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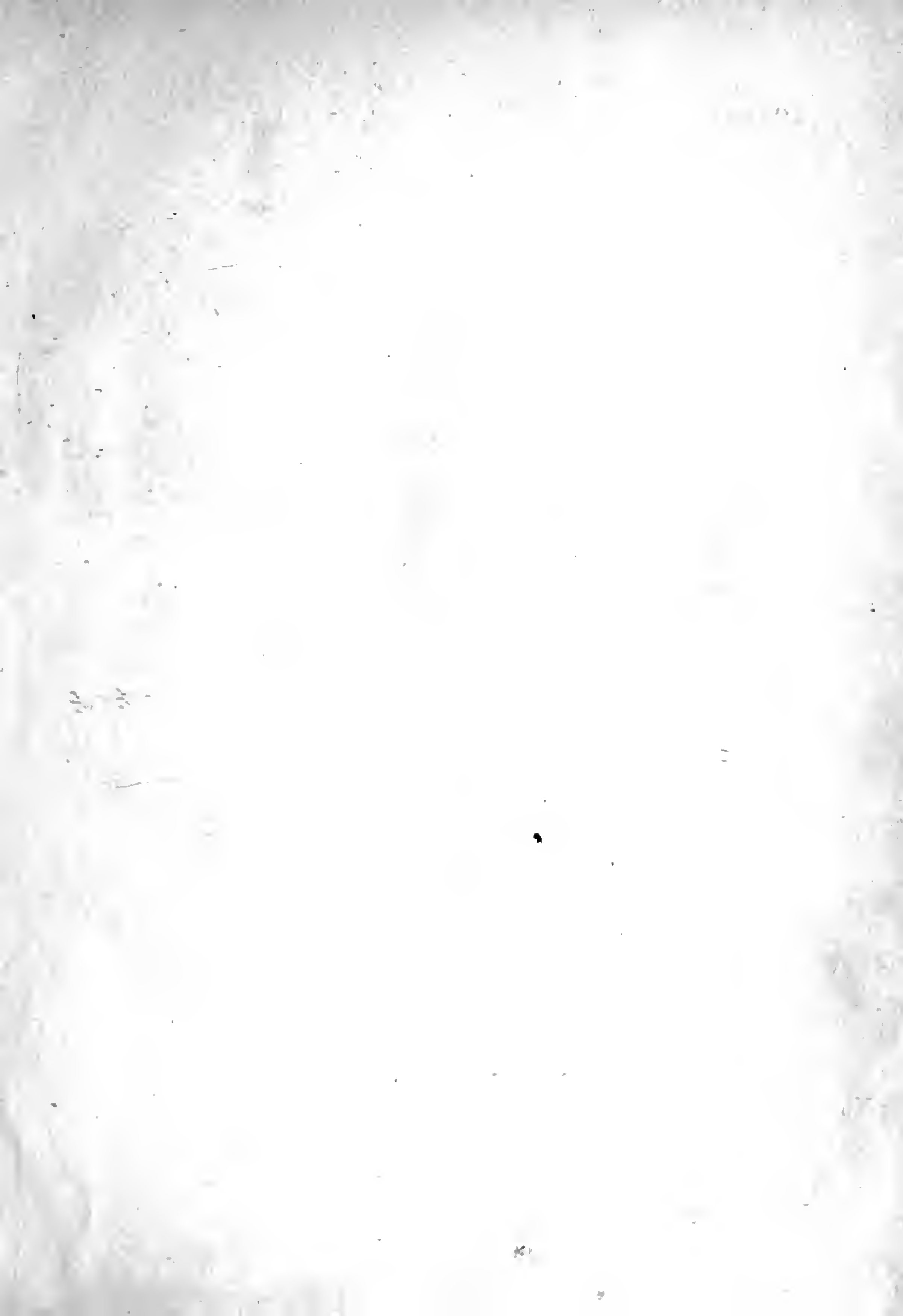

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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// MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE DATES OF CORNEILLE'S EARLY PLAYS

In dating the plays that Corneille wrote before the *Cid* most modern scholars have accepted conclusions of the frères Parfaict,[1] Marty-Laveaux,[2] and a few other writers, without thoroughly testing them with recently discovered facts concerning Corneille's contemporaries and the stage for which they wrote. The following table gives the dates assigned to the first representations of his first eight plays by the frères Parfaict, Marty-Laveaux, and Lanson,[3] as well as the date of each play's privilege and *achevé d'imprimer*.

	Frères Parfaict	Marty-Laveaux	Lanson[4]	Privilege	*Achevé*
Mélite	1629	1629	1629	Jan. 31, 1633	Feb. 12, 1633
Clitandre	1632	1632	1632 (?)	March 8, 1632	March 20, 1632
La Veuve	1633	1633	1632 (?)	March 9, 1634	March 13, 1634
La Galerie du Palais	1634	1633, 1634[5]	1633	Jan. 21, 1637	Feb. 20, 1637
La Suivante	1634	1634	1633–4	Jan. 21, 1637	Sept. 9, 1637
La Place royale	1635	1634, 1635[6]	1633	Jan. 21, 1637	Feb. 20, 1637
Médée	1635	1635	1635	Feb. 11, 1639	March 16, 1639
L'Illusion comique	1636	1636	1636	Feb. 11, 1639	March 16, 1639

To estimate the correctness of these dates, let us turn first to the evidence given by Corneille himself. His statements as to the length of time he has been writing help us little, for in 1660 he calls this period thirty years, in 1668 forty, in 1682 fifty.[7] They indicate merely that he began to write about 1628–1632. But he does render us valuable assistance when he states that *Mélite* was his first play,[8] that *Clitandre* was written after a visit to Paris which followed the first representations of *Mélite*,[9] that by March 13, 1634, he had written six plays,[10] and that the order of the composition of his plays is that of their position in the first edition of his collected plays.[11] From these facts it is evident that *Mélite* and *Clitandre* were acted before March 8, 1632, date of the latter's privilege, that the *Veuve, Galerie, Suivante, Place royale* were composed in this order before March 13, 1634, and that *Médée* and the *Illusion comique* appeared before the first representation of the *Cid*, which took place in December, 1636, or January, 1637. These facts seem certain. Let us now consider the plays separately.

1. *Mélite*. Fontenelle's date, 1625, is entirely inconsistent with other dates in Corneille's career, as will appear from the following discussion. The frères Parfaict [12] substitute for it 1629 on the ground that Mairet de-

[1] *Histoire du théâtre français*, Paris, 1734–1748.

[2] *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, Paris, 1862–1868 (*Grands Écrivains* collection).

[3] *Corneille*, second edition, Paris, 1905, pp. 11 and 48.

[4] Lanson's dates are substantially the same as those given in 1885 by U. Meier, *ZSNS.*, VII, 127–135, except that the latter makes 1631 the date of *Clitandre* and has the *Suivante* precede the *Place royale*. Faguet has returned to Marty-Laveaux's dates in his recent volume, *En lisant Corneille*, Paris, 1913, p. 8.

[5] I, p. xxiv, he gives the first date; II, 1, 9, the second.

[6] I, p. xxiv, he gives the first date and explains his mistake in giving the second, found II, 215, 219.

[7] *Discours du poème dramatique*, Marty-Laveaux, I, 16.

[8] *Examen de Mélite*, Marty-Laveaux, I, 137.

[9] *Examen de Clitandre*, Marty-Laveaux, I, 270.

[10] *Au Lecteur de la Veuve*, Marty-Laveaux, I, 378.

[11] *Au Lecteur, Œuvres de Corneille*, Rouen et Paris, 1644, petit in-12; Marty-Laveaux, I, 2.

[12] IV, 462.

clared[13] in 1636 that Rotrou, Scudéry, Corneille, Du Ryer began to write in this order after himself. To their knowledge that Rotrou began writing in 1628, Marty-Laveaux[14] adds the information that Scudéry produced his first play "en sortant du régiment des gardes," and that he was in the army as late as March, 1629. He then states that Du Ryer's first play was *Argénis et Poliarque,* whose privilege was obtained February 25, 1630, and concludes that *Mélite* was first represented between these last dates. Eugène Rigal[15] supports this conclusion by citing Corneille's assertion[16] that *Mélite* "établit une troupe de comédiens à Paris," and by arguing that this troop, afterwards that of the Marais, began to play in the fall of 1629.

But Mairet's statement cannot be accepted with confidence. The passage in which it occurs is one in which he is trying to prove himself very precocious and the first in date of the new generation of dramatists. He deliberately changes his own birth-date for this purpose and may have pretended that Du Ryer began writing after Rotrou, Corneille, and Scudéry because it was he who was his nearest rival for priority. It is probable that Du Ryer wrote *Argénis et Poliarque* no later than the first part of 1629 and it is still more probable that he had already written two other plays.[17] Moreover, it is by no means certain that Scudéry's first production appeared before 1630.[18] Consequently Mairet's evidence does not prove that *Mélite* was written in 1629, but merely that Corneille began to write about the same time as these other dramatists, in the period 1628–1630.

Rigal's opinion is influenced by his acceptance of Marty-Laveaux's dating. Mondory's troop, which, according to Corneille, was established by *Mélite,* was accused in a lawsuit, brought against it on February 25, 1631, of having at that time given 135 performances outside of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.[19] From this accusation Rigal argues that, as in Chappuzeau's time (1674) the troops gave three performances a week, while at the beginning of the seventeenth century they had given only one, they gave probably two a week towards 1631, and that therefore Mondory's troop must have begun playing by the fall of 1629 in order to have acted 135 times by February 25, 1631.

But we do not have to go so far as the time of Chappuzeau to find a troop giving as many as three performances a week. When Molière returned to Paris, his company acted regularly either three or four times a week, probably continuing a custom already established at the capital. Occasional omissions of regular performances were offset by extra representations at the houses of the nobility, so that this troop gave 135 performances in less than ten months, between April 28, 1659, and February 10, 1660. Three performances a week, therefore, are not too high an average for Mondory's troop while it was trying to establish itself at Paris. Certainly there is nothing improbable in this number, so that the evidence indicates only that the new troop began to play either in the fall of 1629 or in the early months of 1630.

Finally, the use of the word "établir" does not show that Corneille's play was the first that Mondory represented. His troop may have struggled for several months before being permanently established by the representation of *Mélite.* Rigal's testimony, therefore, while showing that the play was not represented before 1629, by no means prevents the acceptance

[13] *Épître dédicatoire* to his *Galanteries du duc d'Ossonne.*

[14] I, 129.

[15] *Esquisse d'une histoire des théâtres de Paris,* Paris, 1887, pp. 75, 76.

[16] *Examen de Mélite,* Marty-Laveaux, I, 138.

[17] *Arétaphile* and *Clitophon,* which were never published. I have shown from statements in their *avertissement,* from their structure, and from the facts of Du Ryer's life that these were his first plays, brought out as early as 1628. Cf. *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist,* Washington, 1912, pp. 33, 34; *Pierre Du Ryer, écrivain dramatique* in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France,* 1913, pp. 313, 314.

[18] Note the altogether unsatisfactory reasons for dating it 1629 given by Battereau in his *Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker,* Leipzig, 1902, pp. 7, 8.

[19] Eudore-Soulié, *Recherches sur Molière,* Paris, 1863, pp. 164, 165; Rigal, *op. cit.,* 69.

of 1630 as the probable date of its first representation.

Positive evidence in favor of the 1630 dating was discovered by Dannheisser [20] as early as 1890, but it has been very generally overlooked. In one of the polemical articles occasioned by the *Cid's* success, the *Avertissement au Besançonnois Mairet,* mention is made of "cette malheureuse *Silvanire* que le coup d'essai de M. Corneille terrassa dès sa première représentation." [21] Evidently, then, *Mélite* followed *Silvanire.* What was the date of the latter play?

Dannheisser shows that, while Mairet, in the *Épître* to his *Galanteries du duc d'Ossonne,* deliberately changes his age to prove his precocity, the statements he makes with regard to the relative order of his own plays and the number of years that separated them from one another are probably correct. "Je composay ma *Chriseide* à seize ans. . . . *Silvie,* qui la suivit un an après . . . Je fis la *Silvanire* à 21, *Le Duc d'Ossonne* à 23, *Virginie* à 24, *Sophonisbe* à 25, *Marc-Anthoine* et *Soliman* à 26." Therefore, since Marsan [22] has established the date of *Sylvie* as 1626 or 1627, *Silvanire* was written in 1630 or 1631, preferably the former year as the privilege was obtained February 3, 1631.[23]

Moreover, both Dannheisser and Marsan [24] call our attention to the following reference to *Silvanire* in the *Au lecteur* to the 1630 edition of *Sylvie:* [25] "Contente-toy de cet ouvrage cy, en attendant que je te donne une Tragi-Comedie purement Pastorale [26] de ma derniere et meilleure façon. Ce que je promets à ta curiosité, je le tiendray dans cette année 1630." If Mairet is here referring to the approaching first representations of *Silvanire,* this is, of course, excellent proof that it appeared first in 1630, but even if he is referring only to its publication—and it seems strange that, if he is here promising its publication in 1630, he did not secure the privilege to print it till February 3, 1631—he still clearly implies that *Silvanire* is a new work, finished, perhaps, but not yet known to the public.

The preponderance of evidence points clearly, then, to the fact that *Silvanire* was first represented in 1630, and, indeed, this date has been generally accepted for it. But we continue to find 1629 set down as the year of *Mélite's* first appearance. It is difficult to change a date so important as one that marks the opening of a great writer's career. Nevertheless, if we accept this date for *Silvanire,* and the evidence is most strongly in favor of it, we must acknowledge the logical implication that *Mélite,* which followed it, appeared no earlier than 1630.

That its first representation took place no later than the winter of 1630 is shown by Corneille's statement [27] that its "trois premières représentations ensemble n'eurent point tant d'affluence que la moindre de celles qui les suivirent *dans le même hiver.*" This cannot mean the winter of 1630–1631, for that would place the first performance of *Mélite* too late to allow a reasonable time for the large number of representations that came between this first performance and February 25, 1631, date of the law-suit to which I have referred above. The reference must be to the winter of 1629–1630. Therefore, the conclusion that best fits all the facts in the case is that *Mélite* was first represented towards the month of February, 1630.

2. *Clitandre.* We know that this tragicomedy was written after its author had taken a trip to Paris to inquire about the success of *Mélite,*[28] and that the permission to print it

[20] *Zur Chronologie der Dramen Jean de Mairet's, Romanische Forschungen,* V, 37–64, 1890.

[21] Marty-Laveaux, III, 70.

[22] *La Sylvie du sieur Mairet,* Paris, 1905, pp. vii–xii.

[23] Had *Silvanire* been first produced in 1631, Mairet would not have taunted Corneille with his unseemly haste in printing the *Cid* so soon after its first representation. Cf., below, my discussion of the date of *Clitandre.*

[24] *La Pastorale dramatique,* Paris, 1905, p. 375.

[25] *La Sylvie du sieur Mairet,* 8. The *achevé d'imprimer* to this edition is not given.

[26] There can be no doubt of the fact that this means *Silvanire,* for Mairet wrote no other pastoral than this after *Sylvie.*

[27] *Épître à Monsieur de Lianceur,* Marty-Laveaux, I, 135.

[28] Marty-Laveaux, I, 373.

was obtained March 8, 1632. Its earliest possible date would therefore be late in 1630. It is improbable that it was first acted later than 1631, for at this period, according to Chapelain in a letter of March 9, 1640, a play was rarely published less than six months after its first representation. This was largely due to the fact that a play could be acted by a troop other than that which first gave it only after its publication.[29] It was consequently to the interest of the actors to keep it out of print as long as possible. For this reason Mairet considered Corneille's quick publication of the *Cid* an injustice to the actors for whom he wrote.[30] Unless we have proof to the contrary, as in the case of the *Cid,* it seems safe to assume that a play's first representation occurred at least six months before the date of its privilege. I conclude, therefore, that *Clitandre* should be dated, not 1632, but 1631 or late in 1630.

3. *La Veuve.* The privilege was granted March 9, 1634. Expressions in the dedication and in a poem published with the play, "le bon accueil qu' *autrefois* cette Veuve a reçu," "un temps *si long* sans te montrer au jour," show, as Marty-Laveaux points out,[31] that considerable time elapsed between the first representation of this comedy and its publication. Consequently the *Veuve,* represented after *Clitandre* and before the *Galerie du Palais,* must have appeared in 1631 or 1632.

4. *La Galerie du Palais.* According to the *Au lecteur* to *la Veuve,* printed March 13, 1634, Corneille had written six plays by this time.[32] Hence *la Galerie du Palais, la Suivante,* and *la Place royale* were already finished, as well as *Mélite, Clitandre,* and *la Veuve.* A Latin poem, composed between September, 1633, and August, 1634, confirms this evidence by references to the *Galerie* and the *Place royale.*[33] It is probable, therefore, that the first of the three was written and acted as early as 1632. To give it an earlier date would crowd too many of Corneille's plays into the years 1630–1631 and put the unusually long period of six years or more between the first acting and the printing of the *Galerie.* To date it 1633, on the other hand, would put too many plays into this year. Therefore, 1632 is the probable date of the play.

5. *La Suivante.* The fact that this comedy was printed a few months later than the *Place royale* does not mean that its first representation followed that of the other play, as can be seen by comparing the case of *Clitandre,* published before *Mélite,* but represented after it. On the other hand, we have Corneille's statement that the *Suivante* preceded the *Place royale* and there is a reference to the former play in the latter.[34] The *Suivante* should therefore be dated between the *Galerie du Palais* and the *Place royale,* in the first half of 1633 or, perhaps, late in 1632.

6. *La Place royale.* Claveret's *Place royale* was acted before the king at Forges between June 15 and July 3, 1633.[35] Its author charged Corneille with undertaking his play of the same name "dès que vous sûtes que j'y travaillois." Probably both plays were begun before the royal visit and Corneille's was brought out in the latter half of 1633. We have seen that it cannot possibly have appeared later than March 13, 1634.

7. *Médée.* By a reference to one of Balzac's letters[36] Marty-Laveaux[37] shows that *Médée*

[29] Frères Parfaict, IX, 105.

[30] *Lettre familière,* quoted by the frères Parfaict, V, 269. Cf. also Marty-Laveaux, III, 8.

[31] *Op. cit.,* I, 373.

[32] Marty-Laveaux, I, 378. Though this scholar realized what inference was to be drawn from this evidence, he stuck to the traditional date, 1635, for the first representation of the *Place royale* till he learned of the next piece of evidence I cite. The correct inference was drawn in 1885 by U. Meier, *op. cit.,* VII, 131.

[33] Bouquet, *Louis XIII et sa cour aux eaux de Forges,* in *Revue des Sociétés savantes des départements,* 2e série, I, 611–642 (1859); Marty-Laveaux, X, 68.

[34] Marty-Laveaux, II, 260.

[35] *Lettre du Sieur Claveret au Sieur Corneille,* 10; Bouquet, *loc. cit.;* Marty-Laveaux, X, 64; U. Meier, *op. cit.,* VII, 131, 132. The latter was, I believe, the first to date Corneille's play by its association with Claveret's.

[36] To Boisrobert, April 3, 1635.

[37] II, 330, 331.

must have been represented before April 3, 1635. It could not have been written long before, as it is referred to as "presque achevée" in the *Parnasse* of La Pinelière,[38] a book printed in 1635, written perhaps as early as the latter part of 1634. The date assigned to *Médée* should be, then, the end of 1634 or the beginning of 1635 and not simply the latter year, as we ordinarily find it.

8. *L'Illusion comique.* As Mareschal tells us in the preface to his *Railleur* that this play preceded Corneille's *Illusion,* Marty-Laveaux[39] dates the latter comedy 1636, having learned from the frères Parfaict[40] that the *Railleur* was first given that year. But the frères Parfaict admit that they date the *Railleur* 1636 because it preceded the *Illusion.* As a matter of fact we do not know the date of the *Railleur,*[41] so that, while we wait for its discovery, we must date the *Illusion* between *Médée* and the *Cid,* in 1635 or 1636.

I conclude from the foregoing that the most probable dates for the first representations of Corneille's early plays are:

1. *Mélite,* 1630, towards the month of February.
2. *Clitandre,* 1631, possibly late in 1630.
3. *La Veuve,* 1631 or 1632.
4. *La Galerie du Palais,* 1632.
5. *La Suivante,* 1633, possibly late in 1632.
6. *La Place royale,* 1633, possibly 1634 before March 13.
7. *Médée,* end of 1634, or 1635 before April 3.
8. *L'Illusion comique,* 1635 or 1636.

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[38] Frères Parfaict, V, 166, and Marty-Laveaux, *loc. cit.*

[39] II, 424.

[40] V, 177.

[41] If its author is correct in stating that it offers the first *miles gloriosus* of his generation, it must have been represented at least as early as 1633, date of the publication of Rayssiguier's *Bourgeoise,* which contains among its characters "Le Vaillant, Fanfaron."

CHAUCER'S BED'S HEAD

I. Chaucer and Ambrose

In the *Physician's Tale* Chaucer, like Gower in his version of the theme of Apius and Virginia (*Confessio,* VII, 5130), is telling a story of Lechery and of its antitype, Chastity. In order to emphasize the baseness of "the cursed judge," the poet devotes many lines to the maidenly virtues of Virginia. She is indeed such a composite of moral traits that

> In her living maydens mighten rede,
> As in a book, every good word or dede,
> That longeth to a mayden vertuous.

And as the reader surveys these attributes of noble maidenhood, he cannot resist the thought that Chaucer himself had "read them in a book." But in what book? Certainly not in the *Roman de la Rose,* which had furnished him large aid in his picture of the beauty of the girl and of Nature's delight in her workmanship; nor yet in Titus Livius nor in Gower. If Chaucer is not "having it all his own way," as Skeat suggests, if these seemingly typical traits of chastity are designedly conventional, they should naturally be sought—so reasoned this source-hunter—in early treatises upon Virginity. Could it be that Virginia—the name itself pointed the way to the poet—was patterned upon "the consecrated maid" of so many essays by the Fathers of the Church?

Keen in his quest, the seeker turned him first to Jerome, for had not the famous tract against Jovinian provided the Wife with much matter and supplied the Franklin with many examples of oppressed maidenhood courting death rather than shame? But though in the Jovinian treatise and in the admirable letters on Virginity, those to Eustochium (XXII, CVIII) and Furia (LIV) and Laeta (CVII) and Gaudentius (CXXVIII), one found in the many interesting parallels with Chaucer's sketch[1] comforting assurance that one was on the right track, still there was nowhere direct

[1] Compare with Chaucer's lines on the "maistresses" (C. 72 f.) Jerome's words in the Gauden-

indebtedness. Perhaps then in Augustine, whose definition of Envy is cited in this very context of Virginia's perfection? But a close examination of Augustine's *De Virginitate* and of his interesting discussion (*De Civitate Dei*, I, 19) of virgins who preferred suicide to violation yielded little save scattered resemblances. Why not then the writer whose "Three Books concerning Virgins"[2] is quoted with such approval by both Jerome and Augustine, Ambrose of Milan? And there the search came happily to an end.

Ambrose's description of Mary (Book II, chap. ii), "the pattern of life, showing as an example, the clear rules of virtue" might well have inspired Chaucer: "She was a virgin not only in body but also in mind, who stained the sincerity of her disposition by no guile, who was humble in heart, grave in speech, prudent in mind, sparing of words, studious in reading . . . intent on work, modest in discourse, . . . being wont only to go to such gatherings of men as mercy would not blush at, nor modesty pass by. There was nothing gloomy in her eyes, nothing forward in her words, nothing unseemly in her acts."[3] Though the words, "She was a virgin not only in body but mind," are close indeed to Chaucer's "As wel in goost as body chast was she" and the likeness of traits is very striking, still these resemblances may not in themselves suffice to compel belief in direct borrowing. Such a conclusion seems, however, inescapable, when we juxtapose with the several traits of Virginia those of Ambrose's ideal. I note many parallels that seem to remove all doubt.

(1) Compare with "Discreet she was in answering alway" the words of Ambrose (III, iii, 9): "Not to answer a question is childishness, to answer is nonsense. I should prefer, therefore, that conversation should rather be wanting to a virgin than abound."[4]

(2) We are told of Virginia,

> Bacus hadde of hir mouth right no maistrye;
> For wyn and youthe doon Venus encrece.

Far closer to Chaucer than the passage cited from Ovid by Skeat is Ambrose's sentence (III, ii, 5), "Use wine therefore, sparingly, in order that the weakness of the body may not increase, not for pleasurable excitement, for wine and youth alike kindle a flame."[5]

(3) Compare with Virginia's avoidance of "festes, revels and dances, that been occasions of daliaunces" Ambrose's prohibition (III, v, 25): "There ought then to be the joy of mind, conscious of right, not excited by unrestrained feasts, or nuptial concerts, for in such modesty is not safe, and temptation may be suspected where excessive dancing accompanies festivities. I desire that the virgins of God should be far from this."[6] A maiden's danger from light company, on which Chaucer touches, is more than once the theme of Ambrose (II, ii, 10; III, iii, 9).

(4) Like Chaucer, Ambrose brings his lesson home to fathers and mothers (III, vi, 31): "What say you, holy women? Do you see what you ought to teach, and what also to

tius letter: "Give her for guardian and companion a mistress and governess, one not given to much wine or in the apostle's words, idle and a tattler, but sober, grave, industrious in spinning and one whose words will form her childish mind to the practice of virtue. . . . One of soft and tender years is pliable for good or evil; she can be drawn in whatever direction you choose to guide her," etc., etc.

[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XVI, 187–239, translated in *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 2d Ser., Vol. X.

[3] "Virgo erat non solum corpore, sed etiam mente, quae nullo doli ambitu sincerum adulteraret affectum; corde humilis, verbis gravis, animi prudens, loquendi parcior, legendi studiosior, . . . intenta operi, verecunda sermone . . . eos solos solita coetus virorum invisere, quos misericordia non erubesceret, neque praeteriret. Nihil torvum in oculis, nihil in verbis procax, nihil in actu verecundum."

[4] "Interroganti non respondere, infantia: respondere est fabula. Deesse igitur sermonem virgini, quam superesse malim."

[5] "Modico itaque vino utere, ne infirmitatem corporis augeas, non ut voluptatem excites; incendunt enim pariter duo, vinum et adolescentia."

[6] "Debet igitur bene consciae mentis esse laetitia, non inconditis comessationibus, non nuptialibus excitata symphoniis; ibi enim intuta verecundia, illecebra suspecta est, ubi comes deliciarum est extrema saltatio. Ab hac virgines Dei procul esse desidero."

unteach your daughters? . . . She who is modest, she who is chaste, let her teach her daughter religion, not dancing. And do you, grave and prudent men, learn to avoid the banquets of hateful men." [7] The figure of the sheep among wolves, which Chaucer employs in the guise of a well-known proverb, is a commonplace in Ambrose's treatise (II, iv, 28, 30, 31).

(5) The fair fame of Virginia, "Thurgh that land they preysed hir echone," finds its parallel in the high repute of Mary (II, ii, 10): "How her parents loved her, strangers praised her!" [8]

(6) Virginia's walk toward the temple with her mother—an incident that assumes this form only in Chaucer's version of the story—seems to be suggested by Ambrose's description of Mary (II, ii, 9, 14): "She was unaccustomed to go from home, except for divine service, and this with parents and kinsfolk. . . And so Mary did not go even to the temple without the guardianship of her modesty." [9] Perhaps the mother's companionship in the walk to the temple was partly due to Ambrose's enigmatic phrase (II, ii, 15): "Virgo intra domum, comes ad ministerium, mater ad templum."

(7) Chaucer's pathetic passage, in which Virginia chooses death rather than dishonor, has no parallels in variant versions of the tale and is obviously modeled upon the ready self-sacrifice of virgin martyrs in the many examples cited from Jerome by the Franklin, or in such a story as that of Saint Pelagia narrated by Ambrose (III, vii). Indeed the speeches of Virginius and Virginia before the maiden's death recall Pelagia's words in her last hour: "'What are we to do' says she to herself, 'unless thou, a captive of virginity, takest thought? I both wish and fear to die, for I meet not death, but seek it. . . . God is not offended by a remedy against evil, and faith permits the act. . . . I am not afraid that my right hand may fail to deliver the blow, or that my breast may shrink from the pain. I shall leave no sin to my flesh. I fear not that a sword will be wanting. I can die by my own weapons.'" [10]

(8) On account of its place in the context, Chaucer probably owes the suggestion of the Jephtha story, cited by Virginia, to the prominence of Jephtha and his daughter in Ambrose's treatise, "De Virginitate" (cap. i–iii) [11] which supplements the "De Virginibus."

Enough has been said to show the indebtedness of Chaucer's "gem of chastity" to the "consecrated virgin" type of Ambrose.[12] In his "ensample" of the Deadly Sin of Lechery [13] how could Chaucer better exemplify its antitype than by a generous use of the great Bishop's highly famed record of the traditional traits of Virginity?

[7] "Quid dicitis vos, sanctae feminae? Videtis quid docere, quid etiam dedocere filias debeatis? . . . Quae vero pudica, quae casta est, filias suas religionem doceat, non saltationem. Vos autem, graves et prudentes viri, discite detestabilium hominum epulas vitare."

[8] "Quid enim in singulis morer, ut eam parentes dilexerint, extranei praedicaverint, etc."

[9] "Prodire domo nescia, nisi cum ad ecclesiam conveniret, et hoc ipsum cum parentibus, aut propinquis. . . . Nec ad templum igitur Maria sine pudoris sui custode processit."

[10] "'Quid agimus,' inquit, 'nisi prospicias, captiva virginitatis? Et votum est, et metus est mori; quia mors non excipitur, sed adsciscitur. . . . Deus remedio non offenditur, et facinus fides ablevat. . . . Non timeo ne dextera deficiens non peragat ictum, ne pectus se dolore subducat. Nullum peccatum carni relinquam. Non verebor, ne desit gladius. Possumus mori nostris armis, etc.'"

[11] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XVI, 266 f.

[12] Twice in his writings Chaucer cites Ambrose by name: first in a second-hand reference in the *Second Nun's Tale* (G. 271), to the Preface of the Missa Ambrosiana on the Feast of St. Cecilia (Holthausen, *Herrigs Archiv*, LXXXVII, 269); and later in the Parson's quotation (I. 82) from a passage in the Bishop's sermons.

[13] As an *exemplum* of Lechery and Chastity the Virginia story figures even in Elizabeth's time. The title of the old edition of the well-known morality, *Appius and Virginia* (1575) reads thus: "A new Tragicall Comedie of Apius and Virginia. Wherein is lively expressed a rare example of the virtue of Chastitie by Virginia's Constancy in wishing rather to be slaine at her owne Fathers handes then to be dishonored of the wicked Judge Apius." Mackenzie's unhappy comment upon the moral of the story (*The English Moralities*, 1914, p. 13) ignores utterly its traditional function.

II. Jerome and the Summoner's Friar

In the face of the Summoner's slighting reference to "Jovinian" (D 1929) it seems surprising—if the oversights of Chaucer scholars can any longer awake surprise—that no one has marked the large indebtedness of the *Summoner's Tale* to the famous tract of Jerome, "Against Jovinian,"[1] which had stood the Wife of Bath in such stead. All of the scriptural *exempla* of fasting put into the mouth of the friar are taken directly from one or two chapters in the second book of the treatise. I shall let the parallels tell their own story.

(1) *The Summoner's Tale,* D 1876 f.:

> We han this worldes lust al in despyt.
> Lazar and Dives liveden diversly,
> And diverse guerdon hadden they ther-by.
> Who-so wol preye, he moot faste and be clene,
> And fatte his soule and make his body lene.
> We fare as seith thapostle; cloth and fode
> Suffysen us, though they be nat ful gode.

Compare *Adversus Jovinianum,* II, chap. 17: "Who tells of purple-clad Dives in hell for his feasting, and says that poor Lazarus for his abstinence was in Abraham's bosom; who, when we fast, bids us anoint our head and wash our face, etc." *Id.,* chap. 11: "Hence the Apostle says: 'Having food and clothing let us therewith be content.' . . . You have the world beneath your feet, and can exchange all its power, its feasts and its lusts . . . for common food, and make up for them all with a sackcloth shirt."[2]

(2) *The Summoner's Tale,* D 1885 f.:

> Lo, Moyses fourty dayes and fourty night
> Fasted, er that the heighe god of might
> Spak with him in the mountain of Sinay.
> With empty wombe, fastinge many a day,
> Receyved he the lawe that was writen
> With goddes finger.

Compare *Adversus Jovinianum,* II, chap. 15: "Moses for forty days and forty nights fasted on Mount Sinai and showed even then that man does not live on bread alone but on every word of God. . . . Moses with empty stomach received the law written with the finger of God."[3]

(3) *The Summoner's Tale,* D 1890 f.:

> and Elie, wel ye witen,
> In Mount Oreb, er he hadde any speche
> With hye god, that is our lyves leche,
> He fasted longe and was in contemplaunce.

Compare *Adversus Jovinianum,* II, chap. 15: "Elijah after the preparation of a forty days' fast saw God on Mount Horeb, and heard from Him the words, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?'"[4]

(4) *The Summoner's Tale,* D 1894 f.:

> Aaron, that hadde the temple in governance,
> And eek the othere preestes everichon,
> In-to the temple whan they sholde gon
> To preye for the peple and do servyse,
> They nolden drinken, in no maner wyse,
> No drinke, which that mighte hem dronke make,
> But there in abstinence preye and wake,
> Lest that they deyden; tak heed what I seye.
> But they be sobre that for the peple preye,
> War that I seye.

Compare *Adversus Jovinianum,* II, chap. 15: "Aaron and the other priests, when about to enter the temple, refrained from all intoxicating drink for fear they should die. Whence

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* XXII (II, 305), translated by Freemantle in *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers,* 2d Ser., VI, 346 f.

[2] "Qui Divitem purpuratum propter epulas narrat in Tartaro, et Lazarum pauperem ob inediam dicit esse in sinu Abrahae; qui quando jejunamus, ungi caput et lavari faciem praecipit, etc." "Unde et Apostolus: 'Habentes victum et vestitum, his contenti sumus' . . . Mundum habere sub pedibus et omnem ejus potentiam, epulas, libidines, . . . vilibus mutare cibis et crassiore tunica compensare."

[3] "Moyses quadraginta diebus et noctibus jejunus in monte Sina etiam tunc probans, non in pane solo vivere hominem sed in omni verbo Dei. Cum Deo loquitur. . . . Ille vacuo ventre legem accipit scriptam digito Dei."

[4] "Elias quadraginta dierum jejunio praeparatus Deum vidit in monte Oreb et audit ab eo, 'Quid tu hic, Elia?'"

we learn that they die who minister in the Church without sobriety." [5]

(5) *The Summoner's Tale,* D 1915 f.:

> Fro Paradys first, if I shal nat lye,
> Was man out chaced for his glotonye;
> And chaast was man in Paradys, certeyn.

Compare *Adversus Jovinianum,* II, chap. 15: "So long as he (Adam) fasted, he remained in Paradise; he ate and was cast out; he was no sooner cast out than he married a wife. While he fasted in Paradise, he continued a virgin." [6] It is significant that this very passage from Jerome is used by the Pardoner in his attack upon Gluttony (C 508 f.). Indeed, as has been often noted, the Latin is there quoted upon the margin of many manuscripts. This use of a common source in these two tales of the Sins is suggestive.

The evidence just presented disposes effectually of the view of the Globe editors, Dr. Pollard and his collaborators, that the "Jovinian," to whom the Summoner refers, "is probably the mythical emperor of the *Gesta Romanorum.*" It is possible that, in the description of Jerome's adversary, "Fat as a whale and walkinge as a swan," Chaucer has in mind not only the passage cited by Skeat from the first book of the treatise (chap. 40), "iste formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus et quasi sponsus semper incedens," but the even less flattering sketch in the second book (chap. 21): "Nunc lineis et sericis vestibus et Atrebatum ac Laodiceae indumentis ornatus incedis. Rubent buccae, nitet cutis, comae in occipilium frontemque tornantur, protensus est aqualiculus, insurgunt humeri, turget guttur, et de obesis faucibus vix suffocata promuntur." But the lively similes are seemingly Chaucer's own.

The generous use by the Summoner of the Jovinian treatise furnishes another strong link between Chaucer's Friar-Summoner tales and their immediate precursor, the contribution of the Wife, the largest borrower from Jerome's tract.

III. Chaucer and the Prymer

The indebtedness of Chaucer's "Invocacio ad Mariam," which prefaces his story of Saint Cecilia, to certain Latin anthems is now as fully recognized as the allegiance of these stanzas to Dante's *Paradiso.* Professor Holthausen [1] long since revealed the relation of the fifth stanza to the *Salve Regina* and Professor Carleton Brown [2] has recently indicated the connection between lines 43–47 and the *Quem Terra.* Brown suggests that "the phrases which Chaucer took from this source had become so familiar to him through the liturgy and manuals of devotion that when he sat down to write this prayer of the Virgin, they came into mind unbidden." Neither scholar seems, however, to have recognized that the direct source of Chaucer in much of the Invocation was "The Hours of the Virgin," which forms so important a part of the *Prymer* or *Lay Folk's Prayer Book.* [3]

Ten minutes' examination of the contents of the *Prymer*—I use Littlehales' text of the English version, derived from an early fifteenth-century Cambridge manuscript [4]—discloses the presence of the *Salve Regina* in the Compline service of the Hours, and of the *Quem Terra* as the hymn for Matins. The former, in its English guise, is peculiarly interesting to the Chaucer student: "Hail, quene, modir of merci, oure liyf, oure swetnesse & oure hope, hail! to thee we crien, exiled sones of eue; to thee we siȝen, gronynge in this valey of teeris; ther-for turne to usward thi merciful iȝen, & schewe to us ihesu, the blessid fruyt of thi wombe, aftir that we ben

[5] "Aaron et ceteri sacerdotes ingressuri templum omne quod potest inebriare non potant, ne moriantur. Ex quo intelligimus mori eos qui in Ecclesia non sobrii ministrarint."

[6] "Quamdiu jejunavit, in paradiso fuit; comedit et ejectus est; ejectus, statim duxit uxorem. Qui jejunus in paradiso virgo fuerat, etc."

[1] *Herrig's Archiv,* LXXXVII, 267.

[2] *Modern Philology,* IX, 1911, 1 f.

[3] With the history of the layman's prayer book in England Brown has made us familiar in a valuable section of his study of *The Prioress' Tale,* Chaucer Society, 1910, pp. 126 f.

[4] Early English Text Society, Orig. Ser., CV.

passid hennes. O thou deboner, O thou meke, O thou swete maide marie, hail!" Moreover, here in the *Horae* is the hitherto undisclosed source of Chaucer's lines (G 47–49):

> and thou, virgin wemmelees,
> Bar of thy body, and dweltest mayden pure,
> The creatour of every creature.

A dozen times and more are the changes rung upon this *motif* in the *Prymer*—for instance in the anthems for Evensong: "*Post Partum,*—Aftir thi childberynge, thou leftist maide withouten wem;" "*Beata es Virgo,*—Blessed art thou, maide marie, that bar oure lord; thou brouȝtest forth the makere of the world, that made thee; & thou bileuest maide withouten ende." It is significant that the anthem for Sext (Midday), "*Rubum quem,*—Bi the busch that moises siȝ unbrent, we knowen that thi preisable maidenhede is kept," corresponds to Chaucer's figure both in the Prologue of the Prioress and in the *A. B. C.* (where he is merely following in the wake of DeGuilleville).

Chaucer's use of the *Prymer* in his Hymn to Mary seems not only natural but inevitable in the light of Patterson's statement in the Introduction to his *Middle English Penitential Lyric* [5] (p. 22) that "the many poems that celebrate the joys of the Virgin go back ultimately to certain antiphons in the *Horae.*" "The Hymn to the Virgin" (No. 30 of Patterson's collection) is "a mosaic of phrases, responses, versicles, lessons and scripture found in the *Horae.*" In his large drafts upon the universally familiar Hours, Chaucer was but following the tradition of the religious lyric.

Another trait of the Invocation must now be remarked. No one has noted that such a prelude to a Miracle of the Virgin or to a Life of a saint is a literary convention even more common than the "Idleness" prologue.[6] A few illustrations will serve as well as a score. Mark the short address to "Jesu Cryst, croune of maydenes alle," which opens Capgrave's "Life of Saint Catharine;" [7] the appeal to the Maker, which prefaces another Life of this saint; [8] the invocation to "Leuedi swete and milde," which ushers in the poem, "Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntroue" in MS. Digby 86, fol. 130; [9] and what seems much to our purpose, the lines upon the Christ that begin the story of Saint Cecilia in the North English collection.[10] Among the petitions that preface several Miracles of the Virgin in the Vernon MS.[11] is a thirty-line invocation to Jesus and Mary (introducing the fifth Miracle), which is thus paraphrased by the editor: "Jesus, Thou wast born of Mary and wast crucified for us, as Thou rosest from the dead, freedest the souls in Hell, ascendedst into Heaven, and sentest the Holy Ghost to Thy disciples, we ought to thank Thee and Thy Mother. She is solace in every sorrow and never fails, though she oft delays." Very close to Chaucer's praise of the Virgin (G 56, 76) is the line, "In everi serwe or seknesse outher, heo is sovereynest leche." The time-honored function of such a prelude as Chaucer's "Invocacio ad Mariam" constitutes good ground for believing that it was composed at the same time as the Life of Saint Cecilia.[12] The contention that the dexterity displayed by Chaucer

[5] Columbia University Press, 1911.

[6] To the interesting examples of "Idleness" introductions, cited by Brown in his *Modern Philology* article, may be added the Prologue of Henry Bradshaw's *Life of Saint Werburg* (E. E. T. Soc., Orig. Ser., LXXXVIII), ll. 71–84. See also Bradshaw's restatement of his purpose at the close of his work, II, 2006 f., "to avoyde slouth and idelness." It is significant that Alexander Barclay, who launches his *Ship of Fools* with the Idleness convention (Jamieson's edition, I, 18), "But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is to auoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes whyche (as saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices," concludes his translation with an elaborate Invocation to the Virgin (II, 333 f.) richer even than Chaucer's in liturgical phrases.

[7] E. E. T. Soc., Orig. Ser., C.

[8] Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, N. F.*, p. 242.

[9] *Id.*, p. 220.

[10] *Id.*, p. 159.

[11] E. E. T. Soc., Orig. Ser., XCVIII.

