (quoth you)? nay, you are stronge men, els you coulde not beare these britches.
Wyll. Are these such great hose? in faith, goodman colier, you see with your nose:
By myne honestie, I have but one lining in one hose, but seven els of roug.
Grimme. This is but a little, yet it makes thee seeme a great bugge.
Jacke. How say you, goodman colier, can you finde any fault here?
Grimme. Nay, you should finde faught, mary here's trim geare!
Alas, little knave, dost not sweat? Thou goest with great payne,
These are no hose, but water bougets, I tell thee playne;
Good for none but suche as have no buttockes.
Dyd you ever see two suche little Robin ruddockes
So laden with breeches? chill say no more leste I offend.
Who invented these monsters first, did it to a gostly ende,
To have a male[1] readie to put in other folkes stuffe,
Wee see this evident by dayly prooffe.
One preached of late not farre hence, in no pulpet, but in a wayne carte,[2]
That spake enough of this; but for my parte,
Chil say no more: your owne necessitie.
In the end wyll force you to finde some remedy.

. . . . . .

[1] Pouch.

[2] Another hit, the meaning of which is not now plain. Fleay makes Fulwel the "preacher"; seeing here a reference to *Like Will to Like.* But some Oxford thief caught with the goods in his "male," and whipped through town at the tail of a cart, may have been the man who "preached."

Wyll. . . . . father Grimme, gayly well you doo say,
It is but young mens folly, that list to playe,
And maske a whyle in the net of their owne devise ;
When they come to your age they wyll be wyse.

Grimme. Bum troth, but few such roysters come to my yeares at this day ;
They be cut off betimes, or they have gone halfe their journey :
I wyll not tell why : let them gesse that can,
I meane somewhat thereby.

Mr. Fleay, in his *History of the Stage* (pp. 59–61), tries to use this passage in bolstering up his theory of a quarrel between Edwards and Ulpian Fulwel, author of *Like Will to Like.* He sees in this—just how or why is not made plain—a satirical allusion which he connects in some way with the reference in *Like Will to Like* to the breeches "big as good barrells" made by Nichol Newfangle, 'prentice to Lucifer.

The simple explanation is evident that in both *Like Will to Like* and *Damon and Pythias* the outrageously extravagant styles of the day were satirized. Here, over against an ell and a half to the pair of hose, as the authorities recommended, the young pages had seven ells of rug for each hose—*fourteen* to the pair! Grimms repeated, "Chill say no more leste I offend—Chil say no more," gains its point from the presence of the dignitaries of the university in the audience. His pointed word, about roisters such as Jack and Will being "cut off betimes, or they have gone halfe their journey," may simply refer to gay young students being rusticated by the university authorities.

The value of the local hit is perfectly plain, and it is absurd to seek in the passage any personality in an alleged author's quarrel. Much the same effect was gained as was gained a few years ago on the comic-opera stage of Boston by the frequent references to Judge Emmons, eleven o'clock closing, and the semi-colon law.

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EL PRÍNCIPE DON CARLOS OF XIMÉNEZ DE ENCISO.

Few historical personages have appealed more strongly to dramatists than Prince Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain. For a long time a mystery hung about the facts of his life and death. It was known that before Elizabeth of Valois married the King of Spain, her hand had been sought for the young Prince Carlos, and this afforded an opportunity to the romanticists, to spin out the pretty story of the Prince's love for the Queen, his step-mother. Not until Gachard published his book, *D. Carlos et Philippe II,* in 1863 was the true character of the Prince shown, freed from all the romantic elements.

It is quite natural that the life of Prince Don Carlos should have proved attractive to the Spanish dramatists of the seventeenth century. He had died in the year 1568 under mysterious circumstances, which surely awakened great interest. In 1619, Cabrera de Córdoba published his life of Philip II,[1] which gave many details of the life and death of Don Carlos, and which was the principal source of the Spanish dramatists. It was this book which probably led Ximénez de Enciso and Juan Pérez de Montalbán to write their *comedias* on the subject of Don Carlos.

Which of these writers was the first to treat the subject can not be definitely decided. Montalbán's *El Segundo Séneca de España y el Príncipe Don Carlos* was first published in his *Para Todos* in 1632, while Enciso's play, *El Príncipe Don Carlos* did not appear, as far as we know, until two years later. Cabrera de Córdoba's history was used as the chief source for both plays, and they strongly resemble each other in certain parts, but we can not assign priority, with certainty, to either one of them. As to their relative merit, all the advantage lies on the side of Enciso.[2]

[1] *Filipe segundo Rey de España,* etc. En Madrid, año M.DC.XIX.

[2] A number of new facts concerning Enciso were published by Sr José Sánchez Arjona in his book, *Noticias referentes á los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo* XVII. Sevilla, 1898. Moreto, in his comedia, *No puede ser el guardar una mujer,* Act I, scene 1,

Enciso's play first appeared in *Parte veinte y ocho de Comedias de varios Autores*, Huesca 1634, ff. 175–196. The author's name is given as Don Diego Ximénez de Anciso, and the play was presented by the company of Olmedo. Barrera[3] ascribes this play to Montalbán, evidently confusing it with the latter's *El Segundo Séneca.* It was published again in *Parte veinte y ocho de Comedias nuevas de los Mejores Ingenios desta Córte*, Madrid, 1667, and in this edition was attributed to Montalbán.[4] The text of this later edition follows closely that of Huesca, 1634.[5]

The play, as we have it in these editions, is a true *comedia* according to the Classical rules, for it ends happily. It deals with the life of the young Prince up to the spring of 1562, when he had recovered from a serious fall. It will be remembered that he had been named heir to the throne on February 22, 1560, and on that occasion the assembled Court swore allegiance to him. However, the boy's chances of ever coming to the throne seemed very slight, because of the fever which was gradually consuming him.

The King at first intended to send him to Gibraltar or Malaga, but finally chose Alcalá de Henares. The Prince set out for Alcalá in the latter part of October, 1561, and was joined there by Don Juan de Austria and Alexandro Farnese. The change of air seemed to benefit him, but he met with an accident, which nearly cost him his life.

Don Carlos had fallen in love with one of the daughters of the governor of the palace, and to meet her, he used to descend to the garden by a secret stairway, dark and very steep. His guardian, Don García de Mendoza, did not look favourably upon the Prince's escapade and had the door communicating with the garden closed. On Sunday, April 19, he had another rendezvous with his sweetheart, whose name was Mariana de Garcetas.[6] This time misfortune awaited him. He had sent away his attendants after dinner, and ran hurriedly down the winding staircase. He had almost reached the last step when he slipped and fell head foremost against the closed door. He fractured his skull, and for weeks the doctors despaired of saving his life. It was not long before a *villancico* appeared, telling in a playful way of the Prince's injury. It began as follows:

> "Bajóse el Sacre Real
> á la Garza por asilla,
> y hirióse sin herilla."[7]

This was glossed as follows by the poet, Eugenio de Salazar:[8]

> "Amor, que es vanaglorioso,
> ha hecho una gran hazaña,
> por mostrar que es hazañoso:
> hirió de un tiro amoroso
> al Real sacre de España.
> Y él viéndose assí llagado,
> y que en alto buelo alçado
> le apretaba más el mal,
> para poder ser curado
> baxóse el sacre Real.
>
> Erale fuerza baxarse
> para salir con su impresa,
> y á la garza derribarse:
> porque auia de curarse
> con hazer tan bella presa:
> Y asi con llaga reciente,
> y con coraçón ardiente,
> el gran sacre de Castilla
> acometió reciamente
> á la garça por asilla.
>
> Y pudiera muy ayna
> causarnos perpetuo llanto
> la baxada repentina,
> si la piedad diuina,
> no remediara mal tanto.
> Porque al tiempo que baxaba
> al aue que deseaba,
> que bió el buelo, por rendilla,
> con la furia, que lleuaba,
> y hirióse sin herilla."

mentions Enciso among the poets who had profited by the King's generosity:

> ¿Y qué ingenio en nuestra edad
> Nuestro Rey no ha enriquecido?
> . . . . .
> ¿El Rector de Villa-Hermosa,
> Góngora, Mesa y Enciso,
> Mendoza y otros, que quiso
> por su elección gloriosa?

[3] *Catálogo*, p. 684.

[4] Here again Barrera accepts the play as by Montalbán. *Catálogo*, p. 697.

[5] There are two manuscripts of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, No. 2728, in both of which it is ascribed to Enciso.

[6] Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. IV, col. 342.

[7] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, Vol. IV, col. 342.

[8] MSS. C, 56, Academy of History, Madrid, fol. 258b.

The Prince's condition became rapidly worse, and the physicians gave up hope of saving his life. It was decided to try a miracle. The body of a monk named Fray Diego, who had died about a hundred years before, and who was famous for his good works, was preserved at the Convent of San Francisco, at Alcalá. The Duke of Alba had the monk taken from his coffin and carried in procession to the apartment of Don Carlos. As soon as the sick Prince touched the body, he felt relieved and his condition gradually improved. The Prince told afterwards that Fray Diego had appeared to him by night, clothed as a Franciscan, and had told him that his life would be spared. The monk's prediction was verified, and on July 17 the Prince was able to return to Madrid. Fray Diego was canonized because of the miracle which had been wrought, in spite of the fact that Olivares, the Prince's doctor, with true professional pride, maintained that Don Carlos had been cured by natural remedies, and not by a miracle.[9] This, in brief, is the part of Don Carlos' life treated in the *Comedia* of Enciso.

In the course of time, another version of Enciso's play appeared which introduced certain changes and made the death of Don Carlos the end of the play. However, Enciso's name was still attached to this new version. The earliest edition of this version which is known was printed as a *suelta* in Valencia in 1773.[10] It is this new version which was so highly praised as the work of Enciso by Latour[11] and Schack,[12] who were both ignorant of the existence of an earlier version. Schaeffer[13] mentions the fact that there are two versions of the play, and decides that the later version is an *Ueberarbeitung* by another dramatist, perhaps Cañizares. However, in his translation, *Der Prinz Don Carlos,* he uses mainly the later version.[14]

The question of the two versions was next discussed by Dr. Schwill,[15] who, however, fails to reach a conclusion. He differs with Schaeffer, and believes that the version which has the death of Don Carlos as the *dénouement,* is the work of Enciso, and ascribes "the play with the feeble slump to some author other than Enciso." He thinks that if the early play had been worked over by another, the dramatist would have published the revision under his own name rather than Enciso's, which must have been unrecognized at that decadent period of the drama.

However, Dr. Schwill does not attempt to decide definitely the question of authorship. He says, "Only the finding of the latter (the version published as a *suelta* in Valencia in 1773), either in manuscript or in an edition printed before 1634, will allow us to speak with certainty in favor of Enciso." There is a manuscript of this second version in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid which, however, decides the question differently from what was expected.[16] This is an autograph of Cañizares which closely agrees with the later version as found in the *suelta* of Valencia, 1773. This settles beyond doubt the question of the authorship of the second version, and proves that the highly praised *comedia* of Enciso is largely indebted for its fame to the changes made in it by Cañizares.

We have already said that Cañizares gave the play a tragic ending. The events of the latter part of the young Prince's life here receive dramatic treatment. After his attempt to kill the Duke of Alba, and his treasonable dealings with

[9] *Documentos Inéditos*, Vol. xv, p. 570.

[10] I have a copy of this later version, ascribed to Enciso, which was published in a volume of comedias entitled, *El Teatro Español.* This collection is not mentioned by Morel-Fatio in his *Bibliographie du Théâtre espagnol.* There is no title page, but the collection was probably printed about the middle of the last century. It contains forty-six comedias and fourteen entremeses. A few of these comedias have not been published elsewhere, as far as I know, such as *Loa para el auto sacramental alegórico intitulado La Prudente Abigail,* and *Auto Sacramental, La Prudente Abigail,* of Calderon de la Barca, *Más vale fingir que amar ó Examinarse de Rey* of Mira de Amésecua, *El secreto en la Muger* of Claramonte, and the entremes *Getafe* of Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.

[11] *L'Espagne religieuse et littéraire,* p. 47 ff.

[12] *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España,* Vol. III, pp. 369–371.

[13] *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas,* Vol. I, p. 399.

[14] *Der Prinz Don Carlos. Die grösste That des Kaisers Karl V. Zwei Dramen von Don Diego Ximenez de Enciso,* Leipzig, 1887.

[15] *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 202–204.

[16] No. 12727. See Paz y Melia, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional,* p. 417.

the Flemings, the stern father, vacillating between his love for his son and his duty to the State, is obliged to imprison Don Carlos just as the latter is starting for Flanders. During his imprisonment, while the unhappy Prince is crushed by grief and mortification, a figure, his own, but with the semblance of a corpse and with a shattered crown, appears to him, prophesying his approaching death. At the same time, a heavenly chorus announces that divine justice has condemned him to lose his life and the throne. The Prince falls in a swoon, the King hurries to his side, and grief-stricken, watches him pass away. This finale is one of the most impressive to be found in all the Spanish drama.