[12] The argument for the synchronism of Invocation and Life is reinforced by the now generally accepted view that a similarly derived invocation, the Prologue of the Prioress—which the "quod she" of its second line assigns to the period of *The Canterbury Tales*—was composed at the same time as her Tale.

in blending various elements in the Invocation indicates a period of maturer powers than the Life itself ignores utterly the wide vogue of such "skilful mosaics." It is obviously unsafe to employ as a touchstone of a great poet's ripeness the sort of thing that every rimer of his time does well.

Yet whether, as custom clearly shows, the "Invocacio ad Mariam" was composed at the same date as the story of Saint Cecilia, or whether, as has been unhappily contended, it was a later insertion, there is, of course, no doubt that the prologues, which represent the written rather than the spoken word and are connected with no narrator,[13] and the tale were combined at a period prior to the composition of *The Canterbury Tales*. Nowhere, however, in the whole range of Chaucer's reading could the poet have found, nor could he have put together for the nonce, any matter better suited to the illustration of Sloth than this treasure-trove of his portfolio with its opportune combination of Idleness prologue, Invocation full of the spiritual devotion that is ever the antidote of this Deadly Sin, and finally, the tale of the traditionally busy Saint Cecilia.[14]

IV. A Parallel to the Parson's Sermon

By the dexterous methods of attenuation now in high favor among certain scholiasts of our older literature it would be easy to devote many pages to the relation between Dan Jon Gaytringe's fourteenth-century "Sermon on Shrift," which is printed by Perry from Robert Thornton's MS. in the Lincoln Cathedral Library[1] and "The Lay Folk's Catechism" of Archbishop Thoresby, edited by Simmons and Nolloth from "the authentic copy in his register at York," and from the Wycliffite adaptation of this;[2] but the story of this connection shall be told very briefly. Gaytrik, who was deputed by Thoresby to draw up the Catechism, was no other than Gaytringe, as external evidence shows, and the treatise—though the fact is unsuspected by the clerical editors—is identical with the Sermon, published in an earlier number of the same series. Any reader who will take the trouble to examine the two documents will speedily become convinced of their essential oneness.

In this identity of Sermon and Catechism there is much to interest the student of Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. "The chief solicitude of Archbishop Thoresby was for the poor Vicars who had the cure of souls, yet were often too meanly provided for"—for just such men as our Parson; and the Catechism was put forth "to amend the ignorance and neglect of the parish-priests and the consequent godlessness of their flocks."[3] The wise prelate commanded all his clergy, parsons, vicars and priests to read diligently to their parishioners this Catechism, which contained the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Apostles' Creed, the Points of Belief, the Commandments, the Sacraments, the Works of Mercy, the chief Virtues and the Deadly Sins. Knowledge of these things must precede Confession. Hence Gaytringe's Sermon, the counterpart of the Catechism, merely teaches, "in scrifte how many thynges solde be consideride."

So with the Parson. In his Sermon he includes the conventional divisions of the Penitential—stock instructions to his flock. Under the second of the main-heads of Penance, Confession, he may well have comprised the formal themes of Gaytringe and the religious treatises of the period—the *Ayenbite*, the *Handlyng Synne* and various *Summae* and "Mirrors,"—

[13] Though the assignment of protests against Idleness to the Second Nun, a member of a notoriously slothful class, is ironically apt (*Publications of M. L. A.*, March, 1914), still there is no direct association of this material with that pilgrim. This necessary adjustment Chaucer relegated to the limbo of many of his undertakings, the morrow.

[14] Further proof of Chaucer's indebtedness to the *Prymer* is the appearance of the *Domine, dominus noster* (Psalm VIII)—upon which the first stanza of the Prioress's Prologue is moulded—in the Matins service of the "Hours of the Virgin" immediately after the *Quem Terra*. The second and third stanzas of the Prioress are strongly reminiscent of several anthems of the *Horae*, particularly the *Ave Regina* and, as we have seen, the *Rubum quem*.

[1] *Religious Pieces*, Early English Text Society, 26, pp. 1–14.

[2] Early English Text Society, 118.

[3] See Nolloth's "Introduction to the 'Catechism.'"

but he prefers to follow his source in limiting himself to the most important phase, the acknowledgment of Sins. And a comparison between the Parson's description of the Sins and the *formulae* of the Catechism and Prymers attests—if, indeed, the matter needs attestation—that Chaucer's parish priest voices the commonplaces of the fourteenth-century Confessional. The Parson thus appeals not only to the understanding but to the emotions of men who were wont to rehearse their Sins in this wise: "First, I knowledge my selfe gylty unto Almyghty God, unto our lady, saynt Mary, and to all the company of heuen. . . . that . . . I haue offended my lord God greuously and specially in the seuen deedly synnes. . . . I haue synned in pryde of herte . . . in pryde of clotynge: in strength: in eloquence: in beaute: in proude wordes . . . ," and so through the other Sins.[4]

In the light of this relation between the Confessional and Penitential sermons, we can better appreciate the admirable aptness of Chaucer in making many of the Parson's hearers guilty of the Sins that the good priest afterwards exposes—sometimes in the very words of their own revelations.[5] So far from allegorizing his pilgrims, the poet deepened their humanity in contemporary eyes by large illustrations of their characteristic vices, in which every reader freely and frequently confessed his share. Such men and women, erring sometimes confessedly but often unconsciously, were not only the proper audience for a Sermon on Shrift, but, by reason of their very faults, were flesh-and-blood beings entirely convincing to the medieval mind and heart.

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[4] Cited from a Salisbury Prymer by Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, II, 274. In this connection Patterson points to the many metrical renderings of such confessions or of separate portions of them (*Middle English Penitential Lyric*, p. 161).

[5] See my article, "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, March, 1914.

SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMAN AND ROMAN TYPE AS INDICATED IN HIS LETTERS [1]

When reading Schiller's letters I noticed what seemed to be an inconsistency on the part of the poet in his attitude toward German and Latin type. A more complete investigation, however, and a chronological arrangement of the passages in question showed conclusively that the inconsistency was merely apparent, that in reality Schiller's attitude was clearly defined. It is only a matter of minor importance, but seems to have been quite overlooked by the "Schiller-Forscher." As the subject itself is of some general interest and has attracted considerable attention, the attitude of Germany's most popular poet is perhaps deserving of brief mention.

The references up to the year 1796 show a preference for the Roman type. On November 7, 1791 (No. 584), Schiller writes to Göschen, his publisher, regarding the periodical *Thalia:* "Dass Sie lat. Schrift nehmen, freut mich recht und ich denke, es wird sich der Mühe schon verlohnen." To his friend Wilhelm von Humboldt Schiller writes August 21, 1795 (No. 893): "Ihnen überlasse ich es ob lateinische oder deutsche Schrift zum Almanach genommen werd(en) soll. Hätte Unger (the publisher) eine recht passende lateinische Schrift, so würde ich dieselbe vorziehen; doch bin ich nicht so sehr darauf gestellt, und es kommt ganz darauf an, wie Sie Seine SchriftProben finden." To his publisher Cotta he writes, October 31, 1796 (No. 1121): "Dass Sie dieselbe Lettern, wie bey der erstern (Ausgabe des *Almanach*) beybehalten, ist gar nicht nöthig. Ich selbst wünschte kleinere Lettern, (obgleich auch lateinische)."

In the letters up to 1796 I found but one instance where a preference for German type was expressed, and that, too, is noteworthy. In a letter to Cotta, October 2, 1794 (No. 753),

[1] The quotations are from *Schillers Briefe* edited by Fritz Jonas, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. The numbering of the letters is that of Jonas.

we read: "Wir (*i. e.* Schiller, Goethe and possibly also Hofrath Schütz, who is mentioned in the preceding paragraph of the letter) sind der Meinung, dass Deutsche Schrift der lateinischen vorzuziehen sey." It is to be noted that in this instance Schiller uses the first person plural, not the first singular. He is stating not his own preference, but the decision of several.

In these earlier references no reason, no cause is given, it is simply the statement of a personal preference.

In later letters, from 1799 on, there is a change in Schiller's attitude. To the publisher Crusius he writes, November 29, 1799 (No. 1524a): "Ich wünsche *deutsche* Schrift zu den Gedichten, weil ich aus Erfahrung weiss, dass man ein Buch dadurch in weit mehr Hände bringt." Very similar are the words written to the Jena printer Göpferdt, May 20, 1800, regarding this same collection of poems (No. 1584): "Auch können Sie Herrn Crusius versichern, dass es eigentlich *sein* Vortheil ist, und nicht der meine, warum ich auf der Deutschen Schrift bestehe, denn mir ist bekannt, dass im Südlichen Deutschland viele, welche gern solche Werke kaufen, die lateinische Schrift nicht lesen können." Less suggestive is the following, taken from a letter to Cotta, dated October 8, 1802 (No. 1821): "Was die Ausgabe meines Theaters betrift, so überlasse ich Ihnen ganz das wo und wie. . . . Zu lateinischer Schrift kann ich aus vielen Gründen nicht rathen."

Especially instructive, however, is the passage contained in a letter to Cotta relating to the printing of *Tell*. It bears the date May 28, 1804 (No. 1971): "Was den Druck betrifft, so überlasse ich es Ihnen ganz ob Sie gleich 2 Editionen eine in lateinischer, die andre in deutscher Schrift machen wollen. . . . Wollen Sie aber bei Einer Ausgabe bleiben, so wird sie wohl mit deutschen Lettern am bessten seyn, weil der Tell doch auch vom Volke wird gelesen werden."

Just as in the period up to 1796 I noted but one passage advocating the use of German type, so in these later letters I ran across but one in which a preference for Latin type is shown, but that one is also significant. It is in a letter to the publisher Crusius regarding the planned édition de luxe of Schiller's poems. It is dated March 10, 1803 (No. 1855): "Eine Prachtausgabe der Gedichte wird mir recht sehr angenehm seyn, und ich weiss auch, dass man im Publicum sie wünscht. . . . Lateinische Schrift ist zu einer Prachtausgabe wohl nothwendig."

Viewing these quotations as a whole, the following conclusions may, I think, be drawn. Schiller's personal preference was for the Latin type, and in the case of an édition de luxe, a "Prachtausgabe," where the book even as a book should appeal to the aesthetic sense, he deemed this type necessary to the end of his life. On the other hand, experience taught him that his works could gain widest recognition and popularity only if printed in German type—he tells us directly that in South Germany and among the humbler classes Latin type was not merely a hindrance to ready comprehension but at times, even in the case of lovers of literature, an insurmountable obstacle.

Naturally and rightly, Schiller subordinated his own artistic preference to the existing conditions of his day. It is, however, interesting to see how modern he really was.

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THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS IN LOPE DE VEGA'S *ARCADIA*

In the fifth book of Lope de Vega's pastoral novel entitled *Arcadia*,[1] composed between the years 1591 and 1594 and first published in 1598, the wise Polinesta conducts the shepherds Anfriso and Frondoso to an immense palace containing eight halls presided over by

[1] For the best account of the *Arcadia*, see Dr. Hugo A. Rennert's monograph, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, 2nd edition, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Department of Romanic Languages and Literatures, Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 142–156, and the same writer's *Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, 1904, pp. 100–104.

eight maidens, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astrology, Music and Poetry. Each of these explains in verse to the shepherds the purpose and function of her art and the walls of each room are decorated with portraits of those who were regarded as the founders of that particular branch of human knowledge. We naturally expect to find here an allegorical treatment of the studies of the *trivium* and *quadrivium,* with the addition of poetry, indicating the progress attained in the seven liberal arts at the end of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, Lope de Vega copied almost literally the facts stated in the first six chapters of the *Vision delectable* of Alfonso de la Torre, probably composed between 1430 and 1440 and published about the year 1480.

I have shown elsewhere [2] that in writing the *Vision delectable* Alfonso de la Torre was indebted to the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis for most of his allegorical material, that the chapters on grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and music are derived from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and that the chapter on logic is borrowed from Al-Ghazzālī's treatise on that subject included in his *Makāsid al-Falāsifa.* The author seems to have been ignorant of the revival of classical studies which characterized the reign of John II and standing at the very threshold of the Renaissance in Spain, he represents the state of knowledge in the rest of Europe in the Dark Ages. In composing his treatise, he was content for the most part to translate from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville which typifies the last stage and decadence of the age of compilations and he seems to have known little of the progress in the arts and sciences since that time.

[2] *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Vision Delectable of Alfonso de la Torre,* Romanic Review, Vol. IV. Chapters eight to nineteen of the First Part, which discuss the most important questions of scholastic philosophy and theology, are derived from the *Moreh Nebuchim* or *Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides. See J. P. W. Crawford, *The Vision Delectable of Alfonso de la Torre and Maimonides's Guide of the Perplexed,* Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol. XXVIII, 1913.

It would be futile and tiresome to establish the "deadly parallel" by printing side by side the portion of the fifth book of the *Arcadia* dealing with the seven liberal arts and the first six chapters of the *Vision delectable.* The allegorical description of the seven maidens, and the account of the portraits representing the founders of the various arts are copied almost textually from the *Vision delectable,* and the poems in octaves describing the purpose and function of the studies included in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* are merely incomplete summaries of the facts stated by Alfonso de la Torre. Even the omissions were made in an unintelligent fashion and Lope's only addition is a brief discussion of the nature of poetry, including an inordinately long list of well-known and unknown Spanish poets of his time.

If we looked no further for evidence to prove the contrary, the study of the indebtedness of Lope de Vega to the *Vision delectable* would lead us to believe that the work of Nebrija, Hernán Núñez Pinciano, Luis Vives, Sebastián Fox Morcillo and other scholars of the sixteenth century, was fruitless. We must admit, however, that in seeking information concerning the seven liberal arts in a medieval work which was entirely inadequate and antiquated at the time of its publication in 1480, the great dramatist was sadly lacking in critical acumen.

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NOTES ON SIR WALTER SCOTT

In a recent article in *Modern Language Notes* [1] attention is directed to an interesting misquotation of Chaucer made by Sir Walter Scott in the *Antiquary.* The passage under consideration is the motto before the tenth chapter, and the author of the article reminds us that Scott was frequently inaccurate in quo-

[1] J. R. Schultz, "Sir Walter Scott and Chaucer," *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVIII, 246.

tation, especially in the matter of mottoes for chapter headings.

Another even more interesting example of this carelessness in citation occurs in *Rob Roy,* his next novel, at the beginning of the eighteenth chapter.[2] The motto in this case is

> And hurry, hurry, off they rode,
> As fast as fast might be;
> Hurra, Hurra, the dead can ride,
> Dost fear to ride with me?

It is credited to Bürger (signed "Burgher" in the first edition), and the lines are from the *Lenore.* The quotation as Scott has used it is not to be found in his own rendering of the ballad (1796) nor in that of any other translator. Yet all the lines are found in different parts of Scott's translation. The first two occur in the thirty-seventh stanza of *William and Helen* as

> And, hurry! hurry! off they rode,
> As fast as fast might be; [3]

and the only difference is in the punctuation. The last two lines of the motto are found in the forty-ninth stanza of the translation in inverted order and as the second and third lines of the quatrain. The entire stanza is

> Dost fear? dost fear? The moon shines clear,
> Dost fear to ride with me?—
> Hurrah! Hurrah! the dead can ride!—
> O William, let them be!

Scott's recollection of his own lines may have been modified by a reminiscence of Taylor's version which was published the same year as his own, for in the latter the last two lines of the motto appear in the order quoted and, save for one word, in the same language.

> Hurrah! the dead can ride apace;
> Dost fear to ride with mee? [4]

[2] I am indebted to Professor O. F. Emerson for this and other items.

[3] *The Poetical Works of Walter Scott,* ed. John Dennis (Aldine Edition). London, George Bell & Sons, 1892, vol. V, p. 97.

[4] Cf. *The Annual Register,* London, 1796; vol. XXXVIII, p. 499, St. 40. The two lines are repeated in St. 49 and St. 50. For this reference I am under obligation to Prof. Emerson's paper on the translations of Bürger's *Lenore,* read at the last meeting of the Modern Language Association.

Perhaps it may be possible to suggest a reason why Scott should be thinking of the ballad at this time. *Rob Roy* is considered to some extent autobiographical, and in Miss Vernon is generally recognized a sweetheart of Scott's youth. With this fact in view, I venture to suggest that the passage,

> "'There is a great deal of it,' said she, glancing along the paper and interrupting the sweetest sounds which mortal ears can drink in,—those of a youthful poet's verses, namely, read by the lips which are dearest to him." [5]

may have been based upon his own experience when the lady he was fond of read his translation of the *Lenore.* If there is any truth in this supposition, Scott may have had in mind the incident which occurs in *Rob Roy* only two chapters before the *Lenore* quotation, when he wrote the motto. The remarkable shuffling of lines can easily be accounted for by his habitual inaccuracy.[6]

Apropos of Scott's freedom in quotation, we are told by Lockhart [7] that in correcting the proof sheets of the *Antiquary,* the novelist first began to give his chapters mottoes of his own invention. The biographer says:

> "On one occasion he happened to ask John Ballantyne, who was sitting by him, to hunt for a particular passage in Beaumont and Fletcher. John did as he was bid, but did not succeed in discovering the lines. 'Hang it, Johnnie,' cried Scott, 'I believe I can make a motto sooner than you will find one.' He did so accordingly, and from that hour, whenever memory failed to suggest an appropriate epigraph, he had recourse to the inexhaustible mines of '*old play*' and '*old ballad.*'"

The motto alluded to is probably at the head of chapter thirty:

> Who is he?—One that for the lack of land
> Shall fight upon the water—he hath challenged
> Formerly the grand whale; and by his titles
> Of Leviathan, Behemoth, and so forth.

[5] *Rob Roy* (Centenary Edition), Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1890, p. 200.

[6] See circumstances of his translating *Lenore:*—Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott,* vol. I, chap. VII, pp. 216–7 (Cambridge Edition), 1902. See also Adam Scott, *Sir Walter Scott's First Love,* pp. 51–2. Edinburgh, 1896.

[7] *Ed. cit.,* vol. III, p. 106 (chap. XXXVII).

He tilted with a sword-fish—Marry, sir,
The aquatic had the best—the argument
Still galls our champion's breech.
—*Old Play.*[8]

All the mottoes of the chapters preceding this, with the single exception noted above, are credited to known authors; but ten of the fourteen following are signed "Old Play." A further examination of the novels shows that only one motto was chosen from an unknown or fictitious source before Scott wrote the *Antiquary.* This one is before the forty-eighth chapter of *Guy Mannering,* and the signature, "Old Border Ballad," merely indicates that he had forgotten what he derived it from. As a matter of fact, he was quoting the thirty-fourth stanza of the ballad, *Kinmont Willie,* included in his own collection, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.*[9] In novels following the *Antiquary,* Scott quoted from "Old Play" ninety-one times, "Old Ballad" twenty times, "Old Song" seven times, "Anonymous" (which was probably employed in the same way) twenty-five times, "Old Poem" once, and "Ancient Drama" once; and in nearly every case the motto is believed by Dennis and other editors to be the novelist's own work.

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The History of the Chorus in the German Drama, by ELSIE WINIFRED HELMRICH. New York, Columbia University Press, 1912. 8vo., paper, pp. ix + 95.

This book represents the development of the chorus 1. in the early church-plays, 2. under the influence of the Latin comedy, 3. from Gryphius to Gottsched, 4. in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The undertaking is ambitious and the difficulties that beset it are great. Not the least of these is that, for the second and third periods treated, the country's resources in texts are inadequate. It is a sad fact that in spite of the efforts of Kürschner, Goedeke and Tittmann, Hermann and Scamatolski, and others, the number of reprinted texts is comparatively small. Of course, those plays that are remarkable from an esthetic point of view have mostly been reprinted, but it is not always in the most artistic dramas that the most significant changes in the development of dramatic forms occur. There are, I believe, a certain number of original seventeenth-century editions scattered through the libraries of this country, but they are practically out of reach, unless they happen to be in one of the two or three largest universities.

It may be tempting to trace the beginnings of the chorus in the medieval drama and to proclaim its triumph in Wagner, but the facts do not seem to me to warrant the assumption. There may be a superficial resemblance between the development of Greek tragedy and the relation between the medieval drama and the liturgical chant, but the cases are far from being similar. As Miss Helmrich says herself (p. 2): "Even before the dramatic element had begun to develop, the [ancient] chorus had reached an artistic form." It had become a lyric form of art, which took its place in the dialogue and combined with it, thus forming an organic whole, in which its function became more and more definite. Aristotle based his definition of it on the loftiest achievements of Greek tragedy. A chorus is a specific element of the drama: we have admirable examples of it; its functions have been defined by one of the world's finest critics, and even if he had not been a Greek philosopher of the highest standing, writing about artists who were almost his contemporaries, and with a broader experience than any of our philologists can hope to have, nobody could impeach his *a posteriori* remarks about the functions of the chorus. Therefore it seems hardly scientific to declare that one

[8] The *Antiquary,* p. 280 (*ed. cit.*). The epigraph of chapter twenty-six, which later is signed "Old Ballad," appears without signature in the first edition.

[9] *Guy Mannering,* chap. XLVIII, p. 344 (*ed. cit.*). *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,* vol. II, p. 64 (Ed. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1902). The epigraphs of chapters six and forty-five were not signed in the first edition. Later, they were credited to "*As You Like It*" and "*Shenstone.*" *Waverley* has no mottoes.

will "use the term chorus when referring to the choir" (p. 12) of medieval liturgy. The choir is not a definite form of art. After the dialogue of medieval drama had sprung from it, it did not take its place in the drama, assuming an organic function. Miss Helmrich must repeatedly have felt the sterility of her parallel; at least, some of her own very sensible conclusions should have brought it home to her. Summing up this chapter, Miss Helmrich finds that "one cannot really speak of the evolution of the chorus in the religious drama" (p. 21). How could a thing which never became an organic part of the drama be expected to evolve? One might as soon expect the butterfly's cast-off chrysalis to develop.

I do not so completely disagree with the author when she tries to identify Wagner's music with the chorus. And yet, it will not do to simply tell us that "the rôle played by the [modern] orchestra is *much the same* as that played by the chorus in the Greek tragedy" (p. 86). Such is Wagner's opinion, I know, but is it safe to base a whole investigation on such a vague statement? In my opinion, Wagner's music is not a real chorus. It cannot be said to fulfil, in anything like the original sense, the first two functions assigned to it by Aristotle, *i. e.,* be an actor in the play, and be an inherent, *i. e.,* an indispensable part of the whole. As to the third requisite, it all depends on one's personal interpretation of "*συναγωνίζεσθαι.*" It is true that, according to the best of those interpretations, the orchestra might at least partly fulfil it: whether one agrees with Schiller's conception of the chorus as "furthering and accompanying the plot," or thinks with Baumgart that it should contribute to bring about the *katharsis,* or credits it with the novel but important function of starting emotions among the spectators, as Hirn suggested.

Miss Helmrich does not appear to be firmly enough grounded in the history of the theories of the chorus. It is a great pity that she did not make use of Dr. W. F. Klein's excellent book (*Der Chor in den wichtigsten Tragödien der französischen Renaissance,* Erlangen, 1897), the first 51 pages of which treat with authority of the development of the theories of the chorus from Aristotle down to the latest poetics, and which contains a discussion of Schiller's use of the chorus, so thorough as to make us rather critical towards later writings on the same theme. Klein ignores German criticism before Gottsched, in which he may be wrong. But it is nevertheless to be deplored that, even for seventeenth-century Germany, Miss Helmrich should have had to rely exclusively on G. Popp. I should have liked Miss Helmrich's method better if her book had been one for which the ground had been sufficiently prepared by a series of reliable '*Vorarbeiten.*' But this subject, as seen here, is new. Klein's book seems to me to show the safest way of approaching the subject: a painstaking way, to be sure, not fertile in direct large results, a little too German, perhaps, for the practical trend of our time, but the right way nevertheless. Klein knows the theories in detail, and then analyzes a number of tragedies and their choruses with an eye to the three aspects of the Aristotelian definition: the technical, the material, the dramaturgic. He completes this by metrical studies and esthetic valuations.

Let us now turn to some less general points. Following Creizenach, Miss Helmrich states that Reuchlin introduced choruses into his *Henno* [1] in imitation of Greek comedy. She quotes Reuchlin's commentary to the word "comediam" in line 3 of the prologue, but the passage from Diomedes which she adds in a footnote is not convincing. If anything, this passage, ending as it does with the express statement "Latinae igitur comoediae chorum non habent" would have deterred Reuchlin from introducing choruses into his Latin comedy. Furthermore, this passage refers to Greek comedy in general, not to one *aetas.* It is more likely that the passage referred to, if any, is this one (Keil, *Grammatici Latini,* I, 489): "secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes, Eupolis et Cratinus, qui et principium vitia sectati acerbissimas comedias composuerunt." But

[1] I am surprised that Miss Helmrich should have been unable to obtain Reuchlin's *Henno,* which has been reprinted, together with his *Sergius,* by Holstein, in 1888.

whether he had the choruses or the general nature of the play in mind, when he marked it as a comedy of the ancient Attic type, we do not know. To be sure, the play may be considered as a satire of astrologers and lawyers, and that may explain the association with the three dramatists he mentions. It seems to me less probable that he was thinking of the choruses, especially in Aristophanes and Eupolis, where they began to dwindle away, till they entirely disappeared in the so-called "intermediate comedy." Nevertheless Miss Helmrich's idea of Greek influence on Reuchlin, even in the matter of the chorus, is very probably right. Holstein (l. c., p. 145) thought that the chorus might have been introduced for the sake of the music, Reuchlin's patron, Bishop Johann von Dalberg, being a great lover of music. Creizenach (II, p. 48) also points out that Reuchlin's own love of music might have brought him to do so. That the idea of writing a regular chorus in the Greek manner was in his mind is again suggested by his trying, in the commentary, to show how the choruses, at least the first two, are connected with the body of the play. Besides, Reuchlin has told us, in his *Sergius,* where he tentatively inserted his first chorus song:

> Si senserit placuisse primitias suas
> Faciet deinde *integras* comedias.
> (*Sergius*, Prologus.)

It strikes me as rather comical when the author says of the meter of the Latin chorus songs (p. 39) that they are "generally . . . in iambic or trochaic dimeter, asclepiad, sapphic, glyconic or alcaic meter." What else generally?

Miss Helmrich may confuse our ideas about the early Reformation drama, first speaking, as she does, of a Swiss "Tendenzdrama" which she connects with Gengenbach's *Der Totenfresser* (not *Die*) and Nic. Manuel's *Ablasskrämer* (1525), and then surprising us by saying: "Then came the Reformation," etc.

To come down to matters of mere detail, I do not understand Note 44 of Chapter II. Did not also the audience of a Passion-play know the whole plot beforehand? The stage-direction "pausando" does not necessarily point to instrumental music (p. 40). In Vondel's *Palamedes* there are not only two (p. 47), but four choruses, the others being a "Rey van Peloponnesers en Ithakoisen" and a "Rey van Trojaensche Maeghden."

Too much space would be taken up if all the problems that have been suggested by the reading of this book were to be stated here. Take, for instance, the question: why did the Humanists introduce a chorus at the end of the fifth act, whereas their greater familiarity with Latin tragedy could be expected to make them followers of Seneca, rather than induce them to develop a fashion which was still embryonic even in Greek tragedy? In how far did Horace's moralistic and didactic interpretation influence the chorus? How much havoc was worked by the misreading of "autoris partes" instead of "actoris"? What about the introduction of German choruses into Latin plays "für die kleinen Schüler, welche noch kein Latein verstehen," as Schöpperus said in 1602, or for other purposes? What was the precise relation between the chorus and the interlude, the chorus and the dumb shows, the chorus and the "lustige Person"? . . .

We have measured this book by an ideal standard, but this should not make us overlook its merits. It shows intelligent industry, clearness and forcefulness of thought, and creditable expression. It is the first book attempting to cover the subject as a whole. It contains many just and interesting remarks, and, as it stands, will certainly prove of use as a preliminary survey of the field.

Jos. E. Gillet.

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Saint Vincent de Paul. Textes choisis et commentés par J. Calvet. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913. ii + 336 pp. (Bibliothèque Française, dirigée par F. Strowski.)

It was an excellent idea of Mr. Strowski's to include Saint Vincent de Paul in his collection of French classics of the seventeenth century, and it is to be hoped that the literary

importance of the great Apostle of Charity will soon be more generally recognized. Mr. J. Calvet, to whose care the present volume was entrusted, was well prepared for the task by his previous studies.[1] He illustrates the different phases of Saint Vincent's activity by ample extracts from his writings, principally his letters, prefacing them with helpful biographical and literary sketches.

For the student of French letters the chapter on *Le rôle national de Saint Vincent de Paul* is of especial interest. We perhaps tend to judge events like the Fronde from a rather narrow point of view. We are influenced by V. Cousin's sincere but romantic historical studies or by the egotistical narratives of a Retz or a La Rochefoucauld. But is not Saint Vincent de Paul, who intimated to the Queen that she was compromising herself in her relations to Mazarin (1643)[2] and who suggested to the mighty Cardinal to withdraw from the political field at least for a short while (1652),[3] a witness more imposing than the peeved Frondeurs? His sympathies are with the suffering people, and he even implores the Pope to remedy the appalling misery of the country.[4]

Similarly, we see Port-Royal and the Jansenist movement almost exclusively as Sainte-Beuve saw them. Here again the letters of Saint Vincent show us a different aspect of the question. We realize that vital interests of the Church were at stake, that her unity was jeopardized and that the relations between Jansenism and Protestantism were of such a nature as to alarm any orthodox churchman.[5] Saint Vincent had examined the points at issue as closely as any member of the Sorbonne and he knew his *Augustinus* perhaps as well as the author of the *Provinciales:* "Je vous avoue, monsieur," he writes to d'Horgny, Superior of the Mission in Rome, "que j'ai fait une petite étude touchant ces questions et que c'est le sujet ordinaire de mes oraisons."[6] His eloquent and indignant refutation of Arnauld's *Fréquente Communion* (letter 17, esp. p. 136) reminds us in its very temper of Pascal.

Interesting from the psychological point of view are the letters which Saint Vincent addressed to Mlle. Le Gras as her "directeur spirituel." His principles are sound and healthy; he is a man of practical piety, averse to all mystic inclinations. He repeatedly admonishes his almost too fervent correspondent "de procéder doucement," "de ne pas prendre certaines choses trop au criminel" and "de ne pas se surcharger de règles."[7]

The latter part of the book is devoted to the splendid activity of Saint Vincent as a missionary at home and abroad, and to his numerous *Conférences.* In the latter Saint Vincent uses his "petite méthode," which consists in plain preaching as the Apostles practised it: "tout bonnement, familièrement et simplement" (p. 244). This method was not without influence on Bossuet himself.

The question of the Missions leads Mr. Calvet to take issue with the view set forth by Mr. Raoul Allier that Vincent was one of the most active agents which the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* used outside of its mysterious community.[8] Calvet argues that on the contrary Vincent made use of the Company, whenever he thought it advisable (p. 95). Without entering into the details of this intricate question, a further argument in support of Calvet's opinion may be advanced. Allier himself admits that as late as 1634 Saint Vincent was ignorant of the very existence of the Company. In 1634, however, most of his charitable works were founded: the first *Confrérie de la Charité* in 1617, the Mission of the Galley-Slaves in 1624, the Congregation of the Mission in 1625 (approved by Urban VIII. in 1632), the *Enfants Trouvés* and the Ladies of Charity in 1634. If up to 1634 Vincent had been the very soul of all these foundations, can we reasonably assume that at any time he allowed him-

[1] Cf. *Revue Catholique des Églises,* June and September, 1904.

[2] See Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* vol. VII, p. 7.

[3] Letter 14, p. 120.

[4] Cf. Letter 13, pp. 116–118.

[5] Cf. Letters 16 and 19, pp. 123, 128, 141.

[6] Cf. Letter 16, p. 129.

[7] Cf. Letters 4, p. 42; 17, p. 55; 9, p. 48.

[8] R. Allier, *La cabale des dévots,* Paris, 1902, p. 59.

self to be used as the tool of a secret society, however laudable its purpose may have been?[9]

In the main, care seems to have been exercised in editing the selections, but a few typographical errors have slipped in.[10] An index of names would have facilitated the use of the book.

WALTHER FISCHER.

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Business English. By EDWIN HERBERT LEWIS. Chicago, LaSalle Extension University, 1914.

Business English, as defined by Mr. Lewis, is "such English as is used in mercantile transactions." Since it does not differ notably from the English used in most other transactions, his purpose is to point out, by means of illustrations and exercises drawn from the discussion of business topics, some of the established principles which govern effective expression. The book is deliberately simplified so as to be serviceable in the upper years of high schools as well as in the first year of technical colleges. It adopts a lightness, not to say breeziness, of tone that is obviously designed to relieve the dulness of correspondence-school study.

The qualities of style—interest and clearness, outlines, paragraphs, and connectives are treated somewhat scantily in brief chapters. Then follow chapters on various matters of usage, such as punctuation, the use of the hyphen, grammatical correctness, and on various aspects of diction. An appendix supplies exercises for each chapter.

The book is to be commended for its insistence on mechanical accuracy and on the value of words. A decent respect for usage and an appreciation of the worth and dignity of words are essential to the effective use of English of any kind. On this account the work would serve well for a review of freshman English by sophomores who need further training in writing. The uniform reliance upon examples rather than upon explanation is another merit.

In the terms, "regular relative clause" and "extra relative clause," instead of the well-established *restrictive* and *non-restrictive* or *explanatory,* there is an unfortunate effort for simplicity. Neither clause is more regular than the other, and there is nothing extra about the second. The volume is unduly large for handling and carrying by students, and is none too clearly printed. A more specific index would seem desirable to make the helpful rules for mechanical details available for reference.

JOHN C. FRENCH.

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Die Variation in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie (Palaestra XLVIII), von WALTHER PAETZEL. Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1913.

In 1905 Paetzel published his Berlin dissertation, of which the present work is an amplification and completion. The ever increasing body of literature which deals with the subject of variation has evidently been studied with care by Paetzel, although Behaghel's important work, *Beitr.* 30, 431 ff., seems to have escaped his notice. Paetzel, however, has apparently approached his subject with a more thorough knowledge of past and contemporaneous efforts in the same field than any of his predecessors. Especially valuable is his summary of the various conceptions of the term "variation" as it is understood and defined by other writers. In view of this it is especially disconcerting to find his own definition of variation so different from that of all others that he is discussing a practically new theme under the old familiar name. For the purposes of this article we may divide the various authorities on variation into two groups, first,

[9] The texts quoted by Allier (pp. 60–62) seem far from conclusive, and later in the book (p. 139) he himself modifies the above-quoted sweeping statement.

[10] Read, page 16, line 5: son embarquement par *le moyen* duquel; 40, 29: ne *vous* fait connaître; 207, 21: vous ne fassiez point *exception;* 269, 12 and 17: *fêtardise.*

those who define the term broadly and, second, those who would sharply limit its application in one way or another. Such a division is doubtless inevitable in the discussion of any stylistic element whose very nature makes sharp definition an impossibility. As a representative of the liberal group may be taken the definition of Pachaly in his work, *Die Variation im Heliand und in der altsächsischen Genesis:*

> "Ihr Wesen ist aus der Musik bekannt. Es besteht in der auf mannigfache Art veränderten Wiederholung eines Begriffes. An einen Begriff, der den Ton angibt, werden ein, zwei, selbst drei und vier andere annähernd synonyme Ausdrücke angeschlossen; folgen mehrere, so klingt der Grundbegriff deutlich durch. Die Var. bringt also nichts absolut Neues hinzu, sie bringt nur Abwechselung, individuelle Züge, ein Hin- und Herwogen in die Darstellung und rechtfertigt so stilistisch begriffliche Tautologien."

This definition represents the common conception of variation or parallelism. As must, however, soon become apparent to every worker in this field, *some* limitation of the general conception is desirable. It has remained for Paetzel to so lose sight of the essential character of variation, as broadly defined above, that he offers us as a substitute for the whole a minute subdivision, which he assures us is really the only part worthy of consideration. His definition follows:

> "Ein für das Verständnis genügend gekennzeichneter Begriff wird, entgegen dem Gebrauch der Prosa, noch einmal und zwar oft mit Unterbrechung des syntaktischen Zusammenhanges dem Hörer oder Leser vor die Seele gerückt. Diese Ausdrucksform nenne ich Variation. Ihre Hauptkennzeichen sind also 1. begriffliche, 2. syntaktische Entbehrlichkeit, woraus sich ergibt—3. seltenes Vorkommen in der Prosa" (p. 3 f.).

From the above we gain that Paetzel recognizes nothing as variation unless it be tautological as regards both syntax and meaning. Hence the possibility of variation is practically denied to prose style. Even appositive word pairs are excluded if connected by a conjunction (cf. p. 6). How artificial such differentiation is, appears from the fact that synonymous words in other relations are freely admitted as examples of variation, as, for instance, p. 190 ff., where a number of examples are given as variations in which a preceding genitive is varied by a following nom. or acc. case. Here Paetzel makes syntactical relation all-important, even to the exclusion of that only element which can logically determine variation, namely, meaning. Evidently he has not forgotten his directly opposed method of treatment on p. 20, when he seeks to excuse the inconsistency of admitting sentences joined by conjunctions as examples of variation by recourse to a distinction between exactness of correspondence in meaning. As a matter of fact, by admitting such sentence variation to consideration at all he disregards the very principle which he emphasizes as most characteristic of variation—namely "syntaktische Entbehrlichkeit." He here throws himself open to the very criticism which he directs against those who interpret the meaning of variation more broadly—namely, "verschiedene Dinge in einen Topf zu werfen."

To sum the matter up, Paetzel's conception of variation is so limited as to apply only to one small manifestation of the subject. This detail he has studied with such concentration of attention as to render him insensible to the fact that what he is treating is not variation, but rather only a single phase of that great principle. It is therefore not surprising that his theory of the origin of variation should be equally limited. The "Erregung der dichterischen Phantasie" which he regards as its psychological and only basis, is of course one of the great underlying reasons for variation. However, it is *only one reason* out of many, and it would be as ridiculous to try to explain every example of variation by this principle as to assert that *Faust* is based solely on Goethe's experiences at Strassburg. Any such limited conception furnishes a delightfully easy solution, but it can scarcely satisfy those students who have not allowed a too close scrutiny of particulars to dim their vision of the whole subject. In fact, Paetzel himself could scarcely reconcile some of his own examples to this theory. Take, for example, *Beowulf,* ll. 2482b–

2483a (Paetzel, p. 79). Here the principle of "Erläuterung" which Paetzel refuses to accept as a basis of variation (p. 11) is self-evident. (On p. 25 a number of similar cases are excluded!) Such variations as he admits in considerable numbers would also be perfectly in place in prose and we need not have recourse to "poetic frenzy" for their explanation. Paetzel is, however, quite right in rejecting Panzer's fantastic explanation (p. 12) of the basis of variation as consisting of a desire to proceed from the particular conception to the general class. Every student of the subject must realize that the opposite procedure is much more common—a fact which Paetzel clearly shows by examples. The whole subject of the reasons underlying variation is too complex to be dismissed by a superficial treatment. Only a thorough psychologist with a broad knowledge of the literatures of many nations and periods may at some time be able to bring together the scattered threads and show how many different forces have been at work.

Any work on variation will necessarily always be open to the criticism of incompleteness and inconsistency. Not in a carping spirit, but rather with the purpose of pointing out the possibilities of the pitfalls into which even the most careful worker may fall, I would mention the following.

P. 14. A fourth class, covering adverbial variation, should be added to Paetzel's three classes. Such variation is especially common in Otfrid; cf. IV, 8. 1: *rumano joh ferro.*—P. 20. The statement that two words joined by a conjunction are scarcely ever exact synonyms, for "vollständige Synonyme gibt es so gut wie gar nicht," would in all justice seem to apply with equal force to asyndetical word pairs, and yet the latter are freely admitted as variations. Moreover, one asks, how can entire sentences correspond *exactly* in meaning, as Paetzel states just below, when *exact* word synonyms are impossible? In the last sentence on the same page the statement that "exact synonyms practically do not exist" is again inferentially contradicted by the phrase "Wortvar. deren Glieder wirklich ganz dasselbe sagen, erscheinen stets ohne Konjunctionen." The whole method of reasoning seems to lack a firmly established working basis, since the author's assumptions apparently vary with the point which he is trying to prove. "Is exact correspondence of meaning essential to variation?" we ask. If so, why should it not be required of word variation as well as of sentence variation, and why should we be told that exact word synonyms are an impossibility and, a little later on, that exact word synonyms always appear without conjunctions?—P. 25 ff. The five pages (25–29) of so-called doubtful cases are a mute proof of Paetzel's difficulties in following out consistently his own self-imposed definition of the term variation. Why, for example, should Beowulf, ll. 1960–61, *Eomer—Hemminges mæg* be excluded, while the instance above mentioned (ll. 2482b–2483a) is included (Paetzel, p. 79) in the list of variations? The explanations on pp. 24, 25 are far from convincing.—P. 157. The results of the tests to which Paetzel subjects the material collected are naturally of greatest ultimate interest. However, I cannot approve of his method of estimating frequency of variation by ascertaining the relation between the total number of variations and the number of verses in the selection in question. This method is inaccurate since a single variation may cover several verses. The frequency of variation can best be measured by comparing the number of verses containing variation with the total number of verses. Thus a single variation ten verses long would, by Paetzel's method, give these ten verses only 10% of variation, whereas the actual relation is 100%. It is difficult also to understand why "lebende und leblose Wesen" and "Eigennamen" should be arranged in the table under "Form" rather than under "Content."

Material of real value is given us in p. 162 ff., where the relation of variation to epic, didactic and lyric style is discussed. Here the real nature of variation becomes clearer, and it is only to be regretted that the author's narrow conception of the term hinders him from attaining even more satisfactory results. To this same

limited conception, doubtless, is also due the fact that the author fails wholly to see in variation any criterion of age, or hint as to authorship (pp. 215–216). A more comprehensive survey of a considerably more limited field might have led to clearer results.

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Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection Bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldor Hermannsson. Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 1914.

Altogether too few Germanic scholars are aware of the treasures which the Library of Cornell University houses in its fine building on the hill crest overlooking the valley of Lake Cayuga. I refer particularly to the Fiske Icelandic collection. To those who have not visited Cornell Library, which, by the way, in the same wing contains the same bibliophile's famous Dante and Petrarch collections, the present monumental catalogue will be a revelation.

A stately quarto volume of 755 pages on good paper, it is a handsome testimony, not only to the gifted owner's zeal and energy, but also to the indefatigable industry of the present curator, to whose labors we already owe six volumes of bibliographical monographs in the annual *Islandica.*[1] A few facts concerning the history and nature of the collection will be interesting to not a few.

The collection "was bequeathed to Cornell University by Willard Fiske, Profess[illegible]t the North-European languages and Librarian [illegible]ill, the University from 1868 to 1883. He di[illegible] in on September 17, 1904, and the collection came to the University Library in the spring of 1905. Mr. Fiske had commenced collecting Icelandic works about the middle of the last century. The visit (to Iceland) which he finally made in the summer of 1879 doubtless gave him opportunity to add many volumes to his library, besides making him personally acquainted with the people in whom he had taken so great an interest ever since his college days. . . ." At his death, the collection "numbered about 8,600 volumes, including pamphlets. In his will Mr. Fiske provided for the maintenance and increase of it the income of $8,000 annually, and at the time when this Catalogue went to press the Collection numbered about 10,200 volumes on the shelves (excluding the Runic portion containing some 500 volumes)."

"The contents of the collection may be briefly summarized as follows. In the first place it contains all the editions and translations of the Old Icelandic and Old Norse texts so far as these have been obtainable; works on that literature, such as histories and commentaries; works on the language, religion, history, manners, and customs of the Scandinavian nations in early times, principally, of course, of the Norwegians and Icelanders; archaeological and ethnographical works; in short, all publications which, in one way or another, elucidate the Old Icelandic literature, the periods involved, and the subjects with which it deals, including even writings of modern authors in various countries, such as poems, novels, and dramas which have been influenced by that literature. In the second place, the collection comprises the modern Icelandic literature since the sixteenth century, beginning with the first book printed in Icelandic, the New Testament of 1540, thus covering Icelandic books, pamphlets, and periodicals, whether printed in Iceland or elsewhere, as well as writings of Icelanders in other languages than their own, and other works in foreign languages dealing with Iceland, the nature of the country, and its affairs; or, as Mr. Fiske himself expressed it, it

[1] Ithaca, 1908–13. I, Bibliography of the Icelandic sagas and minor tales, 1908; II, The Northmen in America, 1909; III, Bibliography of the sagas of the kings of Norway and related sagas and tales, 1910; IV, The ancient laws of Norway and Iceland, 1911; V, Bibliography of the mythical-heroic sagas, 1912; VI, Icelandic authors of to-day, 1913. A catalogue of the Runic library, formerly a part of the Icelandic collection, is in preparation.

2483a ces 'all the annals, tr[illegible] natural his-
"Erles, government d[illegible] clesiastical
cep[illegible]itings, biograph[illegible] es, which
dean, in any[illegible] history,
etopogr[illegible] merce,
[illegible] rm
[illegible] e-
[illegible]
[illegible]on the very good Germanic library of the University, render Ithaca the only place in this country where research on the subject in all its aspects can be carried on. In fact, the collection is "the richest in existence, with the exception of the National Library in Reykjavík and the Royal Library in Copenhagen."[2]

To be sure, there are hardly any MSS.[3] On the other hand, there is a surprising wealth of rare early books, reprints now difficult to procure, presentation and personal copies, frequently containing the autographs, notes, and reviews of noted scholars; also, of rare pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc. The collection is particularly rich in old printed bibles, graduals, psalmbooks, and books of devotion. Among the *curiosa* of the collection are the volumes of *grafskriptir* (epitaphs and obituary poems), *erfiljóð* (commemorative poems), and *tækifæriskvæði* (poems written for special occasions). These are all published separately and distributed at the funeral, wedding, etc., of the person in question, a custom which has been much observed in Iceland during the last century.[4] In all probability it is a belated survival of the *Gelegenheitsdichtung* which flourished so abundantly on the continent of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each collection contains some 300 entries ordered to a nicety.

It is amusing to note that no less than 117 individuals with the patronymic Jónsson—of which number again 22 are Jón Jónssons—have been busy in a literary way; among them such shining lights as the learned priest Arngrim Jónsson (1568–1648), author of the *Crymogæa;* Runólfr Jónsson whose *Linguæ Septentrionalis incunabula* was published together with Hickes' *Institutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mæso-Gothicæ,* 1688; the historians Björn Jónsson and Bishop Finnur Jónsson; the poets Kristján and Hjalmar Jónsson; and Finnur Jónsson, the greatest living scholar in the wide realms of Old Norse language and literature.

It is rather humiliating to note that some of the best sagas still await the translator, as *e. g.,* the Hrafnkelssaga Freysgoða, the Hervararsaga, the Gautrekssaga, the Hrólfs-saga kraka—to mention only a few. Not even the famous Speculum Regale has ever been done into English.

The arduous work of cataloguing this great collection has been performed in an unexceptionable fashion. I have not discovered a single error in dates or pagination, notwithstanding the very numerous cross-references, and there are remarkably few misprints and omissions.

One of the most serious omissions is that of M. Lorenzen's *Gammeldanske Krøniker* and the cross-reference to G. Storm's *Kritiske Bidrag* (Nyt Norsk Tidsskrift I, 140, 388; and Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift 2den række I, 371). No mention is made of the *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies* (Urbana, 1911, ff.). Under the heading "Older Edda" also the partial translations, as *e. g.,* those of Herbert Green and E. E. Kellett might have been listed. By an oversight the complete translation in Vol. I of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* is omitted. The printing is flawless; only, it is very confusing to have a name continued on a succeeding page in black type (as if it were a new entry) without a "cont." or other sign to indicate the fact.

The subject-index at the end adds greatly to the usefulness of the catalogue; also the feature that the less known or older works are briefly characterized as to contents and treatment. This is well done.

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[2] I quote from the preface.

[3] I note, though, a large vellum MS. of the Jónsbók.

[4] As Mr. Hermannsson informs me.

Beginners' French, by Max Walter and Anna Woods Ballard. New York, Scribner, 1914. xxvi + 249 pp.

When, in 1911, Direktor Max Walter of the Musterschule at Frankfort on the Main came to the United States, he not only aroused enthusiasm at the Teachers' College of Columbia University, where he gave a substantial course, but also at all the institutions he visited during his stay. Known as he is as the leading exponent of the so-called Direct Method of teaching modern languages, everyone was interested in hearing and seeing his exposition; and everyone who heard and saw was impressed. Since this first visit, Professor Walter, in collaboration with Miss Ballard of the Teachers' College, has brought out in book form the lessons he makes use of in instructing beginners in French.

As we look over this book, we see that the appeal to the student is to be made first through the ear and then through the eye. If this is to be the case, then a great deal of time and care must be taken in the beginning to help the student to acquire an accurate pronunciation of the syllabic elements; he must be taught to distinguish between open and close vowel sounds, to enunciate consonants clearly; he must be taught the correct basis of articulation of the foreign language. The authors advise the free use of phonetic transcription for this purpose. The student once well started upon his pronunciation, the actual lessons begin. These lessons are largely *leçons de choses,* the teacher relying upon such objects as he sees about him or can easily command as a basis for teaching vocabulary, the book itself providing seventeen illustrations. From the first there is also inductive teaching of grammar. Lessons I, II and IV, for example, are on the article, Lessons III, V, VI, VIII–X, XII, XIV–XVII, XXXII, XXXIX, XL bring in the present indicative, and the other lessons bear similarly on other important points. The authors say: "In French the chief difficulty is the verb. From the beginning an exact and thorough knowledge of the verb is striven for and the drill on it continues throughout the book." Therefore, in order to give this drill, an action or a series of actions, somewhat as in the Gouin Method, is frequently made the basis of the lesson, and the students are called upon to repeat so far as practicable the action mentioned, at the same time describing it aloud. In this way the attention of the pupil is concentrated upon what he is doing, he learns how to describe his movements in the foreign idiom without having to make use of his mother tongue as a medium. The lesson once comprehended orally, the student writes it down and then by a variety of ingenious methods is induced to make use of the words and phrases just learned.

The book contains sixty-three lessons based upon things, actions, or brief passages of descriptive prose. The common forms of ordinary conversation are covered and a vocabulary of some two thousand words is introduced. Following the lessons are a few anecdotes for reading, a most condensed résumé of grammar, the table of irregular verbs, four songs with music, and the vocabulary. As far as the details of the text go, there seems to be room for little criticism. Misprints are few and unimportant; some rules are given as absolute which are subject to exception, but no one could object to this in a book for beginners; and one or two statements are made which are not literally true, though they give rise to no misapprehension on the part of the reader.

As a presentation of the Direct Method of teaching languages the Walter-Ballard book is more explicit and more complete than any which has hitherto appeared. The successful use of it will, however, depend upon various circumstances. In the first place the Direct Method makes a far greater demand upon the teacher than any of the older methods. The instructor must be able to pronounce the foreign language with some degree of accuracy, he must have some conversational ability in the foreign tongue, he must command the attention and respect of his class so that the pupils will not regard the very active work as kindergarten play without serious intent. Granted that the teacher is what he should be, to obtain practical

results with average pupils, the class must be small enough for every member to recite frequently during every period, and the periods must come with sufficient frequency, not less than four times a week, so that there may be no lapse between the lessons. As Professor Downer said at a recent convention, "if you have fifty-three students to call upon in a fifty-three minute recitation period, what oral work can you expect of each?" The problem is easy enough to solve provided the teacher remain absolutely silent. Lesson III of the Walter-Ballard opens with the words: "In this lesson the pupil speaks as he performs the actions already learned. The class, helped by the teacher, says what each pupil does. The teacher works with individuals and with the class until all can give fluent answers." There follow three pages of French for oral practice.

All who have had the privilege of hearing Professor Walter, know that he has made a success of the Direct Method, they also know that he would have achieved unusual results by any method he had chosen to use. It remains to be seen whether the average teacher of beginners can handle this strikingly personal method with success.

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Prinz Friedrich von Homburg. Ein Schauspiel, von HEINRICH VON KLEIST. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by GEORGE MERRICK BAKER. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914.

About fifteen years ago Professor Nollen made accessible to students for the first time Kleist's masterpiece *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg.* His edition was creditable for its time, but very much has been done since its appearance to clear up obscure portions of the poet's life and set him in correct relation to his times. The older edition was dependent upon the state of our knowledge at that time, and much of Professor Nollen's Introduction is now known to be in error.

A new edition is therefore highly desirable, but it ought to show an advance upon the older work, if it is to justify its printing. Unfortunately the new edition by Baker is a complete disappointment. Apparently the researches of Kleist scholars in recent years have been wholly ignored by the editor, who frankly holds that Brahm is "the final word on Kleist."

In literary importance Kleist stands so close to the greatest classics of Germany that it is a pity no good biography of him is accessible to English readers. Considering this fact, it would seem an editorial blunder to limit the biographical sketch to fourteen pages. The whole is so condensed, that the reader could get no adequate idea of the personality of the poet, the chronological sequence of the really important events of his life, or his relation to his age, even if they were correctly presented. The uninitiated reader of this sketch (and for such it surely is written) will either form no conception at all of the poet's career, or any one of a thousand distorted ones.

But brevity is not the chief fault. Fundamental errors abound. Kleist's love of Nature was not first shown either at Dresden or in the Harz in 1797, but was marked already as early as 1793, when he went to the army of the Rhein. With the works of Morris and Rahmer and the Letters of Kleist before him, no editor should treat the Würzburg journey in this wise: "Accompanied by one of the younger members of the group, Ludwig von Brockes, he started *on a trip to Dresden by way of Leipzig and Würzburg. The immediate cause of this journey is unknown,* but it may be inferred from one of his letters, that *he intended to look over the industrial situation with a view to changing his employment.* At any rate the sojourn in Würzburg and Dresden marks an epoch in Kleist's life. *Here at last he finds himself and his true vocation.* From the *larva of the business man* develops unexpectedly the *full-fledged poet.*" As many blunders as sentences!

The assumption that Kleist referred to his drama *Robert Guiskard* in a passage from a

letter from Würzburg, "geschmückt mit den Lorbeern meiner That," is so baseless, that surely the editor must never have had the Letters before him, or at least never have examined the context. The *Guiskard* was begun in the spring of 1802 on the island of Delosea in Lake Thun, as the Letters show.

Ulrike did not refuse Kleist financial aid toward his purchase of an estate in Switzerland, but, on the contrary, the money was sent and arrived after the project had been given up for political reasons. The boisterous laughter with which the friends in Switzerland greeted the close of the *Familie Schroffenstein* was not exactly "unqualified praise and encouragement." Ulrike came to Switzerland in order to care for her sick brother, but found him already recovered. He was not "nursed back to health only by the loving care of his sister Ulrike." Kleist's departure from Switzerland was not merely a "taking up of the wanderer's staff" to restore his "equilibrium" by "change of scene and environment," but he went along, contrary to his previous plan, to help his friend Ludwig Wieland *seem* to get out of Bern *voluntarily* rather than by order of the government. This determined his visit to Weimar and Osmanstädt. It was probably not "a chance of happiness" that Kleist renounced on leaving Wieland's home, but an unexpected entanglement that threatened both career and honor. It is difficult to see how the poet's illness at Mainz in 1803–4 was really the means of saving his life, for the crisis was passed at Boulogne when Lucchesini's passports ordered him home to Potsdam. Ewald von Kleist was undoubtedly an illustrious *kinsman,* but not Heinrich's "ancestor."

These are by no means all the errors and misrepresentations that crowd the fourteen pages of this biography, but they are typical. The whole is vague, distorted, and nowhere enlightening.

The brief account of the history of Brandenburg up to the campaign of the Great Elector against Sweden, as well as the treatment of Kleist's sources, give the impression of off-hand compilation, their substance being drawn chiefly from Nollen's Introduction. The Interpretation of the Play gives the editor another opportunity to misrepresent the experiences of the poet and the message of the drama.

The Notes are unusually brief. A comparison of them with those of Nollen's edition shows that they were drawn almost entirely from the latter, often without change of phraseology, sometimes with considerable omissions. What Baker adds to Nollen is mostly grammatical, superfluous, or of no importance. What he omits is often of far greater importance than what he copies. Whatever deals with the drama's place in literature, its kinship with other plays or its dependence upon them, is generally omitted. When the copy is briefer than Nollen's original, the brevity often either spoils the sense or robs it of lucidity. See the Note to l. 783: "*von —— Korn,* 'of the good old sort.' *Schrot* has reference to measure or quantity, *Korn* to fineness or quality." This tells nothing. Nollen gives the information that the phrase refers to coinage, *Schrot* indicating the proper size of the metal cut off for stamping and *Korn* the standard fineness of the metal. The Note to ll. 409 f. runs: "*läutete zur Andacht ein,* a confusion of two constructions. Either *zur Andacht* or *ein* should be omitted." The omission of *zur Andacht* would spoil the meaning. Nollen says that *läutete die Andacht ein* is the alternative to *läutete zur Andacht.* Note to l. 392: "*sprengt,* make run." We should have to say 'makes run' at any rate, but Nollen notes the causative relation of the verb to *springen.* Note to l. 545: "*In Staub,* more correctly *im Staub.*" With *niedersinkt* the preposition *in* requires the accusative, and we have here simply *in=in'n=in den,* which Nollen admits may be the case.

In his Note to ll. 11–13 Baker selects the better of two commentaries offered by Nollen. As this seems to be the only case, it deserves mention.

There were opportunities to correct Nollen. Baker never seems to grasp them, but copies uncritically what he finds. So the Note to l. 280: "*stellt;* subject is Kottwitz understood" is copied verbatim from Nollen. But a glance at the text shows that this verb is a part of the

continuous text of the 'Parole' which is merely interrupted in dictation by other speakers. The subject is *Der Prinz von Homburg*—, l. 269. Again, Note to l. 493: "*du hörst;* supply 'that we are ready,'" copied from Nollen. The present tense refers to the words of Kottwitz spoken but a moment before in ll. 477–481. Note to ll. 1264 ff.: "An invention of Natalie's. It is not probable that the Elector would entrust so important a matter to her." This follows Nollen. As Colonel of her regiment she takes the liberty to commit an insubordination herself, as a foil to the Prince's. Baker himself seems to have an inkling of this (p. xxxvii). Note to l. 1581: "*In den Sternen fremd,* either 'a stranger to high ideals,' or 'short-sighted,' as *kurzsichtig* in l. 1583." Again direct from Nollen. The phrase is derived from astrology, and implies inability to read the destinies of nations as shown by the positions of the planets; here, 'unwise in statecraft,' in assuming that future power can be secured by crushing out initiative in the army. In l. 1719 it matters little that *delph'sche* refers to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi; the whole point is that the oracles of Apollo were always capable of more than one interpretation. Neither editor notes this fact, though it is obviously Kleist's sole reason for mentioning the *delph'sche Weisheit* of the Generals. The Elector has just given a second interpretation of Hohenzollern's argument. See ll. 1713–8.

Baker missed another opportunity in ll. 1294 f.: "Ich glaub's; nur schade, dasz das Auge modert, Das diese Herrlichkeit erblicken soll." Nollen refers to a passage in l. 990, where *duftend* is used by the Prince to describe his dead body, and comments on Kleist's tendency to use terms that were elsewhere taboo because of their ugly suggestion. It is much more to the point to note that this is one of the finest examples of the result of the poet's struggle with Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft.*

The Introduction and Notes as a whole represent at best a lost opportunity and inexcusable borrowing. One wonders how such a piece of work could have passed the scrutinizing care of the general editor.

Excellence of printing and binding can not atone for such unfortunate editorial shortcomings. Those who wish the better of the two editions will continue to use Nollen's in spite of defects due to its age, unless a brief vocabulary outweigh all scholarly helps.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Bells Ringing Without Hands

In *Notes on Chaucer,* Dr. J. S. P. Tatlock refers to the conceit of *bells ringing without hands,* examples of which he cites from ballads, Old French romances, and other sources.[1] With the origin of this conceit and its diffusion in literary and popular tradition, the following remarks will deal.

The use of church bells, first mentioned by Gregory of Tours,[2] became established during the eighth and ninth centuries. Willibald, writing between 755 and 768, records for the first time a legend of a bell that rang of itself; on this occasion warning the monks of Fulda to return the relics of St. Boniface to Mainz: "Mirabile statim ac memorabile . . . auditum est miraculum, aecclesiæque gloccum in signum ammonitionis sancti corporis, humana non continguente manu commotum est."[3]

As Willibald's work was widely read and imitated, this legend was freely copied by later writers.[4] In witness whereof, certain texts may be put in evidence.

1. Nun of Heidenheim (c. 778), *Vita S. Wynnebaldi:* "Confestim . . . illa glocka in aecclesia sine manibus hominum, sine omnium adminiculo se ipsam commovere cepit."[5]

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXIX, April, 1914, p. 98.

[2] *De Virtutibus S. Martini,* III, 23: Interea signum movetur horis matutinis, adgregatur ut populus. Cf. III, 38.

[3] *Vita S. Bonifatii,* 8, ed. W. Levison, p. 53.

[4] W. Levison, *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii,* p. xvii.

[5] G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* XV, 115.

2. Monk of Hornbach (c. 826), *Vita S. Pirminii:* "Dum . . . sanctum corpus gleba levaverunt . . . tintinnabulum . . . angelicis, ut credendum est, manibus pulsatum, . . . iucundum reddidit sonum." [6]

3. Altfrid of Münster (d. 849), *Vita S. Ludgeri:* "Sed et cloccarum illic sonitus frequenter audiebatur, humana non tangente manu, sed agente potius cognitione deitatis arcana." [7]

4. Flodoard of Rheims (948), *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae,* IV, 41: "Cui dum propinquare coepissent eis adhuc . . . spatio leugae fere distantibus, ecclesia signa nullo impellente resonare coepere." [8]

As bells were rung to welcome distinguished persons,[9] so, according to Heiric of Auxerre (d. 876), the bells of a church in Orleans rang of themselves in honor of St. Germain.[10] In a hagiograph written about 900, the bells of Groix are made to greet St. Gwenael of Landevecen, Wales.[11]

It is evident, then, that by the middle of the tenth century, a literary tradition of bells ringing without hands on certain joyous or solemn occasions, was known to the clerics of Mainz, Heidenheim, Hornbach, Münster, Rheims, Auxerre, and elsewhere. During the eleventh century, the legend passed from the hagiography to the *chansons de geste,* of which "the church had been the cradle." [12] It is thus found, as Dr. Tatlock observes,[13] in *Amis et Amiles, Li Coroonemanz Loois,*[14] and *Florence de Rome;* [15] also in the romance of *Claris et Laris.* Bédier has shown, moreover, that *Amis et Amiles* reverted in the twelfth century to ecclesiastical tradition: [16] the hagiograph of *Amicus and Amelius* retains the miracle as in the original text. In time, the legend became a mere literary commonplace of the hagiography.[17]

In popular tradition, the belief that church bells at times ring of themselves, is widely prevalent, as shown by the testimony of ballad and tale. Records of it exist in English, Icelandic, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Breton, Welsh, Moravian, and Wendish.[18]

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[6] *Acta Sanctorum,* 3 Nov., II, 42. The reference is to a chapel-bell ringing of itself as St. Boniface's funeral train passed by.

[7] *Ibid.,* 26 March, III, 651.

[8] G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* XIII, 592, relating to St. Balderich of Rheims.

[9] Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum,* VI, 11: "Ingrediuntur dux . . . et episcopus . . . cum signis et laudibus."

[10] *Acta Sanctorum,* 31 July, vii, 257: "Cum . . . Aurelianensi urbi iam proximus immineret, extemple signa basilicae senioris nemine impellente concussa concentu ultroneo . . . adventus eius coeperunt esse praenuntia."

[11] *Ibid.,* 3 Nov., I, 677: "Cum enim applicaret insulae, campanis ecclesiarum nullo pulsante diu sonantibus, et quasi applaudentibus in introitu sanctorum insulani . . . mirabantur."

[12] J. Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques,* IV, 475–6.

[13] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXIX, April, 1914, p. 98.

[14] Only in the text of manuscript D. (E. Langlois, *Li Coroonemanz Loois,* p. 128).

[15] This romance has been connected with the legends of St. Elisabeth of Hungary. (L. Karl, Florence de Rome, et la vie de deux Saints de Hongrie, *Revue des Langues Romanes,* LII, 1909, pp. 163–80.)

[16] J. Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques,* II, 189, ff.: "L'hagiographe d'*Ami et Amile* avait sur sa table la *Vita Hadriani,* . . . les *Annales Regni Francorum,* . . . une rédaction de la chanson française d'*Ami et Amile;* il a mêlé le tout, pour conférer quelque dignité historique à la légende de ses saints."

[17] E. Kölbing, *Amis et Amiloun,* p. cvi: "Dum vero ad sanctam ecclesiam currerent, ut et ibi Deo gratias redderent, mox tintinnabula Deo volente per se sonare ceperunt."

[18] F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* I, 173, 231; III, 235, 244, 519. P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France,* II, 454; IV, 142, 143, 174, 342, 380. J. C. Davies, *Folk-Lore of Wales and Mid-Wales,* pp. 209–10 (of a death foretold by the spontaneous ringing of a church-bell).

COMFORT'S TRANSLATIONS OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

Among the recent publications in *Everyman's Library* is a volume by Professor W. W. Comfort containing translations of four of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes. The translations themselves are excellent, closely following

the Old French texts, yet sufficiently free in their rendering to do away with any of the awkwardness usually resulting from translations of so literal a character as these. Besides the texts, the work comprises an introduction containing sufficient material on the life and works of Chrétien to meet the desires of the lay reader or to serve the needs of the student who is concerned only indirectly with Chrétien as a figure in mediaeval literature. The notes—not a few of which are taken, as indicated by the translator himself, from those found in the critical editions of the original texts by Professor W. Foerster—and the bibliography, which is complete enough to supply information even to students who have considerably more than a passing interest in Chrétien, not only meet, but even surpass the requirements for a volume of a popular nature.

Thus, briefly, Professor Comfort's work not only enables the reader of English to secure, at second hand, the material in Chrétien more conveniently than has so far been practicable; but it also gives him some idea of what scholarly research in this field entails. It is unfortunate, however, that the work should not suggest, at first glance, its full scope. The title, both on the cover and on the title-page, is *Erec and Enid, by Chrétien de Troyes,* yet it contains, not only *Erec et Enide,* but *Cligés, Le Chevalier de la Charrette* (*Lancelot*), and *Le Chevalier au Lion* (*Yvain*). As Professor Comfort points out,[1] these four romances may well be classed together, for they are the only works which are indisputably Chrétien's own, and all of them, with the exception of a small part of the *Lancelot,* were composed entirely by him. Furthermore, these are the only ones of his romances which deal with Arthurian matter. Such a title as *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes* would perhaps gain more attention than will the present one. At any rate, one of this sort would have been a boon to both bibliographer and student.

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[1] Introduction, p. viii.

Two Lines of Grillparzer

Bebst vor der Schlange? Schlange!
Die mich umwunden, die mich umstrickt,
Die mich verderbt, die mich getötet!
(*Die Argonauten,* ll. 1541–43.)

The two lines in question are the last two quoted. The second volume of the new Grillparzer edition,[1] this particular volume being edited by Reinhold Backmann, gives a comment on these lines, which, as well as several others there adduced and refuted, fails to find the real meaning of Grillparzer's words. The lines are perhaps not immediately plain when one first reads them, yet they are very important, since they express the emotional effect on Medea's mind of her own tragedy. They sum up as much of that tragedy as already lies in the past and they anticipate whatever there is left of it for the future.

The comment referred to is as follows:

V. 1541. Falsch ist es, wenn Pachaly auf Gesslers Hass im "Tell" verweist und meint, wie dieser vergesse es Jason Medea nie, dass sie ihn schwach gesehen, und das falle mehr ins Gewicht als der Schimpf und Spott, den Medea über den "Starken, Kühnen, Gewaltigen" ausgiesst. Davon kann bei Grillparzer keine Rede sein. Auch ein Ausbruch der Reue bei Medea, der Reue, ihm gefolgt zu sein (Verres) kann es doch nicht genannt werden. Gleich gar nicht aber hat Matthias recht, wenn er sagt: "Sie fühlt sich unwunden, umstrickt, verderbt und getötet von der Schlange des Geschickes, das ihrer wartet" und ihre Worte "Prophetische Worte" nennt, "die auf die Zukunft gehen." Was es aber ist? Eine Aufreizung Jasons? wohl nicht. Sie will die Wirkung des Schrecklichen bei Jason verdoppeln, ihn abhalten, zu gehen, es ist ihr letzter Versuch.

These interpretations do not seem to fit. The right one is both simple and evident. Throughout the *Gastfreund* and the *Argonauten* up to this point, Grillparzer has laid great stress on Medea's freedom. She is introduced to us as a huntress, a sort of Amazon, who despises one of her girls for being captured by the love of

[1] *Grillparzers Werke, Im Auftrage der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien,* herausgegeben von August Sauer. 2. Bd. Wien und Liepzig, 1913.

a man. She continually emphasizes her independence of will. Now she herself has fallen a prey to the very servitude she so strongly condemned in Peritta. As if by a hypnotic spell Jason enslaves her will, prevents her from aiding her people; even makes her turn traitor and discover the way to the Fleece. Her defeat is as complete as his victory is ruthless and brutal. Immediately after this struggle between them, occurs the scene from which the lines in question are taken. Jason and Medea, against her bitter protests, are already in the cave where the dragon guards the coveted trophy. Once again, just before Jason opens the fatal doors behind which the danger lies, Medea implores him by her love to desist. Her inner resistance he brushes aside as easily as her outward resistance—no deeper humiliation could be imposed on Medea. The doors spring open, and the sight Jason sees is so terrifying that he shrieks aloud and rushes to the foreground. It is then that Medea, wildly laughing, begins her mad speech, overwhelming him with mockery and accusing him of being brave only when he has to deal with her. She asks him why he shrinks from the "Schlange," and in the next breath she calls him a "Schlange" (l. 1541). In the comment to l. 1506 the editor refers this word, "Schlange," to Jason, and it is therefore all the stranger that he should not refer the "Die mich umwunden, etc." to him as well, rather than, as he apparently does, to the real serpent. Medea tells Jason to go and be enfolded, entwined and destroyed by this dragon, as she has been enfolded, entwined and destroyed by his love. This idea also easily explains a subsequent line (1550), to which the comment is not very clear. Medea says:

> Geh hin, mein süsser Bräutigam,
> Wie züngelt deine Braut!

What does she mean by "süsser Bräutigam," and by calling the serpent Jason's "Braut"? She puts a world of irony and scorn into the first of these expressions. Her "gentle lover" has just a moment before subjected her to the bitterest humiliation of soul—she has just experienced his conception of the relation of "Bräutigam." What he has just done to her the serpent will now do to him, *i. e.,* become his bride, or what is the same according to his methods, will enfold and destroy him.

Grillparzer thus shows Medea in a state of despair little removed from madness. And Jason exclaims:

> Von mir weg, Weib, in deiner Raserei!
> Mein Geist geht unter in des deinen Wogen!

Her mood here is the same as that we see later, only in an intensified form, when her final reckoning with her "gentle lover" occurs in the third part of the trilogy.

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Bede's *Death Song*

To a list of MSS. preserving versions of Bede's Death-Song, which R. Brotanek has recently printed (*Texte u. Untersuchungen,* Halle, 1913, p. 150 f.), should be added MS. No. LXIX of Stonyhurst College, in which, at fol. 15a, is found a copy of Cuthbert's letter to Cuthwin on the death of Bede, with the Anglo-Saxon verses (written as prose) on fol. 15b. The text of the poem has been printed already in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Mss. II,* p. 144 of the appendix. The following copy is the result of a fresh collation of that text with the Stonyhurst MS. recently made by Dr. Carleton Brown.

> For þam ned fere
> Næni wyrþeþ
> þances snotera
> þon̄ him þearf sy
> To ge h̄icȝenne
> Ær nis heonen ȝanȝe
> Hpæt his ȝaste
> ȝodes oþþe yfeles
> Æfter deaþe heonon
> Dem̄ed peorþe.

It will be seen that the Stonyhurst text belongs among the more numerous versions preserved in the Southern dialect. Comparison with the texts printed by Brotanek makes it appear that it agrees exactly with the version of the poem in MS. Digby 211.

Charlotte D'Evelyn.

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BRIEF MENTION

Teachers of French literature are much indebted to Professor Christian Gauss for bringing out a volume of *Selections from the Works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Princeton University Press, 1914). As the editor indicates in his preface, it has always been a matter of great difficulty to find anything of Rousseau's which could be conveniently obtained for class-room use, the result having been that the average student passes him by unread. Professor Gauss, therefore, without attempting an exhaustive presentation, has simply chosen four articles, each complete in itself, which would give the reader some idea of the style and manner of thinking of the author. The items selected are the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts,* two *Lettres à M. de Malesherbes* dated respectively January 12th and 26th, 1762, and the *Cinquième rêverie du promeneur solitaire.* The text is prefaced by a Biographical Note and a pleasing Introduction, and is followed by the necessary Notes. The booklet as a whole is attractive in appearance, though one might wish for slightly larger typing in the text.

M. P. B.

Prokosch's *Deutsches Lese- und Übungsbuch* (Holt and Company, 1913, 8vo., vi + 117 pp.) is intended as a Reader "to be taken after six or ten weeks of work in elementary German." The reading matter is divided into six parts, the first part dealing with Germany as a whole, each of the others with a division. The prose selections are followed by "Erklärungen," "Fragen," and "Übungen." In the case of poems, the "Fragen" and "Übungen" are omitted. All of this apparatus is, in the main, in German that is idiomatic, and simple enough to be within the comprehension of the beginner. The book, furthermore, offers the advantage of combining features of the older type of Reader with much of the newer *Realien.* A considerable amount of verse is included. It is, on the whole, well chosen, but unfortunately there is scarcely a single selection that is correctly given. In some cases the variation is doubtless intentional, as when, with sovereign freedom, Uhland's *Des Knaben Berglied* is reduced from five to three stanzas, or when, in the *Lied des Hirten* from *Tell,* the refrain is omitted, while in the *Lied des Alpenjägers* the last two lines are run into one, an operation that, incredible as it may seem, is also ventured upon in the first lines of the *Wandrers Nachtlied.* If such mutilations are necessary, considerations of *Pietät* demand that they be at least noted. Other cases seem real corruptions of the text, so, to mention only a part, *erwacht* for *erwachet,* p. 56, l. 1; *spielen* for *spülen* (*die Wasser*), p. 56, l. 2; *Lief er gleich* (*schnell*), p. 35, l. 4; *ohne* for *ohn',* p. 17, l. 7 (a *three,* not a *four* beat line); *hält* for *hat,* p. 68, l. 3.—A curious misconception is found in the note on *Kron' und Schweif* from the *Erlkönig:* "Nach manchen Sagen hat der König der Weldgeister die Gestalt einer riesenhaften Katze mit einer goldenen Krone auf dem Haupte." In keeping with this interpretation the Vocabulary renders *Schweif* with *tail.* Are we to conclude, accordingly, that *Erlkönigs Töchter* are "giant kittens"? That the map accompanying the volume is inadequate is shown by the fact that several names in the text (*Havel,* p. 5, l. 15; *Thüringer Wald, Fichtelgebirge, Naab,* p. 62) are not to be found on it. Osnabrück (p. 23, l. 45) is not in Westfalen but in Hanover. The number 5000, p. 78, l. 17, should, I suppose, be 65.000 (Gebhardt II, 185). With proper corrections, the *Lese- und Übungsbuch* should prove a very serviceable First Year Reader.

Meyer-Lübke's *Introducción al estudio de la Lingüística Romance;* traducción, revisada por el autor,[1] de la segunda edición alemana, por Américo Castro (Madrid, Revista de Archivos, 1914, 8vo., 365 pp.) is intended primarily for use by "las gentes de lengua española." In view, however, of the many improvements introduced into the Spanish version, the book deserves a more general use than that just noted. The initial chapter (Bibliografía) is brought up to date, and a consecutive reading of the remaining chapters is much simplified by the plan of printing as foot-notes all adjustable bibliography. The translator's additions consist of elucidations of obscure points in the German text and further illustrative material for various linguistic phenomena, in which tasks he has been aided by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos. All additional material is clearly designated by means of square brackets. It is to be regretted that the word-index does not offer a complete record of the additional material. To cite but a few of the many omissions: Spanish *atril* 184, *efeuto* 109, *latril* 184, *nimbla* 176, *Los Arejos* 184, *Alcátara* 299, *Bisagra* 299; French *cheveu* 52, *grotte* 54, *moulin* 76; etc. The volume appears under the auspices of the "Junta para ampliación de estudios é investigaciones científicas."

[1] P. 251 note: "Desde aqui hasta el final va el texto sin la revisión del autor por hallarse interrumpidas las comunicaciones postales con austria.—Agosto de 1914."

33.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ON R. H. HORNE'S *ORION*

Horne's *Orion* is one of the best instances to show how Keats's allegoric way of handling a Greek fable was intimately responsive to the æsthetic ideals of an age fond of a kind of poetry which might adorn subtle, metaphysic conceptions with the radiance of a sumptuous imagery. Keats tried to express the passion and mystery of life by means of symbols derived from an Hellenic legend, and Horne used the same artifice to manifest his theories; the latter, however, goes even farther on this philosophic track, and we find in him a strong tendency to transcendentalism. Allowing for the difference of race and genius, we may say that Horne's method when composing *Orion* was rather akin to the system followed by Novalis when writing *Heinrich von Ofterdingen.* The myth of Orion is to him an allegory of the elevation of the soul from earthly passions to pure, eternal love; his fate is to rise, through hard ordeals, from the mire of a brutish life to the effulgence of heaven, to acquire wisdom through sorrow, and, at last, to pass away from earth and to shine, forever young, in the temple of Night blazing with immortal stars;

> rising still
> With nightly brilliance, merging in the dawn,—
> And circling onward in eternal youth.[1]

Orion is a symbol of bold, struggling, ever aspiring life; he likes conflict and strife, he tastes a fierce delight in the battle against the gigantic powers of nature; Orion, the builder, the monster-fighter, is the emblem of the indefatigable energy of man, seeking ardently, anxiously, on the dark sea of Life, for the land of supreme, perfect bliss, for the Land of heart's desire. We see him surrounded by the allegorical forms of his giant brothers: Akinetos, the symbol of self-destroying wisdom, living a strange life in the barren land of Inertia, instead of breaking through the forest of Doubt and reaching the glorious fields, where the golden fruits of Fame glitter among clustering flowers,—Rhexergon, the destroyer,—Hormetes, following his wayward impulses, careless of reason,—Harpax, "in rapine taking huge delight,"—Biastor, the emblem of strength without a ruling mind,—Encolyon, the subtly reasoner, the craftiest man in arguing,

> in all things slow,
> The dull retarder, chainer of the wheel.

But Orion, unlike Akinetos, possesses an active wisdom, not a passive one; he knows that hard trials and painful labor are not suffered in vain; unlike Rhexergon and Harpax, he is endowed with sublime aspirations and does not indulge in low pleasures and the cruel ecstasy of slaughter. What mainly distinguishes Orion from his brothers is his spiritual power, his faculty of conceiving dreams superior in beauty and splendor to material things; he is indeed the type of the dreamer, the Shadows-hunter, pursuing bright visions, radiant ideals of goodness, of love, of truth. He perceives the harmony of a sphere,—the sphere of spiritual beauty,—ringing with music, revolving around the earth; through the golden and black pattern woven in the wood by the sunlight, he descries flowers brighter than those springing from the darkness of the ground, gems more refulgent than the colored crystals broken from the rocks, trees of a deeper green, birds with wings of amethyst and fire. Orion has to pierce through the wall of matter in order to reach his aim; and threefold is the symbol of nature: Artemis symbolizes the mystery of nature, Merope, the tragedy of the blind forces of the world, Eos the divine glow of perfect beauty. Artemis allures him to weird, fascinating, haunting visions; crowned with the black poppies of sleep, he tries to forget his power, his proud ambitions, his glorious goal; lying on the misty shore of the violet lake of dreamland, he drinks the influence of nature as a magic

[1] P. 158 [London, Chatto and Windus, 1874].

philtre; he sees the world aureoled with fairy rays spreading out into mysterious gloom; there is sublimity in every feature of the landscape, but there is also a mystic terror preventing love and comprehension. His dreams disappear into the cold darkness, their rainbow light fading into grey mists; having first flooded his soul with ardent longings they leave behind a heavy, dull melancholy, an inert sadness. Yet Artemis's influence is not without good, as it spiritualizes his wishes, subduing the violence of his temper; and now he is seeking untrodden paths, his lonely heart burning with a strange, unearthly love, while his friends lie weltering in muddy pleasures. Merope then bestows upon him a wonderful, though fallacious, strength, and drags him to terrible ordeals; we see the daring hero rushing down the terraced hillside, waving blazing pines as torches, driving to the surging sea the herds of wild beasts, breaking, mad with terror, from bush and thicket, the trees snapping under their struggling bulks. Blindness falls upon him as a dark crowd of shapeless ghosts; the grasp of Sorrow is tightening around his heart; he sinks in despair, his giant brothers mocking, despising him; but, at last, through the eager, earnest aspirations of his soul, craving for light and love and peace, the sinister vapors arise; the dawn unfolds a glittering flower in the environing gloom, and he again desires the reed-shadowed pools of the forest, looking like mirrors of burnished copper set in green frames of twisted creepers. Eos opens a new world to his soul still trembling with pain and dismay; she admits him into her palace of gold, the Temple of Mercy and Goodness; the eternal splendor pervades his heart; he sees the crown of pale roses and pearls gleam on the forehead of Eos, among the fading stars; Artemis and the goddess of Dawn join in an ardent prayer to Jove, and Orion is endowed with immortal life.

Horne's feeling of natural beauty is sincere and deep; it is in descriptions of landscapes that his glorious imagination is seen at its best; in painting his ideal scenery he lavishes in sumptuous accords the brilliant tints, the translucent shades, the striking effects of light and shadow which haunt his fervid fantasy. He is particularly fond of contrasts; in his pictures the silvery grace of lilies blooms near the gloomy marsh, the peace of cornfields, streaked with the pale gold of the April sun and violet, thin shadows, ends into the weird darkness of a rocky valley; strange, uncouth forms are lurking in the thickets, ruddy with the autumnal bronze, loud with the songs of fairy birds. To him Nature is at once magnificent and tremendous; his emotion is alike that of the first men when they beheld an island, blue with the dawn mists, arise from the sea, a land of wonders, a dwelling of monsters and creatures divine. His mind is haunted by visions of primeval woods, by the aspect of a forest (pp. 71–72),

> old as the earth,
> . . . lofty in its glooms,
> When the sun hung o'erhead, and, in its darkness,
> Like Night, . . .
> . . . where the night-black spires
> Of pines begin to swing, and breathe a dirge,

by visions of huge stems, looming ghostly, as gigantic snakes entangled in a deadly struggle, their dishevelled branches yelling in the blast, by the appearance of dark floods rushing from the mouths of caves, an uprooted tree emerging as a black octopus from the foaming whirlpool. And he likes to see the forces of nature set free from the veil which darkens them to our eyes; his giants are the personifications of such powerful agencies as we find in a tempest, in the driving clouds of a hurricane, in the fires of lightnings. No passage of the poem can better convey the idea of awe and grandeur, of beauty and terror conceived by Horne than the picture of dragons dying in the waves (pp. 71–72):

> through dark fens,
> Marshes, green rushy swamps, and margins reedy,
> Orion held his way,—and *rolling shapes*
> Of serpent and of dragon moved before him
> With high-reared crests, *swan-like yet terrible,*
> And often looking back *with gem-like eyes.*
> . . . The living mass,
> Dark heaving o'er the waves resistlessly,
> At length, in distance, seemed a circle small,
> Midst which one creature in the centre rose,
> *Conspicuous in the long red quivering gleams*
> That from the dying brands streamed o'er the waves.

It was the oldest dragon of the fens, . . .
And now he rose up, like an embodied curse
From all the doomed, fast sinking.

While Keats and Shelley aimed rather at depicting the glorious smile of the Ocean, its blue and green grottos of lapislazuli and malachite, its purple shadows broken by glancing reflections, Horne tried to convey its stern grandeur, its sullen sleep (p. 95):

And passing round between two swelling slopes
Of green and golden light, beheld afar
The broad grey horizontal wall o' the dead-calm sea.

The eternal Sea
Before him passively at full length lay,
As in a dream of the uranian Heavens.