It may be of interest to note to what an extent Cañizares used Enciso's play. The same characters are found in both versions. With the exception of a few minor details, Cañizares used, word for word, the first *jornada* of Enciso's play. The two versions also closely agree until near the close of the second *jornada*. In Enciso's play, Fadrique and Violante quarrel, the former accusing her of loving the Prince. This charge Violante indignantly denies. Then follows the scene of the oath of allegiance to Carlos. This is quite different in the Cañizares version. We have a scene between Fadrique and Violante, interrupted by the entrance of Carlos. Fadrique hides, and is found by Carlos, and a fight ensues. The Duke of Alba enters in the darkness, and in the confusion Violante flees with Carlos, thinking that he is Fadrique.

In Enciso's version, this scene takes place, with slight changes, in the third *jornada*. Carlos attacks Fadrique when he finds him alone with Violante, but the balcony upon which Carlos is standing falls to the ground, and the Prince receives the wound of which he is cured miraculously by the monk, Diego. Carlos repents of his misdeeds, and promises his father that he will mend his ways. In Cañizares' version, we find the attack of the Prince upon the Duke of Alba, and his preparations to start for Flanders, then his imprisonment and death.

Cañizares saw the weakness of certain parts of Enciso's play, and endeavoured to make these parts more dramatic, though he retained the original play as a foundation. That he improved Enciso's play is beyond question. He gained in dramatic force, and his portrayal of the death of Don Carlos is incomparably better than the *dénouement* of his predecessor. Surely Cañizares' version is deserving of the high rank which has been given it by writers on the Spanish drama, although he himself has not been included in the praise. His *Príncipe Don Carlos* is a worthy forerunner of Nuñez de Arce's splendid play on the same subject, *El Haz de Leña*.

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THE LADY IN THE GARDEN.

Readers of the *Knight's Tale* who have enjoyed Chaucer's description of Emilia in the garden (vv. 1033 ff.) are doubtless familiar with the parallel stanzas in Boccaccio's *Teseide*. Not so well known, apparently, is a passage in Henri d'Andeli's *Lai d'Aristote*, in which, under similar conditions, an Indian girl sets out to win the love of the philosopher. In the *Teseide:*

> Quando la bella Emilia giovinetta,
> A ciò tirata da propria natura,
> Non che d'amore alcun fosse costretta,
> Ogni mattina venuta ad un' ora
> In un giardin se n' entrava soletta,
> Ch' allato alla sua camera dimora
> Faceva, e in giubba e scalza gía cantando
> Amorose canzon, sè diportando.
>
> E questa vita più giorni tenendo
> La giovinetta semplicetta e bella,
> Colla candida man talor cogliendo
> D' in sulla spina la rosa novella,
> E poi con quella più fior congiugnendo
> Al biondo capo facie ghirlandella :
> Avvenne cosa nuova una mattina
> Per la bellezza di questa fantina.
>
> Un bel mattin ch' ella si fu levata,
> E' biondi crini avvolti alla sua testa,
> Discese nel giardin com' era usata ;
> Quivi cantando e facendosi festa,
> Con multi fior sull' erbetta assettata
> Faceva sua ghirlanda lieta e presta,
> Sempre cantando be' versi d' amore
> Con angelica voce e lieto core.
>
> III, sts. 8–10.

In the *Lai d'Aristote* (Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil Général des Fabliaux*, v, no. 137):

Au matin, quant tens fu et eure,
Sans esveillier autrui se lieve,
Quar li levers pas ne li grieve.
Si s'est en pure sa chemise
Enz el vergier souz la tor mise,
En .i. bliaut ynde gouté,
Quar la matinée ert d'esté
Et li vergiers plains de verdure.
Si ne doutoit pas la froidure,
Qu'il faisoit chalt et dolz oré.
Bien li ot nature enfloré
Son cler vis de lis et de rose,
N'en toute sa taille n'ot chose
Qui par droit estre n'i deüst;
Et si ne cuidiez qu'ele eüst
Loiée ne guimple ne bende.
Si l'embellist molt et amende
Sa bele tresce longue et blonde;
N'a pas deservi qu'on la tonde
La dame qui si biau chief porte;
Par mi le vergier se deporte
Cele, qui nature avoit painte,
Nuz piez, desloiée, deschainte,
Si va escorçant son bliaut,
Et va chantant, non mie haut:
Or la voi, la voi, la voi.
La fontaine i sort serie.
Or la voi, la voi, m'amie,
Et glaiolai desouz l'aunoi.
Or la voi, la voi, la voi,
La bele blonde, a li m'otroi.
. . . .
Si com li mestre se demente,
La dame en .i. rainssel de mente
Fist .i. chapel de maintes flors.
Au fere li sovint d'amors;
Si chante au cueuillir les floretes:
Ci me tienent amoretes;
Dras i gaoit meschinete.
Douce, trop vous aim!
Ci me tienent amoretes
Où je tieng ma main.

vv. 278 ff.

A beautiful girl, barefoot and lightly clad, walking early on a spring morning in a medieval garden, singing love-songs, gathering flowers and weaving of them a garland for her blond head, all to the destruction of male spectators, is, perhaps, mere conventional situation; yet source-hunters have sometimes been satisfied with less striking resemblances in style and matter no less obvious.

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A LATIN-PORTUGUESE PLAY CONCERNING SAINTS VITUS AND MODESTUS.

The Hispanic Society of America has recently acquired a Latin-Portuguese manuscript whose title page reads as follows:

DIALOGO | *Latino Lufitano de S. Vito-* | *&* *Modefto martyres fei* = | *to em Cochim no Colle* = | *gio da Compª. de* IESV, | *& offereçido ao Illt.mo* | *Sõr. Aires de Salda* = | *nha Viforei da* | *India güdo.* | *chegou* | *doRno* | | *Anno de 1600* | .

The volume is a small quarto, 152 mm. × 198 mm., bound in stamped red Russia leather. The MS. bears on the inside of the front cover a book-plate showing that it once belonged to the famous collection of Thomas Jefferson McKee. It is probably an original MS., and a presentation volume made and bound for the new Viceroy. It shows three distinct hands.

As proven by the water-marks the MS. originally consisted of fifty unnumbered leaves or folios. It now consists of forty-eight, the first and last being absent. The analysis follows:

Fol. 1, Guard leaf, lacking, as proven by the water-mark; fol. 2, Guard leaf, blank[1]; fol. 3, recto = title page, as quoted above; verso = blank; fol. 4, blank. These are followed by three full signatures of twelve folios each, bearing the same water-mark as the preliminary leaves; and these in turn are followed by one signature of ten folios, with two water-marks (neither mark like that of all the preceding folios): folios 41–[50] and 43–48 having one water-mark, while folios 42–49, 44–47, and 45–46 have the other. Fols. 5ro to 48ro present the text intact; fol. 48ro has but five lines of text, while the rest of the leaf is blank; fol. 49, Guard leaf, blank; fol. 50, Guard leaf, lacking, as proven by the water-mark. New double guard leaves have been inserted into the front and back of the volume, and in each case one of the folios has been pasted fast to the cover.

[1] At the top of Fol. 2ro, two lines of writing have been erased. The first line is still partially legible and reads: *Henrietta Klavin* or *Klarin*. The second line is entirely illegible.

As its title indicates, the work is a Latin-Portuguese play concerning the lives of Saints Vitus and Modestus. It was written in the Jesuit College of the capital of the Portuguese province of India, Cochim, on the S. W. coast, and performed, presumably by the students, before Aires de Saldanha, the newly appointed Viceroy, on his arrival from Portugal.

Saldanha was appointed Viceroy in 1600 to succeed the weak Count of Vidigueyra; but he was equally remiss and made no headway against the Dutch. He held office until 1604, when he was succeeded by Alonso de Castro. Portugal lost Cochim to Holland in 1662.

A moment ago I said that Fol. 1 is lacking. It is probable that part of it is still preserved. At the time of inserting the new guard leaves, half of the new folio that was pasted against the inside of the front cover was cut out. In the space thus left we see, likewise pasted against the cover, a leaf that looks as though it might very well be the missing Fol. 1. No such cut was made in the new guard leaf at the back and so I cannot say whether or not the old Fol. 50 is still preserved between it and the back cover. The object of the cut on the front cover was to leave visible a manuscript note which reads:

"This booke was found in the carique St. Valentine taken by Sir Rich. Levefon a yeare before the death of Queen Elizabeth [died 1602]."

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, so the date 1602 should have referred to the taking of the St. Valentine. The date is written in pencil and is not in the same hand as the rest of the note.

Sir Richard Leveson (1570–1605) was vice-admiral of England. In 1600, with the style of "Admiral of the narrow seas," he commanded a fleet sent towards the Azores to look out for Spanish treasure-ships. Early in 1602 Leveson commanded a powerful fleet which was "to infest the Spanish coast." On June 1, 1602, off the coast of Lisbon, he learned that a large carrack and eleven galleys were in Cezimbra bay, about twenty miles south of Lisbon harbor. Leveson's fleet had been considerably divided up, so that he himself had only five ships left. Nevertheless, when on the morning of June 3rd he found the fleet strongly posted under the guns of the castle, he entered the bay. The fight lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon. Two of the galleys were burned, and the rest, together with the carrack, surrendered. This carrack (the only one in the fleet) is probably the "carique St. Valentine" mentioned in the note on the inside of the front cover.

Theophilo Braga, in his *Hist. do Theatro Portugues*, Porto, 1870, has a chapter devoted to the Jesuit plays (Vol. II, chap. ii, pp. 151–184) *As Tragicomedias nos Collegios Jesuitas.* This play is not mentioned therein. Mrs. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in the *Grundriss* of Gröber, also omits it.

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A LETTER FROM ONE MAIDEN OF THE RENAISSANCE TO ANOTHER.[1]

"Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées, Grecque, sans laquelle c'est honte qu'une personne se die savant, Hebraicque, Caldaicque, Latine . . . . . Tout le monde est plein de gens savans, de precepteurs tres doctes, de librairies tres amples, et m'est advis que, ny au temps de Platon, ny de Ciceron, ny de Papinian, n'estoit telle commodité d'estude qu'on y voit maintenant. . . . . Je voy les brigans, les bourreaux, les aventuriers, les palfreniers de maintenant plus doctes que les docteurs et preschenrs de mon temps.

Que diray-je? Les femmes et les filles ont aspiré à ceste louange et manne celeste de bonne doctrine."[2]

Such are the enthusiastic terms in which Pantagruel praises the changes wrought in France by the Renaissance.

The last sentence of the above extract characterizes in a singularly concise manner one of the most distinctive features of the epoch—the coming to the fore of women, who had previously, with

[1] Camerarius Collection, Royal Library, Munich. My thanks are due to M. Pierre de Nolhac, Director of the Museum of Versailles, for the communication of this letter.

[2] Rabelais, Burgaud-Desmarets and Rathery ed., II, viii.

rare exceptions, held aloof from intellectual pursuits, as from other fields in which the sterner sex held sway. The list of French poetesses of the sixteenth century is a long one: Louise Labé, Clémence de Bourges, Pernette du Guillet, Marie de Romieu, Gabrielle de Coignard, Jeanne d'Albret, Jacqueline de Miremont, Madeleine and Catherine des Roches, Mary Stuart, Marguerite de Valois, Anne and Catherine de Parthenay, Catherine de Bourbon, and, the most celebrated of all, Marguerite de Navarre.[3] These women, however, confined themselves to writing in their mother tongue; for the most famous of the Latin poetesses we must turn to Camille de Morel, a young lady who had an international renown as a scholar, but who is to-day quite unknown except to the few who take pleasure in communing with the forgotten men and women of long ago.

Camille was the daughter of Jean de Morel[4] and Antoinette de Loynes, whose house in Paris was the rendezvous of the foremost men of letters of the middle of the century. The frequent presence of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Dorat, Salmon Macrin, Lancelot de Carles, Michel de L'Hospital, Jean Mercier, Guillaume Aubert, and many others prompted Scévole de Sainte-Marthe to remark that the home of the Morels was a veritable temple of the Muses.

Camille began composing verses in French and Latin when only ten years of age. Her precocity led Joachim du Bellay to pay her the following compliment:

> Sic ludit Latiis modis Camilla,
> Camillam ut Latii putes alumnam.
> Sic versus patrios facit Camilla,
> Ronsardus queat invidere ut ipse.
> . . . .
> Et vix (quod stupeas) videt Camilla
> Videt vix decimam Camilla messem.[5]

To her accomplishments in French and Latin she soon added a thorough knowledge of Greek, Spanish, and Italian. Her poems, which are scattered throughout the works of contemporary writers, have never been collected.

The inedited letter published below adds a new note to the many words of praise that were showered upon the scholarly girl. Not only did the poets of the time regard her as a marvel, but another young lady in far off Duisburg rejoiced at her learning, and, with a sad ring in her voice, regretted that the broom and distaff prevented her from satisfying her own literary inclinations.