He paints with phosphoric tints the moonlight effects, the landscape spell-bound under the radiance of the moon, as of a fairy lamp hanging from a purple dome; the opal paleness of the moon draws a visionary veil over the world; its pearly light, blurring reality, fills him with a mystic spleen, with inexplicable sadness (pp. 116, 15).

Fast through the clouds retiring, the pale orb
Of Artemis a moment seemed to hang
Suspended in a halo, phantom-like,
Over a restless sea of jasper fire.
. . . Above the isle of Chios
The clear moon lingered . . . but chiefly sought
With melancholy splendour to illume
The dark-mouthed caverns where Orion lay
Dreaming. . . .

There seems to be apparently a striking affinity between Keats and Horne; yet this similarity is rather a shallow one, and looking deeper into their artistic tempers we descry wide differences both in their ground ideas and in their tendencies. We never find in Horne's poem the dejection and the despair of the *Ode to a Nightingale,* the bitter smile of *Hyperion;* though his sense of beauty is far less keen than Keats's, Horne is endowed with a healthier view of life and with a strong faith as to the results of the struggle for the triumph of a noble ideal; we can trace in *Orion* a more profound conception of existence than in *Endymion,* and consequently we are impressed by a deeper meaning in the allegories. While Keats likes to while away the dreamy hours lying under a bower of crimson roses,—stirred now and then into a soft rustle by a spicy breeze,—rapt in a melancholy trance, Horne is fond of active life, of movement and fighting. While reading *Lamia* and the *Ode to Melancholy* we seem to wander in an autumnal wood, all red and gold, looking at bright pageants passing in the blue hazy distance, a strange languor stealing into our soul; we enjoy in *Orion* the rousing feeling of heroic bravery, of undaunted valor. Keats's poetical vision of the universe is dimmed by the dazzling radiance of exterior beauty; Horne endeavors at least to pierce through the glistening veil and perceive the inmost essence of things; at any rate, and whatever his attainments, he likes better to convey the feeling of a landscape, rather than the sensation produced by lines and colors, as Keats would do. This statement might be supported by many instances, among which I shall choose the most characteristic.

From the great repose
What echoes now float on the listening air? . . .
. . . 'Tis Artemis come
With all her buskined Nymphs and sylvan rout,
To scare the silence and the sacred shades,
And with dim music break their rapturous trance.
(p. 4.)

. . . with averted face—
As gazing down *the woodland vista slopes,*
Which oft her bright orb silvered through black shades
When midnight throbbed to silence—Artemis asked,
(p. 11.)

Keats's poetry reflects as a magic sphere the shifting hues of his fantasies; Horne's poem mirrors in its dark waters the mystery and passion, the beauty and sorrow of human life. It must be owned, however, that in Horne's treatment of landscape we have unmistakable traces of Keats's influence; we meet with that dewy freshness, with that summer luxuriance, with that sad glitter of nostalgic visions, which are peculiar features of Keats's art. We have in the following passage the queer invention, the quaint fancy which so often strike us in *Endymion* (pp. 68–69):

He approached
And found the spot . . . was now arrayed
With many-headed poppies, like a crowd
Of dusky Ethiops in a magic cirque,
Which had sprung up . . . in the night
And all entranced the air.

And here we have the mellow radiance of Keats's palette (p. 131):

Morn comes at first with white uncertain light;
Then takes a faint red, like an opening bud
Seen through grey mist; . . .
the sky . . . takes a crimson flush,
Puts forth bright sprigs of gold, which soon expanding
In saffron, then pure golden shines the morn;
Uplifts its clear bright fabric of white clouds,
All tinted, like a shell of polished pearl,
With varied glancings, violet gleam and blush.

To find passages fit to compare with the following lines in glorious refulgence of translucid hues we must turn to Shelley (p. 119):

Against a sky
Of delicate purple, snow-bright courts and halls,
Touched with light silvery green, gleaming across,
Fronted by pillars vast, cloud-capitalled,
With shafts of changeful pearl, all reared upon
An isle of clear aerial gold, came floating;
And in the centre, clad in fleecy white,
With lucid lilies in her golden hair,
Eos, sweet goddess of the Morning, stood.

Following the example of Keats and Shelley, he adopted a Greek myth as argument to his song; the sunlit beach of the Hellenic land had an irresistible glamour for these souls yearning towards a luminous scenery and an heroic people; side by side with the somber Druid oak of Gothic art there grew in England the fragrant, blossoming laurel of Greek inspiration; yet both were thriving in the garden of Romanticism. Therefore the Hellenic fables assumed a new coloring, acquired a strange, intense life in these Northern minds; it was not till later on that William Morris and Charles Algernon Swinburne dealt with Hellenic arguments in the true Hellenic spirit. We find in *Orion* a morbid pathos unknown to the Dorian playwrights; we observe in Artemis, in Eos, a romantic melancholy more akin to the dreamy ecstasy pervading Wordsworth's poetry than to the tragic grandeur of Aeschylus's sadness. Likewise the personifications of natural forces in *Orion* look rather similar to the weird, wild figures of the *Edda,* than to the serene and stately forms engendered by a classical imagination. We must remark that while the poet of *Endymion* is inclined to graceful representations of nature, to paint fantastic figures seen in emerald and violet lights, playing with gems in the caves of Cybeles, or dancing under the rainbow arch in Neptune's halls, Horne derives peculiar effects of gloomy grandeur from a rugged scenery, rather dwelling on the mystery of a black tarn, lying motionless and dismal between the beetling walls of rock, than on the orange and blue flowers enamelling the patches of grass in the mountain landscape.

The diction, though far from the vividness and elegance of Keats, is forcible; the rich and flowing language is vigorously handled; the passions of mankind and the struggling forces of nature mingle and blend in this poem, so that we feel, pulsing through the lines, the throbbing of intense life. Notwithstanding the variety of his expressions, by which he tries to adapt his utterance to the different moods of his personages and to the divers aspects of the ambiance,—the terror of storm, the gladness of the green wood, the tragedy of clouds rent by lightnings, the sadness of the leafless bough, —there is a remarkable unity of tone in his style, all the different rhythms merging into a solemn, impressive song, as the themes join and develop in beautiful accord in a symphony. His workmanship is always refined and effective, either in rendering the sombre pageant of the clouds, or in portraying the most peaceful and serene moods of nature, as the noon stillness.[2] Endowed with a fierce energy of con-

[2] Now came the snorting and intolerant steeds
Of the Sun's chariot tow'ds the summer signs;
. . .
And cleared the heavens, but held the vapours there,
In cloudy architecture of all hues.
The stately fabrics and the Eastern pomps,
Tents, tombs, processions veiled, and temples vast,
Remained not long in their august repose,
But sank to ruins, and re-formed in likeness
Of monstrous beasts in lands and seas unknown.
(Book II, Canto III, p. 83.)

ception, he was naturally fond of broad outlines, of vivid colors; and yet—his classical taste teaching him a careful self-restraint, a forcible concentration,—we find in his verse a Greek subtlety of epithets, conveying the genuine perception through the refracting medium of an exquisite, quickening, truly poetical imagination.[3] In considering whether the poet has bestowed upon his fantastic scenes that sense of reality which is the best test of the power of representation, we should turn to details, since they afford the easiest way of analyzing the artist's technique. In Horne we meet with a striking realism in the particulars of his descriptions, a realism which reveals in him a rare, keen faculty of observation; he possesses that sharpness of æsthetic insight and that delicacy of perception which find out immediately the most characteristic features of the landscape or figure looked at; and his remarkable mastery over the language enables him to alight at once on the right word, or turn of phrase, to express an attitude, a movement, a peculiar sound, a shade of color. Let us observe for example the life-like posture of the Sylvans in Artemis's train, waiting for the dance:

> And Sylvans, who, half Faun, half shepherd, lead
> A grassy life, *with cymbals in each hand*
> *Pressed cross-wise on the breast, waiting the sign;*

or the stag bounding away, released from Orion's grasp:

> The Giant lowered his arm—away the stag
> *Breast forward* plunged into a thicket near;

the loud crackling of trees a-fire:

> Orion grasped
> Two blazing boughs; one high in air he raised,
> The other *with its roaring foliage* trailed
> Behind him as he sped;

and the hues of dawn:

> Oft when dawn
> *With a grave red* looked through the *ash-pale woods,* . . . (pp. 24, 8, 72, 23.)

Horne has a fine sense of color, both for shifting, delusive *nuances* and bold, glaring hues; we can contrast the notations of the changing purple of snows at sunrise, of green shadows becoming suffused with golden light, of the violet rift in the clouds where appears the high moon, with the glittering image of the woods "all with golden fires alive" at noon, or the opal radiance of Eos's apparition.

> Far in the distance, gleaming like the bloom
> Of almond-trees seen through long floating halls
> Of pale ethereal blue and virgin gold,
> A Goddess, smiling like a new-blown flower,
> Orion saw. (pp. 3, 57, 68, 27, 117.)

Sometimes he makes the colors stand out with a strange elegance from the background, as in the hunting scene in Book II, adorned with the crude, brilliant dyes of a Flemish tapestry of the fifteenth century.

> The hounds with tongues
> Crimson, and lolling hot upon the green,
> And outstretched noses, flatly crouched; their skins
> Clouded or spotted, like the field-bean's flower,
> Or tiger-lily, painted the wide lawns. (p. 27.)

His fantasy is at the same time subtle and daring; Hephaistos's hall [Book I, C. I.] and Orion's dream [Book III, C. I.] show a superrefinement and an audacity of imagination which are only to be found in Robert Browning and Meredith; while he reveals a perfect con-

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> Not a breeze came o'er the edge
> Of the high-heaving fields and fallow lands;
> Only the zephyrs at long intervals
> Drew a deep sigh, as of some blissful thought,
> Then swooned to silence. Not a bird was seen
> Nor heard: all marble gleamed the steadfast sky.
> (p. 95.)

See Poe's remarks on Horne's technique: "Horne has a very peculiar and very delightful faculty of enforcing, or giving vitality to a picture, by some over vivid and intensely characteristic point or touch. He seizes the most salient feature of his theme, and makes this feature convey the whole."—*Works.* The Fordham Edition, Vol. V, p. 494.

[3] . . . ye mountains waving brown
> With *thick-winged woods,* . . .
> . . . what odours and what sighs
> Tend your sweet silence through the *star-showered night,* . . . (Book I, Canto I.)

trol over his imaginative faculty by his capacity of checking the impulse, which would at last substitute the *bizarre* to the *beautiful*. Moreover the lucidity of his descriptions is the best test of his creative power, which, combined with a vigorous and suggestive form, succeeds in bringing before the inward eye the ideal vision as sharply defined as reality itself. The vividness of the following passage will suffice to support our statement.

> They loitered near the founts that sprang elate
> Into the dazzled air, or pouring rolled
> A crystal torrent into oval shapes
> Of blood-veined marble; and oft gazed within
> Profoundly tranquil and secluded pools,
> Whose lovely depths of mirrored blackness clear—
> Oblivion's lucid-surfaced mystery—
> Their earnest eyes revealed.[4]

In a passage of the Book II [Canto I, p. 57] [5] we have a curious instance of that blending of the soul's visions with the real scene, of that intimate union of feeling and sensation, which the French symbolists were, and are, so fond of. Yet a sense of obscurity would very often arise from this emblematic writing, so subjective and personal; therefore Horne turned to mythology as the only way to conciliate his tendency for allegory and the perspicuity of his verse. He was well aware that mythology was a forest of symbols through which any reader could wander at will without fear of losing his way; the classical fables afforded him the opportunity of using allegories already endowed with a definite meaning, and shaped with an exquisite sense of beauty. Nevertheless he was not satisfied with adopting the Greek myths without any change, and thus we find in his poem original symbols and mythologic figures strangely alive with a new fervor of life, as in Chapman and Keats,—enriched with a depth of meaning and a mystic radiance, of which the ancient artists never had the remotest idea.[6] What gives Horne's lines their suggestive power is a vivid sense of the enigmatic, impassioned beauty of life; there is, for instance, in Merope's figure a strange, intense sadness, and in her eyes a deep vision of Sorrow and Fate, as in one of those sinister and beautiful faces painted by Rossetti, as in those visages evoked by Swinburne with rimes haunting and mournful as an incantation.

> Dark were her eyes, and beautiful as Death's
> With a mysterious meaning, such as lurks
> In that pale ecstasy, the Queen of Shades.

All his artistic faculties converge to produce this effect of life, so that even its most meta-

[4] P. 55.—See also, p. 5, the picture of the morning landscape:

> The scene in front two sloping mountain sides
> Displayed; in shadow one, and one in light.
> The loftiest on its summit now sustained
> The sun-beams, raying like a mighty wheel
> Half seen, which left the front-ward surface dark
> In its full breadth of shade; the coming sun
> Hidden as yet behind: the other mount,
> Slanting opposed, swept with an eastward face,
> Catching the golden light.

[5] *Old memories*
> *Slumbrously hung above the purple line*
> *Of distance*, to the east, while odorously
> Glistened the tear-drops of a new-fallen shower;
> And sunset forced its beams through strangling shadows
> Gilding green boughs; . . .

[6] See the lines at p. 6:

> Hunter of Shadows, thou thyself a shade, . . .

and the development of this conception at p. 23:

> . . . a restless dream
> Dawned on his soul which he desired to shape;

beside, the mystic mood due to Artemis's influence [Book I, Canto III]. The same conception of mythology we find in Maurice de Guérin, though in the author of *Le Centaure*, as Matthew Arnold says: "the natural magic is perfect. . . . He has a truly interpretative faculty; the most profound and delicate sense of the life of Nature, and the most exquisite felicity in finding expressions to render that sense" [*Essays in Criticism*, I Series. Macmillan, 1905, p. 85]. But the same close correspondence between the poetry of nature and the old myths is to be found in both poets, the idea of the *hero* being the logic result of their enthusiastic feeling of wonder before the majesty and awful stateliness of Nature; in this mood the conception of ideal figures arises spontaneously, and, as Hölderlin sings,

> Wie Flammen aus der Wolke Schooss,
> Wie Sonnen aus dem Chaos, wanden
> Aus Stürmen sich Heroen los.

physic passages are not without a grave, alluring charm; even its most ethereal images, dressed in the sumptuous garments of dreams, are instinct with this prominent and predominant sense of reality; thus, in the representation of Orion re-born, ascending among the glittering stars:

> Mute they [Eos and Artemis] rose
> With tender consciousness; and, hand in hand,
> Turning, they saw, *slow rising from the sea,*
> *The luminous Giant clad in blazing stars,*
> *New-born and trembling from their Maker's breath,*—
> Divine, refulgent effluence of Love.[7]

Thus his realism as well as his creative, imaginative power, his careful observation of nature as well as his wild fantasy go together to shape a poetic world deeply alive with passion, mystery and beauty; we can see the results of his genial effort and his highest attainments in such an inspired passage as the following:

> Bright comes the Dawn, and Eos hides her face,
> Glowing with tears divine, within the bosom
> Of great Poseidon, in his rocking car
> Standing erect to gaze upon his son,
> Installed midst golden fires, which ever melt
> In Eos' breath and beauty; rising still
> With nightly brilliance, merging in the dawn,—
> And circling onward in eternal youth.

Federico Olivero.

Torino.

[7] Book III, Canto III, p. 153.

THE LOSS OF UNACCENTED *E* IN THE 'TRANSITION PERIOD'

It is a generally accepted philological law that in the Middle High German period (1100–1250), Old High German words having short stem syllables followed by *l* or *r* lost the unaccented *e* of the following syllable, *e. g., werelt>werlt; dere>der; feret>fert.* Under the same conditions unaccented *e* was usually lost after *m* and *n,* but these combinations are treated differently by the different writers. In the early Old High German period (750–850) scarcely a trace of this loss of *e* is to be found. A vowel is frequently dropped by Otfried (ca. 870) when it comes before a vowel of a following word (elision), but seldom does he drop a vowel before a consonant of a following word (apocope) or before a consonant of the same word (syncope). But in the language of the transition period from Old High German to Middle High German many examples of apocope and syncope are to be found.

The cause of the loss of *e* after liquids and nasals has not been sufficiently explained. It was doubtless connected with the process of the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables. Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch,* p. 52, assumes a more intensive pronunciation of the consonants and a consequent weakening and loss of the vowels. The loss was doubtless due to the word- and sentence-accent and to the fact that the semi-vocalic liquids and nasals can stand at the end of a word without changing their nature as consonants. In Williram's *Übersetzung und Auslegung des Hohenliedes* (Breslauer Hs. hrsg. von H. Hoffmann, Breslau, 1827), the forms *an* and *ána, der* and *déro,* etc., are found. As a rule, the longer form is provided with the accent-mark, while the shorter remains unaccented. There are exceptions to this especially in the latter part of the text. Otfried uses the form *thar* in an unaccented position (I, 4, 80; II, 6, 1), and *thára* when accented (I, 1, 71). Braune in the Glossary of his *Lesebuch* makes a rather doubtful distinction in meaning between the two forms, *thar*=da, *thára*=dahin. It seems quite evident that the accent played a very important part in the loss of the unaccented vowel.

The extent of the working of this sound-law in the early language is not known. Nor is it definitely known when it first made its appearance to any considerable extent in the different dialects. No investigation to determine this has ever been made. Philologists have made statements without adducing the necessary evidence in support. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik,* § 60, Anm., has the following upon the loss of the vowel: "Die meisten

dieser ausstossungen sind erst nach der mitte des 12. jahrh. eingetreten." Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* § 200, 4, says: "Die frühesten Beispiele der *e*-Ausstossungen gehören dem 12. Jh. an, vgl. MSD. II. 271," notwithstanding the fact that Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik,* § 66, Anm. 2, has the following upon the subject: "Während im älteren ahd. synkope alter mittelvocale sich nur in den eben besprochenen fällen zeigt, wird im spätahd. bei N die synkope häufig nach den consonanten *r* und *l* (vgl. *Beitr.* 5, 98). Besonders nach *kurzer* stammsilbe, z. b. *gemálnemo, verlórnez, ervárnêr.*" Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik,* § 271, says: "Etwas weiter geht schon Notker. . . . Aber die eigentliche Periode der Apokope und Synkope beginnt später; erst wurden die Unterschiede zwischen den unbetonten Vocalen aufgehoben, dann kam die Zeit, wo sie ganz unterdrückt wurden."

In the first 100 pages of Notker's *Boethius* (Piper, vol. I, Freiburg, 1882–83) the following words are found which show a loss of the unaccented vowel:

5, 7 werlte; 5, 15 unz; 6, 11 an; 7, 16 anderro; 9, 20 unsermo; 10, 16 bilde; 10, 20 wirt; 12, 24 verlornisseda; 14, 17 widerfert; 14, 17 andermo; 14, 31 westert; 16, 26 echert; 18, 1 seldon; 21, 9 herzogen; 24, 7 bildotost; 24, 12 gemalnemo; 29, 27 erwarner; 31, 19 welero; 32, 16 birn; 36, 9 solchero; 37, 25 verlornon; 73, 25 gechorner; 78, 14 kebornes; 81, 12 unserro; 90, 17 iwerro; 94, 16 iwermo; 95, 2 birnt; 97, 6 ostert.

The following words occur in the first 75 pages of the Bavarian version of Notker's *Psalms* (Piper, vol. III):

3, 5 an; 4, 2 newirt; 20, 9 florn; 5, 2 fursten; 5, 31 fewarnez; 6, 2 geborn; 9, 5 scult; 9, 31 pildi; 11, 4 werlt; 17, 19 birt; 32, 1 zewelften; 67, 20 unz; 74, 13 ferholno.

It is seen from the above lists that even at the beginning of the eleventh century the unaccented vowel had disappeared to a considerable extent in the Alemannian and the Bavarian dialects. Not only in these dialects but also in the East Franconian of Williram, a large number of the unaccented vowels are lost. Following is a list of the shortened forms found in Williram's *Hohelied* from the text of H. Hoffmann. Only MS. B has been considered in the selection of the words. Hoffmann's text is a diplomatic reprint of the original MS., which dates from the middle of the eleventh century.

APOCOPE

aller 22;[1] an 48; antwort 1; deheiner 1; der 26; diner 5; einer 1; eteswanne 1; eteswa 1; von 27; vor 3; vor (adv.) 2; glich 17; gnadon 8; gnada 11; gnote 1; gnuoge 1; guoter 3; gwan 3; ir 1; maniger 2; manlicher 1; micheler 1; minir 9; siner 9; swanne 4; swas 3; sweder 1; swer 3; swie 8; unser 2; wil 9.

SYNCOPE

andero 2; andremo 1; bildoton 1; birt 2; dirro 9; vurston 2; garota 1; nals 1; unsermo 1; werlte 23; werltlich 9; wirt 3.

ELISION

aller 13; als 19; an 11; cuss 1; der 7; diner 1; von 10; vor 1; vur 2; gantfristet 1; hab 1; ir 2; lang 1; mocht 3; nals 1; nist 2; nobe 3; riht 1; roter 1; scunt 1; tet 1; unser 1; unt 7; unz 1; want 9; war 1; wil 19; wolt 1; zerist 4; zaller 3; zeiner 1.

A summary of the above shows a total of 420 forms which have lost an unaccented vowel. Of these forms there are 235 cases of apocope, 55 of syncope and 130 of elision. Those of elision are in themselves not of especial importance since they are also found in the earliest Germanic monuments. They do, however, serve to show the proportion between elision on the one hand and apocope and syncope on the other. A further consideration of the word-lists shows that 15 endings of adjectives have been syncopated, or 27.3% of the total number of syncopated forms; 2 stems of verbs, or 3.6%; 23 stems of nouns, or 41.8%; 10 stems of adjectives, or 18.2%; 5 endings of verbs, or 9%. There are 84 apoco-

[1] The numeral after the word is the number of times the form occurs in the text.

pated endings of nouns and adjectives, or 35.8%; 78 apocopated endings of prepositions, or 33.2%; 64 endings of adverbial prefixes, or 27.2%; and 9 endings of verbs, or 3.8%. Further, in the first 10 pages of the text there are 302 words retaining an unaccented vowel. These include all the words in which later an unaccented *e* might be expected to disappear. To be compared with these are 50 shortened forms, or 14.2%. From page 34 to 43 there are found 300 long forms, to be compared with 41 shortened, or 12%; and in the last 10 pages, 266 long and 58 shortened, or 17.9%. The average of the three passages is 14.7%.

From the above word-lists and percentages it can be seen that, contrary to the statements of Paul and Behaghel, apocope and syncope appear in the language to a considerable extent at the beginning of the eleventh century and that by the middle of the century, even before the weakening of the vowels to short *e* was general, apocope and syncope were quite common. Especially is this true of the inflectional endings of nouns and adjectives.

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AN INSTANCE OF THE FIFTEEN SIGNS OF JUDGMENT IN SHAKESPEARE

Mr. A. W. Verity, in his edition of *Hamlet,* has again called attention to Hunter's suggestion that the portents in *Julius Caesar,* II, ii, 17–24, and *Hamlet,* I, i, 115–20, were derived from a passage in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (I, 526–85), of which the first book was translated by Christopher Marlowe and published in 1600 and 1601. Yet the passage referred to by Hunter, even when supplemented with omens from Plutarch's account of Caesar's death, does not furnish satisfactory parallels for several important details in Shakespeare's list of portents,—namely, those of men groaning in mortal anguish, of yawning graves,[1] of warriors in the clouds, and of dews or rains of blood.

Holinshed, on the other hand, records as many of the Shakespearean portents as Lucan does. For besides the frequent mention of wonders in sun, moon, and stars, the *Chronicles*[2] contain repeated descriptions of bloody dews (5:134, 162, 480) and of warriors in the clouds (2:35; 3:535; 5:117, 205)—both of which, as has been noted above, are omitted by Lucan. They tell also of mysterious resoundings of arms (3:535; 3:178, 205) and of an inexplicable outcry and sudden death of cattle in the fields (5:212), which resemble pretty closely the portents in *Julius Caesar,* II, ii, 22–23. But the writer of this note does not find in the *Chronicles* anything which corresponds to Shakespeare's yawning graves, whelping lion, groaning, dying men, or wandering, wailing ghosts.

Now the character of these omissions in both instances and the dramatist's specific mention of Doomsday suggest that possibly some writing in doomsday literature may contain all the portents employed here by Shakespeare. In that case the similar phenomena in Holinshed are doubtless to be ascribed to the same source. The analysis which follows is intended to show that the Anglo-Norman version of the *Fifteen Signs of Judgment,*[3] beginning

> Oiez, seignor, communement
> Dunt Nostre-Seignor nus reprent,

which the author of *Cursor Mundi* has translated into Middle English (ll. 22461–710), unlike any source previously suggested, affords a

[1] Although Hunter says that a portent of yawning graves occurs in the passage cited from Lucan, it is difficult to determine exactly to what he refers. Nothing more significant is to be found there than common-place earthquake phenomena and the misty appearing out of the ground of the shades of Marius and Sulla. It should be noticed also that the signs in Lucan portend Caesar's entrance upon the dictatorship and not, as Hunter states, Caesar's death.

[2] Citations are to Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* London, 1807 and 1808.

[3] Text to be found printed with Victor Luzarche's *Adam,* Tours, 1854.

single origin for all, or certainly all but one, of Shakespeare's portents and, conversely, that the Shakespearean passages show traces of ten of the fifteen signs.

This twelfth century poem Nölle[4] has selected as typical of the last of the five classes into which he divides the many versions of the Fifteen Signs—a tradition which in various forms had, as Nölle shows, a long-continued and widespread currency, developing and holding vogue contemporaneously with the old theology. That this tradition was partially incorporated by Holinshed in the *Chronicles* is corroborative evidence of its survival in Shakespeare's day. Though Shakespeare may have been unacquainted with this particular poem, he must have come in contact with some version of the *Fifteen Signs* belonging to the class of which this poem is the type.

The bloody rain in *Sign* 1 of the French poem,

> Del ciel cherra pluie sanglante,
> Ne quidez pas que jo vos mente;
> Tote terre en iert colorée,
> Mult avra ci aspre rosée. (ll. 68–71.)

appears in *Hamlet* I, i, 117, where mention is made of "dews of blood," and in *Julius Caesar* II, ii, 19–21,

> Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,
> In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,
> Which drizzl'd blood upon the Capitol.

To *Sign* 2, which in part reads

> Car del ciel cherront les estoilles:
> Ço iert une de ses merveilles.
> Nule n'iert tant bien fichie
> Qui à cel jor del ciel ne chie
> E corront si tost desor terre,
> Come foldre, quant ele deserre.
> Dessus ces monz irront corant,
> Come grant lermes espendant,
> E nequedont mot ne dirront. (ll. 84–92.)

the first part of the same line 117 in *Hamlet* corresponds,

> As stars with trains of fire.

[4] *P. B. B.*, VI, 413–76.

Similarly the phenomenon described in *Sign* 3,

> Que le soleiel que vos veez,
> . . . .
> Serra plus nair que nole haire,
> Iço ne vos fet pas atraire;
> Car le soleil, en droit middi,
> Verra le pople tant merci
> E que jà gote ne verront
> Icil qui à cel jor serront. (ll. 102, 108–113.)

is represented in the next line in *Hamlet* (118) in the phrase,

> Disasters in the sun,

and *Sign* 4,

> Car la lune, que tant est bele
> Al cheif del mois, quant est novele,
> Serra mué en vermeil sanc
> E en color semblable à fanc.
> Mult près de terre descendra,
> Mès mult poi i demorera;
> Corant vendra droit à la mer. (ll. 128–134.)

has a parallel in the two lines and a half immediately following the remark about the sun,

> And the moist star
> Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands
> Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse.
> (*Hamlet*, I, i, 118–120.)

Sign 5 tells of the fear which is to seize all beasts,

> Car trestotes les mues bestes
> Vers le ciel torneront lor testes.
> A Deu voldront merci crier,
> Mès eles ne porront parler. (ll. 146–149.)

In *Julius Caesar* II, ii, 23, Shakespeare has represented limited disturbances in the brute creation,

> Horses did neigh.

To *Signs* 6, 7, 8, and 9, which describe a leveling of the hills, a rising and falling of trees, an upheaval of the sea, and a volubility of the rivers, Shakespeare has nothing to correspond; but *Sign* 10 describes the opening of the earth and the issuing forth of the inhabi-

tants of hell, who in a long lament of ten lines cry piteously to be reinstated in their first abode,

> Car il verra le ciel partir
> E si porra la terre oïr
> Braire molt anguisosement,
> E criera: 'Rois Dex, jo fent'
> Lors avront cil d'emfer clarté,
> E serront toit esponté.
> Toit s'en istrunt fors li diable;
> Saint Pol le dist, n'est pas fable.
> Or escutez qu'il avront. (ll. 230–238.)

and closely resembles

> And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.
> (*J. C.*, II, ii, 24.)

> And the sheeted dead
> Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.
> (*Hamlet*, I, i, 115–116.)

Sign 11,

> Li venz vendront de totes pars,
> E suffleront tant dorement,
> L'un contre l'autre fierement,
> Que de la terre depeccherunt;
> De son siege la giteront;
> Les novels morz giteront fors,
> Par l'eir emporteront les cors
> Tot les ferront ferir ensemble. (ll. 251–258.)

becomes in *Julius Caesar,* II, ii, 18

> And graves have yawn'd, and yielded up their dead.

and in *Hamlet,* I, i, 115

> The graves stood tenantless.

Sign 12, which gives a description of the woful state of men in the Last Day, when they shall cry to God in their final terrible moments,

> Le ciel serra reclos ariere,
> Donc n'i avra nuls qui ne quiere
> L'un vers l'autre sovent conseil.
> Chescons dirra: 'Mult me merveil
> Com nos poüm iei ester
> Qant tote rien venra finer.'
> E crierunt merci au Roi
> Qui tote mesure ad en soi;
> Quant li angle poüir avront,
> Li peccheor, las! que frunt? (ll. 284–293.)

is duplicated in Shakespeare's terse expression,

> And dying men did groan. (*J. C.*, II, ii, 23.)

Sign 13, which describes the battle of stones with its great detonations,

> Car totes les pieres qui sunt
> E desos terre par tot le mond
> E desus terre e desuz
> Ede ci qu'a abisme ès fonz,
> Commenceront une bataille
> (Ne quidez pas que jo vos faille,)
> E s'entre-ferront mult forment,
> Come foldré quant ele descent.
> Mult se ferront à grant proeche. (ll. 302–310.)

yields in Shakespeare

> The noise of battle hurtled in the air.
> (*J. C.*, II, ii, 22.)

Sign 14, the last sign of which there is a trace in Shakespeare's list of portents, gives us the picture of great armies of clouds—a favorite portent, as we discovered, with Holinshed.

> Li XIIII iert mult mals
> A tot le mond comonals
> De nois, de gresliz e d'orez,
> De merveillos tempestez
> Lors vendront foldres e esclairs,
> Trestot en troublera li eirs
> Les mues, qui corent si tost;
> D'eles ferront un grant host;
> Droit à la mer irront fuiant
> E mult fort tempeste demenant. (ll. 314–323.)

This is paralleled in Shakespeare by

> Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,
> In ranks and squadrons and right form of war.
> (*J. C.*, II, ii, 19–20.)

There is now left without a parallel in the Shakespeare passages, only the item

> A lioness hath whelped in the streets.
> (*J. C.*, II, ii, 17.)

and there is in the French poem nothing exactly like it. But in *Sign* 1, there follows immediately after the lines which describe the bloody dews, a weird phenomenon that pertains to pregnancy among humans, which is of interest in this connection,

Li enfant qui nez ne serront,
Dedenz les ventres crieront
Od clere voiz mult haltement:
'Merci, Rois-Deu omnipotent!
Ja, Sire, ne querrom nestre
Mielz voldrium-nos nient estre,
Que nasquisum à icel jor
Que tote rien soeffre dolor.' (ll. 72–79.)

That this part of the tradition may in time have become altered so as to refer to beasts, seems not impossible, since as early as Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Prophecies of Merlin,* Chapter 3) a prophecy that beasts will infest cities is found associated with *Sign* 1.

There are, then, good grounds for attributing the portents in *Hamlet* I, i, 115–20 and *Julius Caesar* II, ii, 17–24 to a mediaeval Christian source instead of to Lucan; for the foregoing list of parallels and Shakespeare's mention of Doomsday, present sufficient evidence that these two passages, regardless of any relationship they may bear to the portents in Holinshed, constitute an instance of the *Fifteen Signs of Judgment* belonging to Nölle's fifth class. Doubtless those who attended the theatre in Shakespeare's day understood these allusions and were duly impressed by them because of the continued popular reverence for the doomsday tradition.

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THE IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE IN PROVENÇAL

That the imperfect subjunctive was one of the earliest verb-forms to disappear in Vulgar Latin has long been among the most generally accepted doctrines of Romance linguistics. Diez [1] characterized it as "überall erloschen". Foth, however, in his article "Die Verschiebung lateinischer Tempora in den romanischen Sprachen," [2] showed that it has been preserved to this day in the Logudorian dialect of Sardinia, in forms like *kantare, kantere.* Foth's conclusions were accepted, but the Sardinian forms were looked upon as isolated exceptions. The early disappearance of the imperfect subjunctive continued to be regarded as an indubitable fact. Such is the teaching, for instance, of Meyer-Lübke [3] and Grandgent.[4] Bourciez [5] is less affirmative. He insists on the gradual character of its disappearance and hints that traces of the form may still be found in the Roumanian conditional *ar cînta.*

Lately a sharp attack on the prevailing doctrine has been made by Gamillscheg in his "Studien zur Vorgeschichte einer romanischen Tempuslehre",[6] who adduces substantial reasons for believing that the imperfect subjunctive was preserved much longer than is generally supposed. According to him, the form appears in Low Latin texts and documents from all parts of "Romania", though its functions were often usurped by the pluperfect, which became in time the general Romance equivalent. These Low Latin forms may be possibly interpreted as due to classical influence, as the tense of course was never forgotten in the schools. But Gamillscheg [7] shows that, especially in Italy and the Iberian peninsula, its use is so abundant and so wide-spread and is found in documents of such a "vulgar" character that this explanation is hardly admissible. Furthermore, there are found in many early Italian texts a variety of forms in *-are, -ere, -iere, -ire,* which in usage correspond quite closely to the imperfect subjunctive. Gamillscheg thinks that they are, in fact, survivals of this tense. This view has been disputed,[8] and it is possible to interpret many of these forms as infinitives; but I do not believe that the syntax permits such an interpretation for all. Gamillscheg likewise proves [9] that the imperfect subjunctive was constantly used in Low Latin texts of Spain and Portugal, and this enables him to give a new and convincing

[1] *Rom. Gram.,* II, 117.
[2] *Rom. Studien,* II, 243 ff.

[3] *Rom. Gram.,* II, 297.
[4] *Introduction to Vulgar Latin,* 53.
[5] *Eléments de linguistique romane,* 79.
[6] *Sitzungsberichte der K. A. W.,* Bd. 172, Vienna, 1913.
[7] *Op. cit.,* p. 204 ff.
[8] See *ASNS.,* 1913, p. 474.
[9] *Op. cit.,* p. 263 ff.

explanation [10] of the so-called inflected infinitive in Portuguese.

It is my purpose in this article to call attention to two examples in Provençal which seem to me to be true imperfect subjunctives, both in form and function. They are found in one of the earliest troubadours, Marcabru, and present a remarkable likeness to the Italian examples cited by Gamillscheg. The first is found at the beginning of song 15 in the latest edition [11] of Marcabru and reads as follows:

> Cortesamen vuoill comenssar
> Un vers si es qui l'escoutar.

The variants are numerous,[12] but all show the form in *-ar*. Dejeanne reads: *si es qui escout' ar,* which seems to me a counsel of desperation. In reality, the adverb *ar, er,* is almost invariably placed at the beginning of the clause, before the verb, and I have been unable to find a single example where it is found at the end.[13] Its essentially unemphatic character would prohibit its being used as the rime-word in a verse. Nor do I see how the syntax permits the form to be explained as an infinitive. On the other hand, this *escoutar* corresponds perfectly in form to a Latin *auscultaret* and in function [14] resembles quite closely the example from Folcacchiero de' Folcacchieri [15] quoted by Gamillscheg:

> Dolce madonna, poi ch'eo mi moragio
> Non troverai chi sì bene a te servire.

The second example is found in Marcabru, 32, 40.

> Lo cors m'esglaia,
> Ja non o celerai,
> Amors veraia
> Trobar greu fina sai,
> Qu'en lieis non aia
> C'a falsedat retrai.

In my opinion C has the correct reading [16] in the third line (*qu'amor veraia*), and I would correct Dejeanne's translation thus: "J'ai le coeur plein d'effroi et je ne le cacherai pas, car je trouverais difficilement un amour vrai et fin, sans qu'il y ait en lui (en cet amour) quelque chose se rapportant à fausseté." Adopting this interpretation, we have here an example of the imperfect subjunctive (<Lat. **troparem* or *turbarem*) in a conditional function, almost exactly similar to its use in classical Latin. I do not see how it is possible to consider this form *trobar* an infinitive, and the interpretations proposed by Dejeanne (*trob'ar*) and Jeanroy (*trob ar*) are faulty in that they put one of the main accents of the line on the word *ar,* which is usually an unemphatic proclitic.

Such isolated survivals in early texts are by no means unexampled. The rare instances of the form derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative in the oldest French texts present a close parallel. It is quite possible that a more careful scrutiny of the MSS. of the earlier troubadours would reveal other examples of this form, which have been overlooked or changed by scribes or modern editors. As the variants in the Marcabru MSS. show, it must have perplexed the copyists considerably.

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[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 278.

[11] *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru,* p. p. J. M. L. Dejeanne, Toulouse, 1909.

[12] Mss. C.: sil es qui escotar; G.: si es qui coutar; R.: si es qi les cotar.

[13] The longer forms, *ara, era,* do occasionally stand at the end of the clause, at least in prose; see Appel, *Chrestomathie,* p. 192, 23.

[14] Potential in a relative clause of characteristic.

[15] Monaci, *Crestomazia,* No. 40, 38.

[16] Variants: C. Quamor ueraya Trobar greu fina essai; R. Trobar greu fina say; I. Troba argreu f. a.

INTRUSIVE NASALS IN ENGLISH

A few years ago the present writer directed attention to some instances of intrusive nasals in contemporary speech, American and English, and suggested that in the greater part of these instances associative interference was responsible for the added consonants.[1] The bearing of the material presented on the much discussed topic of Middle English added *n,* for

[1] *Englische Studien,* XLV (1912).

which many varying explanations have been offered,[2] was also treated. Some further instances, heterogeneous in character, of infixed *n*, noted since the article cited was printed but reinforcing, it is believed, the position taken there, are these:

Anthens, Athens. "The city of Anthens." Used persistently by a pupil in a secondary school. The inserted *n* might have been carried over from the second syllable; but, in this pupil's usage, there seemed to be confusion of the name with the word *anthem.*

ballant, ballad, a Scotch form. "A beuk of old ballants as yellow as the cowslips." J. Wilson, *Noctes Ambrosianae* (1825), Works, I, 2. Cited in *N. E. D.* See also the ballad *Geordie's Wife* (Child, 209, Text C).

> 'Gar print me ballants weel,' she said,
> 'Gar print me ballants many,
> Gar print me ballants weel,' she said,
> 'That I am a worthy ladie.'

The intrusive *n* in *ballant* probably arises from association with the common *-ant, -ent* suffixes of nouns and adjectives, as in *talent, element, gallant, pedant, peasant, current.*

cementary, cemetery. "I made a trip to the cementary." Same usage as *Athens.* The added consonant is due to *momentary, commentary, sedentary,* etc.

comontie, comedy. "Is not a comontie a Christmas gambold?" Sly's word in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew,* Ind. ii, 140. A mongrel form arising from the fusing with *comedy* of *common.*

daintive, dative. "The daintive case." Used by a pupil in a secondary school; not a nonce-formation, but spoken under the impression that it was the proper form. The speaker was influenced by the words *dainty, plaintive,* etc.

denont, denote. "The place 'from which' is denonted in Latin by the ablative." Same usage as *daintive.*

incindent, incident. "That was an interesting incindent." Same usage as *daintive.* This form has the added *n* of unaccented middle syllables earliest to receive attention.

marcantant, merchant. "A marcantant or a pedant." Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew,* IV, ii, 63. From Italian *mercatante* and *merchant* (*marchant*).

rumfle, to ruffle, rumple. See Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary.* A crossing of *ruffle* and *rumple.*

sumple, supple, pliant. "Her skin is as sumple as a Duchess's." Hardy, *Tess* (1891). Wright. From *supple* influenced by *limber* or *pliant.*

trinkling, trickling. Form used invariably in a version repeated in Nebraska of the Old-World ballad "Lord Lovel." Obviously a crossing of *trickling* and *twinkling.*

> He ordered her grave to be opened wide,
> Her shroud to be folded down,
> And there he kissed her pale cold cheeks
> Till the tears came trinkling down.

Trinkling has been heard also in children's usage in the phrase "trinkling tears."

Among nonce-formations showing intrusive *n* were noted *dinky* for *dickey,* said under the influence of the slang epithet "dinky" used just before, *shenkel* for *shekel,* and *coumplet* spoken for *couplet.*

To Professor Jespersen's instances of names with unstable medial *n,* as *Robinson, Robison, Edmundstone, Edmiston, Hutchinson, Hutchison,* and the like,[3] giving rise, he suggests, to analogous unstable medial *n* (afterward becoming permanent) in *nightingale, messenger,* etc., may be added the name *Higginson,* or *Higgeson,* of the American colonist:

"At this meeting information was given by Mr. Nowell by letters ffrom Izake Johnson,

[2] See especially O. Jespersen *Englische Studien,* XXXI (1902), also *Modern English Grammar,* I (1910); H. Logeman, *Englische Studien,* XXXIV (1904); Otto Ritter, *Archiv,* CXIII (1904); Karl Luick, *ibid.,* CXIV (1905).

[3] *Modern English Grammar,* I, p. 35.

that one Mr. Higgeson of Lester, an able minister" . . . "and if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to goe this present voiage."[4]

"Mr. ffrancis Higgeson & Mr. Samuell Sketon intended ministers of the plantaçon", etc.[5]

The word *flounder* has been explained as a nasalized form of the Dutch *flodderen,* through the influence of *flounce,* or of *flounder,* the fish.[6] *Galantine,* from French *galatine,* a special sauce for fish, has an added *n,* through association with *gallant;* but the added *n* is brought from French, which has the nasalized form alongside the unnasalized. Blending is probably responsible also for the *n*'s in the two words of doubtful etymology, *chump* and *jumper,* the garment. The former, *i. e.,* a man as unintelligent as a block or chump (*i. e.,* short thick lump) of wood is perhaps an amalgamation of *chop* and *lump.*[7] A derivation from *chub* has also been suggested,[8] in which case the term would still be a blend, gaining its *n* from *lump, bump,* etc. If *chump* is a byform of *chunk,* the nasal is accounted for without the assumption of intrusion. Probably, however, none of these derivations is sufficient in itself, but the word is rather to be classed as an "echoic composite" or "indefinite blend."[9] A plausible etymology for *jumper,* from the obsolete *jump,* blouse, short coat, connects it with the French *juppe,* associated with *jump,* the verb and substantive, *i. e.,* the garment is one which may be "jumped on" in a hurry.[10] Compare a "slip." If this be the case, blending is again responsible for the added nasal.

[4] *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay,* I, 37, 38. Cited in T. W. Higginson's *Life of Francis Higginson,* N. Y., 1891, p. 32.

[5] From Young's *Chronicle of Massachusetts,* p. 316. Cited in T. W. Higginson's *Life,* p. 36.

[6] *The Century Dictionary.*

[7] The *New English Dictionary.*

[8] *The Century Dictionary.*

[9] See "Indefinite Composites and Word-Coinage," *The Modern Language Review,* July, 1913.

[10] The *New English Dictionary,* also *The Century Dictionary.*

The etymology of most of the words cited in the last paragraph is too uncertain for much weight to be given to their testimony.

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RECENT WORKS ON THE THEORY OF THE *NOVELLE*

Die Rolle des Erzählers in der Epik, von Dr. KÄTE FRIEDEMANN. (Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte hrsg. von O. F. Walzel, 7. Heft.) Leipzig, 1910. 246 pp.

Die Entwicklung der novellistischen Kompositionstechnik Kleists bis zur Meisterschaft. (*Der Findling, Die Verlobung in San Domingo, Das Erdbeben in Chili. Die Marquise von O. . . . Unter Ausschlusz des Kohlhaas-Fragmentes*), von KURT GÜNTHER. Leipzig Dissertation, 1911. 88 pp.

Die novellistische Kunst Heinrichs von Kleist, von HERMANN DAVIDTS. (Bonner Forschungen, Neue Folge V.) Berlin, 1913. 151 pp.

These three works, appearing within the last four years, represent a new departure in the critical study of narrative art in general and of the *Novellen* of Kleist in particular. They agree in marking a reaction from the Spielhagen definition of the *Novelle.* While Friedemann lays down the general laws underlying this departure, Günther and Davidts apply these laws to the investigation of Kleist's technique and throw new light upon his development as a writer of prose fiction. They upset some long-cherished theories concerning both the date of composition of some of the *Novellen* and their relative importance in the development of the artist Kleist.

Much has been written since the days of Spielhagen upon the points of resemblance be-

tween the drama and the *Novelle,* and attempts have been made—especially by naturalists like Holz and Schlaf—to produce *Novellen* that should be almost nothing but dialogue. Friedemann proceeds from the opposite point of departure and furnishes us with valuable points of distinction between the two phases of literature. To her the essence of all epic writing, including the *Novelle,* lies in the open and undisguised narration of a series of events by a third person—the author himself, or some one to whom he delegates the task. Through the eyes of this third person we see and judge the characters. The essence of the dramatic form of literature lies in the illusion which the drama creates that we are ourselves present at the action and get our information concerning the characters only from themselves. The novel and *Novelle,* then, represent Kant's world, in which not "das Ding an sich" is experienced, but only its reflex in the mind of the one who tells the tale. Spielhagen's insistence on the elimination of the narrator, which, according to Friedemann, resulted in a lamentable impoverishment of the *Novelle,* she explains as a natural reaction against the exaggerated verbosity of his time. The tendency to make of the prose tale a repository for the author's sentiments or views on all sorts of questions entirely extraneous to his plot (a tendency which, she might have added, goes back to no less a person than Tieck and his powerful influence) is responsible for this almost superstitious fear of the innocent narrator. She aptly calls it a "Kampf gegen die Willkür im Namen des Gesetzes" (p. 28). It led Spielhagen to confuse "dramatic illusion" with "intellectual objectivity." This latter is not a matter of form so much as an attitude of mind on the author's part. Schiller, who certainly preserved dramatic illusion, was accused by Grillparzer of making *Maria Stuart* only his mouthpiece (p. 4). We might add that good narrators from Homer to Schnitzler have combined a high degree of objectivity with the frankest narration of the story by the author.

Upon the principle of epic art outlined above, the author bases her theory of the epic "Blickpunkt," the matrix of her entire study. This is the telling designation which she gives to the method in which the reader is made to participate in the events related in the tale. In the drama, the "Blickpunkt" may be in one or more of the characters; the author disappears altogether, and the reader views events always through the eyes of the participants; in the narrative, however, the narrator frankly takes the reader with him, and all that happens is witnessed by the reader through the medium of this person, to whom all these events are past history, and who can at will lead the reader forward or backward, tell him secrets which the characters of the fiction do not know, and place him at any point of vantage he chooses. In the so-called dramatic *Novellen,* the "Blickpunkt" is often placed, for a time at least, in the characters themselves, but sooner or later it must needs shift to the narrator. (We shall see later, that, according to Davidts, Kleist passes in his *Novellen* from the employment of the dramatic to the epic "Blickpunkt." Davidts uses this fact as one of the criteria by which he distinguishes the earlier from the later *Novellen.*) From this fundamental law of epic "Blickpunkt," the author derives as necessary corollaries the various details of technique, *i. e.,* direct and indirect characterization, setting of the scene, use of direct and indirect speech, use of metaphors and similes, etc.

Friedemann maintains that the attempt to make the narrative "dramatic" by insisting on the dramatic "Blickpunkt" and the almost complete elimination of the narrator as in Holz and Schlaf's *Neue Gleise* and other tales of the naturalistic school deprives the narrator of many natural advantages and tends greatly to impoverish the *Novelle* (p. 126). This is well illustrated by a comparison of Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* in its original narrative form, with the later dramatization of the story. In the novel, habitual actions which, while not dramatically important, were characteristically significant and illuminating, were frequently briefly summarized. This advantage the dramatization lost, since the drama has no recourse except to have such actions repeated on the stage, which would give them undue emphasis in the economy of the plot. From this fact the author

deduces with acumen: "Vielleicht ist hier der tiefste Grund dafür zu suchen, dasz im allgemeinen das Drama mehr Handlung, der Roman mehr Zuständliches bietet" (p. 127).

The epic "Blickpunkt" must needs exercise a controlling influence over all details of technique. Thus, by the frequent use of indirect speech, an author is enabled to summarize briefly what is less important, throwing the important communications into high relief by employing direct quotation. By direct characterization the narrator can put his readers immediately in possession of the essential facts concerning the characters, and from the point of vantage of one who knows the outcome as well as the genesis can throw light on significant passages which might otherwise escape the reader. From the same point of vantage also, the narrator can take liberties with time, beginning (like Otto Ludwig in *Zwischen Himmel und Erde*) with the end, only afterwards taking the reader back to the beginning of the story (p. 109).

There is perhaps a tendency on the part of Friedemann to overrate the advantages of the epic technique over the dramatic. Though the dramatist is more bound to representation of the action in chronological order and lacks the epic writer's opportunities of referring easily and naturally to the future and the past, yet we have but to consider Ibsen's analytical dramas (I need but mention *Rosmersholm* as one out of several) to become aware, that the consummate dramatic artist has ways and means at his command of drawing the past and the future into the action of the present, not as dead narratives, nor as a "prologue cut off from the play itself" (p. 108), but as living forces and most telling influences. A more detailed comparison here between the dramatic and the epic method of producing these results would have been desirable. This criticism, however, seems cavil when applied to a work that adds so much to our insight of narrative technique. The chapters under "Der Blickpunkt des Erzählers" and "Die Komposition" are especially clarifying and will form the basis for entirely new criticisms of individual writers of fiction, as they have already done for the evaluation of Kleist.

Quite in accord with the principles laid down by Friedemann, both Günther and Davidts trace in Kleist's *Novellen* a steady progress from the dramatic to the purely epic technique. Davidts, especially, demonstrates that the so-called later *Novellen* are by no means proof of decaying powers, but show rather a gradually strengthening grasp upon the fundamental principles of epic form and a daring advance into original paths of composition, so that we have every reason to believe that Kleist was on the way to become the creator of the modern German novel, as well as of the modern German drama.

This theory led Günther and Davidts to consider the *Novellen* from a new point of view: as exponents, complementary to the dramas, of Kleist's development as an artist. Basing upon salient points of content and of form, they both essay a redating of the *Novellen*, which yields original results. Though differing in some important details, they agree in the daring innovation of placing the three *Novellen: Verlobung, Erdbeben,* and *Findling* very much earlier in Kleist's productive period than had ever before been done. Günther, in an earlier study (*Euphorion* VIII, Ergänzungsheft), had tried to prove that, so far from being a product of Kleist's last and decadent years, *Findling* was by content, mood, and many details of form, closely related to the earliest period of productivity—to the *Schroffenstein*-period. *Verlobung* and *Erdbeben* he places very soon after, and forms of them, together with the "Kohlhaas-Fragment," a group that he calls "Werke der realistisch-tragischen Periode," and which occupies the period between 1801 and 1807 (p. 14). Davidts agrees with Günther in the dating of the group as a whole, but he places *Erdbeben* and *Verlobung* before *Findling* and relates the latter rather with the *Guiskard* than with the *Schroffenstein* mood. Both agree that *Findling* is a novel *in nuce,* "ein Romanvorwurf auf achtzehn Seiten gezwängt" (Günther, p. 35) rather than a dramatic *Novelle,* like the other two. Davidts shows through a large number of instances that, as regards inner form, *Erdbeben* and *Verlobung* are more

closely related to the *Schroffenstein*-period, the very names of the characters of *Erdbeben* being almost in every instance identical with those of *Schroffenstein* (Davidts, p. 23). The prevailing idea of human puppets in the hand of an inexorable fate, which animates especially *Erdbeben,* but also *Verlobung,* is identical with the mood of *Die Familie Schroffenstein,* and Davidts adduces many points of relation, especially the mood of almost morbid depression and pessimism in *Findling,* with the period of Kleist's despair over the failure of *Guiskard* (Davidts, p. 49). Furthermore, Davidts points out that while *Erdbeben* and *Verlobung* evidently arose from the visualization of a single dramatic scene, the *Findling* is a study of character. In this respect it is to be classed with *Penthesilea* and *Kohlhaas* (pp. 45 and 10). The loose construction of *Findling,* the evident groping for an untried method of expression, which causes Günther to place the *Findling* first in Kleist's *Novellen,* Davidts explains in part by the belief that Kleist evidently gave this early attempt only the most casual revision before its publication in 1811, in part by the belief that here Kleist for the first time tried a purely epic style, the previous *Novellen* having been, both in respect to "Blickpunkt" and all the details of style, almost completely dramatic. "Mit dem *Findling* beginnt die Reihe der epischen Novellen" (p. 91).

Both Günther and Davidts see in these three *Novellen* Kleist's period of preparation and experiment in epic technique, of which the artistic fruition is to be found in *Kohlhaas.* They accept Meyer-Benfey's analysis of the triple division of the *Kohlhaas* material (*Euphorion* XV). Günther does not carry his study further, as he considers this the culmination of Kleist's development into a master of narrative. Davidts makes a minute study of all the *Novellen* and obtains some very interesting results. The evidence of the architectural arrangement of material in all the tales, which seems to point to a much more conscious art than is usually attributed to Kleist, the careful analysis of Kleist's method of placing the "Blickpunkt," almost completely dramatic in *Erdbeben* and *Verlobung,* epic for the first time in *Findling* (p. 128); these are valuable results and throw much light on Kleist's method and on his development.

A most original bit of criticism is that of *Die Marquise von O.* Davidts here quotes at length an article published by Günther in the *Vossische Zeitung* (Sonntagsbeilage) for November 19, 1911. This *Novelle* was there dissected as a comedy of situation, with a serious background of almost tragic character-struggle on the part of the heroine—a Shakespearean mixture of the tragic and the farcical. Davidts, who agrees on the whole with Günther's opinion, sees in the mood of the story a new element in Kleist's attitude towards society: "Er söhnt sich aus mit der gebrechlichen Einrichtung der Welt, und lernt weltbürgerlich denken" (p. 69).

Equally new and suggestive is Davidt's interpretation of *Bettelweib* and *Cäcilie.* Both tales bear the same burden: madness induced by mysterious sound. The author sees in them "Produkte des kleistischen Lebensringens, seines dichterischen Ideals, Dichtkunst und Musik durch Wort- und Tonkunst zu vereinen." He calls them "wortmusikalische Kompositionen," renewed attempts at reaching the Guiskard ideal (pp. 85 ff.). He compares the compositions to Bach fugues and carries out the parallel in minute and convincing fashion. Thus the very *Novellen* which have usually been considered indubitable signs of the poet's decaying powers are made to appear as the promising first-fruits of a newly discovered section of the *terra incognita* of narrative art.

All three works here discussed undoubtedly lead us to higher levels in criticism and open vistas which will modify all future views of Kleist's *Novellen.* Günther and Davidts also augment the poignancy of our regret that so much promise on Kleist's part should have been left unfulfilled.

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Les Comédies-Ballets de Molière par MAURICE PELLISSON. Paris, Hachette, 1914. x + 234 pp.

The lover of Molière ordinarily regards the *comédies-ballets* with an unmixed sentiment. It is one of resentment that the man of genius, overworked in his theater and harried in his home, should have been obliged to waste his time in writing them and in producing them. In the best of these spectacles he can see only the material for pure comedy tricked out with song and dance to meet the exacting taste of the king.

It is precisely this attitude on the part of the lover of Molière that Mr. Pellisson sets himself to correct in his book, and the result is a thesis rather than a dissertation. The chief defect is one inseparable perhaps from books dealing with the minor works of an author: a loss of perspective and the disappearance of the greater behind the less, so that the reader is apt to close the book with a bewildered sense that the real Molière is to be sought in the author of *La Princesse d'Elide* and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac.* And he carries away this feeling in spite of the numerous protests of the author.

Mr. Pellisson in the beginning states certain prejudices current against the *comédies-ballets.* These prejudices are chiefly: first, that the pieces are in themselves negligible, being hastily scrambled together at royal command; and second, that they took time and energy which Molière would rather, and should rather, have devoted to greater works. These prejudices he sets out to overcome, and let it be said at once that he succeeds in the first instance, but not altogether in the second.

A certain obliquity of reasoning, as well as a confusion of impression, results from the author's neglecting to divide the *comédies-ballets* into classes, and from his habit of drawing on one or the other of them for illustration as the point in question demands. Now there are thirteen of the pieces considered, and they range all the way from *Georges Dandin,* which belongs in the category only by virtue of its having been inserted in a spectacle, and *Les Fâcheux,* which was written first as a comedy and then furnished with ballets, to *Les Amants magnifiques* and *La Princesse d'Elide* and *Mélicerte,* which have no possible excuse for being except as the frame for court pageants. Between these extremes we have *Le Malade imaginaire* and *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas,* which may stand alone as finished comedies without the need of any ballet, the *Pastorale comique,* virtually the libretto of a comic operetta, *Le Mariage forcé,* which was a ballet at the court but a farce in the city, *L'Amour médecin* and *Le Sicilien,* which are true *opéras comiques,* and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac,* true types of the *comédie-ballet,* but rising far above the genre by virtue of their brilliant characterization. If the author had made some such division, it would have been to the advantage not only of a clearer exposition, but of his own thesis as well. The most reverential worshipper of Molière is willing to grant favors to Monsieur Jourdain that he will not extend to Mélicerte.

Mr. Pellisson is so preoccupied with the two points that he is aiming to establish—that the *comédies-ballets* are in themselves valuable and that they do not exist to the prejudice of greater works—that it is impossible in a review of his book to separate the thesis from the data he brings forward. And this is a pity, for the data in themselves are comprehensive, many of them new or viewed from an original angle, and they are marshalled in orderly arrangement except for the confusion above mentioned.

In his first chapter he reviews briefly the prejudices existing against this genre; in the second he sets himself to prove that Molière liked it and did not judge it inferior. It is in this chapter that he endeavors to prove the most, and here that he stretches argument to the breaking point. He quotes for the opposition the famous passage from *L'Impromptu de Versailles* (scene 3) in which Molière gave from the stage with his own mouth his theory of comedy. This is his *poetica,* and sketches the material for five or six comedies of character and of custom drawn from the court alone. Mr. Pellisson responds that in this

passage Molière says nothing to warrant our believing that this form of the comic art was the only one legitimate in his eyes (p. 14). Perhaps not; but it does show that at the end of the year 1663 his mind was running over with material for comedies of character and of custom, and that he was laying out for himself a program that allowed no leisure for court spectacles. And in January of 1664 he produced the ballet of *Le Mariage forcé* at the king's command, and four months later *La Princesse d'Elide* for the huge pageant of *Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée.* Much leisure these productions left him for writing comedies of character. Some of the material sketched in *L'Impromptu* appears in *Le Misanthrope* in 1666; but *Le Misanthrope* itself is buried between *L'Amour médecin,* which precedes it, and the farce *Le Médecin malgré lui* with the ballets *Mélicerte, Pastorale comique,* and *Le Sicilien,* which immediately follow it. Was this the sort of thing Molière had in mind when he spoke from the stage in his own person in *L'Impromptu?*

Mr. Pellisson's argument on this point amounts to this: Molière does not say he will *not* produce *comédies-ballets,* therefore he took pleasure in producing them. He has some other arguments that may be reduced to some such syllogistic form as this: ballets were popular with the people at this time; Molière loved to please the people; therefore Molière loved to produce ballets (p. 21). He argues further that these pieces gave Molière the opportunity to show the various sides of his talent as an actor, notably his ability as a singer and dancer. He mentions the fact that Molière introduced singing into his own rôles of Mascarille, of Lysandre (*Les Fâcheux*), of Moron (*Princesse d'Elide*), of Sganarelle (*Médecin malgré lui*), of Lycas (*Pastorale comique*), and of Don Pèdre (*Sicilien*) (p. 24). The difficulty with this argument is that *Les Précieuses ridicules* and *Le Médecin malgré lui* are not *comédies-ballets,* and that in all of the rôles the singing is burlesque. Molière did not apparently pique himself on the possession of a superior voice and method; and when he wanted to introduce singing into a rôle he did not hesitate to do so in farce and comedy as well as in the ballets. A more convincing argument is that by producing these entertainments Molière gained the favor of the king, brought his company into prominence, and got the money that he needed for himself and them. This may readily be granted, but it can hardly be taken as proof of Molière's artistic preference for the genre.

That Molière begrudged the time and labor spent on these ballets, and regretted that he had not the leisure to write great comedies, Mr. Pellisson says can not be proved by any word or allusion of the dramatist (p. 26). Certainly Molière did not refer in so many words to his own *"hautes comédies";* Mr. Pellisson himself calls attention (p. 29) to his consistent modesty in referring to his own works. But that he was rushed in their production, that the king in his commands displayed a royal indifference to his purveyor's time and strength, we have ample proof. One has only to read Molière's speech in his own person to Madeleine Béjart in *L'Impromptu* (scene 1), his foreword to *L'Amour médecin,* which ballet, he says, was "conceived, written, learned and played in five days"; and that to *Les Fâcheux,* for which a fortnight was allowed; one has only to consider *Mélicerte,* left uncompleted at the second act, and *La Princesse d'Elide,* commenced in verse and finished in prose, to understand how little consideration the king showed Molière. And that is the main point; no matter if these spectacles did not literally supplant some great comedy, they imposed on time already filled to overflowing, and sapped strength already near to the breaking point. We must remember, too, that any consideration of Molière's activity must take account of the fact that he was actor and producer, as well as author. That he should have been obliged to waste himself on these vanities in his triple capacity must seem to us monstrous.

In the chapters on the antecedents of the *comédie-ballet* and Molière's method of constructing them, there is little room for the thesis, and in them Mr. Pellisson gives much

that is new and illuminating. The court ballet before Molière was a conventional affair, with dances, songs, and *récits,* spoken or sung, with so little connection that programs were necessary to tell the spectators what it was about. The *entrées,* or dances, were the main consideration, and the songs and recitations helped to explain them. Molière's originality consists in joining these elements to form a dramatic unity, and that it was a conscious innovation we know from the *avertissement* to *Les Fâcheux,* the first of his *comédies-ballets:*

"Pour ne point rompre le fil de la pièce par ces manières d'intermèdes, on s'avisa de les coudre au sujet du mieux que l'on put, et de ne faire qu'une seule chose du ballet et de la comédie. . . . Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est un mélange qui est nouveau pour nos théâtres."

Les Fâcheux, to be sure, was written as a comedy, and the ballets were inserted afterward; but even so they come on *à propos* of the action. And as Molière went on he developed the genre, till in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* we have the antecedents of true *opéra comique,* with the singing and dancing so intimately bound up with the text that either part would be incomplete of itself. It is interesting to note that in this present year Wolf-Ferrari, perhaps the most promising of the younger Italian composers, has produced successfully his opera *L'Amore medico,* with the libretto but little changed from Molière's text.

In the chapters on poetry and fancy in the *comédies-ballets* Mr. Pellisson brings forward some of his most original observations. He very justly remarks that in this genre Molière's poetic fancy has freer rein than in his greater comedies, and in it we are treated to an aspect of the poet's genius too often ignored. If this fancy is not that of Shakespeare or of Aristophanes, if *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and *Le Malade imaginaire* stand more solidly on the earth than *The Tempest* or *The Clouds,* still they are pure fantasies, no less ample in their scope than these. The charming little saynète of *Le Sicilien* is pure poetry, and even in the pastorals there comes a breath from the forest of Arden.

The author brings out some interesting facts as to the medium in which the *comédies-ballets* are written. Save for the first act and part of the second of *La Princesse d'Elide* they are all printed in prose. But Mr. Pellisson shows that much of this is rhythmical prose, and not a little of it blank verse. This fact did not altogether escape Molière's contemporaries, and Ménage had noticed that *Le Sicilien* was "a little comedy all woven of unrhymed verses of six, five, or four feet." Our present critic goes much further, and finds verses scattered freely through all the *comédies-ballets,* detecting them in many places where they are not, perhaps, to be distinguished by any but a French ear. But the whole field of rhythmical prose is too uncertain for a foreigner to venture upon it, and we can only say that Mr. Pellisson proves that Molière used a different medium for these pieces, a prose that slipped often into verse, and was admirably adapted to the matter in hand.

Possibly the most important and most original points made in the book are in connection with the question of social satire in the comedies. The author calls attention to the fact that after 1666, after *Tartuffe* and *Don Juan* and *Le Misanthrope,* Molière wrote no more social satires. His two remaining great comedies, *L'Avare* and *Les Femmes savantes* belong to the field of moral and literary satire. Why was this? Brunetière[1] offers a literary reason: that Molière felt that he was getting away from true comedy and was tending to *drame;* that he felt that he had come face to face with the impassable barriers of the genre, and turned back to the field of lighter comedy. Mr. Pellisson has a different reason, and a convincing one. He holds that after the attacks delivered by the marquises on account of the *Critique de l'Ecole des femmes,* and the assaults of the church provoked by *Tartuffe* and *Don Juan,* Molière felt that the ground of social comedy was no longer a safe one for him to tread, and abandoned it; and that after 1666 he confined this social satire to the *comédies-ballets.* At first glance this seems like more of Mr. Pel-

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Jan. 1, 1906.

lisson's predilection for the genre, but the facts bear him out; let it be remembered that the great attacks on the doctors are delivered in *L'Amour médecin, Monsieur de Pourceaugnac,* and *Le Malade imaginaire;* that M. Jourdain and the masters that surround him, as well as the parasitic nobles, figure in a *comédie-ballet;* that the philosophers Pancrace and Marphurius appear in *Le Mariage forcé;* and that in *Georges Dandin* one of the most searching questions of any society and any time is propounded. Mr. Pellisson does not claim that Molière did this consciously; but he did it, and the presence of this social satire in these pieces does more than any other one thing to bring them near the level of the greater works.

This book is not one that the student of Molière can afford to neglect. If the author does not succeed in reconciling us to the pastorals, if we must still regret that the greatness of a man was subjected to the littleness of a king, yet for the best of the *comédies-ballets* he performs a service well worth the doing. He analyzes them with a scholarly thoroughness, he brings to bear on the subject many points of internal and external evidence hitherto unknown or ignored, and, finally, raises them to the dignity of a place of their own in the *petit théâtre* of Molière.

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Les Chants des Grecs et le philhellénisme de Wilhelm Müller par GASTON CAMINADE. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1913. 8vo., 198 pp. (Bibliothèque de Philologie et de Littérature modernes.)

This intelligent, thoroughgoing work of French scholarship shows a fresh and vital interest in German culture, and offers a happy token of the social and friendly influence of humane studies. The author treats the German War of Liberation objectively and sympathetically (Napoleon's rule is termed "une oppression humiliante et brutale"). The order of presentation is clear, and there is every evidence of wide and deep research. Good use is made of R. F. Arnold's important study, *Der deutsche Philhellenismus* (*Euphorion,* 1896); although the author does not rise to Arnold's distinction of style, he shows himself well able to continue Arnold's investigations in an independent spirit. Like the latter, he views the German enthusiasm for the independence of the Greeks under three heads: the passion for political freedom; religious faith;[1] love of ancient Greek culture.

All of these elements are accounted for, and studied exhaustively from their beginnings. The author is among the first to exploit the materials contained in Müller's singularly intimate diary (Chicago, 1903), but one gains the impression that he is not familiar with the very rare *Bundesblüthen* as a factor in accounting for the doings of Müller's Muse, "cette modeste et paisible fille des champs," after 1821,—a suspicion which is strengthened by the fact that no mention is made in the bibliography of the easily accessible reprint of Müller's contributions in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* Vol. XIII.

Beginning with a general survey of German enthusiasm for Greek liberation, the work considers in turn the evolution of the *Griechenlieder,* their historical background, literary influences, their literary value, the significance of Müller's translations of Fauriel's Greek *Volkslieder.*[2]

Müller's poems are justly held to be the most interesting products of the whole movement, because they give the most faithful presentation, in their entirety and in their details, of the vibrant enthusiasm which stirred all

[1] In paying tribute to Müller's dream of devoting himself to studying theology, and living "ganz für Gott und sein Wort," Caminade omits mention of Müller's touching preliminary, that he should first draw the grand prize in the lottery.

[2] It is not generally known that the MS. of Daniel Sanders' important collection of modern Greek folk-songs has been acquired by the library of Northwestern University.

Europe in witnessing the regeneration of Greece.

Caminade agrees with the editor of the critical edition of Müller's poems (Berlin, 1906) in the reconstruction of the third fascicule of the *Neue Lieder der Griechen,* which was suppressed by the Leipzig censorship in 1823. The missing eighth song, which Müller sent Brockhaus on July 17, 1823, is still unaccounted for. It may be mentioned that Mrs. N. C. Terrill of the University of Kansas has elaborated a plausible argument for including the *Hymne auf den Tod Raphael Riegos* in this group, in spite of intrinsic chronological obstacles. The reasoning is based upon the following facts: (1) In an unpublished letter to F. A. Brockhaus, written as early as January 29, 1823, Müller wrote: "Vielleicht singe ich bald *Lieder der Hispanier.* Die Antwort des Kortes an den heiligen Bund ist grossartig und würde sich leicht einer poetischen Behandlung fügen." (2) Müller had a remarkable habit of celebrating the death of his heroes long before the event, as in the case of Canaris (*Konstantin Kanari*), Botzaris (*Bozzari*), and Odysseus (*Odysseus' Tod*), a poem sent to Brockhaus on September 12, 1822, but withdrawn by its author on September 29, on the convincing ground, "da dieser entweder lebt, oder ein Verräther ist." The details of Riego's execution (November 7, 1823) reflected in the poem seem to me, however, to go beyond the powers of any poet, be he never so prophetic.

Another problem lies in Müller's relation to the modern Greek "political verse" of fifteen syllables, which he employed so largely in translating Fauriel (the original French volumes published in 1824 and 1825). Arnold and Caminade count eleven *Griechenlieder* in this form, but there are, strictly speaking, but four, all of them in the suppressed *Drittes Heft,* and all written toward the end of 1822 or in the earlier part of 1823. No satisfactory reason has yet been shown for Müller's sudden adoption of this most characteristic meter before the appearance of Fauriel's collection.

The task of distinguishing between the two editions of the *Missolunghi*-brochure (p. 33) is reduced to zero if one bears in mind that the Dessau copy is printed in Latin letters, while that of Dresden is in German text.

Caminade's singular accuracy in regard to obscure and scattered German sources is especially praiseworthy. On p. 32, l. 2, for *Kanaris* should be read *Kanari;* for *von der Rechte* (p. 33), *von der Recke;* for *Griechischer Feuer* (p. 142), *Griechisches Feuer;* for *Vester* (p. 113), *Veste.* Before the mention of Max Müller's untrustworthy sketch of his father's life in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie* some danger-signal should have been displayed. On p. 24 the name of a professor who has worked in this field undergoes a painful mutilation. The poem *Gegen die Pharisäer* (p. 29) appeared later as *Griechisches Feuer,* and not as *Die verpestete Freiheit;* similarly on page 30, after *Griechisches Feuer* should occur, in parenthesis, "déjà paru."

To the biographical sources on p. 194 should be added an article on Müller's *Diary and Correspondence* in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for March, 1902; among "German periodicals" (p. 198) might well be mentioned the *Deutsche Blätter für Poesie, Litteratur, Kunst und Theater,* Breslau, 1823, as being the only source for Müller's dramatic fragment, *Leo, Admiral von Cypern,* a production which has a real bearing upon the matter of the book. There is, unfortunately, no index to this otherwise well-elaborated publication.

I cannot forbear to plead here for a full edition of Müller's letters to F. A. Brockhaus and his son Heinrich, extending from 1819 to the last day of the poet's life. One hundred and twenty-nine in number, they shed an incomparable light upon his entire literary activity, but they remain locked away in the inaccessible archives of the Brockhaus-firm in Leipzig. Surely there can no longer be any good reason for withholding them from publication!

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François Villon: sa Vie et son Temps. Par PIERRE CHAMPION. Paris, Champion, 1913. Two vols. viii + 332 pp. with 24 plates, and 450 pp. with 25 plates.

In recent years no fresh external evidence explicitly concerning François Villon has come to light, so that a "life" of Villon, if written without reference to the internal evidence or to the external evidence which without naming Villon is applicable to him, might still be narrated in a page or two. But Villon's 3161 extant verses are so personal, so well packed with autobiography, and contain so many passages which allude to other men and women, or to the physical and moral environment in which he lived, that it is possible to combine the information derived from both sources in a rich narrative the essential truthfulness of which the most skeptical critic need have no frequent reasons to doubt. If Mr. Pierre Champion occasionally ratifies uncertainty with a *sans doute,* we may calmly substitute a ?, lay the peccadillo to a momentary weakness, and continue to follow him with a conviction that, if not ten times out of ten, at least nine, the hundreds of archives which he has examined with his own eyes or has quoted indirectly say what he says they do and warrant the conclusions which he has drawn. If Mr. Champion has not enabled us to see even "the tip of Villon's little finger," he has made him tangible in the psychological sense, and this Villon, more important to us than the most accurate physical presentment, he has caused to move amid his original surroundings, making these as visible as word-pictures allow when they are reinforced by many reproductions of original miniatures, woodcuts of things and persons, maps of Villon's Paris, etc.

"Il fauldroit avoir esté de son temps à Paris"—so wrote Villon's first critical editor, Clément Marot, about 1532, and Mr. Champion has taken this saying as a motto to be followed with all possible diligence. "J'ai donc tenté de promener le lecteur à travers ce Paris où Villon a beaucoup erré, en lui nommant au passage les maisons des légataires, les particularités de la rue et de la vie parisienne que mentionna le poète, ce qu'un écolier de son temps aurait aperçu dans la grand'ville. Ce sera, si l'on veut, un voyage d'imagination, mais tout entier justifié par des documents."

This desire has produced an entertaining book of great value to those who wish to know as intimately as is possible at present how Paris looked about 1450 and to study the life of "la grand'ville"—the manners, thoughts, and acts, and chiefly in these all that helps a careful reader of Villon to realize most vividly and accurately what Villon means in truth by the scores of otherwise obscure passages in his extremely personal and extremely local descriptions, mentions, and allusions. To attempt to read Villon without Champion to guide would be in most cases to rely on meagre or colourless information and, in many cases, to wander in the dark. His two volumes constitute in fact a rich commentary on all Villon's extant poems. Open Champion and you will find, for example, not merely a satisfying word-picture of Saint-Benoit le Bétourné, where Villon lived with his "plus que père," but the church and its cloister are put before your eyes in two excellent plates; so that cemetery of the Holy Innocents where Villon and his contemporaries met so often to gossip or ponder among the graves and heaps of bones; you can go down to the *Abrouvouer Popin* among the washerwomen, or contemplate the palace of Robert d'Estouteville or inspect either of the two thick-walled buildings where Villon was legally detained; the very stained-glass window in which Villon's mother, *povrette et ancienne,* who didn't know A from B, saw with fear

> Paradis paint, ou sont harpes et lus,
> Et ung enfer ou dampnez sont boullus:—

is identified. If you really are inquisitive as to that queen who had Buridan put in a bag and dumped, not into the Seine but onto a shock-absorbing heap of hay that this last of her lovers had caused to be strewn in the invisible barge that lay waiting under her window to receive him, you will find the whole

legend—all that any one need know of it—in Champion. Villon's *Rommant du Pet au Deable* has disappeared not less irretrievably than Echo or Hellois, but Mr. Champion does his best to compensate posterity for the loss by reproducing in its entirety a detailed program of a student revelry like that which must have been held, with acts of violence, arrests, and trials when Villon and others triumphantly removed Mlle de Bruyères's precious meteorite, or whatever it may have been. To the *Pet au Deable* Gaston Paris could devote only three pages of his *Villon* (1901); Mr. Champion could afford eleven and they are twice as capacious. Mr. Champion's two volumes contain no evidence that he felt cramped at any point; occasionally, it must be said, this agreeable guide slackens his pace unduly (considering the lively interest which he has maintained till that moment), and we often find ourselves back at some tavern—*le Mouton,* for example—or other "sight" whose history is repeated, at least in part, as if there had been no previous presentation. So it is with the men and women who had, or may have had, some connection with Villon; and so it is also with numerous psychological estimates, moral or artistic appraisals, etc. Had Mr. Champion made his admirable index not merely to help his readers, but to use for his own benefit before sending his book to press, he would have been able to check up his numerous repetitions and to cut them all out. Such a trimming would have enabled him to deal rather minutely with various important matters which he has hardly even touched. For example—

Mr. Champion often quotes from unexploited sources of many kinds passages which show clearly how a given word or phrase employed obscurely by Villon is to be understood, but to Villon's language as a whole he grants only a few scattered remarks, based, not upon systematic study, but upon such impressions as an intelligent reader may gather *en route.* At the present writing, we have no ready means of knowing to what degree Villon's French differs from that of other verse-makers of his time; worse still, although Villon is considered, in France and elsewhere, to be the most gifted lyric poet of his time in all Europe, and though he is read by many persons (including specialists) who find his language difficult or misunderstand it, nobody has published even a good glossary to his 3161 verses. What they deserve and must have, if we are to read Villon comfortably, accurately, what we must have before any competent judge can venture a respectable estimate of Villon's style (whatever that may be), is a complete lexicon, accompanied by a purely linguistic commentary packed with relevant quotations from many other writers of his time, including the anonymous authors of legal documents, etc. Such a commentary and such a lexicon might enable us to judge discreetly whether a given word or locution was living or archaic, prosaic or poetical, plebeian or refined, technical or universal, normal or freakish, etc.

Again (I, 201), Mr. Champion seems to think that certain rimes of Villon's belong to "the street," though they may be duplicated easily in various poets of that time and earlier who were not trying for "realistic" or comic effects. Whatever may be its intrinsic interest, the quotation from Henry Estienne is misleading: that this Hellenist, writing a century after Villon, considered it ridiculous to say "mon frere Piarre," etc., proves nothing except that he thought so; if Mr. Champion, or any one else, will reread Villon he will find that in the poet's most solemn verses, where he is certainly not putting in "local colour," we meet rimes which would have been thought equally characteristic of the street fifty or a hundred years later. Villon's versification has not yet been made the subject of methodical study, so far as I am aware.

Before any such linguistic investigation of Villon is undertaken we should know where we stand as to the oldest texts. "Les sources principales du texte de Villon," say Messrs. Longnon and Foulet (1914), "sont au nombre de cinq"—to wit, four MSS. and Pierre Levet's edition (1489). They add: "Il paraît impossible d'établir la filiation de ces sources principales. On ne peut cependant méconnaître d'une part la communauté d'origine de *A*, *B* et *F*, et de l'autre la parenté de *C* et *I* [*I* =

Levet]." All that Mr. Champion can say on this head is that "Autant que le permettent les manuscrits de Villon, qui ne sont pas excellents et ne se classent pas très bien, on peut dire que la récente édition d'Auguste Longnon [1912] nous donne un texte aussi parfaitement établi que possible: les quelques vers douteux [more than that!] de notre poète ne paraissent pas devoir être corrigés de sitôt, et sans l'aide de sources nouvelles." Unfortunately, neither this little edition of 1912 and 1914, notwithstanding its obvious merits, nor any other, enables us to know precisely how any of the old texts reads at every point; so that the best we can do is to accept the 1914 edition, completing it and checking it up with that of the elder Longnon (1892), or refer to the facsimile of the Stockholm MS. (*F*). Although the edition by Messrs. Longnon and Foulet exhibits throughout that familiarity with fifteenth-century usage which we should expect from its editors, in many cases its text arouses doubt. For example, does any of the five principal sources contain the form *si* (=if) printed in vss. 583 and 784 of *Le Testament?* Nowhere else in Villon, as Messrs. L. and F. give him to us, does this *si* occur. Again, *i* for *il* or *ilz* is frequent in nearly all the fifteenth-century MSS. and printed books that I have examined, yet this edition does not contain even one example.

So limited is my space that Mr. Champion's estimates of Villon's character, of the significance of his work, etc., cannot be considered; they will probably impress most of Mr. Champion's competent readers as judicious and as interesting. (See, *e. g.*, I, vi–viii, I, 194 and II, 284–7.) The declaration that "Villon demeure le seul poète du moyen âge qu'on lise aujourd'hui" (I, viii) is easy to disprove: Dante is read by thousands, outside the schoolrooms, the same is true of our own Geoffrey Chaucer, and Suchier's critical edition of *Aucassin et Nicolete* is widely read, as well as the two admirable translations by Bourdillon and Andrew Lang in English, and the delightful German translation by Wilhelm Herz. In such a work as Mr. Champion's, all purely rhetorical, or too personal, or too national (I mean, *provincial!*) statements are conspicuously out of place.

DETAILS.

I, 24. Mr. C. modernizes *Sur le Noel* (*L.* vs. 10) to "Sur la Noel."

I, 47. For "Coula" read *coule* (*P. D.*, vs. 24).

I, 49. Mr. C. translates *lubres,* in *Travail mes lubres sentemens* (*T.*, vs. 93) by "Instables." (L. & F.: *glissant, instable.*) Is this so certain? Does *lubres* come from *lubricus* or from *lugubris?*—Again, can we be so sure as is Mr. C. that *Esguisez comme une pelote* (other texts, not quoted by L. & F., but by Longnon 1892, read *Agusez ronds, Agusez rons*) means "Arrondis comme une boule"? Is not *Esguisez* very dubious? and may not *pelote* designate a refreshing game called *pelote* (Spanish: *pelota*)?

I, 54 n. 2, 72 n. 3, 88 n. 1, 216 n. 3, we read "Recueil général de fabliaux."

I, 107. For *suit,* in *T.* vs. 1622, *Je suis paillart, la paillarde me suit,* Mr. C. substitutes "duit" and translates: "Me convient." By what authority?

I, 153. In vs. 1573 (*T*) Mr. C. adopts the "easier reading" *filles advenantes.* Why not keep the *lectio difficilior* (hence more probable reading) *filles ennementes,* adopted and explained by L. & F.?

I, 155. Commenting on *Les mendians ont eu mon oye* (*T.* vs. 1649), Mr. C. concludes that either this was a proverbial way of speaking or Villon must have seen *Pathelin* performed as early as 1460, "ce qui n'est guère vraisemblable." Again commenting on this verse (II, 165), Mr. C. says (note 2): "G. Paris (*Romania,* XXX, 392) a adopté le point de vue de Marcel Schwob qui trouvait dans ce legs un souvenir du trait bien connu de *Pathelin* (antérieur dans ce cas à 1461): *Et si mangerez de mon oye* (v. 300). J'avoue ne pas partager cette opinion. Faire *manger de l'oe* est ailleurs employé par l'auteur de *Pathelin,* comme une façon proverbiale de dire: berner quelqu'un (Ed. Schneegans, v. 1577. Cf. *Les oisons mainent les oes paistre,* v. 1587). Et il y a par contre dans le *Pathelin* des souvenirs du *Testament* (v. 367, 747). L'admirable farce paraît bien dater de la seconde partie du règne de Louis XI et n'a rien à voir avec Villon."

In a monograph to be published in the Elliott Monographs, I expect to be able to show that *Pathelin* was composed and probably performed for the first time in the spring or sum-

mer of 1464. With Mr. C.'s refusal to believe that Villon had seen *P.* performed as early as 1460, or thereabout, I therefore agree. Furthermore, it seems extremely probable that vs. 367 of *P.* (*sil nest blanc comme ung sac de plastre*) may echo Villon's *Plus qu'un sac de plastre n'est blanc* (*J. et J.*, vs. 12); but that *oncq lart es pois ne cheut si bien* can be likewise connected with Villon's *pois au lart* (*L.* vs. 191), I do not believe, for this is merely the name of a commonplace dish and is not used by Villon to express fitness, as it is used in *P.* Almost needless to add, *P.* cannot date from the "second part of the reign of Louis XI" (1461–83), for it is unmistakably alluded to in a legal document of 1469.