The writer of the letter, Johanna Otho, daughter of Johann Otho,[6] was born in Bruges about the middle of the century. In 1557 she went with her father to Duisburg, where she subsequently became celebrated for her erudition. The modest tone of the letter to Camille de Morel does not do its author justice. Late in life she published two volumes of Latin poetry, *Carminum diversorum libri duo* (Strasburg, 1616), and *Poemata sive lusus extemporanei* (Antwerp, 1617). Her poetic gifts drew from a contemporary, Jacques Yetswerts, the ensuing eulogistic verse:

> Quarta Charis, Musisque novem decima addita Musa.

[3] Cf. Léon Feugère, *les Femmes poètes au* XVIe *siècle*, Paris, 1860.

[4] Jean de Morel (1511–1581), a native of Embrun, after early travels in Italy and Switzerland, returned to Paris, where he held important positions in the household of Henry II and Catherine de Medici. His importance in the literary history of the sixteenth century is due more to the protection that he extended to young poets than to his own productions. His wife, Antoinette de Loynes, was the widow of Lubin Dallier, advocate in the Parliament of Paris. See Pierre de Nolhac, *Lettres de Joachim du Bellay*, Paris, 1883, p. 24, note 1, for some verses from her pen. Besides Camille, Jean de Morel had two daughters, Lucrèce and Diane, who also received many eulogies from the poets of the time.

It is to be regretted that a thorough study has not yet been made of the literary work and connections of this, one of the most important families of the Renaissance. M. Henri Chamard, in his admirable thesis on Joachim du Bellay, Lille, 1900, devotes considerable attention to the Morels. To the bibliography given by M. Chamard, p. 390, the following additions may now be made: Joseph Dumoulin, *Vie et oeuvres de Frédéric Morel*, Paris, 1901, Index; the present author, *Une lettre autographe de Pierre Forcadel, lecteur du roi en mathématiques à Jean de Morel*, in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, Oct.-Dec., 1905, p. 663.

[5] *Joach. Bellaii poematum libri quatuor*, Parisiis, 1558.

[6] Johann Otho, teacher, grammarian, historian, translator and cosmographer, was a native of Bruges. About 1545 he opened a school of ancient languages at Ghent. In 1557 he went to Duisburg, where he died in 1581. He was the author of a dozen works on his various specialties.

Concerning Otho and his daughter, see *Biographie Nationale* of Belgium.

Johanna's curious letter to Camille de Morel is of importance not only for the biography of the two young ladies, but also for the general history of the Renaissance. It indicates that an unbounded desire for knowledge filled the hearts of youthful maidens as well as plodding graybeards, or, as Rabelais expresses it, "even women and girls aspired to that celestial manna of good learning." [7]

Johanna's letter, the Latin of which savors somewhat of the school-room, follows :

S. P. Cum ad nos ex Anglia venisset Dominus Carolus Utenhovius,[8] quem pater meus inter eos quos olim in literis erudivit unice amplectitur,[9] tuum mihi carmen dedit, quo lecto, verbis consequi nequeam quam fuerim gavisa. Nam in his terris nullam audio virginem in literis humanioribus magnopere versatam ; quare aequum est quod tuae gratuler felicitati, ingenio et educationi, quod virgineis moribus in tanta generis tui claritate literas latinas et graecas coniungere non erubescas, novemque Musarum et Phoebi sacra tuis studiis non indigna censeas. Mihi sane, ut verum fatear, nulla potest voluptas obvenire tanta, cuius respectu literas latinas et graecas queam posthabere. Quibus non tantum voluptatem, sed veram felicitatem metior. Utinam domesticas curas (quod plerique iu nobis nefas ducunt) prae his contemnere possem, facile paterer me totam solis Musis dedicari. Ignosce, clarissima virgo, meae audaciae, quod hac parum culta epistola tuas aures eruditissimas onerare sum ausa. Rogavit Dominus Carolus Utenhovius patrem meum ut etiam soluta oratione ad te aliquid literarum darem, meque in tuam notitiam propter literarum commercia insinuarem ; quamobrem si quid hic peccati est, id totum Domino Carolo Utenhovio tua humanitas imputabit.[10] Vale, lectissima Domina Camilla, et me in tuarum ancillarum catalogo ascribi patiare. Est mihi Lutetiae[11] frater germanus.[12] Utinam ille per te in familia isthic pia alibi commendatus potius quam οἰκόσιτος viveret (*sic*). Iterum vale. Dunburgi.[13] Pridie calendas octobris.[14]

JOHANNA OTHONIS
Johannis Othonis filia.

R. L. HAWKINS.

Harvard University.

THE SATOR-ACROSTIC.

In a brief communication to the *Verhandlung der Berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1880, p. 42, Treichel describes a curious 'Toll-tafel,'—or small wooden tablet used as a charm against the bite of a mad dog or other rabid animal,—inscribed with the acrostic

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

[7] When the letter was written, Camille de Morel (b. 1547) was nineteen years old. We are safe in assuming that Johanna Otho was of about the same age.

[8] Charles Utenhove, one of the foremost humanists of the sixteenth century, was born at Ghent in 1536. At an early age he went to Paris, where he became tutor of Jean de Morel's daughters. In 1563 he accompanied the French ambassador, Paul de Foix, to England, and remained there three years. In 1566 he went to Germany, and a few years later became professor of Greek in the University of Basel. He died in Cologne in 1600.

Utenhove was the author of some ten works, mostly in Latin. He was a most proficient linguist, having written verses in French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldean. His best known work, the *Xenia*, contains so many contributions by Joachim du Bellay that the latter might well be called a collaborator. Besides Du Bellay, Utenhove had intimate relations with Ronsard, Dorat, George Buchanan, Turnèbe, L'Hospital,—in short, with the leading scholars and men of letters of the period.

Doctor Wiepen, of Cologne, is preparing a study on the life and works of Utenhove.

Concerning Utenhove, see Chamard, *op. cit.*, Index.

[9] In his *Epitaphium in mortem Henrici Gallorum regis*, Paris, 1560, Utenhove speaks in affectionate terms of his early association with Otho at Ghent.

[10] Utenhove seems to have taken a great interest in Johanna Otho. In his *Xenia* we find a poem with the following title : *Ad eundem* (*i. e.* Jean de Morel) *in commendationem Jo. Othonidos Jo. Othonis praeceptoris sui F.*

[11] Paris.

[12] This brother is otherwise unknown.

[13] Duisburg, a city in the Rhine Province, Prussia, a few miles north of Düsseldorf.

[14] The reference to Utenhove's leaving England enables us to assign 1566 as the date of the letter.

which he translates, "Der Säman Arepo hält mit Mühe die Räder." For the word 'Arepo,' which he takes to be a proper name, he can find no satisfactory meaning. Later, p. 215, he reports the discovery of another little tablet, inscribed with an acrostic containing several letters of the SATOR-formula, but including other letters in different order, the whole almost obliterated and scarcely legible.

These brief reports instigated a seven years' hunt for other instances in which this same acrostic was used, and led to a long and apparently fruitless discussion as to the meaning of this curious acrostic. In a later communication (*Verhandl.*, 1880, p. 276), Treichel suggests another interpretation: SATOR = Father, Nourisher, Supporter. ROTAS = Wheel of fate. Hence, "Der gütige Vater hält mit Mühe auf das verderbliche Rollen der Schicksalsräder." He still finds, however, no satisfactory explanation for the word AREPO.

Verhandl., 1880, p. 280, von Schulenburg cites examples of the use of this acrostic to cure the toothache. The letters are to be written in butter or on a piece of bread and butter,[1] which is then to be eaten, the idea being to swallow the magic words so that they may expel the sickness. Instances are given where the acrostic was used to extinguish fires. In Pomerania, Treichel (*Verhandl.*, 1881, p. 164) finds it used as a charm against fever.

Verhandl., 1881, p. 35, Adolf Erman describes a Koptic ostrakon in the Berlin Museum, No. 7821, bearing this same acrostic, and refers to Hiob Ludolf, *Ad historiam Æthiopicam commentarius*, p. 351, who discovered in an Ethiopian MS. these five words as names of the five wounds of Christ: sador aroda danad adera rodas.

Ibid., 162, Treichel refers to Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, Berlin, 1870, who gives an imperfect acrostic, apparently a corruption of the SATOR-acrostic, as follows:

N A T O R
A U T N O
T E P U T
A U T N O
R O T U R

Ibid., 1882, p. 558, Fräulein Mestorf tells of a cup of oriental workmanship found in the island of Gotland, having engraved on it in Runic letters the SATOR-acrostic, together with the five-pointed star, or wizard pentagram ☆. The cup is said to belong to the fourteenth century.

Ibid., 1883, p. 535, H. Fritsch rearranges the letters and finds in them an invocation to Satan: Satan oro te pro arte, a te spero.

Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XVI (1883), p. 113, W. Schwartz concludes that the double meaning of a formula like the SATOR-acrostic would serve the purpose of calling up spirits, and then when said backwards, of banishing them again. He cites numerous examples from Latin poetry, especially spells to call up the wind and lightning and evil spirits.

Verhandl., 1884, p. 66, Treichel accepts a Keltic interpretation of the formula proposed by Herr Lehrer Rabe in Biere bei Magdeburg. In 1886, however, Treichel (*Verhandl.*, p. 349) suggests the God Saturn for SATOR, and takes ROTAS to refer to the wheels of the sun chariot, translating, "Saturnus mühevoll die Räder (das Sonnenrad) lenkt." For AREPO he suggests derivation from Finnish *Aurinko* = "die Sonne."

Ibid., 1887, p. 69. Interpretation of Dr. Kolberg, who regards the letters as abbreviations of Latin words. The Nüremburg medal, or plate, described in *Verhandl.*, 1883, p. 354, he considers to have been originally a paten, or communion plate. On the outer circle are the words: + Deo Honorem + Et Patria + Liberationem + Mentem Sanctam + Spontaneam, and the SATOR-acrostic, which he arranges rather arbitrarily as follows:

SAT ORARE
POTENter ET OPERAre
RatiO (oder auch ReligiO) TuA Sit

and thus interprets:

Viel beten
Und kräftig arbeiten,
Das sei Deine Lebensweise (oder Religion).

[1] Cf. U. Jahn, *Hexenwesen und Zauberei in Pommern*, Stettin, 1886, p. 55. Schreib mit einem Stöckchen auf ein Butterbrot folgende Worte und gieb es dem Kranken ein:

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E w e t
R o t a s

This he takes to be an ancient rule of the Benedictines.

Ibid., 74. F. Lieberman reports that this same acrostic appears on the margin of an Oxford MS. Bodl. Digby 53, belonging approximately to the year 1200.

Reinhold Köhler discusses the acrostic at some length in *Verhandl.*, 1881, p. 301, and especially in *Kleinere Schriften*, 3, p. 564. In the latter article he has collected many examples which show the early origin of the formula and its widespread use. He finds it scratched on the marble above the chapel of St. Laurent in Rochemaure, France; in Cirencester, England; on the mosaic pavement of a church in Pieve Terzagni, end of eleventh century; in an Oxford Latin MS. of the thirteenth century; in a Greek MS. of the Bibl. Natle. of Paris; in a Munich MS. marginal, handwriting of the fifteenth century, referred to by J. du Choul, in his work entitled *De varia quercus historia*, Lugduni, 1555, p. 25, who says it was used by the ancient Gauls as a febrifuge; used to awaken love or to obtain favor; in the Romanusbüchlein (Scheible's *Kloster*, 3, 492) used to extinguish fires and to protect cattle against witchcraft; to protect against the bite of a mad dog; used by the natives of the northern provinces of Brazil to protect against and heal snake bite.

Köhler does not attempt to interpret the meanings of the words, but concludes that with the exception of AREPO, which has not been satisfactorily explained, they are all well known Latin words.

To these examples may be added the following, collected from various MSS., and so far as I know unpublished hitherto:

Bibl. Bodl. MS. e Mus, 243, fol. 31 (seventeenth cent.).

Request to obtain

Write thes words in parchment wth y[e] bloude of a culver & beare it in thy left hande & aske what y[u] wilt & y[u] shalt have it / fiat.

s	a	t	o	r
a	r	e	p	o
t	e	n	e	t
o	p	e	r	a
r	o	t	a	s

B. M. MS, Addit. 15236:

Ad h*abe*nd*um* vel si vis h*abe*re amore*m* do*mini* tui Sc*ri*be hec no*min*a sa*ngui*ne albe colu*m*be + sator + arepo + tenz + op*er*a + rotas + & i*n*ti*n*ge i*n* aqua b*ene*d*ic*t*a* & pone p*er* xii dies sup*er* alta*ram*. Susp*en*de c*ir*ca collu*m* & *quidquid* ab eo petieris dabit tibi.

Bibl. Bodl. MS. e Mus. 243, fol. 15:

deliverance to cause.