I, 196. Why a comma after *pesante?* (*T.* vs. 1134; same error in L. & F.). And in vs. 1138 why *prins en un piege?* Is not the only original reading *prins a un piege?* Furthermore, in vs. 1140, does not *miege* (*moy qui suis son miege*) contain a pun, and mean not only "Son médecin (qualificatif amené par j'ordonne)," but signify also "tawer, dresser of white leather" (a definition which I have read in some old work but can no longer find)? Again, I would suggest that by his *Que ces mastins ne sceussent courre* (*T.* vs. 1139) Villon means, in effect: (And) provided the big dogs couldn't run down the wolves and tear their hides so as to make them impossible to wear. What Mr. C. understands is merely that furriers are not accustomed to use wolfskins, though he adds that the *fourrure* or *peau* "des loups avait la précieuse vertu de vous préserver des poux, des punaises et d'autre vermine encore;" and he adds: "on avait observé que les chiens se gardaient de pisser dessus."

I, 212. In quoting, Mr. C. usually translates obscure words or obscure locutions, but he has no comment for *oefs . . . perdus* (*T.* vss. 251–2), and all that Longnon 1892 has to say is: "On connaît encore aujourd'hui, & sous les mêmes noms, ces trois manières d'accommoder les œufs." What are, or what were, *oefs perdus?*

I, 241. Mr. C. misquotes thus:

> Parler n'en oit qu'il ne s'en rie (Read: *qui ne*)
> Comme enraigé, a plaine gorge.

I, 266, note 2. Instead of "L., v. 165" read: L., v. 175.

I, 273. The *qui pourra prendre* of *L.* vs. 165, meaning "if anyone," etc., is not well explained by "Sous-entendu J. Trouvé." The correct interpretation of this *qui* upsets part of the conclusion drawn by Mr. C.

I, 274. What does Villon mean (literally) by *franc* in *le Mouton franc et tendre* (*T.* vs. 162)? Mr. C. remarks: "Que le mouton soit 'franc et tendre,' c'est là encore ce que les chambrières devaient recommander tous les jours à l'irascible boucher." In a footnote Mr. C. quotes a passage containing *Esse cy d'ung bien franc mouton?* but does not explain. (L. & F. likewise seem to take the interpretability of this *franc* for granted.)

I, 290, note 2. Mr. C. says *reau* (*T.* vs. 1026) was pronounced "rot" (Why not simply *ro?*), but in Villon's verse it must be dissyllabic.

Vss. 1022–9 contain a puzzle: Shall we read *Quoy que marchande ou ait estat* (with L. & F.)? or *Quoyque* [sic] *Marchant l'ot pour estat* (with Mr. C.)? or otherwise? Mr. C. says: "Il faut corriger vraisemblablement comme je l'ai fait ce vers: Ythier Marchand, en effet, a déjà reçu en legs l'épée de Villon (L., v. 83. Cf. T., v. 971)." This is true; it is true also that in Villon and other fifteenth-century writers *quoy que* is often followed by an indicative. *But,* how or why should Marchand have got Villon's *branc* "pour estat"?

II, 139. "Lui, pauvre mercier de Rennes," —in reality, *Moy, povre mercerot de Renes,* (*T.*, vs. 417). L. & F. translate: *colporteur.*

II, 140, note 1. For "ai" read: aie. (Let me remark, parenthetically, that Mr. C.'s two volumes, notwithstanding their length, contain very few misprints and almost no inaccurate quotations or erroneous references.)

II, 212. Mr. C. regards as realistic Villon's detailed description of death (*T.* vss. 313–24). That the various horrors enumerated by Villon are, in most respects, anything but the result of his own terrified imaginings, or, to be on the safe side, that they correspond in their most striking features to genuine physical phenomena, is more than dubious. The truth is, I think, that the whole passage in question is fantastic and that it must be connected with many other purely fantastic medieval descriptions of death, in paintings, etc., and in books. Maeterlinck has allowed himself to indulge in the same sort of thing (see *La mort*). Persons desirous of finding out the truth will do well to consult credible authorities, as physicians, hospital attendants, etc. I will refer the readers of this review to Dr. Osler's letter in *The Spectator,* Nov. 4, 1911. In a word, this passage in Villon is not at all what Mr. C. takes it for.

II, 246. In a footnote on the verse *Prince, trois jours ne vueillez m'escondire* (*P. D.*, vs. 31), Mr. C. writes: "Refuser d'entendre ma

requête. Le mot est de style." First, *m'escondire* means simply "refuse me"; second, I doubt that "le mot est de style"; this is precisely one of those assertions which are always rash when no evidence is offered to prove them.

II, 275. "Villon devint aussi rapidement le type populaire de l'escroc, comme Pathelin. Il est remarquable de voir que l'imprimerie répandit dans le même temps l'admirable farce et le *Testament*. On écrira bientôt le *Testament de Pathelin:* ces deux œuvres seront confondues dans une même personnalité. On dira les hoirs Villon, les hoirs Pathelin." Le Roy's *Pathelin* was printed in 1485 or 1486. Pierre Levet's Villon appeared in 1489 (the first known edition); his *Pathelin* followed it within a few months. Mr. C. is right in coupling the two characters; *both* of them (Villon and Pathelin) had become fictitious types before 1500. What Mr. C. does not suspect is that Guillaume Alecis, whose familiarity with Villon's writings he indicates in a note, was probably the author of that "admirable farce" wherein Villon (the Villon of legend) is more or less present, with his jargon.

The pleasant chapter on "La légende de François Villon" (II, 260–93) could easily have brought Mr. C. down to the year 1914 and have taken him to England, America, and perhaps elsewhere; let us be grateful to him for giving us so much for an earlier period.

Mr. C.'s biographical appendix (II, 295–398) should become part of a *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of François Villon,* and this should follow the complete *Commentary* and complete *Lexicon* to a generously constructed *Critical Edition.* How long shall we have to wait?

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Milton and Jakob Boehme. A Study of German Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century England. By Margaret Lewis Bailey. In *Germanic Literature and Culture,* A Series of Monographs, edited by Julius Goebel. New York, Oxford University Press, 1914. 8vo., vii + 200 pp.

In recent years considerable interest has been manifested in the German mystics of the Middle Ages from the view-point of theology and philosophy. In Germany attempts have been made to popularize, by the publication of inexpensive editions, some of the works of Seuse, Boehme, Mechtild von Magdeburg, and Eckehart (vide *Sammlung Kösel* and *Die Fruchtschale*). However, little enough has been done to trace out in how far this mysticism has been a leaven in literature. The above work, the first of a series of monographs on Germanic literature and culture, edited by Professor Goebel of the University of Illinois, is therefore of vital interest. The writer purposes to show a relation between Milton and Boehme, not by the usual method of comparison for resemblances, but rather, as she says in her Preface, by attempting "to lay hold of the spirit of the time that produced natures so sympathetic and complementary as those of the simple, uneducated Görlitz shoemaker and the cultured man of the world, friend of a rising republic." Delightful as such laying hold of the spirit of the time may be, it after all offers but an insecure basis upon which to draw scientific conclusions about the actual relationship between Milton and Boehme.

In Chapter I (Introduction) is presented briefly the rise of mysticism from its Neoplatonic beginnings to Jakob Boehme. Chapter II, "English Mysticism Before Boehme," sets forth how a mystical atmosphere had been created in England by Anabaptists, Brownists, Familists, and other sects, thus preparing the way for the reception of Boehme. We learn, too, that other mystics, Tauler, Seuse, and Ruysbroeck, were not unknown in England. Is it not just as likely then that Milton may have come in touch with the mystical ideas of these sects and these men? By far the most illuminating part of the work is Chapter III, "Boehme in England," in which the introduction of Boehme's works into England, the spread of Boehmenistic teachings there, and their similarity to those of the Quakers in regard to the "inner light," are adequately presented. Having become liberally acquainted with the introduction and spread of German mysticism in England, the reader now passes to Chapter IV, "Milton and Boehme," in the joyful anticipation of an intimate relationship,

and then suffers his first keen disappointment. The purpose of this chapter appears to be to show Milton's connections with Hartlib, Comenius, Haak, and other Germans then active in England, men from whom Milton might have learned about Boehme. It is hardly correct to assume that it was always Boehme who molded the mystical tendencies of these men. It would be interesting to know to what extent Comenius, who, it will be remembered, was a member of the Unitas Fratrum, and later one of its bishops, had disseminated the pietistic doctrines of the Moravian Church during his stay in England. The chapter closes with the rather indefinite conclusions that Milton might have seen German copies of Boehme's works brought to England by fugitives from the Thirty Years' War, that he might have read them in English after 1644, and that it is very unlikely that Milton heard no mention of Boehme among his German friends. On this basis the writer then proceeds in Chapter V to show a similarity between Milton and Boehme in religious, philosophical and political ideas. The writer points out Milton's acceptance of the belief in the "inner light" (a favorite idea in Boehme) as marking a change in Milton's earlier and later poetry and quotes

So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate.

(*Paradise Lost*, III, 51 ff.)

It is interesting to note here that Mr. Sampson, in *Studies in Milton and an Essay on Poetry* (New York, 1913), in illustrating this doctrine of the "inner light," quotes this very passage as one Milton had in common with George Fox and his followers.

The writer points out as first evidence of Milton's interest in Boehme his choice of the origin of evil as the full subject of his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained.* Milton's views are then compared with Boehme's on (1) God —prima materia; (2) God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; (3) creation of angels; (4) origin of evil; (5) creation and fall of man; and (6) place of punishment. It is pointed out that Boehme has taught most impressively Christ's salvation of man by overcoming temptation, that it was Christ's resistance to temptation which was the determining factor in the salvation of mankind and not the atonement upon the cross. This idea of the regeneration of mankind through Christ's resistance to temptation is given a prominent place in *Paradise Regained,* but it is hardly correct to say that "there is no other source than Boehme from which he could have obtained this idea of the temptation." Christ's sinlessness as an atonement for the sins of mankind, known in theology as the Active Obedience of Christ, over against the Passive Obedience—His passion on the cross, is not at all new, but can be traced back to Pauline theology: "For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous" (*Romans,* 5:19). This has become a part of the Lutheran doctrine, with which Milton could easily have been familiar. It may be well to recall that Boehme himself was an orthodox Lutheran all his days!

Architecturally the work is not happily planned. The longest chapter, the richest in content, and the one for which the book should have been named, is the third, "Boehme in England," whereas the fourth, which bears the title of the book, is next to the shortest and the least satisfying. As a study of the extensive spread of Boehmenism in England the work deserves commendation; as a specific study of Milton's relations to Boehme the evidence it brings carries little conviction.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Greene and Gascoigne

The numerous indebtednesses of Robert Greene have been the subject of much comment. Permit me to call attention to another of Greene's sources. His "pleasant discourse, how a wife wanton by her husbands gentle

warning, became a modest Matron" (Works, ed. Grosart, Vol. X, p. 256, A Disputation Betweene a Hee and a Shee Conny-Catcher, 1590) is taken from a tale in Gascoigne's "The Adventures of Master F. J." 1573 (ed. W. C. Hazlitt, Vol. I, p. 473).

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ABRAHAM CUPID

Referring to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* Act II, Sc. 1, line 13, one finds the expression *Abraham Cupid*—a reading frequently altered by editors to read *Adam Cupid* in order to make sense out of a reading that seems to be devoid of real meaning. On the basis of the following evidence (although it is not sixteenth-century evidence), I prefer to keep the original reading and to interpret the expression as meaning simply *naked* Cupid.

According to the *New Eng. Dict., Abraham-man* was in 1561 a cant term for beggar—a "bare-armed and bare-legged" vagabond—and possibly had its origin in the parable of the beggar in Luke XVI. It was the custom of such vagabonds to attract attention by saying *Tom's a-cold* (as Edgar does in *Lear*) with obvious reference to their nakedness. This connotation seems to have survived as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, for in the beggar's vernacular of that period I find *Abram* denoting *nakedness.* My authority for this statement is a dictionary of the cant language found in the sixth edition of the *Apology for the Life of Bampfylde Moore Carew, King of the Beggars,*[1] in which *Abram* is defined as meaning, "naked, without clothes, or scarce enough to cover the nakedness."

Without overlooking the necessity for discovering sixteenth-century substantiation of this assumption, I am inclined to believe that it is reasonable to accept the expression *Abraham Cupid* as meaning *naked* Cupid,[2] especially when one considers that it is customary to represent Cupid as being nearly naked.

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[1] London, Goadby and Owen, 1765.

[2] The editors of *The 'First Folio' Shakespeare* (T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York) arrive at the same conclusion.

WINTHROP AND CURTIS

In the introduction to a new edition of Theodore Winthrop's *The Canoe and the Saddle* (1913), edited and published by Mr. John H. Williams of Tacoma, Washington, I find the amazing statement that "Curtis did not know Winthrop as an author" when he wrote the biographical sketch of Winthrop which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1861. The two men were near neighbors and intimate friends for several years, Curtis had already made some success as an author and some reputation as an editor, and it would have been very strange if, after Winthrop had fallen in battle, he had not looked into Winthrop's manuscripts before writing the sketch. He certainly knew *Our March to Washington* and *The Heart of the Andes,* both already published, and as we see from the following letter, *Love and Skates,* the best seller of any of Winthrop's books—a charming novelette. The above-mentioned Mr. Williams, in a most astonishing pamphlet (cf. *N. Y. Nation,* 26 February, 1914, *Notes*), assumes that Curtis did not know *Cecil Dreeme, John Brent,* and *Edwin Brothertoft* simply because he did not quote them. He referred to them, though not by name—for the names were all altered before publication,—and quoted only a few apposite sections of Winthrop's correspondence from the front, and some uncompleted notes for a military article for the *Atlantic.* A critic rarely quotes from unpublished writings for illustrative purposes—he quotes from material with which his readers are presumably familiar—because he is a critic, not a propagandist or advertiser; and it was perhaps for this reason

that he did not quote from manuscript, not even from *Love and Skates,* which he had certainly seen and which is the most clearly achieved of Winthrop's work. The following letter is of interest, concerning *Love and Skates* and also concerning Mr. Curtis's attitude and character:[1]

North Shore, S. I., *Jan.* 30th, 63.

Dear Mr. Fields.

Now that the last of Theodore's works is soon to appear, I take the liberty of expressing to you a wish which has been gaining ground with me and with all of us for a long time. It is that a proper and dignified review of his writings should be prepared for the "Atlantic" by some loving and capable hand. The newspaper and magazine notices, though laudatory enough to suit the most eager desire for praise are shallow and undiscriminating, partly from their necessary limits, partly from the kind of critic, that "the bookman" must be of course. Neither is it possible that any of them should have the knowledge that would enable them to speak of the industry and patience with which my brother wrought out his style, or the care with which he studied the accessories of his pictures! I would also suggest that, if you approve, Curtis be the person asked to do it—not only that his power as a critic and gracefulness as a writer would enable him to do ample justice to the subject—not only because he has made himself familiar with nearly every thing Theodore has written, unpublished as well as published, but also that he may have the opportunity to do justice to *himself.* For I find to my surprise that there are people mean enough to say that Curtis might have assisted to bring him forward as an author, and that he did not was a proof of jealousy lest he be eclipsed! And I should add that the expression "not great genius which is ever salient" in his biographical sketch has been quoted as indicating an unwillingness to give him due credit. To us who know his noble nature, his genuine admiration of Theodore's books and his joy in their success, as well as the helping hand he always holds forth to his literary brethren, this is simply absurd and ridiculous, and the mention of the fact that Theodore never showed him any of his writings but 'Love and Skates' which he immediately recommended his sending to the Atlantic, and gave him a note of introduction to Lowell to facilitate its acceptance, is sufficient answer so far as it is known, but for his own dear sake I would like it more widely known, and it might come in very properly in such an article. Of course this is a mere suggestion; you will do as you please, and gratified as I should be by such a notice of my brother, I shall be *satisfied* with your decision either way.

I remain, Truly your friend,

E. W. Winthrop.

The "proper and dignified review" which did appear was written by G. P. Lathrop. I have elsewhere discussed the editorship of the Winthrop books.

Elbridge Colby.

Columbia University.

[1] Published through the kindness of Mrs. James T. Fields, who states that the letter is "From Elizabeth Winthrop, Theodore's sister."

Anent Jerome and the Summoner's Friar

"Ye need not stop work to inform us; we knew it ten seasons before." Kipling's monitory line is directly applicable to several of the present writer's parallels between the Second Book of Jerome's *Jovinian* treatise and sundry utterances of the Summoner's Friar (*Modern Language Notes,* January, 1915). My friend, Professor Tatlock, kindly draws my attention to Koeppel's exposition of the chief of these resemblances (*Anglia,* XIII, 178–179) and to his own mention of these in his *Development and Chronology,* pp. 101, 202. My oversight finds its only palliation in the prevailing disregard of Koeppel's evidence on this point (1891). This has been ignored by Lounsbury (1892) in his discussion of Chaucer's relation to Jerome (*Studies,* II, 292–297), by Skeat (1894) in his *Notes* upon Chaucer's *Summoner's Tale,* by Pollard (1899) in the footnotes of the Globe edition, and by Miss Hammond (1908) in her statement in *Chaucer,* p. 93. Mea culpa! Mea culpa! But the infection was abroad and I sinned in much company.

And now another *amende!* One passage in my article, "The Shaksperean Mob" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association,* December, 1912), which I thought all my own was the concluding comparison between Shakspere's *Coriolanus* and Ibsen's *Enemy of the People.* Seemingly a *trouvaille!* But the striking likeness between the mob-dramas of the two authors had been pointed out years be-

fore by my scholarly neighbor, Professor C. B. Wright of Middlebury College, in a paper published in synopsis in the *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association,* 1895, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

Everyone of us has many such tales to tell. Blessed be those—and their name is legion—who say our good things before us!

FREDERICK TUPPER.

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BRIEF MENTION

The American-Scandinavian Foundation, which in 1913 established the American-Scandinavian Review, has again widened the sphere of its activity by embarking upon two new enterprises. The first of these is a series of Scandinavian Classics in translation, the second a series of Monographs. The initial monograph, *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America,* a copiously illustrated volume from the pen of William Hovgaard (xxi + 304 pp., with 83 illustrations and 7 maps), primarily concerns the historian. Of the Classics two numbers have thus far been issued, the first a volume of *Comedies by Holberg* translated by O. J. Campbell and F. Schenck (xv + 178 pp.), the second *Poems by Tegnér: The Children of the Lord's Supper* translated by Longfellow; *Frithiof's Saga* translated by W. L. Blackley (xxvii + 207 pp.). The three volumes are the product of the Merrymount Press and are excellent specimens of the book-maker's art.

For their intrinsic worth as well as for their importance to literary history the three comedies of Holberg well deserved a rendering into English. The translation is spirited and thoroughly idiomatic. The Introduction, giving a brief sketch of Holberg's career, is by Professor Campbell, who has recently published a volume on Holberg's relations to foreign literature in the Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature. It is to be hoped that further translations from Holberg will follow.

The contents of the volume dealing with Tegnér are not new, Longfellow's rendering of *The Children of the Lord's Supper* being, in fact, accessible in any one of the more complete editions of his works. The editor, Mr. P. R. Lieder, has followed the wording of the first edition. This may be doing a service to the student of Longfellow, but it was ill-advised if the worthiest rendering of the original was sought. Even a casual glance at the more than forty alterations made in the received text shows that these represent, in nearly every case, corrections of metrically faulty lines. A special effort is made in the later form to eliminate the more flagrant instances of the spurious dactyl. Two examples must suffice. Compare "On the right hand the boys had their places" with "The boys on the right had their places"; "Which the Godlike delivered, and on the cross suffered and died for" with "Which the Divine One taught, and suffered and died on the cross for." The Introduction draws an interesting parallel between Longfellow's impressions of Sweden and the Arcadian setting of *Evangeline.*—Blackley's rendering of *Frithiof's Saga* compares favorably with the passages attempted by Longfellow.

Professor W. P. Mustard follows up his collection of the Mantuan's eclogues (noticed here in the number for January, 1912, p. 32) with an equally attractive edition of *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914, 12mo., 94 pp.). Unless we are mistaken, this is the first appearance of these poems since the early part of the eighteenth century, and their first publication by themselves since a few years after their author's death. Yet, in spite of this apparent neglect, they have always appealed to students of Renaissance literature (see particularly Gaspary's keen appreciation of their qualities in his *Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur*) through their skillful blending of realistic description with the traditional conventions of the Virgilian pastoral, as well as by their own charms of verse and style. And now they meet with unusually happy treatment at Professor Mustard's hands. Their text has been carefully established on the basis of the sixteenth century editions, and the notes which explain the text particularly emphasize the obligations of their author to the poets of classical antiquity. Of wider interest, however, is the chapter of the Introduction where the influence of the eclogues on other writers is traced. One who has had only the three or four indications given by Torraca will be quite surprised to discover so many evidences of Sannazaro's presence in both Latin humanistic poetry and the vernacular literature of Italy, the Spanish peninsula, France and even England, a presence which made itself felt down even into the eighteenth century.

F. M. W.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE COMPLETENESS OF CHAUCER'S *HOUS OF FAME*

Most students of Chaucer doubtless feel with Professor Manly[1] that forty years of strenuous activity on the part of scholars should certainly not have left unsolved the meaning of the poet's seemingly most personal work, the *Hous of Fame.* They also assuredly have an *a priori* satisfaction in Professor Manly's tempting simple solution of this vexing problem in Chaucer scholarship. For, those of us who are not unalterably wedded to the "autobiography" theory have long felt—as did M. Dupin toward the mystery of "The Purloined Letter"—that the solution of the meaning of the *Hous of Fame* is probably "too plain," a "little too self-evident," and that the meaning of the poem is to be discerned, if at all, not by our reading between the lines, but by our interpreting simply and literally the lines themselves. It could hardly be expected, however, that we medievalists, five centuries late, should be in entire accord even on the literal meaning of the lines. To be specific, I find no evidence either in the poem itself or in the probabilities of the case, that the work "was intended to herald or announce a group of love stories and to serve as a sort of prologue to them."[2] On the contrary, I believe that the poem is, save the necessarily brief missing conclusion which it seems to demand, absolutely complete in itself and that it has no other meaning or purpose than that which is more than once definitely expressed in the words of the eagle and of Chaucer himself.

For the sake of having a clear understanding of the situation as Chaucer presents it to us, I ask the reader to follow with me the significant lines in the poem referring to the purpose of the journey which the poet is making and the nature of the reward which will meet him at the end.

[1] "What Is Chaucer's Hous of Fame?" *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 73.

[2] Manly, p. 81.

In Book II, 70, 71, the eagle tells Chaucer—

> this case that betid thee is,
> Is for thy lore and thy prow,

Jupiter pities you, continues the eagle, because you have so long served Cupid and Venus and have made books, songs, and ditties in honor of Love; and he considers it a virtue that you make your head ache many a night in writing about love. Furthermore, he considers (ll. 136–143):

> that thou hast no tydinges
> Of Loves folk, if they be glade,
> Ne of nothing elles that God made;
> And noght only fro fer contree,
> That there no tyding cometh to thee,
> But of thy verray neighebores
> That dwellen almost at thy dores,
> Thou herest neither that ne this;
> . . . . .
> And therefor Joves, through his grace,
> Wol that I bere thee to a place,
> Which that hight the Hous of Fame
> To do thee some disport and game, (153–156)
> . . . . .
> For truste wel that thou shalt here
> . . . . .
> Of Loves folke mo tydynges,
> Bothe sothe sawes and lesynges;
> . . . . .
> Mo discords, and mo jelousyes,
> Mo murmurs, and mo novelryes,
> And mo dissymulaciouns,
> And feigned reparaciouns; (164–180)

In 517–521, the eagle speaks of

> the grete soun,
> that rumbleth up and down
> In Fames Hous, ful of tydynges,
> Bothe of fair speche and chidynges,
> And of fals and soth compound.

And in 579–586, the eagle exclaims,

> And God of hevene sende thee grace,
> Som good to lernen in this place,

In the third book, 794–799 and 866–886, Chaucer tells his friend why he has come to the Hous of Fame, and then refers to the nature of the tidings in this house:

That wol I tellen thee,
The cause why I stonde here.
Som newe tydynges for to lere,
Som newe thynges, I not what,
Tydynges other this or that,
Of love, or swich thinges glade.

Ne never reste is in that place,
That hit nys fild ful of tydynges,
Other loude, or in whisprynges.
And over all the houses angles,
Is ful of rounynges and of jangles,
Of werres, of pees, of mariages,
Of reste, of labour of viages,

. . . . .

In 917–936, the eagle resumes his address to the poet:

But sith that Joves, of his grace,
As I have seyd, wol thee solace
Finally with thise thynges,
Unkouthe syghtes and tydynges,
To passe with thyn hevynesse,
Swiche routhe hath he of thy distresse,—
That thou suffrest debonairly,
And wost thyselven utterly,
Desperat of all maner blis,
Sith that Fortune hath mad a-mys
The swote of al thyn hertes reste
Languisshe and eek in point to breste,—
That he through his myghty merite,
Wol do thee an ese, al be hit lyte,
And yaf expresse commaundement,
To which I am obedient,
To furthre thee with al my might,
And wysse and teche thee aright,
Wher thou maist most tydynges here;
Thou shalt anoon heer many oon here.

And in 1041–1054, Chaucer relates the story of his experience in the house of tidings:

And as I alther-fastest wente
Aboute, and dide al myn entente,
Me for to playe and for to lere,
And eek a tydynge for to here,
That I hadde herd of som contree
That shall not now be told for me;
For hit no need is, redely;
Folk can synge hit bet than I.
For al mot out, other late or rathe,
Alle the sheves in the lathe.
I herde a grete noise withalle
In a corner of the halle,
Ther men of love tydynges tolde,
And I gan thiderwarde beholde:

If we disregard, for the moment, the probabilities in the case, and limit our immediate consideration to the actual meaning of the lines themselves, we shall find that the poet gives us an explicit account of the purpose of his journey. As a reward for his labors in the service of Love, Jupiter has made it possible for him to throw off for a brief period the burden of authorship, and, carefree, to see and hear many wonderful things on his journey through the air to the house of Fame, and particularly to observe intimately the varied experiences of "Loves folk," whom (we must infer) he has hitherto known about only through his books. The tidings which he hears are not stories or tales such as Chaucer would have in mind if he had used the word "tydyngs" as a synonym for "stories." These tidings constitute what I may call the flotsam and jetsam of the daily life of lovers. They are the current news of the servants of Love. I find in the foregoing lines no support for the argument that the author is referring to anything so formal or articulate or unified as "love stories." Furthermore, even if we grant that Chaucer uses "tydynges" in the sense of stories, we have no positive evidence in the lines themselves implying that the poet will *tell* these stories which he hears in Fame's house. In Chaucer's account of the tidings of the house of Fame, there is no stronger implication that he will tell these stories than there is in the *Troilus* where Pandarus speaks of the story which a maiden was reading to Criseyde and her ladies (*Troilus,* II, 81–84):

And fond two other ladies sete and she
Within a paved parlour; and they three
Herden a mayden reden hem the geste
Of al the sege of Thebes, while hem leste.

If we may now consider in the light of probabilities the passages in the poem which, as I have said before, seem to be most significant, we shall find little confirmatory proof for the theory that Chaucer hears love stories (in the Hous of Fame) which he is afterwards to tell to others. The probabilities I shall ask to be considered under two main heads: (1) the

nature of the tidings; and (2) the use which the poet is to make of them.

(1) If Chaucer meant to use tydyngs in the sense of stories, is it not strange that he was so careful not to use the synonyms "stories" or "tales" at one or more of the many places where we find the word "tydyngs"?[3] If he had had in mind love stories, the kind of stories that he might tell, would he not have used the word "story" or "tale," as he does in so many other poems? The kind of story which Chaucer was interested in at the time of the composition of the *Hous of Fame* (whether in 1379 or 1384) was the story which he found in his books, such a story as that of Dido and Eneas, which he tells at length in this very poem, or such a story as he refers to in the following lines:

> This olde storie, in Latin which I fynde,
> Of quene Anelyda and false Arcite.

Therefore, if we interpret the word "tydyngs" as stories, we must assume that these tidings which come up to Fame's house are book stories, an extremely unlikely possibility.

These tidings of love's folk are the happenings of the day, interesting bits of gossip,[4] scraps of information—just such things as Chaucer, the comptroller by day and the poet by night, would have no means of knowing; not love stories, for these he had in his books. There would be no need for Chaucer to take this journey for the sake of hearing new love stories. He doubtless had plenty of them already lying in his chest. What he desired was chatty news and strange sights; and such "uncouthe sightes and tydynges" he found at the end of his journey.

(2) As to the use which Chaucer intended to make of the tidings, the assumption that these tidings which the poet mentions so often in his poem are not love stories will be strengthened if we can show that Chaucer did not intend to use this material for a series of stories,[5] or, in other words, that the purpose of the journey, which is the purpose of the poem, is not to provide Chaucer with new poetic material. The purpose and nature of the reward, as stated in the poem, do not suggest a group of love stories to follow. Is it possible that Chaucer is to be rewarded for his writing of love stories, and to be relieved of his great distress by being taken to a place where he shall find material for another batch of love stories? An opportunity for further labor in writing love stories seems to me to be a strange sort of solace for the poet, who, as the poem suggests, needs a rest from such labor. Should not this journey to the house of Fame be considered rather as a delightful, unusual experience which Jupiter wishes to grant to the poet for his long service to Cupid and Venus? As we learn from the poem, the poet has lived the life of a recluse. Here is an opportunity for him to hear and see strange things. And the pleasure which Chaucer takes in this journey, and in the wonderful things which he experiences on the way and at the end, justifies completely the purpose of this reward from the great ruler of the universe (Book II, 153–156):

> And therfor Joves, through his grace,
> Wol that I bere thee to a place,
> Which that hight the Hous of Fame,
> To do thee som disport and game,

As the last and best part of the poet's experiences, come the sights and sounds of the house of tidings, the legitimate goal of his journey and the logical end of the poem.[6] The purpose of the journey and the complete reward

[3] For Chaucer's use of the word "tydyngs" or "tydyng" in other poems, see *Troilus*, II, 951, 1113; *Tale of the Man of Lawe*, 726, 727; *Prologue of Man of Lawe's Tale*, 129; *The Clerkes Tale*, 752.

[4] Other things agreeing, one of these tidings may have been the rumor of the wedding of Richard and Anne, a tiding from a far country.

[5] The possibility of a single story to conclude the *Hous of Fame*, I do not consider, as Professor Manly has already shown the unlikelihood of such a plan.

[6] Only on the assumption that the *Hous of Fame* is a prologue to something else, can the house of tidings be regarded as a decorative element. On other grounds, the whirling house must be looked at as constituting an essential part of the poet's experiences on his journey.

are satisfied in the experiences which the poet has on the way and at the end.

Additional evidence against the theory that the poem suggests a group of love stories to follow is the unified nature of the poem itself. Chaucer's logical division of the material into three books, together constituting a unified whole, indicates to my mind that the poet conceived of the poem as a thing complete in itself. It is consistent throughout. Looked at as a love-vision journey poem, a poem in which the hero is to hear and see wonderful things, as a reward for certain services, it is, with the exception of the brief missing part of the third book, as complete a poem as Chaucer's own *Parlement of Foules* or Dante's *Divine Comedy.* In the *Parlement,* African says to the poet (109–112),

> . . . 'Thou hast thee so wel born
> In lokyng of myn olde book to-torn,
> Of which Macrobie roghte not a lyte,
> That somdel of thy labour wolde I quyte,'

Chaucer is rewarded for his labor by this journey to the court of the Goddess Nature. In the *Inferno,* I, 82–84, Dante addresses Virgil thus:

> O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
> Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
> Che m'ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

And Virgil replies, I, 112–114:

> Ond' io per lo tuo me' penso e discerno,
> Che tu mi segui, ed io sarò tua guida,
> E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno,

Through the aid of his master, Virgil, Dante is enabled to take this journey through the doleful place to the gate of St. Peter. Similarly, through the grace of Jupiter, Chaucer, the recluse, is enabled, like Dante, to experience things strange and wonderful. In each case, the poet is interested not only in the ultimate goal of his journey, but also in the marvelous things that he sees by the way. The *Hous of Fame* shows consistency of plan and execution. For a medieval love-vision, it is reasonably well proportioned. Chaucer's recital of the love story of Dido and Eneas, I admit, may be a trifle drawn out; but the discourse on sound and the journey through the air, the description of the outer walls and the great hall of the castle and the ice-cap, the picture of the goddess and the throngs of suppliants, the explanation of the turning house of tidings, are features which one might naturally expect to find in a poem of this sort. In all of these things, as parts of his unusual experiences, Chaucer is thoroughly interested. And so far as we can see, the poem exists for the sake of these wonderful experiences, culminating in the house of tidings, and not for the sake of a story or of stories to follow. Regarded as a prologue to a group of love stories, it becomes the only inartistic poem which Chaucer ever wrote. As a means to an end, it is inconceivable.

The simple explanation which I have just given for the meaning of the *Hous of Fame* has at least one merit—it takes the poem at its obvious face value. The burden of proof rests on those who consider it as an allegory with autobiographical significance, or as a prologue to a story or group of stories. Until stronger evidence shall appear to support such contentions, I shall be satisfied to regard it as a love-vision poem, in which the poet realizes to the fullest extent the possibilities of the device of a journey as a reward for his services in the cause of Love. Employing such rich poetic material as the combined classical conception of the goddess Fama and the abstract idea of worldly reputation, the journey of the "grete poete of Itaile" through the lower world and to the abode of the blessed, and the conventional device of the love-vision, Chaucer has given us the *Hous of Fame,* a complete poem, rich in thought and fancy, in story and significance—a poem in which are shown at their very best the poet's fertility of invention and skill of artistic presentation.

W. O. Sypherd.

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CHAUCER'S *TROILUS* AND GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The lecture delivered by Pandarus to his friend in the First Book of Chaucer's *Troilus* contains a few reminiscences of Guillaume de Machaut's *Remede de Fortune.*[1]

What? *shulde he therfor fallen in despeyr,*
Or be recreaunt for his owene tene,
Or sleen him-self, al be his lady fayr?
Nay, nay, but ever in oon be fresh and grene
To serve and love his dere hertes quene,
And thenke it is a guerdoun hir to serve
A thousand-fold more than he can deserve.
(i, 813–819)

Tu ne *te dois pas desperer.* (1662)

Tu ne te dois pas las clamer,
Se tu l'aimmes bien, n'esmaier
Qu'elle ne te doie paier
Plus mille fois que ne dessers
En ce que tu l'aimmes et sers.
Et aussi c'est une chose petite
A li de rendre a toy merite.
Car tout le menre *guerredon*
De qu'elle te puist faire don,
Dont celle a sans fin et sans nombre,
Vaut cinc cens fois, s'a droit le nombre,
Plus que desservir ne porroies,
Se tu l'amoies et servoies,
Nom pas tous les jours de ta vie,
Mais autant com la monarchie
De ce monde porra durer. (1636–1651).

For *if hir wheel stinte any-thing to torne,*
Than cessed she Fortune anoon to be:
Now, sith hir wheel by no wey may sojorne,
What wostow if hir *mutabilitee*
Right as thy-selven list, wol doon by thee?
(i, 848–852)[2]

S'elle estoit toudis en un point
Et de raison usoit a point,
Si qu'envers tous fust juste et une,
Elle ne seroit pas Fortune.
Mais pour ce qu'elle ne sejourne,
Eins se change, *mue et bestourne*
En fait, en dit, en renommée,
Est elle Fortune nommée. (2531–2538)

And also thenk, and therwith glade thee,
That *sith thy lady vertuous is al,*
So *folweth it that ther is som pitee*
Amonges alle thise othere in general.
(i, 897–900)

Encor dois tu penser anssi,
Pour toy mettre hors de soussi,
Non mie penser, mais savoir,
Se tu vues joie et pais *savoir,*
Que puis qu'elle a parfaitement
Tous les biens qu'on puet bonnement
Ymaginer, dire, ou penser,
Qui croissent en li sans cesser,
Et qu'elle est des vertus parée.
Et de tous vices separée,
Qu'il couvient de necessité
Qu'en li soit Franchise et Pité,
Humblesse et Charité, s'amie.
(1671–1683)[3]

In the Fourth Book there is also at least one passage which reminds one of the *Remede.*

But al to litel, weylawey the whyle,
Lasteth swich ioye, y-thonked be Fortune!
That semeth trewest, whan she wol bygyle,
And can to foles so hir song entune,
That she hem hent and *blent, traytour commune!*
And when a wight is from hir wheel ythrowe,
Than laugheth she, and *maketh him the mowe.*

From Troilus she gan hir brighte face
Awey to writhe, and took of him non hede,
And on her wheel she sette up Diomede.
(iv, 1–11)

Les bras et le pis a d'argent,
Mais ce n'est que decevement,
Car ce qu'il luisent clerement,
Les yeux esbloc
Et aveugle de mainte gent,
Cui elle promet largement,
Et en son pis couvertement
Traïson noe.
D'un des bras *les met sus sa roe*
Plus legierement qu'une aloe;
De l'autre les fiert en la joe
Si fierement
Qu'elle les trebuche en la boe,
Et puis elle leur fait la moe.
(1049–1062)

G. L. Kittredge.
Harvard University.

[1] A poem well known to be a prime source of the *Book of the Duchess.*

[2] This may come directly from Boethius, as Skeat thinks.

[3] Cf. Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne,* vv. 458–462:

Son Dous Regart riant m'asseüroit,
Et Dous Espoirs doucement me disoit
En louiauté
Et m'affermoit qu'onques si grant biauté
Ne pot estre qu'il n'i eüst pité.

with *Troilus,* i, 895–896, cf. *Remede,* 1790–1796.

HAMLET'S "BRAVE O'ERHANGING FIRMAMENT"

Hamlet's famous lines on "this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire" have often been quoted as one of the finest passages in Shakespeare. For example, Churton Collins [1] uses them to illustrate "the style where Shakespeare has raised prose to the sublimest pitch of verse"; and Professor Albert S. Cook [2] uses them—to the disadvantage of the dramatist—in comparing Shakespeare's prose and the Bible. I have long suspected that these lines were not without an undercurrent of humor—that in writing them the poet was slyly laughing in his sleeve; and recently I have come upon evidence that strengthens this suspicion. On the basis of this may I offer an interpretation of the lines which, if it be correct, gives us an interesting glimpse of Shakespeare in a playful mood?

Professor Thornton S. Graves, in his excellent study, *The Court and the London Theatres during the Reign of Elizabeth,* pp. 22–26, makes it reasonably certain that the "heavens" of the Elizabethan playhouse covered not merely a part, but all, or nearly all, of the stage proper. Furthermore, he gives proof that the "heavens" was "fitted up, perhaps very elaborately, to represent the firmament." This effect was gained, it seems, by "painted canvas stretched overhead," on which were displayed the stars, and possibly other celestial objects. As Professor Graves remarks, such an elaborate adornment of the stage was "obviously intended to be seen by the entire audience."

Some of the actors must have felt a naïve pride in this "brave" firmament; R. M., in his "Character" of a Player (1629), says: "If his action prefigure passion, he raves, rages, and protests much by his *Painted* heavens." But did Shakespeare feel any pride in it? That he, as well as Jonson, did not approve of the use of the "heavens" for lowering persons to the stage we know, for in his plays he avoids this sensationalism; and we may well believe that the "painted" firmament with its gilded stars seemed to him tawdry. If so, he might laugh slyly and good-naturedly at the "majestical roof." Hamlet in speaking the lines must have pointed towards this crude representation of the firmament, and his words, therefore, may have a double meaning.

Again, the reference to the air as a "foul and pestilent congregation of vapors" may very well be a half-humorous satire on the heavy atmosphere of the theatre, laden with the "foul" breath of the "stinkards" in the pit, and the "pestilent" smoke of the tobacco-takers, who sat on the stage as well as in the galleries. Tobacco, we know, was vended in the theatres, and a large part of the audience smoked:

> "At these spectacles . . . the English are constantly smoking."—Hentzner, *A Journey into England,* 1598 (tr. by Walpole).

> "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco in our theatres."—*The Queen of Corinth,* III, i.

> "The Tobacco-men, that used to walk up and downe the playhouses, selling for a penny-pipe, that which was not worth twelve-pence an horse-load."—*The Actors Remonstrance.*

Thomas Dekker in several places gives us an excellent conception of the "vapor" that arose from the groundlings who were herded together in the pit:

> "Their playhouses smoakt euerye after noone with Stinkards, who were so glewed together in crowdes with the Steames of strong breath, that when they came forth, their faces lookt as if they had beene perboyled."—*The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London.*

> "The basest stinkards in London, whose breath is stronger than garlicke and able to poison all the twelve-penny roomes."—*The Raven's Almanacke.*

If the "brave" firmament was "o'erhanging" the stage, and if Hamlet pointed up, and if the atmosphere was foul with tobacco smoke,

[1] *Studies in Shakespeare,* 1904, p. 197.

[2] *The Authorized Version of the Bible and its Influence,* 1910, pp. 55–59.

could an Elizabethan spectator with his nimble wits fail to see the humor of these lines? And, as addressed to the stupid Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, are they not in keeping with Hamlet's humorous jibes at the stupid Polonius? And does not humor explain what Professor Cook found objectionable in the passage: "How repetitious! 'Canopy'—'firmament'—'roof'—thus it is amplified"?

I may call attention to another case in which an Elizabethan playwright refers humorously to the interior structure of the theatre. Thomas Heywood, in *The English Traveller* (ed. Pearson, vol. IV, pp. 63–64), while pretending to describe a dwelling bought by young Lionell, really describes the stage about the actors:

> *Reig.* What brave carv'd posts! Who knows but here
> In time, sir, you may keep your shrevaltie.
> And I be one oth' Serjants.
> *Old Lio.* They are well carv'd.
> *Reig.* . . . Look that way, sir.
> What goodly fair bay windows!
> *Old Lio.* Wondrous stately.
> *Reig.* And what a gallerie! How costly ceiled!
> What painting round about!

Professor M. W. Sampson has pointed out a far more interesting case in *The Roaring Girl*, I, i, 131–153 (Bullen's ed. Middleton, vol. IV, pp. 19–20); and doubtless other examples could be noted.

Bearing these facts in mind, and remembering that Hamlet is addressing Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, that noble pair of fops, and at a time when he wished to make them think him cracked in his wits, we might readily conceive of the lines as half-humorous. We might then interpret the passage thus:

This goodly frame,[3] the earth [*with a sweep of the arm, taking in the "frame" of the Globe*] seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air [*pointing overhead to the blue painted canvas*], look you [*again directing attention to the "painted heavens"*], this brave[4] o'erhanging[5] firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appears no other thing to me than —a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours.[6]

I am well aware that to many this interpretation of the passage will seem sacrilegious; probably Dr. Samuel Johnson, could he speak from the other world, would apply to it his favorite epithet "obscene." And I realize that we must consider the passage in connection with what immediately follows. Here I find serious objection to reading any humor into the apostrophe. Yet it may be that Shakespeare, in spite of the lofty character of the passage as a whole, introduced for a moment an undercurrent of humor; he is given to this. Or it may even be—although this seems unlikely—that the lines which follow were ironical. Hamlet has just had an example of what "man is" in the case of his supposed friends, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; and now as he looks straight at them he speaks with a meaning that is clear to the audience and puzzling to the two fops he is addressing:

"What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and

[3] The word "frame" is regularly used of the body of the playhouse. In the contract for building the Fortune we read: "With a stadge and tyreing-howse, to be made and sett upp within the said frame"; "and also all the saide frame and the stearcases therof to be sufficiently enclosed without with lathe, lyme, and haire . . . all the princypall and maine poastes of the said frame," etc.

[4] "Brave" in the sense of "showy," used disparagingly.

[5] The word "o'erhang" has given at least one commentator trouble. Knight says: "Using 'o'erhanging' as a substantive, and omitting 'firmament', the sentence is, perhaps, less eloquent, but more coherent. . . . If this interpretation be correct, the word 'firmament', which is applied to the heavens generally, was rejected by Shakespeare [it is omitted, doubtless by accident, in the First Folio] as conveying an image unsuited to that *idea of a part* which is conveyed by the substantive, 'o'erhanging.'" The adjective "o'erhanging" very nicely describes the "heavens" in its relation to the stage. The contract for the building of the Hope reads: "And shall also builde the *heavens* over the said stadge, to be borne or carried without any postes or supporters."

[6] Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, ii, 213: "In their thick breaths, Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclouded, And forced to drink their vapours"; and *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 248.

moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!"

I do not maintain that these interpretations of the passage are correct; I merely offer them as interesting and possible. Perhaps the reader will find some pleasure in observing his reaction to the lines considered in this light.

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Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur. Von Dr. LILIAN L. STROEBE und Dr. MARIAN P. WHITNEY. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1913. 8vo., ix + 273 pp.

According to the Preface, "This little book is intended to meet the special needs of American students as a background for all courses in German Literature." A book of this kind, especially for "those teachers who believe that the foreign tongue should be the language of the class-room," has long been a want. Whether or not such a book should be a schematic outline rather than a history of literature "treated as an organic whole," depends upon the preference or needs of the individual teacher. The book under review aims to represent German literature as an organic whole and includes chapters on historical, social and economic conditions reflected in the literature, besides chronological tables, brief chapters on dramaturgy and the history of the language, and a bibliography. The book can undoubtedly be made useful in the class-room, especially as a companion volume to such anthologies as those of Calvin Thomas and Dr. K. H. Collitz. Some of the chapters, especially the "Einleitungen," are well written. The whole book has continuity and it is generally accurate. But a book so limited in size implies limitations also in scope. The ambition "to serve as a background for all courses in German literature" exceeds its attainment.

The Preface criticizes other books of similar intent because those books if "published in this country have sacrificed everything to simplicity of style and vocabulary" while "those issued in Germany for Germans are written in very difficult and condensed language." In both cases the authors fail to specify the books they have in mind. Carla Wenckebach's well-known *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte,* written for American students, surely does not "sacrifice everything to simplicity of style and vocabulary." The arraignment of German books could not well include books like that of Kluge, and only books of the Kluge type could be brought into comparison with the book under review. I grant that the language of the latter is often simple and, as in the synopsis of the *Nibelungenlied,* diffuse rather than condensed. On the other hand, students who have arrived at the point where the study of the history of literature becomes properly part of their work, should be able to read Kluge, and even references to standard works like Scherer, Vogt und Koch, etc., without much difficulty. If literary history is studied before that point has been reached, the study of a German book involves an investment of time which could be more profitably spent in reading literary masterpieces.

The reviewer has his doubts as regards the availability of one and the same book for the use of both High School pupils and College students. There is a vast difference between the mental status and trained ability of a fourth year High School pupil and a Junior at College, even if the latter has had but limited training in German. As a matter of fact, the last part of this *Literaturgeschichte,* treating of the nineteenth century literature that is chiefly read by beginners in the High School and College, *i. e.,* the modern short story (Storm, Gottfried Keller, C. F. Meyer, Hauff, etc.) is so condensed as not to be of any value for this class of students. The synopsis of the *Nibelungenlied* again, which is simple enough in style for beginners, does not come within the scope of beginners, while it is too simple to test the ability of more mature students. Assuredly books should be graded with reference to the stage of advancement of the student.

In the allotment of space to periods and authors the judgment of the authors is on the whole to be commended, except in the case of "Moderne Dichtung." A fuller treatment of "modern and contemporary literature" than is found "in most short manuals" is claimed for this volume. Some eighty names are passed in review on about thirty-five pages. Such names as Baumbach, Bodenstedt, Dranmor, Greif, Groth, Halm, Hamerling, Hebel, Herwegh, Hölty, Kinkel, Leuthold, Lingg, Roquette, Stifter, and others are passed over in silence, while new immortals, such as Lily Braun, Dreyer, Beyerlein, Wittenbauer, are introduced. No book of this size can do justice to the nineteenth century post-classic authors. They require a separate volume.

The material is arranged as usual under the three periods, "Neuhochdeutsch" having three subdivisions, "Klassische Dichtung," "die Romantik," and "die Moderne Dichtung." "Althochdeutsch" is made to include Ulfilas, and no clear distinction is made between "Althoch-" and "Altniederdeutsch." Under "Neuhochdeutsch" there is no subtitle for the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The translation of the outline, pp. 2–11, is convenient but unnecessary. It also detracts from the appearance of the book. Especially on pp. 10–11 the crowding in of matter is detrimental to both clearness and attractiveness.

The reviewer fails to find any emphasis on the national and anti-national struggle in Germany in the Middle Ages, and also misses illustrations of the influence of Kant and Nietzsche on specific literary works. In the chapter on Parzival, the Gawan part is passed over almost without mention, although it is very essential from the esthetic, as well as from the psychological and social points of view. With an "Umwertung aller Werte" Geibel is classed with the weak "Salonliteratur," Keller is dismissed with six lines, mostly titles, and Spielhagen is mentioned only in passing. In their effort to cover ground within the confined limits of the book, the authors occasionally introduce meaningless comment, *e. g.:* P. 197, l. 2, "Heines Reisebilder haben auch viel zu seinem Ruhme beigetragen."—P. 231, l. 24 f., "Auch ein heiteres Epos aus deutscher Vergangenheit hat Scheffel geschrieben: Der Trompeter von Säkkingen."—P. 232, ll. 19 ff., "Georg Ebers . . . zeigt die Zeit der Pharaonen in Egypten."—P. 239, l. 1 f., "Sein Roman Jörn Uhl war einer der grössten Erfolge." Similarly on Hauff, p. 231, ll. 14 ff., Hauptmann, p. 223, ll. 18 ff., Handel-Mazzetti, p. 238, ll. 6 ff.

Contrary to good usage, some names and titles, both in the text and in the bibliography, have been altered in substance and in spelling. The correct title of Hans Sachs' poem (p. 87) is *Die wittenbergisch Nachtigall,* not the grammatically incorrect *Lied von der wittenbergisch Nachtigall.* Klopstock's drama (p. 109) is *Hermanns Schlacht,* not *Die Hermannschlacht.* Goethe wrote *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers,* not (p. 142) *des jungen Werther; Die Laune des Verliebten,* not *Die Launen der Verliebten; Götz,* not *Goetz;* and he spelled his name "Goethe," not "Göthe." The title of Francke's book is now *History of German Literature as determined by Social Forces.* Bishop Percy's work is *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,* not *of Ancient Poetry.*

The statement, p. 2, footnote, "die niederdeutschen Dialekte . . . haben dieselben Konsonanten wie das Englische" is incorrect.—"Verona" (p. 16) is in German not "Bern" but "Verona," except in medieval poetry.—The definition of alliteration on p. 19 should be changed to read "besteht in dem Gleichklang des Anlauts derjenigen Wörter der epischen Langzeile, welche . . ."—Does "Politik," p. 10, l. 37, translate "the state"?

A number of expressions, such as "Kunstmärchen" (p. 179), "Gelegenheitsgedicht" (p. 93), "Matratzengruft" (p. 196), "Salonliteratur" (p. 241), "Auch bei ihm wird alles Lebendige zum Ornament stilisiert" (p. 244), "Impressionistische Schilderungskunst" (p. 239), might not be intelligible to High School pupils without interpretation.—The authors occasionally use foreign words where good and forceful German expressions exist. Examples are: p. 24, l. 9, *absolut = durchaus;* p. 52, l. 19, *direkt = unmittelbar;* p. 94, l. 1, *Demoralisation = sittlicher Verfall;* p. 136, l. 19, *Faktor*

= *Einfluss, wirkende Kraft;* p. 142, l. 12, *Produkt* = *Erzeugnis;* p. 190, l. 5, *liberale Konstitution* = *freisinnige Verfassung.*—There is, furthermore, too great a tendency to use such superlatives as "der erste," "der grossartigste" in characterizing poets.—The statement in connection with Hauptmann's *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (p. 220, l. 26), "Ein edler junger Sozialdemokrat verliebt sich in die eine edle und reine Tochter des Hauses," does honor to the heart of the authors if not to their judgment.

The authors not infrequently do violence to German grammatical usage, especially in the use of moods and tenses. Examples are: p. 24, l. 22, *auszieht* (= *ausziehe*); p. 25, l. 11, *ist* (= *sei*); p. 32, ll. 15–17, *tritt . . . auf und war;* p. 54, l. 17, *hatte gehört . . . hörte;* p. 72, l. 13, *So hat* (= *So hatte*); p. 84, ll. 12–29; p. 100, l. 8, *gab . . . gegeben hatte;* p. 100, ll. 23 f., *bewährte . . . gab* (mood); p. 116, ll. 27–28; p. 122, ll. 12–18; p. 130, l. 1, *lebt* (= *lebe*); p. 155; pp. 123–124, tenses; p. 193, ll. 20–23, *hatten geschlossen* (= *schlossen*); p. 251, l. 30, *war* = *ist.*—The style at times seems forced and heavy. The introductory paragraph of the chapter on Goethe, for instance, might be recast to advantage.

I add some observations on details: P. 5, l. 13, *animal poems.* Better *beast epic.*—P. 8, l. 13, *Pulver* = *Schiesspulver.*—P. 21, l. 20. Read *Treue zu* or *gegen* instead of *Treue für.*—P. 24, l. 18, *und* is the wrong connective.—P. 24, l. 24, *Fliehenden* = *Flüchtlinge.*—P. 25, l. 6, *zur selben Zeit* (at the same time) = *auf einmal.*—P. 25, ll. 10 and 14, *hinaus* = *heraus.*—P. 25, l. 11, *verstecken* = *verbergen.*—P. 28, l. 1, *der Bücher* = *von Büchern.*—P. 29, l. 9, *stand auf dem Boden* = *war begründet in.*—P. 32, l. 17, *für mehr als ein Jahrhundert* = *mehr als ein J. lang.*—P. 33, l. 1, *der Kaiser* = *er.*—P. 33, ll. 7–10. The relative importance to Germany of Friedrich II. and Barbarossa?—P. 35, ll. 10–13, *knüpft sich . . . an* = *knüpft . . . an.*—P. 37, l. 26, *von ihm* = *ihm.*—P. 41, l. 16, *Als Siegfried in den Krieg ziehen musste* (*Er musste nicht, er wollte*).—P. 41, l. 23, *Hagen gab ihr den guten* (?) *Rat.*—P. 42, l. 8, *Brunnen* = *Quell.*—P. 42, l. 9, *Alle* = *Beide.*—P. 43, l. 15, *niemals* is incorrect.—P. 51, l. 19, *leben mit ihm* (*with him*) = *an seinem Hofe.*—P. 56, l. 25, *des König* = *des Königs.*—P. 59, l. 7. Are Wolfram's French sources "ein planloses Gewirre von Namen und Abenteuern"?—P. 63, l. 5. *Katholische Kirche* should be *Kirche.*—P. 64, l. 14. The *Zeit des Verfalls* begins before *dem Anfang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—P. 65, l. 6, *zu den* = *auf die.*—P. 76, ll. 6–7. It is not true for South Germany or Switzerland that the language of Luther's Bible "sehr bald allgemein gültig wurde."—Pp. 81–82 convey the impression, typographically, that the verses quoted are continuous.—P. 88, l. 10. Position of *wieder.*—P. 88, l. 13, *das vorige* = *das fünfzehnte* or *vorhergehende.*—P. 92, l. 25, *Akzent und Betonung.* Tautology.—P. 94, l. 12. *Er.* Who?—P. 98, ll. 6–7, "erhebt sich die Blütezeit der deutschen Literatur *auf dem Hintergrunde.*"—P. 100, l. 13, *eine Auflehnung erhoben.*—P. 101, l. 1. *Âge de la raison.* Whence quoted? Rather *l'éclaircissement.*—P. 101, l. 17. Omit *die* in the title of Winckelmann's work.—P. 104, l. 13. *verband er sich* = *trat er in Verbindung.*—P. 108, l. 6, *erhöhet* = *erhöht.*—P. 108, l. 23. Is it really true that Klopstock "den Stoff des Messias rein lyrisch aufgefasst hat"?—P. 110, ll. 7–9 are contradicted by p. 106, ll. 10 ff., and are generally inaccurate.—P. 110, l. 18. The plural form is *Bardiete.*—P. 114, ll. 1–2, *nicht eher bis* = *nicht eher als bis.*—P. 117, l. 13. The *Briefe* cannot be called *eine Abhandlung.*—The statements, p. 118, ll. 15 f., and p. 119, ll. 23 ff., do not in any sense describe Lessing's influence.—P. 119, l. 10, *befahl, keine* = *verbot.*—P. 119, l. 25, *war er ausgezeichnet* = *zeichnete er sich aus.*—P. 121. The synopsis of *Laokoon* is inadequate.—P. 123, l. 12, *nichts* = *nicht.*—P. 126, l. 13, *Schande und Unehre.* Tautology.—P. 127, l. 12, *zu einem Vater* = *auf einen Vater.*—P. 128, l. 18. *Herders Urteil hängt ganz* (?) *von seinem ästhetischen Gefühl ab.*—P. 129, l. 31, *betonte;* rather *behauptete.*—P. 132, ll. 2–3, *bezeichnet er einen* = *bezeichnet er als einen.*—P. 133, ll. 21–22. *Er war das Muster . . . der.*—P. 134, l. 6, *Seither* is now uncommon for *bisher.* Similarly p. 141, l. 10.—P. 135, l. 7, *bemerkbar machte* is a mild

expression for the effect of "Sturm und Drang."—P. 135, l. 17. The statement "lehnte man sich gegen jede Autorität und jedes Gesetz auf" is, of course, too sweeping.—P. 136, l. 25, *schöpfen = schaffen, erschaffen.*—P. 138, l. 17, *fesselte = fesselten.*—P. 138, l. 24, *ergreifen sollte = ergreife.*—P. 139, l. 28, *ernstlich*, i. e., *vorübergehend.*—P. 142, l. 22, position of *selbst.*—P. 143, l. 14, *Besucher = Fremde.*—P. 150, ll. 23 f. Schiller "der erste und grösste Tragiker des deutschen Volkes"? What then of Lessing and Goethe?—P. 151, l. 7. *Männerstolz*, i. e., *vor Königsthronen.*—P. 152, l. 29, *seiner (zweiten) Schweizerreise.*—P. 153, l. 4. *dem grössten Mann (=Dichter) seiner Zeit.* It was "das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen."—P. 154, ll. 17 ff. "er (der Herzog) hatte einen anderen Dichter, Schubart, . . . lebenslänglich . . . gefangen gehalten." Schubart was imprisoned in 1777, pardoned in 1788, and died in 1791. The sentence implies that the imprisonment had at this time already ended in death. He was only "lebenslänglich verurteilt."—P. 154, l. 22. Schiller bade farewell to his mother, though, for obvious reasons, not to his father.—P. 157, l. 6, *seinem;* whose?—P. 158, l. 4, *in ihrem Hause.* Schiller and Goethe first met at the house of Charlotte's sister, Frau von Beulwitz.—P. 159, ll. 3–4, The "Ehrengehalt" was offered by the Prince of Augustenburg and Count Schimmelmann.—P. 160, ll. 28–29, *ausser den Horen gaben sie auch den Musenalmanach heraus, in denen* (!).—P. 164, ll. 17–18. The correct form of the quotation is:

> Und hinter ihm, *in wesenlosem* Scheine,
> *Lag*, was uns alle bändigt, das Gemeine.

P. 176, l. 28 f. Brentano's *Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und vom schönen Annerl* is called "die erste künstlerische Dorfgeschichte in der deutschen Literatur," while on p. 66, l. 27, *Meier Helmbrecht* is called "die erste Dorfnovelle unserer Literatur."—P. 179, l. 6. "Auch von Chamissos Erzählungen hat sich eine Novelle bis heute erhalten, *es* erzählt . . . "—P. 187, l. 26, *freiwillige Kämpfer = Freiwillige.*—P. 190, l. 19. As *konstitutionell* means *verfassungsgemäss, konstitutionelle Verfassung = verfassungsgemässe Verfasssung.*—P. 193, l. 30, *Preussen;* rather *die Deutschen.*—P. 194, l. 10. *Aufwühlung des öffentlichen Geistes* would imply that the Young German writers were *Wühler.*—P. 196, ll. 25 f. "Heine bringt in den Nordseebildern das Meer zum ersten Mal in die deutsche Literatur." But the Old and Middle High German epics? Seventeenth Century literature? Goethe's *Seefahrt?*—P. 196, ll. 17–18. "Der Lyriker Heine war ein grosser Dichter und ihm war die Poesie Selbstzweck. Den Jungdeutschen aber war sie ein Mittel . . . zur Politik." A curious distinction in view of Heine's *Zeitgedichte, Wintermärchen, Atta Troll*, etc.—P. 200, ll. 13 f., *das Publikum hat wie immer das Bedürfnis, ihre (seine).*—P. 200, l. 16. The statement that "Theaterdichter," such as Iffland and Kotzebue, "weder auf die künstlerische Darstellung noch auf die Wahrheit *irgendwelche* Rücksicht nahmen" cannot be justified.—P. 201, ll. 14, 16, Mal = mal.—P. 201, l. 28. "Zacharias Werner hat das erste Schicksalsdrama geschrieben." Compare p. 204, l. 20, where it is correctly stated that Schiller's *Braut von Messina* was the first fate drama of the period.—P. 204, l. 26, *Kind der Sünde = unrechtmässiger Sohn.*—P. 208, ll. 20 f. "Im allgemeinen ist die Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts dramatisch sehr arm." But Hebbel, Wagner, not to mention Laube, Freytag, Halm, etc.?—P. 210, l. 12, *Auch war er = Auch er war.*—P. 211, l. 7. "Für Hebbel ist nicht die Handlung, sondern (i. e., ist?) die Charaktere und ihre Probleme das Höchste."—P. 212, l. 8. *Dieses (Mangel an Anerkennung und Verkehr?).*—P. 214, l. 9, *So verletzt er.* Why "so"?—P. 217, l. 17, "ein unabhängiges Wesen, *der.*"—P. 225, l. 30, "der Tatsache, *wie.*"—P. 233, ll. 17 ff. Jeremias Gotthelf (1841) precedes Auerbach (1843) as to time.—P. 233, l. 22. Why "*Auch" im Dialekt?*—P. 233, l. 26. The Rosegger sentence belongs to the preceding paragraph.—P. 234, l. 19, *Dichter = Schriftsteller.*—P. 237, l. 8. "Neben Konrad Ferdinand Meyer ist Gottfried Keller der hervorragendste." Is not the reverse the case?—P. 243, l. 14. Dehmel "Liliencron's

absoluter Gegensatz"?—P. 253, l. 6, *wandelten* = *wanderten.*—P. 254, l. 25, *salbpotumes.*—P. 257, X, and elsewhere. Read *Biographieen* instead of *Biographie.*

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Etudes de grammaire française logique. Le lien du mode dans le temps, dans l'espace. Par F. G. GUILLAUME. Fascicule II: Les temps. Paris, Fischbacher, 1913. 136 pp.

We are indebted to Mr. Guillaume for a study of the tenses from an entirely new standpoint. Whereas hitherto the position of the verb in time has been the basis of investigation, this author considers the question primarily in terms of space. His study is a philosophical one, and gives a new point of vantage from which to control the field. This analysis will confine itself to his general theories and their application to the past tenses.

Guillaume finds in the human mind a constant tendency to express the present or actual in terms of its cause; the mind displaces itself and seeks to give what happened afterward by what occurred before. This "virtual" consciousness is seen in the historian who loses himself in another age; in the author who throws his personality into that of his creation. *J'avais mis mon chapeau* is the virtual expression of *mon chapeau était sur ma tête.*

Space is the field in which intention is carried out; the two are closely united; infinite space represents an infinite intention. Every verb has its own intention, which grows as the actual interest is reduced and the virtual interest increases. The following examples show a steady growth from the actual interest "to cause flight" to the virtual interest "to prolong flight."

(1). An expressive cry.
(2). *Va-t'en.*
(3). *Rentre chez toi.*
(4). *Pars pour l'Amérique.*

The limit of the virtual is infinity, and the field of intention is therefore the possible. A cause must have an effect in time not occupied by the cause; therefore we have relative time, which can necessarily be converted into space. It is the position of the act in space, not the time of the act, that determines tense. That is to say, we must know what phase of the act is being used by thought to change the actual into the virtual, and, in order to study the verb to advantage, we must first translate the verb into terms of its intention. Special consideration is given to the process of finding the true intention of a given verb.

To be concrete, let us take the verb *prendre,* the intention of which is "to have," "to possess." If we think of this activity as passing back and forth from existence to non-existence, its field will be a plane. Of this space we shall consider only that portion which represents past time, and which we shall suppose to open at A and close at B. At A the intention has not yet been realized; *avoir* exists only as a limit; the entrance into past space is therefore at the past definite. Upon passing A we enter a field where action is in process; some possession exists, and a part is to follow. This is the imperfect. At B, intention is complete but the interval since completion is nil; here we have the past anterior, a highly imaginary tense. Finally upon leaving B we enter upon a "post-verbal" space; the action is completed and the pluperfect exists. Having gone beyond its intention, the act is post-verbal.

From this illustration it will be possible to understand Guillaume's table of possibilities for a verb in the past. *Une actualité passée se déroule en espace à partir:*

(1). *d'une intention non sommée—passé défini.*

(2). *d'une intention sommée—passé antérieur.*

(3). *d'un dessin* [1] *non sommé ou se dessinant—imparfait.*

(4). *d'un dessin sommé ou dessiné—plusqueparfait.*

[1] This expression is better understood in connection with Guillaume's phrase: "*un verbe est le dessin d'une intention.*"

There remains the past indefinite. Here all stopping-points in the past space are obliterated, and from some point in post-verbal space all the preceding act is summed up. The past indefinite is a tense very high in the intellectual order, if we are to measure intelligence by this power to transform the actual into the virtual.

As will be seen from this analysis, such a theory implies a very great unconscious power of logical correlation. Guillaume has considered this question at length and holds that there is nothing improbable in such a view. His argument can only be indicated. It proceeds upon the assumption that in the "real" there is no logic; all is absurd, *i. e.*, we see no relations. As the real is transformed into the virtual, the absurd yields to the unforeseen and finally to the logical. *"On fait de l'inconscience avec de la conscience."*

The obscurity of certain portions of this work are due largely to the nature of the subject discussed, and such sibylline phrases as: *par trop discerner les causes la causalité s'évanouit* will be found most suggestive upon further study. In fact, this treatment of the tenses is a rich field of ideas in many lines, and curious points of view, even upon such subjects as history and philosophy, are given in a form that holds the attention and demands the closest thought. Those interested in linguistic theory will find profit in following Guillaume's discussion, whether they accept all his views or not.

There has often been a tendency in syntactical matters to catalog phenomena without a due consideration of the subjective side. In this work, the author seems to have erred in the other direction; the theoretical and philosophical aspects have been worked out more carefully than the historical development or practical application. A considerable study from the historical standpoint would be necessary to establish some of the statements made. It might not be difficult to uphold them in certain cases, as in the comparison of the German and French, in which discussion Guillaume shows that the French have a stronger feeling for the virtual side; a study of the Romance future and past compound tenses would probably bear this out, though the difference might be less marked than is supposed. But there is nothing to justify historically the statement that the past anterior occurs only after certain expressions (p. 74), nor will the development of the tenses allow so marked a line of division, at least in their origin, between the imperfect and pluperfect.

The chief practical value of Guillaume's work is as corroborative material. The best illustration of this point is the following: For some years there has been an attempt, notably among German writers, to deny that repetition is intimately connected with the nature of the imperfect. The last instance of this at hand is found in a recent publication of Lorck,[2] who goes so far as to deny also that duration is essential to the tense, and argues for a "momentary imperfect" (*L'enfant jouait quand sa mère entra*) as distinct from one like the following: *L'enfant jouait tandis que sa sœur travaillait.* In reality there is no difference in the subjective attitude. No indication is given that the action ceased in the first case, nor is there justification for the statement that definite duration is given in the following: *Il ne sortait pas tant que durait l'hiver.* Lorck's position is untenable upon a logical application of his own theory that the essential in the imperfect is non-completion. According to Guillaume's results, repetition demands a special tense. We have here an attempt to give the actual without positive actuality. The mind sees not a series of facts but their frequency,

[2] Lorck, E., *Passé défini, Imparfait, Passé indéfini* I, II, III. Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, VI, 1, 2, 3, pp. 43–57; 100–113; 177–191. Reprinted separately and with addition of 27 pages, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1914. 73 pp. Lorck and Guillaume discuss a number of points in common and it is interesting to compare their results. In general, Lorck tries to simplify too much, to explain all phenomena in the same way. His premises are essentially right, though not new. He follows his theory to the extent of contradicting Brunetière in a case of interpretation (p. 108). Lorck's explanation is not particularly good in a number of cases, as for the *elle écrivait* type (p. 180) and for *discours indirect libre* (pp. 182–183).

rhythm, tendency. No positive instant is given. This lack of positive elements keeps us from seeing the action in terms of space, and we therefore have what the author calls "extra-spatial" time. The imperfect for repetition is mentioned (p. 58) as *un dépassement du système verbal par l'esprit, c'est-à-dire, le résultat d'une interprétation.* Nevertheless, as extra-spatial time gives no positive instant, *tout ce qui s'y pose vient à l'imparfait; aucune autre forme n'est possible.* This statement is, however, too broad. Historically the pluperfect should possess this power. The present also must have it.

Among other points brought out by Guillaume we may mention as important the following: (a) The meaning of the particular verb is essential and must be considered together with the tense. (b) The relations between the conditional mood and tense are well discussed. (c) The analysis of the difference between the past definite and the past indefinite is good, also the treatment of the imperfect in narration. The latter is said to be sometimes more satisfactory, since it is *cause qui se noue,* as distinct from the past definite which is closely related to time and gives merely facts—*cause qui se dénoue.* (d) Linguistic study should occupy itself with flexion, which is a measure of intellectual power, rather than with vocabulary, a sum of ignorance. *Le mot ne définit pas l'objet, il nous dispense de le définir.*

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Die Braut von Messina, oder die feindlichen Brüder, ein Trauerspiel mit Chören, von Schiller. Edited by Karl Breul. Cambridge, University Press, 1913.

Professor Breul's scholarship is too minute and too well grounded to warrant the expectation of finding positive errors in his editorial work. Such criticism as may seem due to his edition of *Die Braut von Messina* arises chiefly from the fact that he has not discriminated in method and completeness of treatment between *Wilhelm Tell* and the present play. *Wilhelm Tell* will be read by high school students and college Freshmen; *Die Braut von Messina* will be read chiefly by Juniors or Seniors. Accordingly it seems obvious that the critical apparatus for the latter play need not be so complete, so primary as for the former. Yet the editor has pursued here the same method as there: he has followed the undisciplined pedagogical instinct for telling all he knows. Accompanying a text of 121 pages he has published a critical apparatus of 250 pages, of which 115 are purely textual notes.

To cite many instances of quite primary and superfluous notes would be to reflect the same error of method in this review. A few instances will suffice to justify the criticism. P. 123: "The word *Aufzug m.* is derived from *aufziehen,* 'to draw up', 'to raise'. When the curtain is lifted up in the theatre an act begins, hence *Aufzug* comes to mean 'act.' Another meaning is 'parade', 'procession', and another is 'lift', 'hoist.' The word often denotes a somewhat comical appearance. The term *Akt, m.* (fr. the French *acte,* Lat. *actus*) is also much used in German." Aside from the elementary nature of these notes, it must be observed that the one on the 'comical appearance' is not at all clear, certainly not to a student who needs a synonym for 'draw up.'—P. 126: "L. 26. *Der Kindheit frohe Einigkeit,* viz., that happy union which is natural and usual with children. It does not mean that these brothers were ever happily united during their childhood. See l. 28."—P. 127: "L. 36. This line has six accented syllables. See the Introduction, p. lxxxiii." Cannot English students count for themselves?—P. 128: "L. 55. *Losung, f.* 'watchword', 'signal.'" In general there is a superfluity of lexicographical and mythological notes, made more heavy by repetition. Since a complete vocabulary is not attached, the student is supposed to have a dictionary and ought to be allowed to use it. The same observation applies to the dictionary of antiquities.

The note on l. 95 (p. 129) is misleading and

erroneous. It is on the phrase *Lasst uns andere gewähren;* while the meaning of *gewähren* in the case is correctly given, the note proceeds to say: "The usual meaning of *einen gewähren lassen* is 'to leave a person alone', 'to leave a person undisturbed'." This gives the student the impression that he has here to deal with an unusual meaning of the idiom *gewähren lassen,* which is not present in the text passage at all. Moreover, *einen gewähren lassen* means rather 'to let one have his way', not 'to leave him alone'. Probably several more such imperfect renderings may be found, but, probably also, no more than in almost every college text-book.

The Introduction also suffers from the same superserviceableness. Seven pages are devoted to outlining the action, scene by scene. Nineteen pages are given to comments on the meter. Here, as in some other matters, it would have been better to raise questions and leave the working out of the answers to the students.

In the treatment of meter, notably of the so-called trimeters, as well as of the use of Chorus, Professor Breul, like so many commentators, seems to assume that a modern poet, if he derives a suggestion from a classic source, is somehow under obligation to use it without modification. This assumption occasions some unnecessary weighing and balancing of questions such as that of the precise place of the caesura in Schiller's six-stressed iambics, or whether the Chorus in *Die Braut* behaves exactly as in the dramas of Aeschylus or Euripides. Professor Breul does, indeed, defend Schiller's right, as a modern poet writing for modern readers, to use the Chorus as he sees fit, but he makes this defence only after devoting several pages to anxious questioning regarding the facts. On page lxxxiii, line 7, 'syllables' should be 'feet'.

The much discussed question of "Fate and Guilt" receives full and intelligent treatment. Perhaps the fact that at least four different varieties of "tragic guilt" are recognized in *Die Braut* is not clearly enough set forth: A 'guilt' of secretiveness, a 'guilt' of lack of self-control, a 'guilt' of an inherited curse, a 'guilt' of actual sin, as well as a fate due to envious gods. True, all these are mentioned and discussed. Perhaps an editor may be excused from declaring himself as to which conception is dominant in this drama.—On page xxxii, near the bottom, the reference to a "note on l. 842" is erroneous. The passage involved may be l. 1010, but there is no note of the nature called for even to this line.

The section "Schiller's *Braut von Messina* in Art," and the appendix of parallel passages from Aeschylus, Schiller, and Goethe, are helpful features. The Bibliography is thorough; but it would have been better if the three pages of titles of special studies had been grouped according to subject rather than alphabetically by authors.

The publication of this excellent and attractive school edition of *Die Braut von Messina,* when already two good editions were available for English students, is evidence that the drama is receiving more attention than was once thought probable.

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Les Poètes Français du XIXe *Siècle, 1800–1885. Étude prosodique et littéraire.* Par Auguste Auzas. Oxford, Imprimerie de l'Université, 1914. 12mo., 315 pp.

This book, being prepared on the "méthode directe," is entirely in French. It is meant for use, we are told in a highly eulogistic preface by the general editor of the series, by the "élèves des classes supérieures de nos grandes écoles secondaires et pourra être également mis avec fruit dans les mains des étudiants de l'Université." Its field is indicated approximately, but not quite accurately, by its title. Twenty-two poets are represented. No really important poets of the century are neglected, and, indeed, some half-dozen of those included might well have been omitted and the space devoted to their greater brothers.

Mr. Auzas does not arrange his poets in simple chronological order, but, with true Gallic

fondness for classification, divides them into "Attardés et précurseurs," "les Romantiques," and "les Parnassiens." In the first group are found, among others, Delille and André Chénier, both purely eighteenth-century poets, and Delavigne, rather trimmer than either "attardé" or "précurseur." The Procrustean character of such arbitrary classifications becomes further evident when we find Baudelaire, Romantic to the core, and—even more startling—Verlaine himself, under "les Parnassiens." The poems included do not professedly go beyond 1885, but the editor has stretched his limits at this end as at the beginning. By an unexplained and unsatisfactory change of plan, Sully Prudhomme, Coppée and Heredia (everywhere misspelled "Hérédia") are sparsely represented, a stanza here and a fraction of a sonnet there, in the midst of a running commentary. They were better frankly omitted or else treated on the same footing as the other poets.

The choice of poems may be said on the whole to be good, though there are striking omissions. In the case of Hugo, not a line is given from "la Légende des siècles," his masterpiece. The selection from Leconte de Lisle is very one-sided, all the poems but one being taken from the "Poèmes barbares." The lyric reminiscences of his native Bourbon, the fine poems of Greek inspiration, those on religious themes, are all unrepresented. None of Verlaine's religious poems are included. Excision of parts of poems is not always indicated, and in at least one instance, "la Nuit de décembre," the part excised is the finest. But such cases are the exception; the poets are generally fairly represented. The relative space granted to the various authors is also well apportioned.

In the critical appreciations prefixed to the selections from each poet, one may easily disagree with some of the editor's statements, as, for instance, that love is "le thème unique" of Musset (p. 173); that when Banville began to write, "les poètes, même les plus grands, dédaignaient d'être des artistes" (p. 236); that Sully Prudhomme, better than any of his contemporaries, "a atteint cette précision de style à laquelle tous s'efforçaient" (p. 290). Omissions are also noticeable: nothing is said of Baudelaire's Romantic origins, nor of the utter worthlessness of Verlaine's latest poems, nor of Coppée's shallowness, artificiality and sensuality. Then, too, if space allowed, one could wish to see more about the interrelations and mutual influence of the poets studied. But the chief fault of these little critiques is their excessive brevity. The critical judgment of Mr. Auzas is usually sound, but it is humanly impossible to treat such a poet as Vigny or Musset adequately in two pages. Even Hugo gets but four pages.—At the end of each critique is a useful and well-selected list of works "à consulter."

The notes are given at the foot of the pages. Notes of critical and interpretative nature are perhaps too few in number. While generally apposite and helpful, the editor's remarks do not strike the present reviewer as correct in every case. Thus the phrase: "que dites-vous aux vers?", in Gautier's "A Zurbaran" (p. 194), is condemned as being "d'assez mauvais goût," while the unfortunate "nous l'avons tous vu," in Hugo's "Napoléon II" (p. 129), which spoils an otherwise felicitous image, is not noticed. Some genuine difficulties, like "Mob" (p. 196), are passed over, while we are told that "averses" means "fortes pluies de peu de durée" (p. 194), and that an "ortie" is a "plante à tige et feuilles piquantes" (p. 119). It is difficult to see of what value notes of this sort, which are fairly numerous, can be to any student mature enough to utilize the somewhat elaborate bibliographies and treatise on versification.

The subject of versification is given great importance, possibly too much so for a work of this sort. The "Éléments de versification," and the "Exercices de versification" appended to each of the three main divisions of the selections, occupy together more than one-sixth of the total number of pages of the book. It might have been preferable to devote a part of this space to a more extended literary appreciation of the poets. There are some observations to be made on the "Éléments." Thus the statement that "l'accent rythmique se superpose toujours à un accent tonique" (p. 11) is hardly in accord with the usual theory.

The author, however, qualifies his statement in a footnote. The principle: "Les voyelles accentuées de la rime doivent être toutes les deux de la même nature" (p. 29), however desirable in theory, is constantly disregarded in modern French by even the greatest masters. The distinction of the *rime riche, rime suffisante* and *rime faible* (pp. 28–29), is not entirely clear nor sufficiently developed. The "Exercices de versification" constitute a useful feature, but the author's practice (pp. 95, 97 and *passim*) of giving passages of poetry mutilated, inverted or in prose, for the student to correct, is of dubious propriety. With these slight reservations, the treatment of the versification is praiseworthy and constitutes the most novel and valuable part of the editorial work in this volume. There is an up-to-date bibliography of works on versification.

The "Exercices de littérature" are unusual in anthologies. Some of the themes here suggested for discussion are too general to be of any value to the student, for instance: "Le Romantisme. En exposer les origines," etc. (p. 225). Apart from this, the "Exercices" constitute a useful innovation.—It is to be regretted that the lines of the poems are not numbered, for the lack of numbers causes much waste of time in the classroom.—The editor does not tell us what editions he has followed in his text.—The book is attractively gotten up and carefully printed on good paper. Misprints seem very few. On p. 117 and on p. 167 the last line lacks a final period; on p. 209 the next to the last line should have a final semicolon.

Mr. Auzas's book, in short, gives evidence of careful work; somewhat deficient on the side of literary appreciation, it is unusually full in its treatment of the important subject of versification; finally, the most important thing after all in an anthology, it contains a considerable amount of fine verse, some of it not available in other text-books. It is a useful addition to existing collections of lyrics.

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Lessing's Nathan der Weise. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by SAMUEL P. CAPEN. Boston, Ginn & Company. xcviii + 336 pp.

Amid the wide diversity of aims and methods existing at the present time among teachers of the German language and literature it is a somewhat delicate, not to say odious, task to criticize justly a text-book like this latest edition of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise.* But if we were to begin by expressing, from the viewpoint and experience of a college instructor, a general judgment on the American output of German works for pedagogical purposes, we should be inclined to say that the work of editing at the present time is greatly overdone. Most of our text-books in German defeat the end of good teaching by furnishing the student too much ready-made information, some of which is not relevant to the subject in hand. How much of all that such text-books contain should be laid to the editor's lack of discrimination and how much to the publisher's demand for a text with an appeal wide enough, financially to warrant publication, cannot be discussed here. But the conflict between the editor's ideal of what such a book should be and the practical requirements of the publisher seems to end not infrequently in a compromise. The outcome is a sort of hybrid in which the simple guiding principles upon which such a text should be edited are either obscured or entirely lost from view.

It would seem to be a self-evident proposition that a text should aim to meet the needs of the particular class of students for whose use it is intended. And it seems equally self-evident to us that the work of the editor, in the form of introduction, comments, notes, etc., should be strictly confined to the interpretation of the particular text in hand. In other words, grammatical notes, explanations of contents, as well as helps to a technical and literary appreciation, should all be made to focus on the work itself and not be made the vehicle for a mass of irrelevant information, however valuable and interesting this information

may be in and for itself. In the application of this second principle there is doubtless need of fine discrimination on the part of the editor. A wide leeway must be allowed for personal differences of opinion as well as for differences in the goal sought. It is likewise clear that what should and what should not be included will differ widely in different texts.

In attempting to apply these two principles to Capen's edition of *Nathan der Weise,* let us forestall misunderstanding by frankly stating that, after a decade and a half's experience with different text-books in attempting to interpret Lessing's *Nathan* to college classes, we consider this edition on the whole the best that has yet appeared. Prof. Capen's warm sympathy for the author has automatically, so to speak, led him to assume the correct point of view for the successful interpretation of *Nathan* as a piece of literature. For in the main the editor's attitude is that of an appreciative interpreter and not that of a critic or investigator. What Prof. Capen has to say of Lessing's personality, of his relation to the philosophy of Enlightenment and of his place in German literature is wholly to the point and illuminating to the student. The account of the genesis and composition of the play is clear, concise and adequate. The explanation of Lessing's attitude toward Christianity and the exposition of the ethical and religious teachings embodied in the "Ring Parable" are the best that we have found in any text-book. The interpretation of the characters from the viewpoint of the "Parable," while not new, is entirely satisfactory and the remarks on the dramatic characteristics of the play contain the gist of the best criticism on this subject, without going deeply into technicalities. While these are undoubtedly the chief points to consider in a play as difficult to edit as *Nathan,*—points which entitle this edition to great praise—, nevertheless the editor has included some things that we should prefer to see omitted and in some statements has not shown all the accuracy and discrimination that could be desired. His style, too, where the effort to be facetious is too apparent, falls in one or two places below the dignity of the theme.

In his Preface Prof. Capen remarks: "Probably nobody would defend the use of such a text as *Nathan der Weise* for the mere purpose of exercising English-speaking students in the German tongue. It is included in collegiate courses in German because of its literary value and its significance in the history of German culture." But if this text is intended for use in collegiate courses, in which students may be assumed to be mature enough to comprehend its meaning, why add a vocabulary to the book? By the time they are able to read *Nathan* with appreciation students will have already attained a working vocabulary of common German words. Peculiar linguistic forms and unusual grammatical constructions should be explained in the notes. The inclusion of a vocabulary in a text like this relieves the student from the necessity of consulting a dictionary, and the use of a dictionary is one of the very practices that should be encouraged at this time. In an elementary text-book there is no objection to a vocabulary, for it saves the beginner both time and labor at a stage when his acquisition of German words is small. But in a collegiate course the constant use of dictionaries and other works of reference is the very thing at which most teachers are aiming. The objection that dictionaries are inaccessible to the student, cannot be raised here. In fact, the editor himself in his "Bibliography" has referred to three German dictionaries including an orthographic and an etymological one, as books "easily accessible." Is the student likely to make any use of these when he has a complete vocabulary in the back of his text-book?