Ligentur ad ventrem mulieris ista verba + maria peperit Christum [2] + Anna mariam + Elizabeth + Johannem Celina remigium + sator + arepo + tenet + opera + rotas +

Paris MS. Bibl. Natle. 2045, fol. 23b (a paper MS., xv cent.):

Pour tantost avoir enffant escripvez ce qui ensuit en saint [= ceinture] en parchmen*t* & metrz sur la ventre a la fem*me* & tantost avra enffan*t* sy dieu plait + maria peperit Xpm + anna maria*m* + Elizabeth Johan*nem* + & plus . . . . . + sator + arepo + Tenet + opera + Rotas + Item si elle ne peut avoir enffant . . . . quoy ly enffant . . mort . . . a la fem*me* . . a boyre ysope si . . .

On margin *vacat propter fidem.*

Paris MS. Bibl. Natle. Latin 6837, fol. 46 (xiv cent.):

Ad parturam mulieris. Puleiu*m* tritu*m* cu*m* aqua bibat. Item scribe hoc & liga sub umbilico ej*us*. In no*m*ine pat*ris* & filii & sp*iritus* sa*nc*ti impero tibi ut exeas & videas lumen. Sancta maria pep*er*it xpm & sancta elizabeth peperit iohanne*m*. Panditur interea domus om*n*ipotentis olimphi. Sator + arepo + tenet + op*er*a + rotas + De*us* ultionum d*omi*nus. de*us* ultionum libere egit.

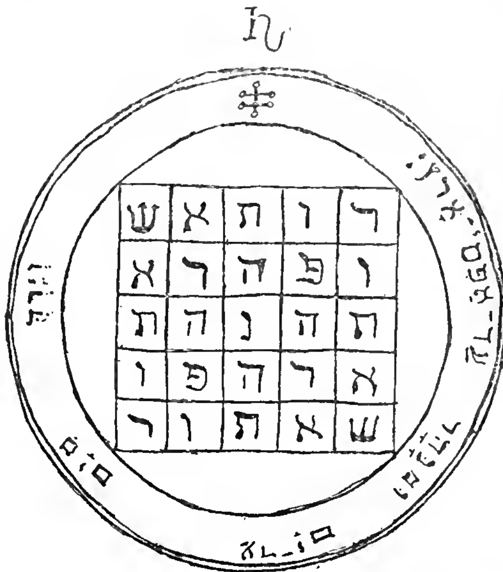
Ms. C.C.C. 41, fol. 329 (new numbering) margin:

Creator & sa*n*ctificator pater & filius & sp*iritus* s*a*nct*us* qui es uera trinitas & unitas precam*us* te d*omi*ne cleme*n*tissime pat*er* ut elemosina ista fiat misericordia tua ut accepta sit tibi p*ro* anime [above line *vel a*] famuli tui ut sit bene dictio sup*er* omnia dona ista p*er* + sator arepo tenet opera rotas. De*us* qui ab initio fecisti homine*m* & dedisti ei in adiutoriu*m* simile*m* sibi ut crescere

[2] In F. Heinrich, *Ein Mittelenglisches Medicinbuch*, Halle, 1896, p. 43, the SATOR-acrostic is added, as here, to the "Maria peperit Christum, etc." Instead of "Celina remigium," however, we find "sancta Cecilia peperit remigium."

[above line *vel nt*] & multiplicare [above line *vel nt*] da super terra*m* huic famula*m* tuam .N. ut *pro*spere & sine dolore parturit.

The most satisfactory explanation I have been able to discover for this perplexing acrostic is that given by S. Liddell MacGregor Mathers, *The Key of Solomon* (*Clavicula Salomonis*), *translated and edited from B. M. MS. Lansdowne 1202*, London, 1889, p. 59, fig. 12.



"Figure 12. The Second Pentacle of Saturn. This Pentacle is of great value against adversities; and of especial use in repressing the pride of the Spirits.

"Editor's Note. This is the celebrated

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

the most perfect existing form of double acrostic, as far as the arrangement of the letters is concerned; it is repeatedly mentioned in the records of mediæval Magic; and, save to very few, its derivation from the present Pentacle has been unknown. It will be seen at a glance that it is a square of five, giving twenty-five letters, which added to unity, gives twenty-six, the numerical value of IHVH. The Hebrew versicle surrounding it is taken from Psalm lxii, 8, 'His dominion shall be also from one sea to the other, and from the flood to the world's end.' This passage consists also of exactly twenty-five letters, and its total numerical value (considering the final letters with increased numbers), added to that of the name Elohim, is exactly equal to the total numerical value of the twenty-five letters in the Square."

Ibid., page 53. "For obtaining grace and love, write down the following words: SATOR, AREPO, TENET, OPERA, ROTAS, IAH, IAH, IAH, KETHER, CHOKMAH, BINAH, GEDULAH, GEBURAH, TIPHERETH, NETZACH, HOD, YESOD, MALKUTH, ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB, SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO, be ye all present in my aid and for whatsoever I shall desire to obtain.

"Which words being properly written as above, thou shalt also find thy desire brought to pass."

Ibid., p. 56. "Concerning the Holy Pentacles or Medals.

"The Medals or Pentacles, which we make for the purpose of striking terror into the Spirits and reducing them to obedience, have besides wonderful and excellent virtue.

"They are also of great virtue and efficacy against all perils of Earth, of Air, of Water, and of Fire, against poison which hath been drunk, against all kinds of infirmities and necessities, against binding and sortilege, and sorcery, against all terror and fear, and wheresoever thou shalt find thyself, if armed with them, thou shalt be in safety all the days of thy life."

See also S. L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin, the Mage, as delivered by Abraham the Jew unto his son Lamech, A. D. 1458. Translated from the Original Hebrew into the French and now rendered from the latter language into English. From a unique and valuable MS. in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, at Paris.* London, 1898.

P. xxix of the Introduction:

For obtaining love of a maiden (Pentacle of Venus).

S A L O M = Peace
A R E P O = He distils
L E M E L = unto fulness
O P E R A = upon the dry ground
M O L A S = in quick motion.

On page 219 of this same volume appears the following interpretation of the SATOR-acrostic:

S A T O R = The Creator
A R E P O = slow moving
T E N E T = maintains
O P E R A = his creations
R O T A S = as vortices.

Tuchmann, *Mélusine*, 9 (1898), p. 37, asserts that magic squares were unknown in Europe before the fourteenth century, after which they spread rapidly. The numbers composing the squares might easily be converted into letters of the Arabic alphabet, which according to the example of the Hebrew and Greek characters, might have a numerical value independent of their vocal signification. These letters form, then, artificial words, which at first sight convey no meaning, but which, interpreted according to the method known among the Arabians as the 'science of letters,' represent sometimes abbreviations of the names of the prophets or of other holy personages.

Through the kindness of Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins, I have just had an opportunity to read an article by E. J. Pilcher, on "Two Kabbalistic Planetary Charms," in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XXVIII, Part 3, pages 110–118, March, 1906. After explaining the principle of the Magic Square, Mr. Pilcher proceeds to describe two talismans, one of Jupiter, the other of Venus, both being silver disks with holes or suspension loops for hanging about the neck, and both engraved with magic squares filled in with numbers and pseudo-Hebrew characters. The talisman of Jupiter is an inch and a half in diameter, and the Kabbalist declares of it: "If this Magical Square be engraved upon a sheet of silver representing Jupiter in a powerful and dominant conjunction, then it will give riches, favour, love, peace, and harmony with mankind. It will reconcile enemies. It will ensure honours, dignities, and government position." The talisman of Venus, which is two inches and an eighth in diameter, has the following wonderful properties: "This Magic Square engraved upon a sheet of silver representing Venus in a lucky conjunction, procures harmony, terminates discords, and obtains female favours. It assists conception, prevents sterility, and gives conjugal strength. It delivers from sorcery, makes peace between husband and wife, and causes all kinds of animals to be produced in abundance. Placed in a dovecot, it causes the pigeons to multiply freely. It is good against melancholy sicknesses; and is strengthening. Carried upon the person, it makes travellers lucky."

Mr. Pilcher further describes seven other planetary charms, which are in the Mediæval Room of the British Museum, and also gives a brief description of a pewter medal, belonging to Mr. W. L. Nash, to whom also belong the talismans of Jupiter and Venus described above. This medal contains various talismanic inscriptions: an interlaced star of eight points, and astronomical hieroglyphs of the seven planets, together with Greek and Hebrew names for the Deity.

Such planetary charms, according to Mr. Pilcher, were especially common in the seventeenth century. "The belief [in them] was shared by the ablest and most learned men of the period. Johann Reuchlin in the sixteenth century and Athanasius Kircher in the seventeenth devoted much time and labour to expounding the abstruse teachings of the Kabbalah; and they were eagerly followed by a crowd of lesser luminaries.[3] The Kabbalah itself was at first a body of theosophic doctrine originated by the Jews of Spain in the thirteenth century on the lines of Neo-Platonism; but the mysticism of the early Kabbalists speedily developed a system of magic, that gradually absorbed all the half-forgotten fancies of Greek sorcery and astrology. Thus Kabbalism became the principal repertory of magical ideas; and all the forms of modern occultism, whatever their names may be, have derived their material from the Kabbalah; although the debt is not always acknowledged."

This SATOR-acrostic, then, is clearly related to the Jewish Kabbalah, but at the same time, in its relation to the magic square, in which letters and words are reduced to numbers with definite fixed values, its origin may be traced back through the Pythagorean philosophy to ancient Babylon.[4]

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[3] Compare, for example, Pico de Mirandola and his "nine hundred theses," and see article on Kabbalah in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

[4] Cf. the Abraxas and the Pentagram, and see in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* the articles on "Magic" (E. B. Tyler) and on "Kabbalah" (C. D. Ginsburg). In the latter article it is stated that the hermeneutical canons for obtaining the heavenly mysteries,—by means of permutations, combinations, and arrangements of whole words or of the initial or final letters of a word according to their numerical values, etc.,—are much older than the Kabbalah itself.

Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik herausgegeben von PROF. DR. M. TRAUTMANN. Heft XVII. [Sammelheft. DR. OTTO GRÜTERS: Über einige Beziehungen zwischen altsächsischer und altenglischer Dichtung. KARL DANIEL BÜLBRING: Die Schreibung des *eo* im Ormulum. WILHELM HEUSER: Das frühmittelenglische Josephlied. MORITZ TRAUTMANN: Nachträgliches zu 'Finn und Hildebrand'; Der Heliand eine Übersetzung aus dem Altenglischen; Auch zum Beowulf, ein Gruss an Herrn Eduard Sievers; Die Auflösung des 11ten (9ten) Rätsels; Die neuste Beowulfausgabe und die altenglische Verslehre.] Bonn: P. Hanstein's Verlag, 1905. 191 pp.

The contents of this miscellaneous volume may be described as falling into three groups of papers. One of these is concerned with Middle English language and literature (Bülbring, Heuser), another treats of the relation between Old English and Old Saxon literature (Grüters, Trautmann), and a third contains notes on the text of *Beowulf*, together with an excursus on metrics (Trautmann). In addition, the indefatigable editor contributes a few supplementary jottings on his *Finn und Hildebrand*, and one on the 11th *Riddle*, proposing a new solution of it as 'anchor.'[1]

To take up briefly the first mentioned group, Bülbring's paper—a continuation of his study of the *æ* in early Middle English texts, *Bonner Beiträge*, XV, 101 ff.[2]—is a searching investigation of the spelling *eo* occurring by the side of *e* in the *Ormulum*, as *beo, ben; deore, dere; seoffne, seffne; eorþe, erþliȝ; heorrte, herrte;* etc. The subject is handled with such painstaking accuracy and careful attention to all phases of the problem that the point in question, which had been briefly touched upon by various scholars before, may now be regarded as settled. Bülbring explains the coexistence of the *eo* ($=\breve{\bar{œ}}$) and *e* ($=\breve{\bar{e}}$) forms in Orm's language from dialectal mixture in the speech of his community, comparable to his dialectal variants *drædenn, dredenn; rædenn, redenn; slæn, slan; wepenn, epenn,* etc. Incidentally he suggests the possibility that Orm's *þweorrt* is due to contamination of Old Norse *þwert* and Old English *þweorh*.

To W. Heuser we are indebted for the first publication (from MS. Bodl. 652) of an interesting thirteenth century version of the Story of Joseph. The poem, consisting of 540 long riming lines, is remarkable for its popular tone suggesting the romances of the day, its liberal use of epic formulas, and the pleasing freshness of its narrative—qualities which put it in the same class with the early Middle English legends in four line stanzas. The edition is accompanied by a discussion of the linguistic, literary, and metrical features of the poem. A propos of the metre, Heuser takes exception to Schipper's hypothesis of the mixture of alexandrine and septenary in the Middle English 'long line' and states his belief in the development of the measure from the native long line, thus endorsing substantially the views of Trautmann, Schröer, Einenkel, and Wissmann.

The articles by Grüters and Trautmann on some connections between Old English and Old Saxon poetry open up a most interesting line of inquiry. Grüters has made a comparative study of the versions of the Fall of the Angels and the Fall of Man in the two literatures, with the result that certain passages both of *Genesis B* and of *Heliand* are found to show such close relation to a portion of *Christ* (III) as to point to a common (Old English) source. As a matter of fact, the resemblances between *Heliand* 3591 ff., 1033 ff. and *Christ* 1380 ff. are rather slight. Grüters would hardly admit that, but as he discovers analogies also in *Christ and Satan, Phoenix,* and other poems, which could easily be made to prove too much, he refrains from extravagant positive deductions. He is somewhat less diffident in the case of *Genesis B*. The long list of parallel passages from *Genesis* 235 ff. (Satan's Fall) and *Christ* 1380 ff. (allusions to the Fall of Man) seems to him to prove that the source of *Genesis B* was an Old English poem which—directly or indirectly—was drawn upon also by the author of *Christ*. He finds confirmation of this view in the fact that little similarity to the passages in question is noticed in other Old English poems. The

[1] The solution has since been attacked by Holthausen (*Anglia-Beiblatt*, XVI, 227 f.) and defended by Trautmann (*Bonner Beitr.* XIX, 168 ff.).

[2] See also the supplementary remarks by Holthausen (*Anglia-Beiblatt*, XV, 347 f.).

conclusion he arrives at is that in the Old English poem which formed the basis of the Old Saxon *Genesis*, the version of the Fall of Man was transferred to the Fall of the Angels.

Whether Dr. Grüters will succeed in convincing others, remains to be seen.[3] It should be observed in the first place that he has to admit after all (p. 33) that several passages in *Genesis B*, which cannot be paralleled from *Christ*, show an agreement with *Christ and Satan* and *Andreas*. Secondly and chiefly, the parallels pointed out are not of such a nature as to compel a belief in an especially close connection. It still seems to me the most plausible theory that the similarities are the result of a common tradition that arose in connection with the liturgical service. That "lections from *Genesis*, including the story of the Fall, were appointed for January already in the *Comes* of Jerome" is mentioned by C. Abbetmeyer in his dissertation on *Old English Poetical Motives derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (1903), which, by the way, might have been consulted with advantage.[4] It is not impossible that the tradition came to the Saxons, directly or indirectly, from England, but definite information is lacking. Finally is it not asking a little too much to believe in this translating back and forth, especially when *Genesis B* in several respects differs radically from the Old English type?

Professor Trautmann, who originated the theory of the retranslation of *Genesis*, is even more daring and iconoclastic in his spirited paper on the *Heliand*. The article, which is in line with his treatment of the *Hildebrandslied*, is an attempt to prove what Holtzmann as early as 1856 had asserted without proof, viz., that the *Heliand*, far from being one of the most precious early monuments of native German literature, is nothing more than a translation from the Old English. This remarkable claim is supported by the following arguments. 1. Correspondence in words and phrases between the *Heliand* and Old English poems. 2. Similarity of versification, together with the fact that certain metrically wrong lines turn out to be correct when changed into Old English. 3. The occurrence in the *Heliand* MSS. of forms entirely or partially Old English. 4. Various passages which appear obscure or corrupt, may be accounted for by imperfect or erroneous transliteration. 5. General historical considerations strengthen the probability of the case.

Most of the points are noteworthy and of considerable interest, but none of them amounts to actual proof. Weighty objections—to some of which Trautmann is by no means blind—force themselves on our attention.[5] The resemblance in language and style is satisfactorily explained by the inherited rhetorical apparatus and the inherent similarity of the two languages. A number of English looking forms may very well be ascribed to the mixed character of the dialect of the *Heliand*, of which Collitz has given us an ingenious explanation (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XVI, 123 ff.). The only Anglosaxonisms we are compelled to accept are some isolated forms of the London MS. (Sievers, *Heliand*, p. xv; Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, § 30), which need not have formed part of the original text. Of course, it is perfectly proper to refer to the close phraseological agreement, and certainly all students of the *Heliand* would do well to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the poetical literature of the Anglo-Saxons.

Trautmann, however, appears to emphasize one-sidedly the similarity between the Old Saxon and Old English poetry. The student of the two literatures cannot fail to observe also on the other hand notable differences such as the prolixity of phrase in the *Heliand* and the looseness of its versification, not to mention lexical idiosyncrasies. Whether these could be sufficiently accounted for by the theory of translation is doubtful.

In the explanation of individual passages in conformity with his theory, Trautmann is forced to resort to conjectures which are indeed remarkably acute, but contain more or less serious elements of uncertainty. Quite impossible seems to me his treatment of l. 3311 f.: *huat seal ūs thes te frumu*

[3] In the meantime Professor Binz has pointed out Old Saxon elements in *Christ*, III (see his 'Untersuchungen zum altenglischen sogenannten Crist' in *Festschrift zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, Basel, 1907.

[4] Also Professor Cook's notes on *Christ* 1380 ff., especially p. 210, would have been useful.

[5] As Schmeller remarked on the same problem (*Glossarium Saxonicum*, Procemium, p. xv), 'at sunt varia quae obstant.'

werden | *langes te lōnc?* He would trace *langes* back to an Old English *lores*, which was misread as *lones*, 'corrected' to *longes*, and Saxonized to *langes*. But is not the MS. reading strongly supported by the entirely parallel l. 3307 f.: *huat sculun uuī thes te lōne niman, gōdes te gelde?* And does not *langes* make excellent sense? Cf. *langsam rād, lioht, lōn;* l. 1788 f.: *sō scal is geld niman, suuīðo langsam lōn endi līf ēuuig; Fat. Ap.* 19 f.: *ac him ēce gecēas langsumre līf; Guðl.* 91 f.: *þā longan gōd* | *herede on heofonum; Christ* 1463: *þæt longe līf;* etc. It should be noted, by the way, that *farlor* occurs also in the *Heliand* (l. 1777).

Finally, Trautmann calls in the aid of history. Is it credible, he asks, that some twenty years only after the conclusion of the Saxon war (nearly forty, however, after the foundation of the bishopric of Werden) a man could be found in Saxony learned enough to produce a poem of the scope of the *Heliand?* Is it not more likely that the Anglo-Saxons, who sent missionaries to the continent of Europe, introduced their own religious poems into Germany and thus furnished literary material ready to be transcribed without difficulty into the vernacular dialect? To this it may be replied: we do not know the precise circumstances under which the great Saxon poem was composed. There are so many possibilities that the case can hardly be argued. At any rate there is no necessity to answer the first question in the negative. It must be conceded that Trautmann's general contention is quite reasonable. But his sweeping denial of the originality of the *Heliand* cannot be accepted until a closer investigation has been instituted—or should we say, until the *Ur-Heliand* has been found in some library?

The two controversial papers on the *Beowulf* are addressed to Sievers and Holthausen respectively. In the former, which is an answer to Sievers's strictures (*Beitr.* XXIX, 305 ff.) upon part of Trautmann's comments in *Bonner Beitr.* II, the views advanced in 1899 are partly defended, and partly modified, and incidentally some light is shed on questions of language and style. Among new readings conjectured are *Bēow Scyldinga* 53, *landgemyrru* (or *landgewyrpu*) 209, *bāt under brycge* (or *bolcan*) 211, *antīd* (or *angin*) 'erste zeit' 219, *lēafscēa* (= *lēafscēo(e)*) *weras* 253. In discussing *lindhæbbende* 245, reference might have been made to *Guðl.* 588 f.: *herenisse . . . habban* (for *hebban*), cf. also *Beitr.* XXVI, 181. But Trautmann has wisely adopted a safer course in giving up his former interpretation 'schildhebende.'

In the final article of this volume Trautmann criticizes Holthausen severely for basing his edition on Sievers's metrical researches and formulates his own theory of Old English versification, which is essentially the same as the one propounded in *Anglia-Beiblatt*, v, 87 ff. The half-line is made to consist of four measures representing the general scheme, x́◡ | ◡́◡ | ◡́◡ | ◡́◡, which may appear in sixteen principal and twelve minor varieties. Many of the scansions resulting from this system seem rather unnatural, *e. g. seleweard āsceted* x́◡∠∠◡◡, *ēac ic sume gedyde* x́◡◡́◡∠◡́◡, *tō brimes faroðe* ∠◡́◡◡́◡∠, *cyning wæs āfyrhted* x́◡◡́◡∠∠, and it is not a little strange that the very common close ∠x is never admitted. But a discussion of this hotly debated problem cannot be undertaken here.

It is less than nine years since the series of *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* was started. The wonderfully rapid progress it has made—twenty-one numbers have appeared so far—is an eloquent testimony of the enterprise and energy of its editor.

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EDOUARD ROD: *L'affaire Jean-Jacques Rousseau.* Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1906. xiv–356 pages.

No man better fitted could have been found to write this book than M. Rod. One trembles at the mere idea of critics like Maugras, Nourrisson, or Léo Clarétie undertaking to treat Rousseau's relations with Geneva; to them Rousseau is not only an unbalanced man, but positively a bad and dangerous one; they are ready to render him responsible for every misfortune that befell his enemies, his friends, or himself. Even on matters as clear as the relations between Rousseau and Vol-

taire, they write utterly unfair and misleading books, such as Maugras' *Voltaire et J.-J. Rousseau* (1886). Of course, if it is certain that critics like these cannot be credited with great keenness, they must not be accused of "mauvaise foi"; they were brought up under entirely different influences, and Rousseau's character and aspirations are unlike those of the immense majority of French writers. The difference of religion especially has erected a Chinese Wall, as it were, between France and the Protestant countries that surround her when it comes to philosophical discussions and ethics. Rousseau is perhaps just as bad as his critics picture him, and they may be right in accusing him, but surely they accuse him of the wrong things. M. Rod was brought up in French Switzerland, and, as a result of his long and direct observation, is thoroughly acquainted with the French Protestants' ways of feeling, of thinking and of acting. He understands their noble motives as well as their petty ones; and this is why he was one of the few men who could treat satisfactorily a subject like "*L'affaire J.-J. Rousseau.*"

The volume opens with a series of portraits of the chief characters who are going to take a hand in the great struggle. Most of them are true sons of the city of Calvin, stern and solemn, somewhat like old Puritans "un air rogue et maussade, ou pour le moins empesé": pastors like Sarrazin, Vernet, Vernes, Roustan, (the young enthusiastic "méridional," Moultou, who with his "mains brouillonnes" many a time foiled the most generous efforts in behalf of his celebrated friend Rousseau is quite an exception); scholars like Bonnet and Abauzit; "gens du monde" like the famous Dr. Tronchin, J. L. Dupan; also several ladies like Mlle Curchot and Mlle Bondeli, from Berne; then, last but not least, the "bourgeois," especially De Luc, the leader of the democratic party, friendly to Rousseau, a type not uncommon even to-day of the citizens of French Switzerland. De Luc was at the same time a sectarian and a progressist, an open fighter and an intriguer, a virtuous man and a very disagreeable citizen. We quote a part of M. Rod's description (pp. 45–46):

"Très pieux, très honnête, très solennel, il est l'auteur d'un ouvrage sur *Les savants incrédules*, qu'il a offert à Voltaire et à Rousseau; les deux ennemis se sont trouvés d'accord pour en sourire chacun dans son coin,—avec prudence toutefois, car De Luc est de ces gens qu'on ménage, parcequ'à défaut de qualités plus aimables, ils ont du caractère. Quand on se moque de lui, il ne s'en aperçoit pas toujours; mais, s'il s'en aperçoit, il ne pardonne pas. Il est compassé, articulé, prédicant, "vertueux," selon le mot à la mode, romain, spartiate, insupportable. Voyez-le tel que l'a peint Gardelle, dans son habit marron,—correct, pesant, propret, soigné, épais, bougon. S'il n'était pas rasé, il nous paraîtrait un ancêtre authentique de ceux qu'on a appelés plus tard les "vieilles barbes": il en a les sottes certitudes, les partis pris indéracinables, les opinions aveugles, le robuste entêtement."

Rousseau himself, brought up in the same "milieu," reminds one of De Luc in many respects, a great difference being of course, that standing on a much higher level, Rousseau's nobler features come out more strongly and his bad ones less conspicuously. At the same time, Rousseau while constantly appealing to great principles is not altogether innocent of diplomatic manœuvres. In the great discussion about the government of Geneva he does not forget the personal aspect of the question; although he constantly claims that he cares only for the welfare of the republic, he does not always seem to be well aware of the consequences of his own actions with regard to his native city. As M. Rod very well points out, in spite of all his talent, his able argument, and his beautiful style, Rousseau has not succeeded in making out of his *Lettres de la Montagne* anything but a most admirable "pamphlet" (in the French sense of the word).

All this goes to show that while M. Rod understands Rousseau better than most French critics, he is by no means blind to his weaknesses. (See *e. g.*, pp. 108, 140, 154, 231, 241 ff.)

The most interesting man next to Rousseau in this whole debate is without doubt the "procureur général," J. R. Tronchin. His public functions put him *a priori* on the side of the government against Rousseau. He had foreseen from the beginning that it would be wrong to condemn not only Rousseau's books but the man himself, and had warned his fellow citizens; but they refused

to listen to him. In consequence they committed the blunder that was so shrewdly taken advantage of by the radicals; namely, they gave a hold to those who wanted to shake the oligarchy, a pretext to discuss the question of the principles of government in Geneva. Tronchin, although he must have known in advance that the cause of the aristocracy was now lost, did not abandon those who had acted contrary to his advices. His cleverness was of no avail. Only the withdrawal of the condemnation might have relieved the situation, but the "magnifique conseil" could not think of an humiliating course like that. So they tried to "explain" their first action, which was another bad step, because it showed that they were now ready to discuss the matter formally. It did not take long before they were confronted with the vital question of the rights of the "peuple souverain."

The government of Geneva claimed to be democratic, but in reality it was not. The opponents of the government were theoretically in the right and they were well aware of it.

Rousseau's famous letter to the "Syndic" on the 12th of May, 1763, when he resigned his rights as a citizen of Geneva, was a dangerous "faux pas"; for it amounted to nothing but a very solemn declaration with no consequences attached to it. What use was there in giving up rights which he did not enjoy, or which he had acquired by birth? He could not undo the fact that he was born in Geneva. If the "magnifique conseil" had simply ignored his declaration, Rousseau would have been very ridiculous. But fate had now to take its course. Instead of saying nothing about it, the government gravely acknowledged receipt of the resignation, thinking, perhaps, that it might stop the troubles. Under different circumstances it might have done so. But now this action only gave a new chance to Rousseau's so-called friends to step in again in his favor, and to protest against the government accepting the resignation of so honorable a citizen. . . . And so it went from mistake to mistake, until the discouraged "conseil" (which had excellent intentions after all) seemed willing to give up the fight, and even grew less reluctant at the idea of having France interfere in order to restore peace. The procureur Tronchin did everything in his power to save his party, but his fate was that of many superior characters in history, namely, to have his name connected with a desperate cause and therefore to be condemned with it.

This whole struggle is admirably depicted in M. Rod's book, and one might well say that this point in Rousseau's life is now definitely settled. There are very few others that are.

What renders the book still more valuable is that M. Rod is not afraid of taking up the philosophy of events, a rather unusual thing in books of this kind, where erudition generally crowds out every atom of thought. Back of the Rousseau "affair," there was the struggle between the conservatives and the radicals in Geneva; and again back of the struggle between political parties in Geneva, there was the still greater struggle between the old ideas of social organization and the new ideas which the French Revolution was going to try to realize.

As early as 1707, seven years before Rousseau's birth, democratic tendencies had become manifest in Geneva. The fellow-republics of Berne and Zurich (also "oligarchic" republics) and the monarchy of France had to come to the rescue and help to reëstablish order. In 1738 a "résident de France" was appointed to watch the situation. However, although they were no longer allowed to be openly expressed, the new ideas of freedom and equality were gaining ground constantly. M. Rod's introductory statement is that if the soil had not been well prepared in Geneva to receive the seed, Rousseau's books, and especially his theory of the "peuple souverain," would have passed, if not unnoticed (since Rousseau was a writer of whom Geneva was proud), at least without raising a great storm. To this circumstance must be added the fact that De Luc knew admirably well how to confuse Rousseau's individual case with the cause of democracy, and thus have the latter gain by the former. As to Rousseau, who was in the end a victim of the leader's astuteness, he paid more dearly than any one else by his personal misfortunes. Both his forced departure from Motiers-Travers, and his banishment from the island of St. Pierre, are direct results of the upheaval in Geneva[1]: "la destinée

[1] The first point has been particularly well established by F. Berthoud, in his *J.-J. Rousseau et Le pasteur de Montmollin.* (Neuchâtel, 1884.)

de qui souffle le vent est d'être entraîné par le tourbillon" (p. 304).

This long underhand fight between De Luc and Rousseau, the former trying hard to involve the second in the Geueva troubles, and Rousseau desiring to be left in peace, and finally the weaker getting the better of the stronger by mere obstinacy and shrewd flattery is also most interestingly brought out in M. Rod's book. And it was no easy matter, while relating these little personal intrigues to keep the reader from losing sight of the questions of universal interest that were at stake in the affaire J.-J. Rousseau, and of the fact that, after all, the Geneva troubles were a kind of French Revolution in a nutshell.[2]

Rousseau was obliged to leave Switzerland as well as France. He went to England, where he arrived in a very unbalanced state of mind. Meanwhile the revolution in Geneva—which he had so well fostered to the delight of the radicals—brought about very serious complications indeed. Nothing could now save the situation and bring about peace. The revolutionaries were too near the goal as they thought, to yield an inch of ground, and the conservatives of neighboring countries were too much concerned about their own safety to leave their friends in Geneva unaided; the bad seed might spread.

To make matters worse, a new "résident de France" came to take the place of the wise baron de Montpéroux, who had just died (1764). Without the slightest insight into the trouble and with the assurance of youth, Hennin decided to resort to energetic measures in order to crush what he thought to be a mere quarrel of jealous citizens. The foreign powers had to interfere again and the the disorders did not cease until 1798 when the troops of the Directoire came to take possession of Geneva. It was really a mere matter of good luck that Geneva did not finally lose her liberty as a consequence of the affaire J.-J. Rousseau, and that in 1814 she was allowed to join the Swiss Confederation, as one of its cantons.

Considering the book from a purely philosophical standpoint, one must confess that it is not cheerful throughout. We witness, as so often in history, the victory of people who are rough, unrefined and unsympathetic over those who are far superior to them. M. Rod acknowledges this fact (p. 194):

"Leur parti groupait encore les hommes les plus éminents de la république, très supérieurs individuellement à leurs adversaires . . . Une fois de plus, on allait avoir ce spectacle si fréquent dans l'histoire, de la défaite des mieux armés, des plus nombreux, des plus intelligents, dont la possession trop prolongée du pouvoir et de la richesse a miné les forces vives, par la phalange vite accrue de ceux qui puisent leur vigeur dans un mécontentement trop souvent justifié, dans des appétits trop rarement satisfaits et que soutient et pousse un souffle plus puissant que l'habileté, l'intelligence et le talent."

Is it not one of the ironies of life that this "souffle puissant" of progress is so seldom found in the really superior representatives of mankind, and that it generally inspires those who have only mediocre "habileté," "intelligence" and "talent?" We can easily understand why Rousseau became thoroughly disgusted with some of his supporters in Geneva, and why he tried instinctively to keep his individual difficulties apart from their cause.

There are a few points in regard to which the critic may take exception to M. Rod's views. We mention briefly the following:

In his second chapter M. Rod gives a summary of the *Contrat Social*, one of the books that aroused Geneva. We cannot agree that there are such contradictory statements in this work as many believe; the observation attributed to Rousseau that the man who claimed to understand the *Contrat Social* understood more than he did himself, may well be fictitious, or surely does not refer to the passages pointed out by critics. On pp. 63–64 M. Rod forgets entirely the distinction

[2] We should like also to call the attention of the reader to the interesting passages in which M. Rod compares Rousseau's theology to the theology of modern writers like A. Sabatier. He writes, *e. g.*, on p. 81:

"Si j'osais recourir à une image dont la matérialité m'épouvante, je dirais que, de la Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard à "L'esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion" de l'éminent doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris [M. Sabatier], Dieu a achevé de se dissiper, comme une pastille d'encens qui laisse après soi un peu de parfum et beaucoup de fumée."

established by the author between the "Souverain" (which means the people who agree to make the social contract) and the "Prince" (which means only the executive power); the first need not be in all cases looked upon as responsible or as approving *a priori* of the second's actions. Even a legislative body (p. 64) cannot be identified with the "Souverain."

In the same chapter, speaking of religious wars (pp. 67–68), M. Rod maintains that if the government agreed to have no state religion, there would exist no conflict between politics and religion. His allusion to America is clear, but does not prove anything except that in this country politics and religion although (not because) separated do not quarrel under the present conditions. The fact that there is no official connection between them is by no means a guarantee that no trouble nor conflict could arise. Is there not that possibility with regard to the Mormons and the Christian Scientists? There exists no "concordat" in America simply because it would be difficult to decide with what church to make it; and this simply means that instead of the possibility of having trouble with one large Church (as in France), the government may, under certain circumstances, have trouble with any of the hundred and fifty sects in this country.

In regard to M. Rod's views of Rousseau's treatment of his children—views also expressed in his recent drama, *Le Réformateur*, played in Paris in 1906—his conception of that matter does not seem to us to be warranted by Rousseau's discussion of the subject in the "Confessions" and elsewhere. We do not believe that Rousseau's conscience troubled him particularly; the theatrical tone in which he speaks of it occasionally does not seem to be very sincere. He probably felt that it ought to trouble him, but in reality it did so only slightly.

On p. 158 M. Rod maintains that Rousseau only pretended that he wanted to withdraw the manuscript of the *Lettre à l'Archevêque de Paris* from the hands of the printer. We have positive proof that M. Rod is mistaken. Not long ago we had a chance to read the unpublished letters of Rey (the Amsterdam printer) to Rousseau; Rey speaks of this intention of Rousseau; he is even much alarmed because he is afraid that he will lose money on the sheets already printed.

On p. 148 there is a slight mistake. M. Rod speaks of de Pury inviting Rousseau to his country place of "Champ du Moulin, à l'autre extrémité de la vallée." De Pury's country place was at Montlésy, and not at the other end of the Val-de-Travers, but above Boveresse, which is on a parallel line with Motiers. Rousseau probably spent a few nights at Champ du Moulin on several occasions, but he did not have a friend there. (See A. Dubois: "J.-J. Rousseau au Champ du Moulin" in 'Musée Neuchâtelois,' 1897.)

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Drake dans la poésie espagnole (1570–1732). Thèse pour le doctorat d'Université presentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris, par John Arthur Ray, M. A. de l'Université de Yale. Paris, 1906. 8vo., pp. xiv–261.

In this thesis, Dr. Ray studies the relations between England and Spain, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, as shown in the Spanish poems inspired by the piracies of Drake. At a period when Queen Elizabeth was regarded by Spaniards as the incarnation of evil, and the English "luteranos," were considered the special emissaries of the Devil, it is but natural to find that Drake, who for years had amused himself by sinking Spanish ships and burning Spanish towns, should have gained for himself the bitter animosity of the Spanish people. The poets of the period, both in Spain and South America, shared in this popular hatred, and in their verses they gave full expression to their resentment for the wrongs they had suffered.

The author first gives a short account of Drake's life, paying particular attention to his voyages to the Indies. This part serves to make the rest of the thesis more easily understood. Then follows a study of Lope de Vega's *Dragontea*. To it is given the most space, partly because of Lope's

literary reputation, and also, because this poem gives a general view of all the incidents of Drake's life.

Lope probably began the *Dragontea* soon after Drake's death, in 1596. He seems to refer to this work at the close of *La Arcadia:*

> "Pero volviendo á nuestro Anfriso, os digo que en llegando al pié del altar venerable hincó la rodilla en tierra, y besando la primera grada, comenzó á decirle loores y agradecimientos, con los cuales yo hago fin á sus discursos, colgando la rústica zampoña destos enebros, hasta que otra vez, queriendo el cielo, me oigais cantar al son de instrumentos mas graves, no tiernas pastoriles quejas, sino célebres famosas armas; no pensamientos de pastores groseros, sino empresas de capitanes ilustres." [1]

Although the *Dragontea* deals particularly with Drake's last expedition and his death, we find many references to his other exploits. Lope de Vega was fairly well informed in regard to the principal events of Drake's life, and in the *Dragontea* he describes Drake's attack on Nombre de Dios, in 1572,[2] his circumnavigation of the globe, the expedition of 1585–86, his attack on Cadiz in 1587, the expedition of 1589, and his last expedition and death.

Not less than four epic poems deal with Drake's circumnavigation of the globe. Of these, the two most important, having been written soon after the event, and containing long accounts of Drake, are *La Argentina,* of D. Martin del Barco Centenera, and *Armas Antárticas,* of D. Juan de Miramontes Zuazola.

[1] *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 135. If it be true that this passage relates to the *Dragontea*, it follows that the *Arcadia* was not completed before Lope heard the news of Drake's death in January, 1596. There are other reasons for assigning so late a date to the composition of the *Arcadia*. Dr. H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 104, judging the words of *Belardo á la Zampoña* as a reference to the death of Doña Isabel de Urbina, concludes that this last part, at least, must have been added after 1595. In the *Arcadia* we find the name of the Chilean, Pedro de Oña, among the famous poets (*Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 130), but his literary reputation was hardly great enough to be accorded this honor, before the publication of his *Arauco domado*, in 1596.

[2] It will be remembered that Sir William D'Avenant treated Drake's operations at Nombre de Dios and Panama (1572–1573) in his play, *The History of Sir Francis Drake*, first published in 1659. This play later formed the third act of D'Avenant's *The Playhouse to be let.* See *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant*, Edinburgh, 1873, Vol. IV.

His capture of Cartagena, in 1586, was mentioned by Juan de Castellanos, in the third part of his *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias.* The same event inspired a *romance,* preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, which is included in this collection of poems on Drake.

On Drake's capture of Cadiz, in 1587, we find a *canción* by Dr. Mescue, who perhaps is the same as the dramatist, Mira de Mescua. There is another poem on Drake's capture of Cadiz, preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, which might be added to this study of Drake in Spanish poetry. The title reads as follows[3]:

Eg. 556 (1587–1588).

9. "Relacion de las cosas subcedidas en este presente año de 1587, en la ciudad de Cadiz de nuestra España, miercoles á los 29 de Abril; en octavas. Fecho á ruego de Juan de Rabanera. Beginning: *Es impossible haber cosa sigura.* Original corrected draft of a poem on the attack of Cadiz by Sir Francis Drake. f. 104."

This was probably written soon after Drake's capture of Cadiz.

The part taken by Drake in the defeat of the Armada was treated in a sonnet by the Portuguese poet, Andres Falcão de Resende, and Dr. Ray cites an anonymous *romance,* describing Drake's part in the *Contra-Armada.*

Drake was not the only English pirate who gained the ill-will of the Spanish people. Pedro de Oña and Ercilla, and the anonymous author of *La Sátira Beltraneja,* preserved in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, devoted many verses to the piracies of Richard Hawkins.

Two poems of Cairasco de Figueroa described Drake's invasion of the Canary Islands, in 1595, and we find two poems dealing with Drake's last expedition and death.

Dr. Ray's thesis casts a great deal of new light on the relations between Spain and England in the time of Elizabeth. His material has been gathered, for the most part, from manuscripts, and from books which are practically inaccessible to the student of Spanish history or literature. The brief résumé I have given serves to show the quantity of the material which he has collected, and we may well believe that after his painstaking

[3] Gayangos' *Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts of the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 16.

work, little remains to be done in this field for future investigators.

As Dr. Ray admits in his introduction, the poems which he has collected are of greater historical than literary interest. As literary productions, they are certainly not of the first order, but they are of the greatest interest to the student of Spanish and of English history. We read much of Drake, written from an English point of view, but this study of Drake in Spanish poetry approaches the subject from a new standpoint, and therefore is all the more welcome.

It is a curious coincidence that this thesis, studying Drake's position in Spanish poetry, and for the most part in Spanish epic poetry, should appear almost simultaneously with the publication of an epic poem on Drake by a young English poet, Mr. Alfred Noyes. In the latter's work, the lyric element, the love of the sea and of adventure, plays a greater rôle than in the Spanish epics on Drake. A song like the following from *Drake, an English Epic*, Book II, forms a strong contrast to the monotonous accounts of the Spanish poets :

> "The moon is up : the stars are bright :
> The wind is fresh and free !
> We're out to seek for gold to-night
> Across the silver sea !
> The world was growing gray and old !
> Break out the sails again :
> We're out to seek a Realm of Gold
> Beyond the Spanish Main."

Drake's life and adventures are extremely interesting whether we read them in English or in Spanish. As his biographer, Mr. Julian Corbett, writes, "From his cradle to his grave, the story is one long draught of strong waters, and the very first sip intoxicates."[4] To obtain a complete idea of Drake's personality, we should read both the English and Spanish poetry which he inspired, for he was a curious mixture of hero and pirate, and we find him treated in both rôles, according to the point of view of the poet. Dr. Ray's thesis gives us a complete and satisfactory picture of Drake, the pirate. We must look to English poets for Drake, the hero, and founder of the English navy.

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[4] Sir Francis Drake, 1894.

Anthony Brewer's *The Love-sick King*, edited from the Quarto of 1655, by A. E. H. SWAEN. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, No. 18.) Louvain, 1907.

In spite of his obvious industry and scholarly painstaking, Mr. Swaen has been unable to add anything to our meagre knowledge of the author, Anthony Brewer, or to fix with any exactness the date of the play. These points will probably remain obscure, unless, of course, something new turns up.

The sources of the play, also, present difficulties. Mr. Swaen has collected much valuable material, all, however, general, for Brewer seems to have had no direct source for his plot. The plot, indeed, is a hopeless tangle of facts ; as Mr. Swaen remarks : "Thornton who flourished under Henry IV is represented as living in the reign of Canute; Canute who was victorious and reigned over England till his death in 1035 is represented as being defeated by Alfred, who died in 901 !"

According to the plan of the Materialien series, Mr. Swaen gives a faithful page-for-page, line-for-line reprint, in which "the original has been scrupulously followed in all details, except that a modern s has been printed instead of the old-fashioned long ſ." The text is printed from a copy in the Royal Library at the Hague. This copy, however, is imperfect, having the lower margins closely shaved, so that many bottom lines are missing. The missing lines are supplied from the British Museum copy, which, unfortunately, is also not quite perfect. For this reason the editor has not been able to give an absolutely complete reprint ; two unimportant bottom lines, containing in one case the catchword and in the other case both the catchword and the signature, are missing.

Since I possess a perfect and clear copy of the first edition, I have undertaken to collate my copy with Mr. Swaen's reprint. The omissions and errors that I have noted I give below. Some of the errors may, of course, be due to differences in the originals ; most of them, however, are due to the natural difficulty of faithfully reproducing an old text.

Line 60, for "beat 'em" read "beat'em": l. 108, for the semicolon substitute a comma : l. 110, for the colon substitute a semicolon : l.

152/3, for the catchword "usurping" read "Usurping": l. 274, for "*Cannut.*" read "*Canut.*": l. 361, the mark of interrogation should be in italics: l. 471/2, for the signature "B_3(?)" read "A_3" (see Mr. Swaen's Introduction; in my copy the signature is large and clear): ll. 540–2 should be moved one em to the left: l. 593, after "hopeful" insert a comma: l. 692, the mark of interrogation should be in italics: l. 744, for "upon 't . . ." read "upon 't . . .": l. 752, for "thaʇ" read "that": l. 826, the character after "her" is (in my copy) a comma: ll. 939–40 should be flush with the margin: l. 941, for "*ACT.*" read "*Act.*": l. 970, after "*Rand.*" substitute a colon for the period: l. 987, the mark of interrogation should be roman: l. 1010, the low position of the hyphen is not in the original; the same is true of the period in line 1084: l. 1150/1, the catchword "ward" is quite distinct in my copy: l. 1510, for "not death" read "n otdeath": l. 1537, for "state" read "State": l. 1540, for "*speech*" read "*Speech*": l. 1566, for "a Dale" read "aDale": l. 1596, for "memoiy" read "memory": l. 1695, for "toth'earth" read "toth' earth": l. 1728, for "!ook" read "look": l. 1822, for "*ACT.*" read "*Act.*": l. 1833, for "ye are all" read "ye all are": l. 1900/1, in my copy the signature "G" and the catchword "*Alarm*" are perfectly clear: l. 1955, for "I!e" read "Ile."

A few misprints occur in other parts of the book, usually unimportant. Quite too many, however, appear on page xv: after "l. 232. peirce" insert "l. 315. *Cartis*"; "l. 1300. o." is a misprint, I cannot discover what it should be; for "l. 1809. diety" read "l. 1809. Diety"; for "l. 1875." read "l. 1876."

Mr. Swaen's notes, though few, are scholarly. Too often they are merely textual.

L. 88. The construction seems to be misunderstood. The idea is not "to cause on to fight" but "to cause to fight on," *i. e.*, to continue fighting.

L. 402. The character after "murderd" is clearly no semicolon.

L. 751. This is a misprint: it is impossible to tell what it should be.

L. 778. The character after "thee" is clearly a comma.

L. 1204. The mark of punctuation after "looks" could not be an inverted semicolon, for the very good reason that the comma part turns in the wrong direction. Most probably it is a mutilated mark of interrogation. The sense, however, would require an exclamation point.

L. 1716. The character after "Flames" is clearly a period.

L. 1933. In my copy the comma after "Towers" is clear.

I add below a few notes that occurred to me while reading the play.

L. 140. This line should, it seems, be considered as part of the text: it makes the line complete metrically.

L. 308. It is probable that for "Ten" we should read "The."

Ll. 435–6. Although Mr. Swaen observed that the song in ll. 539–42 occurred in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, he failed to observe that these lines also appear as a song in the same play, III, 5. I may add that the song appears in *Woman's Prize*, I, 3; in *Monsieur Thomas*, III, 3; and in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*.

L. 476. For "Castalian lucke" should we not perhaps read "Castalian licker"?

L. 540. Obviously the word "thee" has dropped out of this line. Mr. Swaen should have quoted from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* also the retort of the wife to the song. In *A Love-sick King* the wife says: "Marry come up with a vengeance"; in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* the wife exclaims: "Marry with a vengeance!"

L. 771. "*Lend me thine ear in private*" should, perhaps, be considered as a part of the text, rather than as a stage direction.

L. 778. For "he" we should obviously read "he's."

L. 986. For "pump" should we not perhaps read "jump"?

L. 1074. It is possible that the author wrote "I'll" for "I"; and at l. 1101 "bought" for "brought."

L. 1248. The "Ho" is doubtless a misprint for "Ha."

L. 1577. Mr. Swaen missed the pun that, I believe, the playwright had in mind. Of course Grim, when he said "honest Tartarians" meant "Tartareans," referring to the lower world: but the word "Tartarians" was the canting term for thief,[1] and this meaning would occur immediately to the audience.

All students of the early drama will be grateful to Mr. Swaen for thus placing at their disposal this interesting play.

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Novelas Cortas, by DON PEDRO A. DE ALARCÓN. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by W. F. GIESE, A. M., Associate Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Wisconsin. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906.

Professor Giese has here given us a most satisfactory edition of Alarcón's short stories. Of the nine selections, three (¡Viva el Papa! Moros y Christianos, El Año en Spitzberg) appear now for the first time in America, while the others have been entirely reëdited.

Painstaking care and judgment characterize the book throughout. An almost faultless text is followed by accurate and sufficient notes. Both notes and vocabulary presuppose a student of average intelligence, and are free from the unnecessary and uncalled-for information which so frequently descends into mere editorial impertinence. The province of note and vocabulary seem occasionally to be confused, matter being placed in the former that would more properly fall in the latter. In regard to the translation of interjections, the reviewer would like to enter a mild protest against the use of "Zounds!" He has never heard it in conversation, and he has seldom seen a student with sufficient nerve to read it out unshrinkingly in the classroom. If editors of French and Spanish texts must translate common expressions like *Parbleu!* and *Qué diablo!* by an obsolete and outlandish term, he would suggest Gadzooks! as a variant.

Beside some exercises for translation, which are admirably arranged for practical, grammatical drill, there is an "Idiomatic Commentary," which lists the most useful idiomatic expressions as they occur page by page in the text. These expressions are numbered, and at each fresh page the student has brought to his attention the new idioms that he will find, together with a reference by number to those which he has met previously. This commentary contains two hundred and thirteen common and useful idioms with references to their repeated occurrences in the text, and forms, in our opinion, the most valuable feature of the book.

As a collection of interesting short stories, well printed, carefully edited in a practical manner, and supplied with good exercises and the idiomatic commentary, this edition may fairly be judged the best for early Spanish readings that has yet appeared.

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Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento, Memoria premiada por la Real Academia de Ciencias morales y políticas en el Concurso ordinario de 1901,—escrita por ADOLFO BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN. Madrid, 1903, in fol., 814 pp.

Sr. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin, one of the most brilliant of the younger generation of Spanish scholars, to whose fruitful pen we owe a number of excellent works on Spanish literature, here presents us with a work in his chosen field—philosophy. "The mere announcement of the theme which we have selected, says Sr. Bonilla, will give a sufficient indication of the thorny and arduous task which we have undertaken. To record the life and works of a polygraph like Juan Luis Vives, to bring the narrative into contact with the actions and ideas in the midst of which it was developed; to appreciate the various influences which these elements had upon

[1] Pointed out by Mr. F. W. Moorman, in the Temple edition of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.*

the Valencian philosopher, and on the other hand to note the influence which he exercised upon them, is an undertaking that would suffice to occupy the greater part of a man's life." The result of this labor is a ponderous folio of over eight hundred pages, and yet Sr. Bonilla says: "Whatever be the judgment with which this work is received, we can assure the reader that the result scarcely represents a fourth part of the labor employed." He speaks of the toilsome and often fruitless examination of many books and documents, and deplores the fact that the laborious reading of volumes is often represented here by only a few lines. He also speaks of the frequent discouragements and the temptations to give up his task, for which, however, he always found renewed energy and stimulation in the happy and brilliant atmosphere which pervades the renaissance. Fortunate it is for that rapidly dwindling portion of the world which still takes an interest in the results of pure scholarship that men may still be found who can be encouraged by influences so immaterial.

Sr. Bonilla divides his work into two parts, treating first of the man and of the epoch in which he lived, while in the second part he takes up the systematic study of his doctrines. After a rather unconvincing discussion of the ancestors of Luis Vives (we could never see that it mattered much who the more or less obscure grandfather of a truly great man was), we are told that the distinguished philosopher and humanist was descended from "the second branch of the Vivas of Denia." He was the son of Luis Vives and Blanca March, and was born in Valencia on March 6, 1492, in the Calle de la Taberna del Gallo. The vicissitudes of fortune, which caused our author to pass nearly his whole life far from his native city, are related in great detail, and in the course of this long narrative, which is practically a sketch of the state of letters in Europe during this period, a great amount of information is imparted on subjects of the deepest interest. In his instructors Vives did not have the good fortune of some of his contemporaries in Spanish letters. In Grammar he received instruction from Jerónimo Amiguit, "*homo insigniter barbarus, ut testantur eius scripta*;" and he probably learnt the rudiments of Greek from Bernardo Villanova or Navarro. While some critics may object to the long digressions in this portion of Sr. Bonilla's book, to us they have seemed among the most interesting parts of the whole work. They give a picture of the state of the humanities in Spain the like of which is hard to find elsewhere collected in the same small space. We follow the career of Vives at the University of Paris (which he entered in 1509, at the age of seventeen), with especial interest. Here in the Faculty of Arts, in the Rue Fouarre, he studied logic, physics and metaphysics. In all probability he matriculated in the College of Navarre or of Monteagudo, which at that time contained the greatest number of students of any of the Colleges of the University. The students in the Faculty of Arts were generally the youngest, the course being from four to six years. The description of student life in Paris at this time is very interesting. During this period Vives first visited Bruges, which afterwards became for him a second fatherland (*patria mea* he calls it) and where he passed over fourteen years of his life. It was in Paris in 1514 that Vives wrote the first work that has come down to us, the *Christi Iesu Triumphas.*

In 1518 Vives, at the age of twenty-six, was appointed Professor in the University of Louvain. Meanwhile he had made the acquaintance of Erasmus, and in the succeeding pages we learn much of the friendship existing between these two great scholars. At Lent in 1522 Vives again returned to Bruges, because, as he said, "it is exceedingly disagreeable to me to pass Lent in Louvain, where one can only eat decayed fish to the injury of one's stomach." In this year he dedicated his commentary on St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* to Henry VIII of England (whom Vives greatly admired for his encouragement of philosophical studies), receiving a flattering note from the king in acknowledgment. Vives visited Spain in 1523, and in the same year went to England, where he was made a Doctor of Civil Law by the University of Oxford. In 1524 he returned to Bruges and there married Margarita Valdaura; he died at Bruges on May 6, 1540.

The second part of Sr. Bonilla's work is entitled *Las Doctrinas.* He deplores the fact that in spite of the great importance of Vives as a thinker, humanist and teacher, he has been and is now

little known in Spain. Nor, indeed, it may be added, is this ignorance of Vives confined to Spain. It is pleasant to note that in the domain of poetical criticism attention has again been called to the importance of Vives by an American scholar. Of Vives, 'che fu amico de Erasmo e del Budé e in certo modo meglio d'essi datato di animo aperto alle idee generali,' he says:

"I suoi principali contributi alla teoria poetica si possono trovare nel *De Causis corruptarum artium*, lib. II, cap. 4; nel *De Tradendis disciplinis*, lib. III, cap. 5; nel *De Ratione dicendi*, lib. III, capp. 7, 8; e nel breve dialogo *Veritas fucata sive de licencia poetica* (1522) che tocca uno dei più fecondi problemi estetici del Rinascimento—quello della verisimiglianza poetica—in una discussione fin dove fosse consentito al poeta di allontanarsi dalla verità. Nè è a credere che fossero questi soltanto i luoghi, nelle opere sue, che interessano la storia della critica."—Spingarn, *La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento*, Bari, 1905, p. 140.

This point is, in fact, discussed at length by Sr. Bonilla, whose work shows great critical acumen and a vast wealth of learning. Let us hope that his long and arduous labor may not have been in vain and that it may serve to rehabilitate this much neglected humanist, whose achievements place him in the front rank of the scholars of his time.

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University of Pennsylvania.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOHN HEYWOOD'S *The Play of the Weather*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I wish to point out a passage in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus* which might, perhaps, have suggested to Heywood his *Play of the Weather*. Menippus, by means of his artificial wings, having arrived in heaven, is being entertained by Jupiter:[1]

"With this and such-like chat we passed away the time, till we came to the place where the petitions were to be heard: here we found several holes, with covers to them, and close to every one was placed a golden chair. Jupiter sat down in the first he came to, and lifting up the lid, listened to the prayers, which, as you may suppose, were of various kinds. . . . One sailor asked for a north-wind, another for a south; the husbandman prayed for rain, and the fuller for sun-shine. . . . One petition, indeed, puzzled him a little; two men asking favors of him, directly contrary to each other, at the same time, and promising the same sacrifice; he was at a loss which to oblige; he became immediately a perfect Academic, and like Pyrrho, was held in suspense between them."

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[1] The translation is by Thomas Francklin, 1780, vol. II, pp. 224–5.

A CURIOUS SLIP IN WIELAND.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I have never seen any mention of a strange slip made by Wieland in the eighth canto of the first book of *Der neue Amadis*. In the first edition (Leipzig, 1771, page 229), the reading is:

> Dergleichen in Gegenwart
> Der Damen zu thun, ist eine Sache,
> Die Launcelot Gobbo an seinem Pudel sogar
> Unhöflich fand.

The foot-note to this says: "Launcelot Gobbo. Seh. *The two Gentlemen of Verona*, die beyden Edelleute von Verona, ein Lustspiel von Shakespearn." In the edition of 1794 the mistake is repeated, only the spelling is changed to Lancelot and the reference to act III. with the quotation from the T. G. V. is given. Gruber (in the edition of 1824) repeats the whole note and adds a W. to show that it is Wieland's. Wieland was obviously thinking of Launce in the T. G. V. whose remarks [in act IV, sc. 4, not 3] he quotes, and has confused him with Launcelot Gobbo in the M. V. The *Amadis* was completed after Wieland's period of Shakspere activity, and so the slip is all the more interesting. Wieland's memory failed him, however, both as to the play and then later as to the act in which the servant soliloquizes.

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Art for Art's Sake: A Query.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—When did the phrase "art for art's sake" first appear in English criticism? The earliest *locus* which I have been able to find is in a letter of Thackeray's, written in 1839, and published by his daughter, Mrs. Ritchie, in her *Chapters from some Memoirs*, 1895, chapter ix: "Please God we shall begin, ere long, to love art for art's sake. It is Carlyle who has worked more than any other to give it its independence." French scholars have recently investigated the history of *l'art pour l'art*, the French prototype of the English phrase; and Thackeray's use of it seems to anticipate by a half dozen years its first appearance in print in France, though Victor Cousin is said to have used it in a series of lectures in 1818, and Victor Hugo claimed the phrase for himself as an incidental coinage of conversation in 1829 or 1830 (cf. Stapfer, *Questions Esthétiques et Religieuses*, 1906, pp. 26–27, and Cassagne, *La Théorie de l'Art pour l'Art en France*, 1906, p. 38 sq.). The origin of the phrase in England is yet to be traced.

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The *Phœnix* and the *Guthlac*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—I offer for what they may be worth the following recently noted parallels between these two poems. If they convince any one that the passages are interdependent, he would probably make the further inference that the author of the *Phoenix* had before him the more detailed and expanded statement in the *Guthlac*.

Phoenix 393–419.	*Guthlac* 791–842.
Habbað we geascad, ðæt se ælmihtiga	Ðæt is wide cuð wera cneorissum,
worhte wer and wif ðurh his wundra sped,	folcum gefræge, ðætte frymða god
and hi ða gesette on ðone selestan	ðone ærestan ælda cynnes of ðære clænestan, cyning ælmihtig,
foldan sceattan	*foldan worhte*.
	797: fæder wæs acenned
ðone fira bearn	Adam ærest ðurh est godes
nemnað *neorxnawong*, *ðær him nænges wæs*	on *neorxnawong*, *ðær him nænges wæs*
eades *onsyn*,	willan *onsyn*
ðenden eces *word*,	814: gif hy *halges word healdan woldun*
halges hleoðorcwide *healdan woldan*	804: longe neotan
on ðam *niwan gefean*.	*niwra gefeana*
Ðær *him* nið *gescod*,	842: ðæt *him* bam *gescod*.
ealdfeondes æfest, se hine æt gebead	818: ac his wif genom wyrmes larum
beames blæde, ðæt hi bu ðegun	*blede forbodene* and of *beame* ahneop
æppel unrædum *ofer* est *godes*,	wæstm biweredne *ofer* word *godes*
bryddon *forbodene*.	
Ðær him *bitter* wearð	840: ðone *bitran* drync
yrmðu æfter æte *and hyra eaferum swa*	825: eardwica cyst
sarlic symbol, sunum and dohtrum:	beorht oðbroden *and hyra* bearnum *swa*,
	eaferum æfter
Wurdon teonlice toðas idge	
ageald æfter gylte; *hæfdon godes yrre*	832: *siððan* sceoldon
bittre healosorge: ðæs ða byre *siððan*	mægð and mægas morðres *ongyldan*
	godscyldge gyrn.
gyrne onguldon, ðe hi ðæt *gyfl* ðegun....	820: *ofer word* godes
	822: deaðberende *gyfl*
ofer eces *word*.	
(411–418, no parallel.)	
ðurh feondes *searo*	821: *ðurh* deofles *searo*

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Archaisms in Ballads.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—A version of the ballad of *The Twa Sisters*[1] taken down in Clinton County, Missouri, has in the fifth stanza

> "As they was a-walking by the *saucy* brimside."

Sea-brim and *seaside-brim* are found in the ver-

[1] See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, p. 233.

sions recorded by Child, but not *saucy*. Neither is it in his glossary; nor, in any sense that will fit here, in the *Century Dictionary*. The *English Dialect Dictionary* records a Yorkshire meaning, "slippery . . ., said of the streets when covered with ice, but not when slippery with dirt." There is nothing in the ballad to suggest icy weather. A friend considers it a corruption of *salt sea;* but this, leaving aside the redundancy (which is, of course, no great objection in ballads), is inconsistent with the rhythm of the line. Remembering the derivation of *sauce* one is tempted to fancy in this ballad word an ancient meaning retained—a temptation, however, which the philologic conscience must resist.

Two versions of *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet,*[2] one from Miller County and one from Gentry County, have as their opening lines respectively

"Come mother, come mother, come riddle your *sword,*"

and

"Come mother, come mother, come riddle your *sport.*"

The manifold perversions of the old formula for asking advice in the versions of this ballad printed by Child, some of them amusing, but none of them quite inexplicable, afford no suggestion for the interpretation of the Missouri form, and I had accepted it as altogether meaningless until a passage in Professor Gummere's *The Popular Ballad*[3] suggested that it might be a relic of ancient popular belief in the soothsaying power of weapons. *Sport* in the second version would then be a mis-hearing of *sword.* But how should such an archaic variant escape the net of Professor Child and his collaborators, to reappear in Missouri in the twentieth century?

The fifth stanza of *A Woman and the Devil*[4] (which is a version of *The Farmer's Curst Wife* known in Bollinger County), has this:

"Ten little devils come *all on a wire,*
She up with her foot and kicked nine in the fire."

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 249.

[3] P. 304, where Gummere quotes from *Gil Brenton*:

"And speak up, my bonnie brown sword, that winna lie."

[4] *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore,* XIX, 299.

This corresponds to the 8th stanza of Child's version A,

"She spied thirteen imps all dancing in chains,
She up with her pattens and beat out their brains."

There is nothing corresponding to it in the other version given by Child. (The broadside of *The Devil and the Scold* in the *Roxburghe Ballads* I have not seen.) The little devils coming "all on a wire" look like a reminiscence of the miracle plays or of popular stage-craft derived therefrom. According to Chambers's *Mediæval Stage,* II, 142, the stage directions of the Cornish *Creation of the World,* a partial cycle written by William Jordan in 1611, show that "Lucifer goes down to hell 'apareled fowle wth fyre about hem' and the plain [in which the play is acted] is filled with 'every degre of devylls of lether and *spirytis on cordis.*'" This seems to present precisely the visual image of the Bollinger County version. Chambers adds that performances of a similar character were known in Shropshire and Wales down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Etude philologique sur le Nord de la France (Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Somme). Par L. Bréhion. Paris and London, 1907. xxv + 255 pp., 8°.

Mr. Bréhion gives under this title a study of the patois of a group of villages in Artois (Créquy, Fressin, Planques, Sains and Torcy), embracing a comparison with the French of the phonology, morphology, and word-formation. The author seems acquainted with the leading French studies in dialectology, but there are indications that he has not sufficiently assimilated the methods employed in them, nor does he give any clue to how he collected and controlled his material. His transcription of the sounds is a poor compromise between a phonetic system and French official orthography.

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