If Prof. Capen has here lost sight of the particular class of students which is likely to use his text, we think he has likewise offended against the second principle laid down by including too much extraneous matter in his introduction. There is much more here than bears directly on the linguistic, ethical and dramatical interpretation of the play. In a college course Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* is not likely to be read as an isolated text. It will most probably be one of several texts chosen to illustrate a literary period, or it will be read as one of the texts in a study confined to the

author and his works. In neither case is the devotion of twenty-five pages of the Introduction to a sketch of the author's life to be commended. Only that portion of Lessing's life which was engrossed in the controversy with Goeze and a brief account of the origin and development of Lessing's philosophic and religious ideas, such as the editor has included under the heads, "The Enlightenment and Lessing's *Nathan der Weise,*" "Lessing's Attitude toward Christianity" and "The Genesis and Sources of *Nathan*" really throw light on the contents and import of the play and are to the point here. A biographical sketch of an author, as part of the Introduction to a text, seems to us justifiable only in cases where the author is little known and information about him inaccessible or where schools may be assumed to have no general works of reference accessible to the student. But in colleges, where encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, histories of literature and biographies are among the common equipments of the library, the reason for including the life of an author, as well known as Lessing, is not quite clear. It serves no direct purpose in interpreting the text and it tends again to keep the student from finding out certain things for himself and from doing collateral reading outside the class-room, a practice which college instruction should aim to encourage.

Again, why should the oldest version of the Ring Parable which is found in the *Schebet Jehuda* of Rabbi Salamo ben Verga be translated and included in the Introduction as one of the literary sources of the play? It serves no good purpose as a means of interpretation. So far as the "Story of the Three Rings" is concerned, Lessing based his own version on that found in Boccaccio with some modifications drawn from the version found in the *Gesta Romanorum.* These, so far as is known, were the only sources with which Lessing was acquainted. In a text-book of *Nathan* the student is not concerned with the history of this story in the different literatures of Europe, but only with the versions Lessing knew and made use of. In his life of Lessing, it is true, Erich Schmidt, as the foremost representative of the Scherer school of philology, has devoted some dozen pages to tracing through the literatures of Europe this "Story of the Rings" and the idea of religious tolerance which it symbolizes. But even in this biography, interesting as the chapter is for its own sake, the question arises whether it is not more valuable as a proof of the author's erudition than as a means of throwing light on Lessing's religious views and their dramatization in *Nathan der Weise.* An account of the sources Lessing used for his parable and a monograph in comparative literature on the "Ring Story" are two entirely different things and there seems to be no more reason to include the version of the *Schebet Jehuda* in the Introduction to this text than there is to include the Provençal *Li dis dou vrai aniel,* for example. As a means of interpretation, the one has no more relation to Lessing's parable than the other.

Lastly, the wisdom of giving the plot of the play in such detail must be questioned. Is it not better to let the student exercise his own powers of observation and combination and learn this from the play itself, particularly in cases like *Nathan,* where the plot is the invention of the poet? Where a plot has been borrowed from some other source it may be necessary to give a brief outline of it in order to point out the author's deviations from the original or to explain what may be the difference between dramatic and other treatment of the same story. But where no such points are involved, the narration of the plot in detail seems to us to be positively objectionable. It tends again to relieve the student of doing his own thinking.

Doubtless the "Story of the Rings" as a parable does need much interpretation. And just at this point it seems to us that the editor might have gone into more detail in his account of Lessing's version. The exposition of the ethical and religious significance of the parable are all that could be desired, but the historical application of this parable to the 18th century rationalists, and to their explanation of the religion of reason, as symbolized in the original ring, and of the origins of the so-called historical religions could have been made more pre-

cise for pedagogical purposes. We miss in this section the use of such a commentator as the late Gustav Kettner and we are a little surprised to find that his work on *Lessing's Dramen* is not included in the editor's bibliography, as one of the sources bearing directly on the work in hand. A more technical treatment of the plot also in the last section of the Introduction would not, in our opinion, have injured the book pedagogically.

In conclusion we must call attention to certain minor points where the statement of the editor is open to objection. On page xxi it is stated that Gottsched translated "the best plays of Corneille, Racine. Regnard, Destouches, and other leading French dramatists." Is this statement accurate? According to Goedeke, Gottsched himself translated only Racine's *Iphigénie*. Frau Gottsched translated several others and, of course, her husband encouraged his followers to translate French originals wholesale.

On page xlii again we find the assertion that *Emilia Galotti* is still generally regarded as the finest German tragedy. Few critics or scholars will agree with this statement.

In his account of Lessing's dispute with Goeze, page xliii, the editor, in our opinion, is entirely too partial to Lessing. There is need of more discrimination here. Goeze was no mean antagonist and in his controversial papers Lessing was anything but ingenuous. He entrenched himself behind every dialectic technicality he could. Few of Lessing's own positive religious and theological views, therefore, can be gleaned from this controversy. For these the student must have recourse to such works as his *Nathan, Das Testament Johannis,* and *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts.*

Again, on page lxxviii and in his notes to ll. 2454 and 2571 the editor's language gives us the impression that the Patriarch was only a caricature of Goeze. While the controversy undoubtedly served to sharpen Lessing's delineation of this ecclesiastical worthy, it must not be forgotten that the historical original of Lessing's figure was Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, whom the editor describes on page lx. All of the offensive characteristics in Lessing's Patriarch need not therefore be attributed directly to the Hamburg Pastor. The editor's warm sympathy for Lessing has carried him a little too far here.

On page lxxvi the editor calls *Nathan der Weise* preëminently a drama of character. Is it not preëminently a drama with a very decided theme, in which the characters are created to embody that theme? One of Lessing's own principles laid down in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* was that the action should flow naturally from the characters as portrayed. On page xciii the editor has frankly admitted that this is not the case in *Nathan,* and on page xciv he states: "It must be remembered that the main purpose of *Nathan der Weise* was, after all, pedagogical." Is the main purpose of the "drama of character" pedagogical?

On page lxxxviii we find the sentence: "Lessing was an adept in portraying the fresh enthusiasm and feminine charm of young girls. His Minna, his Franziska, and his Emilia differing as they do from one another and from Recha, give ample proof of this power." Doesn't this statement need some modification and are all the examples cited here well chosen? Our impression has always been that Lessing's portrayal of women was rather his weaker side. Minna and Franziska may indeed be regarded as successful portrayals of the type Prof. Capen describes, but hardly Emilia and Recha. Emilia represents the mistrustfully self-conscious, introspective type of the 18th century sentimental novel, and the scenes in which she appears, almost always under some great excitement, make upon us almost any other impression than that of fresh enthusiasm. Like Emilia, Recha too has always been a crux for the critics. Her character shows internal contradictions which rob it of verisimilitude. The editor himself seems to feel this, for in his note to line 1556 he observes: "Incidentally it might be remarked that Recha's reasoning is eminently unmedieval and even un-Hebraic, to say nothing of its being rather a profound sentiment for a maiden of Recha's years in any clime and time. As a matter of fact, the idea was advanced enough for a mature eighteenth-century thinker." In our opinion this scene

completely cuts the ground from under the presumption that Recha, in spite of her own eyesight, could ever have believed, as the play represents in the opening scene, that she was rescued by an angel.

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LAZARILLO DE TORMES

Restitucion del texto primitiuo d'la Uida de Lazarillo de Tormes e de sus fortunas e aduersidades, impresso al estilo de la epoca. Seguido d'la segunda parte escrita por Luna interprete d'lengua española en Paris. Edicion dirigida e reuisada por EUDALDO CANIBELL. Barcelona, Tipografia La Academica, 1906. 8vo., vi, lxxiv fols.

La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes. Strasburgo, Heitz [1913]. 16mo., 70 pp. (Bibliotheca Romanica 177.)

La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes. . . . Edición y notas de JULIO CEJADOR Y FRAUCA. Madrid, Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1914. 12mo., 280 pp.

These three editions of a classic come to us, each with its distinct claim to notice. The first because of the promise of its title, the second because of the general excellence of the series in which it is included, and the third because of its scholarly editor. They invite comparison.

After the admirable *Restitución de la edición príncipe* of the *Lazarillo* given us by Foulché-Delbosc in 1900, an editor would scarcely be expected to advertise his text by calling it a *Restitución del texto primitivo,* unless he had found the long-lost princeps, or had evidence to justify him in utilizing in a new way the variants of the early editions already known to us. Sr. Canibell uses the edition of 1900 as the "médula" of his own, "con algunas variantes de importancia exigua," and inserts in their respective places in the body of the text, the additions of Alcalá 1554 which Foulché-Delbosc has seen fit to relegate to an appendix. Sr. Canibell gives no hint as to the source of the readings of his text which are not found in the edition of 1900. Let us examine a few of them, bearing in mind that the readings of FD are constant in all three texts of 1554.

FD 4, 11, *leños a que;* C *leña con que.*—FD 3, 14, *justicia;* C *justizia.*—FD 3, 22, *metiose;* C *metiosse.*—FD 4, 26, *sauanas;* C *sabanas.*—FD 5, 21, *yo seria para adestralle;* C *seria a proposito para adestralle.*—FD 5, 23, *por ensalçar la fe auia muerto en la de los Gelves;* C *por ensalzar la fe hauia muerto en la batalla de los Gelues.*—FD 9, 5, *por cabo;* C *por el cabo.*—FD 9, 10, *turome;* C *durome.*—FD 9, 12, *lo tenia;* C *le tenia.*—FD 9, 13, *a si como;* C *a si el hierro como.*—FD 11, 22, *estendia;* C *extendia.*—FD 12, 1, *Sant Juan;* C *San Juan.*—FD 12, 28, *note mucho;* C [*mucho*].—FD 13, 4, *en vn meson;* C [ ].—FD 13, 20, *bueltas;* C *vueltas.*—FD 13, 24, *al qual;* C *el qual.*—FD 14, 1, *ay;* C *ahy.*—FD 71, 2, *rostriquemados;* C *rostrillos quemados.*

Since in all these cases the reading of FD needs no emendation and probably represents the princeps, it is impossible to condone the capricious readings of C. The text is apparently quite unauthoritative throughout, and less admirable indeed than the current unpretentious modernizations.

While the brief introduction presents no new facts, it offers for consideration a new theory of authorship. Sr. Canibell inclines to the belief that Fray Juan de Ortega was the author, and that the work is at the same time an autobiography. This blend of two hypotheses would be more difficult of proof than either of its parts, neither of which has much to recommend it. If we consider the *Lazarillo* an autobiography it is hard to explain away its folkloristic elements, and the ascription to Ortega rests on the flimsiest of hearsay evidence. Moreover, the editor is inconsistent in attributing to Ortega, a cleric esteemed for his learning, a work which he elsewhere declares to be written "con sobriedad y llaneza muy propias de quien poco ó nada ha frecuentado el aula de retórica, pero inusitada (sic!) en un escritor

castellano familiarizado con el trato de las musas." (Fol. 4, recto.)

It is a pleasure to record that from a mechanical and artistic standpoint the Barcelona edition leaves nothing to be desired. It is beautifully printed in black-letter on antique paper, rubricated, signatured and foliated, and is a credit to the editor and printer, who have spared no pains to give a worthy setting to a literary jewel.[1]

It is difficult to know how to treat the edition of the *Bibliotheca Romanica.* On the one hand to criticize an edition which costs only ten cents is to look a gift horse in the mouth. On the other, it would have been as easy to print a good text as the one given us. The fact is this text is not just what it claims to be. The editor, Sr. L. Sorrento, writes: "La médula de nuestro texto es la edición que ha sido publicada por R. Foulché-Delbosc . . . con algunas variantes. Hemos insertado las adiciones de la edición de Alcalá 1554 . . . y tenido cuenta de la edición de Burgos 1554."[2] Sr. Canibell's edition is not mentioned, even in the bibliography (p. 12), but there can be no doubt that it has been followed closely. All the capricious readings given above are found also in Sr. Sorrento's text, and such cases as the following point in the same direction:

FD 5, 12, *esforço;* C *efforço;* S *efforço.*—FD 4, 8, *auiale miedo;* C *hauiale miedo;* S *haviale miedo* (S regularly uses *v* for *u*).—FD 13, 10, *cabe el fuego;* C *caue el fuego;* S *cave el fuego.*

While the text is a contradiction and a mosaic, the introduction is so well done as to cause one to wonder how the two parts can be by the same hand. The editor's non-committal attitude regarding the moot question of authorship is the only reasonable one in the present state of our knowledge. The bibliography is unsatisfactory not so much for its incompleteness, as for the failure to distinguish between editions of the first part, the expurgated text and the revision of Luna.[3]

Turning now to the latest *Lazarillo,* let it be stated once for all that Sr. Cejador, to whom we already owed our only Cervantes dictionary and most valuable annotated editions of the *Celestina* and the *Libro de buen amor,* has placed us further in his debt by his admirable contribution to the literature of the first picaresque novel. An annotated edition has long been imperatively needed, and we now have one which it will be difficult to improve upon. Not only has the editor provided a commentary valuable to the lay reader, but he has cleared up some passages which, to judge by the stumbling of the translators, have presented difficulty to the competent.

The text is a fairly accurate reproduction of Burgos 1554, based apparently upon Foulché-Delbosc's edition. The editor gives as his reason for following Burgos, that he considers it in lieu of the princeps. He disregards, consequently, without disproving, the arguments of the scholar who must be considered our highest authority in the matter.[4] The additions of Alcalá are inserted where they belong.

The introduction is chiefly interesting for the discussion of authorship. One by one the suggested hypotheses are gone over, and their points fairly presented. Sr. Cejador is not afraid of them, so confident is he in the merit of his own candidate. At length, and with abundance of detail, he puts forward the claims of Sebastián de Horozco, founding his belief on parallels of subject-matter, spirit and language, between the Toledan writer's works (chiefly the *Cancionero*) and the *Lazarillo.* It

[1] In his list of artistic editions of *Lazarillo,* Sr. Canibell does not mention that of Madrid 1844–45, printed by Omar y Soler, containing all three parts and admirably illustrated with woodcuts.

[2] This last phrase is obscure considering that the edition of Foulché-Delbosc gives the variants of Burgos. There is no intimation that one of the two copies of Burgos 1554, long in private possession in England, has been used to correct Foulché-Delbosc.

[3] The edition of Madrid 1563 surely never existed. Paris 1838 is in Portuguese. The editor describes for the first time the edition of Lerida 1612.

[4] Foulché-Delbosc, *Remarques sur Lazarille de Tormes. Revue Hispanique,* VII (1900), 81–97. Sr. Cejador assumes that the oldest edition is the best. In the case of a lost princeps this is not necessarily true.

is only fair to an earlier critic to mention that Sr. Asensi had already suggested Horozco, though timidly, perhaps, in his introduction to the *Cancionero.* In his words: "Cierta analojía encontramos entre el diálogo y frases de Sebastián de Horozco y los del Lazarillo de Tormes, que nos hacen sospechar pudiera ser la novela obra de aquel. . . ." (p. 158.) This is not the place to take up Sr. Cejador's arguments in detail. One may hesitate about accepting them so long as there is any other way of explaining the analogies, and there are at least three possibilities. *Lazarillo* may have imitated Horozco, Horozco may have imitated the *Lazarillo,*[5] or it may be a case of two Toledan authors who are handling independently but in more or less the same spirit and language, the same traditional material. Before choosing between four possibilities we should know when the *Lazarillo* was written, and more about Horozco than we do at present. Withal, and despite certain inconsistencies, Sr. Cejador's candidate is the ablest presented so far.

As intimated above, it is in the notes that Sr. Cejador is seen at his best. He is discriminating and scholarly, and the task of commentator is one for which his wide reading and linguistic knowledge peculiarly fit him. May he continue to illumine the dark places of the older classics!

It is the writer's opinion that a text as important as the *Lazarillo* is deserving of the fullest possible illustration, and from this belief, and from no spirit of meticulous criticism, spring the following observations.

Page 69, note. Here as elsewhere, often, the titles of little-known books are too concisely given. A matter of great importance to us working in America.—71, 2. The quotation from Pliny is also in F. de Valles, *Cartas familiares,* Madr. 1603 (Gallardo, *Ensayo,* IV, col. 90) and Rojas, *Viaje,* ed. Cañete, I, p. 36. —72, 10. Cf. Silva, *Seg. Celest.,* Madr., 1874, p. 277: "Porque creeme, Poncia, que pocos habria que con fuerza aventurasen las vidas, si pensasen que solos ellos habian de ser testigos de la gloria de sus hazañas."—74, 1. "no mire Vuestra Magestad el ruin estilo con que va escrito," Villalon, *Viaje de Turquía,* p. 2a; "sola la voluntad de mi baxo estilo . . . resciua Vuestra Magestad," *id.,* p. 3a; "cortar con el mal amolado cuchillo la neuma de mi torpe pluma para dirigirle," Timoneda's *Epistola* to Rueda's *Comedias,* ed. Acad., p. 2.—86, 4. The explanation given for *pringar* does not apply here, as the negro is evidently not executed. See the word in Covarrubias and connect his comment with *pobre esclauo,* p. 85, 7.—88, 2. "para ser en tierna edad Otra niña de Gelves," Castillo, *Niña de los embustes,* Madr., 1906, p. 232.—89, 14. Covarrubias, p. 191a, has a good note on the *Toro de la puente de Salamanca.*—90, 4. (Cf. 164, 8). Sr. Cejador does not discuss the traditional character given the *mozo de ciego* in these passages. Yet it is important for the question of sources.—98, 1. So the blind beggar in Timoneda's *Paso de los ciegos:* "Devotos cristianos, ¿quien Manda rezar Una oracion singular Nueva de nuestra Señora?" and "Mandadme rezar, pues que es Noche santa," etc. Moratin, *Orígenes,* p. 289 (*Bib. de Aut. Esp.,* t. II).—104, 6. An allusion to one of the best-known *exempla.*—108, 18. "Más me precio, hija . . . de una oracion del Conde ó de la Emparedada: esto te podré amostrar, mi amor, si lo quieres aprender." *Seg. Celest.,* p. 218.—111, 2. "Entre estos dos cortezones pringada estaba mi bien, como torrezno en mendrugos que no se pueden morder." Quevedo, *Obras,* Madr., 1794, VIII, 345.—118, 4. This passage should not be connected with the additions of Alcalá, but with the passage in the last *Tratado,* p. 256, 12, "tengo cargo de pregonar los vinos," etc., and p. 258, 1 ff.—121, 14. There are several more versions than those noted here. A detailed study of them will appear soon.—123, 2. Another possibility is *ole* imperative from *oler,* which has better sense here. This is the suggestion of M. Foulché-Delbosc in a letter to my friend Louis How, whose translation of the *Lazarillo* will shortly appear.—127, ll. 2, 3, 4. It would have been interesting to note such passages as this, which the Inquisition cut out of the *Laz. Castigado.* The same idea was expressed by Alcalá Yañez in a way which causes

[5] Morel-Fatio et Rouanet, *Le théâtre espagnol,* Paris, 1900, p. 11.

us to suspect a tradition regarding clergymen. "Era mi buen clérigo algo allegador y amigo de andar por el modo ahorrativo, natural condición de clérigos, y más si son viejos . . ." *Donado Hablador,* Cap. I.—130, 4. Neither of the examples is as close a parallel as that from Delicado, *Lozana Andaluza,* Mam., XXXIV: "¿por dineros venis? pues ¡tan blanco el ojo! ¡caminá!"—130, 7. An excellent note on *duelos y quebrantos,* when Rodríguez Marín had apparently said the last word (*D. Q.* t. I, p. 50). It should be noted that there is a connection between the eating of *menudos* on Saturday and the fact that this was the regular day for slaughtering. Cf. the poem addressed to a *tripera* (!) in Paz, *Sales esp.,* II, 257: "Oy es sábado y ternéis, mi alma, mucho en que entender."—133, 3. "assi como llamamos tan bien triumphar, por via de burla el beuer y comer y regosijarse," Gracian, *Galateo,* Cap. nono. "Al compás que lo pasaban mal los soldados triumfábamos nosotros," *Estebanillo,* Cap. V.—135, 10, *cofadrias y mortuorios.* Sr. Cejador includes these words among the rare expressions common to *Laz.* and Horozco. They are in the *Celestina,* ed. Cejador, I, 68. Cf. also "aquellas comidas . . . que se dan en los mortuorios," *Crotalón,* p. 143 (Menéndez, *Orígenes,* t. II).—136, 2. The editor questions whether the phrase *beber más que un saludador* refers to the drunkenness of these characters. See this from *Estebanillo,* Cap. VI: "se persuadiese á que no había cocinero que no fuese ladrón, saludador que no fuese borracho, ni músico que no fuese gallina." Quevedo has much to say about them in the *Sueño de las Calaveras* (*Obras,* Madr., 1791, t. I, 86 ff).—137, 7. *le lleuasse* and the whole context argue that the reading of Alcalá, *le echasse,* is the correct one.—140, 14. Read *arcaz. Arte* in the sense of *hechura* hardly fits the context. *Laz. Castigado* reads *de esta arca,* which indicates that its editors did not have Alcalá before them and were probably correcting Burgos or Antwerp.—141, 5. "pesandole y poniendole sobre su cabeza . . . Lo mismo hazen si topan vn bocado de pan, diçiendo que es la cara de Dios," Villalón, *Viaje de Turquía,* 106b. There is a close parallel in *Pícara Justina,* ed. Puyol, p. 102 and note in t. III, 136. The *Santo Oficio* changed this passage to "veo cantidad de panes dentro," and inconsistently let stand the similar references on pp. 145 and 146.—143, 5. The note does not explain the passage. Cf. "tenemos algunas frasis, aunque de la gente comun, y vulgar, como ciegale Santanton, al que va a hazer alguna cosa mala, deseando que aunque tope con lo que va a buscar no lo vea." Covarrubias, s.v. *cegar.*—147, 10. "Si tenéis criados, ¿para qué os sirven? Para que no os dejen cosa a vida. . . ." *Col. de Entremeses,* ed. Cotarelo, t. I, 148a.—149, 3. B reads *cierrasse* according to FD 25, 8, and Butler Clarke's reprint, Lond., 1897, p. 36.—151, 18. *los cuydados del rey de Francia* may be another form of the locution *Esos cuidados matan al rey,* Correas, 134b. Might not there be an allusion to the trouble of Francis I in 1525?—154, 2. "Armamos a los paxaros, a los conejos, a las çorras . . . ," Covarrubias, s.v. *armar.* Apparently not as rare as the editor thinks.—169, 10. The description of the entrance is deliberate preparation for the folk tale used later, and evidence of the artistic character of the work.—170, 10, *para en camara.* "No sois vos para en camara Pedro. No sois vos para en camara non, Sino para en camaranchon," Covarrubias, s.v. *camara.*—171, 5. B reads *aunque* (Clarke and FD).—176, 1. One difficulty with this passage is that editors, old and new, have felt that it was the *ropa* and not the *colchón* that was dirty. If we assume a misprint *continuada* for *continuado* in the princeps, and emend, the whole passage becomes clear.—179, 1. The translators have had trouble with this place. Morel-Fatio reads "et moi-même qui lui servait de portemanteau"; Lauser, "und ich bediente ihn dabei aufmerksam"; Markham finds it easier to omit. The following is confirmatory of Sr. Cejador's explanation: "Tambien los confesores servis algunas vezes de pelillo y andais a sabor de paladar con ellos, por no los desabrir", Villalón, *Viaje de Turquía,* 26b.—181, 5. The editor accepts Morel-Fatio's contention that there was no Conde de Arcos between 1483 and 1617, and that the allusion is to the Conde Claros of the ballads. How then

shall we explain the following? "Treviños, Ciudad-Real, Rota, del conde de Arcos, Adonde bate el mar." *Rom. gen.*, no. 1150, *Convocatoria á la cristianadad para la guerra contra los Turcos.* This ballad is from the *Canc. de Romances* and written after 1534. Agustín de Rojas in the *Viaje entret.* I, 297 (Madr. 1901, reprint of 1604), speaking of the Toledo of his day, says: "Pues sin esto, tiene esta ciudad otra grandeza, no menor que las que hemos dicho, y es que en el reino de Toledo tienen sus estados muchos señores de las casas más antiguas y más calificadas de España, como son: el marqués de Villena y duque de Escalona; el duque de Maqueda, marqués de Montemayor, conde de Orgaz, conde de Fuensalida, conde de Casarrubios, conde de Arcos [6] . . . The writer is inclined to believe that the author of the *Lazarillo* made a natural allusion to a local magnate, and whimsically added the line from the ballad of Conde Claros, which may have been suggested to his mind by the similarity of the names. The Alcalá reading would be a correction.—184, 5. "Y tiene un campo llano, que se llama la Vega, la cual es muy apacible, y donde salen á recrearse las ninfas deste lugar en todos tiempos, porque en invierno tiene sol y en verano frescura", Rojas, *Viaje*, ed. cit. I, 296.—195, 2. "Cabeça de lobo, l'occasion que quelqu'vn prend pour faire son profit, comme celuy qui ayant tué vn loup, en porte la teste par les villages, afin qu'on luy donne quelque chose, pour auoir deliuré la contree d'vn animal pernicieux et dommageable", Oudin, *Tesoro de las dos lengvas*, Paris, 1621; "creo que en son de hazer cabeças de virgenes, podran hazer otras tantas de lobo", *Pícara Justina*, ed. Puyol, II, 143; Puyol's note (III, 133) gives the explanation from Correas, and adds an example from *Comedia Evfrosina.* Cf. "agredézcalo, hijo, él á tí, que por mi vida que ganó contigo anoche como con cabeza de lobo", *Seg. Celest.* 207; "con su perigrinaje ganaba como con cabeza de lobo," Villalón, *Viaje de Turquía* 13a. "No hera mala cabeza de lobo la *gera pliega*, que no costaría toda vn escudo," *id.*, 44a. "cabeças de lobos, con que piden," *Commedia Eufros.*, 90a.—199, 2. B reads *cornada.*—205, 11. "Vive en casa lóbrega, de Lazarillo de Tormes. (Para decir desaliñada.)," Correas, 587a; "lobrego y lobregura por triste y tristeza son vocablos muy vulgares, no se usan entre gente de corte", Valdés, *Dial. leng.*, ed. Boehmer, p. 387, 19. These citations prove sufficiently the popular character of the episode.—211, 13. Read *bien criado.* The following is copied by Gallardo (t. III, col. 83) from a text of 1532: "Hablarlas has, segun el merecimiento de cada uno, quitandole el bonete, y haciendole reverencia, si tal fuere la persona: y dirasle: Beso las manos de Vuestra Merced, ó mantenga Dios á Vuestra Merced, ó mantengaos Dios, si tanto no fuere."—244, 6. The reading of B is probably the correct one, and offers no difficulty if we take *las mas* to refer to *vezes.*—214, 9. *librar* is a common synonym of *pagar.*—219, 13. Morel-Fatio, *Etudes, Prem. sér.*, 2me ed., p. 122, makes this line refer to a different ballad, no 858 of the *Rom. gen.* It is hardly exact enough to be necessarily an allusion to either. —220, 11. The same suggestion has been made by Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, p. 122.—226, 5. A pun on *romper*, 'to wear,' and *romper*, 'to wear out.'—228, 6. A note is desired to *peras verdiniales.*—229, 1. B reads *sabian.*—229, 19. B reads *el pueblo.*—254, 9. Note desired for *puerta.*—254, 11. *Cuellar* is not here the name of an *espadero.* The town was famed for its swords. See Riaño, *Industrial Arts in Spain*, Lond., 1890, p. 90.—256, 4. Punctuate *prouechosa; y con favor que.*—256, 16. No one seems to have remarked that the *pregonero* is the basest of all officials, after the *verdugo;* an observation essential to the understanding of the crowning irony of the last chapter.—259, 7. One of the most difficult lines in the whole text. Does it mean *de vez en cuando un par de perdices?* This use of *cuando*, and the article after *par de* is not unknown. Cf. "la docena de las perdices, el par de los carneros,

[6] "Nuestro ingenio ó casa de moneda estuvo en la jurisdicción de San Nicolás, en un edificio propio del Conde de Arcos, quien cuidaba de la dirección de la fábrica y nombraba sus oficiales." López de Ayala, *Toledo en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1901. (*Discursos leidos ante la Real Acad. de la Hist.*) The author is speaking of the time of Charles the Fifth.

la media docena de los cabritos", Menéndez, *Orígenes,* t. III, p. clxxxii, quoting *Comedia Seraphina;* "Que no verná hombre aquí que no saque dél cuando de la leña, otro el carbón, y otro el vino", Delicado, *Loz. And.,* Mam. XLI.

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La Part de Charles Nodier dans la formation des idées romantiques de Victor Hugo jusqu'à la préface de Cromwell, by EUNICE M. SCHENCK. Paris, Champion, 1914. 8vo., xi + 149 pp. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, XVI.)

Of Hugo's gift for assimilating the ideas of others, Edouard Rod has said, not too delicately perhaps,[1] but with a degree of truth: "Comme une éponge dans un baquet, Victor Hugo a absorbé tout ce qui l'entourait. . . ."[2] This judgment, tempered with a recognition of the poet's supreme achievements in the realm of the imagination,[3] represents a view of his intellectual dependence which promises to become definitive. The problem has remained, however, to determine the exact nature of certain of the borrowings, and particular interest has attached to the *Préface de Cromwell.* Souriau, in his excellent critical edition, examined the influences which appear in this document, but failed to deal adequately with the contribution of Nodier. Miss Schenck's chief aim is evidently to fill this gap; while she does not limit herself to the one problem, and treats fully and conclusively of the influence of Nodier upon Hugo's early poetry and fiction, she puts the stress on the connection of their critical writings, and focuses attention on the *Préface.*

After assembling the specific remarks in the *Préface* which recall, and in a few cases absolutely match, declarations of Nodier, supplementing and correcting Souriau's investigation of these, Miss Schenck offers an imposing array of quotations from Nodier which, antedating the manifesto, foreshadow its basic ideas (Chapter III). Hugo's indebtedness is clearly demonstrated. Whether Nodier may have actively assisted in drawing up the document is discussed by the writer, and while she refrains, with admirable discretion, from insisting upon this possibility, she disposes effectively of Souriau's hypothesis of the collaboration of Sainte-Beuve.

The results reached in a consideration of "les trois essais de Nodier postérieurs à la Préface" (Chapter IV) are less acceptable. The reference is to three articles published in the *Revue de Paris,* in 1829–30, entitled: "Quelques observations pour servir à l'histoire de la nouvelle école littéraire"; "Des types en littérature"; "Du fantastique en littérature". Miss Schenck, maintaining that these are merely a recapitulation of the ideas of the *Préface,*[4] furnishes abundant evidence of the somewhat strained relations between Nodier and Hugo, beginning at a period not long after the latter's proclamation was published, and draws the conclusion that Nodier, weary of being exploited, even slightly irritated, had determined to claim his own. The whole argument crumbles unless it can be proved that Hugo is repeated in the three *Essais.* Let us examine Miss Schenck's characterization of these.

They are accessible, she writes, and need not be described at length. Of the first we are asked to recall (p. 113) that "c'est surtout l'idée du dualisme des personnages de Shakespeare que relève l'auteur: mélanges, dit-il, du fantastique et du grotesque". This is a misstatement. While Nodier's article is somewhat discursive, as the title suggests, his initial sentence indicates clearly the main theme: "cet amour passionné qui est le principal élément des compositions de la nouvelle école".[5] In the body of the article he stresses the significance of *Werther,* and adds approving comment

[1] Cf. Souriau, *la Préface de Cromwell,* Paris, 1897, p. 147, note 1.

[2] *Etudes sur le XIXe siècle,* Paris, 1888, p. 125.

[3] As Rod himself tempers it, especially in his article on Hugo in *Nouvelles études sur le XIXe siècle,* Paris, 1899.

[4] Cf. p. ix: "Pourquoi Nodier aura-t-il senti la nécessité d'affirmer ses idées—les idées de la *Préface*—après coup?" Cf. pp. viii, 113.

[5] *Revue de Paris,* VII, 141.

on the new freedom of his contemporaries; the paragraph on Shakespeare consists of a tribute to his independence of classical tradition, with no emphasis upon the dualism (sic) to which Miss Schenck alludes.[6] The following essay she describes thus (p. 113):

> "Dans le second, il parle des types nouveaux de la littérature moderne par opposition au type abstrait de la beauté que connaît le classicisme, et pour lui les grands types modernes par excellence sont ceux de Dante, de Shakespeare, ceux qui ont tous un élément du grotesque, c'est-à-dire où le concret (qui mêle les éléments supérieurs et inférieurs) se substitue à l'abstrait".

As a matter of fact, the contrast upon which Nodier remarks is between two processes of artistic expression, one of which consisted in "la reproduction perpétuelle des beaux *types* antiques",[7] while in the other "il s'agissait de saisir sur le fait le caractère et la physionomie des *types* modernes".[7] That the difference between these is essentially a difference between abstract and concrete, Nodier does not say or imply, and, although he lauds Dante and Shakespeare, he neither singles them out in the way Miss Schenck's statement intimates, nor emphasizes their handling of the grotesque. In the third essay, Nodier, says Miss Schenck (p. 114), "esquisse le progrès du fantastique à travers les âges, comme Hugo l'a fait pour le grotesque". True. Then she adds: "Or ce 'fantastique' de Nodier est en somme le grotesque de Victor Hugo; quoique Nodier en souligne plutôt le côté pittoresque et féerique, tandis que Victor Hugo s'occupe davantage du difforme et du moral". The distinction should be sharper. The relation between Nodier's *fantastique* and Hugo's *grotesque* is occasionally close, as Miss Schenck has sufficiently proved in the preceding chapter, but it is not constant; sometimes the conceptions approach each other and sometimes they are wide apart, and the latter situation is exemplified in the present case. The precise attitude of Nodier in this essay is revealed by three quotations. He refers to the *fantastique* as "cette muse de l'idéal, fille élégante et fastueuse de l'Asie";[8] of its development in Germany he says: "L'Allemagne . . . porte dans ses croyances une ferveur d'imagination, une vivacité de sentimens, une mysticité de doctrines, un penchant universel à l'idéalisme, qui sont essentiellement propres à la poétique fantastique";[9] and he concludes the article with the remark: "Il faudrait bien, après tout, que le fantastique nous revînt, quelques efforts qu'on fasse pour le proscrire. Ce qu'on déracine le plus difficilement chez un peuple, ce ne sont pas les fictions qui le conservent: ce sont les mensonges qui l'amusent".[10] The *grotesque* of the *Préface,* which Hugo does not himself succinctly define, is discussed by Souriau, whose word carries authority, as follows: "En général, dans l'art, c'est le laid rapproché du beau, et placé là intentionnellement pour faire contraste, paraissant d'autant plus laid, et mettant en valeur le beau. En particulier, dans la littérature, le grotesque est d'abord tout cela, mais de plus c'est le laid comique, et c'est aussi le laid exaspéré: le grotesque est au laid ce que le sublime est au beau: c'est le laid ayant conscience de lui-même, content de sa laideur, le laid lyrique, s'épanouissant dans la fierté de l'horreur qu'il inspire, disant: riez de moi, tant je suis ridicule à côté du sublime; tremblez devant moi, tant je suis monstrueux".[11] Surely, Nodier's and Hugo's conceptions may not in this case be considered nearly identical.[12] In-

[6] Nodier writes of certain of Shakespeare's characters (p. 145): "Ces esprits de sortilège et de malice, mélange inouï du fantastique et du grotesque". Is this dualism?

[7] *Revue de Paris,* XVIII, 188.

[8] *Revue de Paris,* XX, 216.

[9] *Ibid.,* 221–22.

[10] *Ibid.,* 226. In an article by Breuillac on Hoffmann in France (*Revue d'histoire littéraire,* XIII, 427 ff.), which Miss Schenck scores roundly and deservedly in other details, is a definition of the *fantastique* of Nodier's essay, corresponding approximately to the impression given by the above quotations, to which she registers no objection.

[11] P. 136.

[12] That the kind of imagination Nodier describes may create grotesque figures, he points out in this article (pp. 208–209), but this establishes a relation, not identity. Breuillac (*op. cit.,* p. 456) states that the grotesque of Hugo is not far from that of Hoffmann, which he has likened to Nodier's, and cites Han d'Islande, Quasimodo and Triboulet, but finally admits a fundamental difference.

deed, Miss Schenck's contention, in the light of her previous reference to a mingling of the fantastic and the grotesque as *dualism*, is somewhat extraordinary. And surely it may not be affirmed that this essay is hardly more than a recapitulation of the *Préface.*

In fine, these three articles deal with aspects of romanticism distinct from those treated in the *Préface;* each one has its individual right to existence quite apart from any relation to Hugo; and to assume that Nodier wrote them merely to claim the credit for the fundamental ideas of the celebrated manifesto is impossible. They do indeed contain many reminiscences of the earlier document. Nodier pleads for local color, for unfettered diction, demands freedom for French genius with burning eloquence, points out the influence of the social organization of a period upon its literature, insists upon the significance of Christianity in the history of literature, and states—a striking likeness—" les anciens ne paraissent pas avoir connu la mélancolie ".[13] The majority of these ideas were current in 1829–30, and for Nodier to embody them in his articles does not in itself demonstrate a desire to stamp them as his own; in fact, such a method of establishing a claim, by tardy repetition, might seem ineffective. Yet, had Miss Schenck contented herself with suggesting the possibility of such a purpose, secondary to the chief object of the essays, she might have been credited with an interesting hypothesis. As it is, a tendency to overstate discredits the conclusion.

In fact, respect for the author's scholarship, and wonder at the occasional lapses, alternate. Her careful documentation is frequently impressive: she studies manuscripts edited and unedited, is familiar with the earliest and with the most recent Hugo literature, controls a quotation and points out a significant mistake, searches diligently in order to fix a date of publication. In an appendix she groups in chronological order the titles of more than three hundred articles published by Nodier in newspapers and reviews between 1813 and 1827, of which less than one hundred are reproduced in *Mélanges de littérature et de critique,*[14] thus listing for the use of investigators a large number of articles hitherto practically unknown. On the other hand, Hugo's prefaces and periodical articles prior to 1827, which constitute a respectable body of critical writing, are hardly given casual notice; indeed, to judge by Miss Schenck's remark (p. 44) that " Hugo . . . a été romantique en action avant de l'être dans sa critique, c'est-à-dire avant sa *Préface de Cromwell* ", she is inclined completely to ignore them. Yet, to point an example, Nodier's idea that literature is an expression of society is clearly formulated by Hugo in the 1824 preface to *Odes et Ballades,* and such a comparison, in the interests of completeness, should be made. Moreover, the inaccuracies in the dissertation are manifold. Characterizing the *Préface,* the writer affirms (p. 1) that "Arioste, Cervantes, Dante, Rabelais, Milton, Ossian sont des noms qui reviennent sans cesse ", when, as a matter of fact, although Milton and Dante are mentioned frequently, Rabelais is named only twice, Cervantes and Ariosto only once, and Ossian not at all.[15] In a description of the *dénoûment* of *Jean Sbogar,* Miss Schenck says (p. 49): " En traversant les montagnes la voiture des deux femmes est attaquée par des brigands ", whereas the truth is that the ladies are traveling, to Trieste, by boat, and it is only after the attack that Antonia, a captive, is landed and put into a carriage.[16] Misprints are few,[17] but failure to give complete references is frequent,[18] and the misquotations are legion, which seems peculiarly unfortunate because so much of Miss Schenck's work consists of a judicial reproduction and alignment of Nodier's and Hugo's remarks. In many instances the inaccuracy is merely improper punctuation,[19] but occasionally the misrepre-

[13] *Revue de Paris,* VII, 145.

[14] Paris, 1820.

[15] The names of Rabelais, Cervantes and Ariosto are repeated in the notes (p. 394, édition Hetzel), apropos of the mention of them in the text.

[16] Cf. *Jean Sbogar,* édition Charpentier, p. 197 ff.

[17] Cf. p. 12, für; p. 41, s'efforçât; p. 50, two notes labelled 1; p. 77, 1810 should be 1820.

[18] Cf. pp. 63, 80, 93, 96, etc.

[19] Cf. pp. 61–65, 76, 79–80, 89, 116, etc.

sentation, clearly unintentional, amounts to a gross error.[20]

A good piece of work, disfigured by carelessness; this sums up the dissertation. Miss Schenck's method, if it may not seem a paradox to say so, is admirable; Chapter III, which is the best, is the product of a thorough, objective, scientific investigator. It may be charged that the plan whereby nearly the first half of the book is devoted to a consideration of Nodier's writings up to 1827 apart from Hugo, results in a dissipation of energy. That is, since the interest is wholly in the relations of the two men, and not in Nodier's individual accomplishment, a more compact presentation, with Chapter I fused with what follows and certain repetitions avoided, would have been better. And Miss Schenck's explanation (p. ix): "Evidemment il ne fallait aborder le problème de l'action d'un auteur sur un autre qu'après un consciencieux travail préliminaire", does not in itself establish the need of putting this preliminary study into the printed result. But very likely her plan is right. Amalgamation involves the personal element; a careful blending of the material might give the literary quality which is manifestly absent, but perhaps with a loss of scientific value. The author's tabular arrangement proves conclusively Nodier's influence on Hugo, and that was her purpose.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Date of Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*

The date of *Tale of a Tub* has been much discussed. Collier first placed it in Elizabeth's reign on account of allusions. Fleay, and the more recent supporters of this theory, think it was written and possibly acted in an earlier form during Elizabeth's reign, and then revised and presented in 1633 for the purpose of satirizing Inigo Jones. The chief arguments for the revision are the presence of *The Scene Interloping* between scenes labelled *one* and *two* in Act IV; and the fact that the satire on Inigo Jones is chiefly found in two specific places in Act V; the first beginning, V, ii, 28,

> Can any man make a Masque here i'this company;

and the second, V, ii, 22,

> I must conferre with Mr. *In-and In,*
> About some alterations in my Masque.

My investigations lead me to believe that the play was all written at one time, and that about the time of its presentation in 1633. My chief reasons are as follows:

(1) The presence of *The Scene Interloping,* taken by itself, cannot be held to prove more than that Jonson did not decide on the satire until after beginning Act V. (2) The so-called 'revised' portions form an integral part of the plot. Tub has perfected all his plans for marrying Awdrey, and is seeking some one to make a *Masque* to complete the wedding festivities when he asks the question noted above. All his plans go awry, and Awdrey is married to another. He then has, of necessity, to confer with In-and In about alterations, since he cannot, of course, have the thing carried out according to his earlier plan. (3) Internal evidence shows that the scene was laid in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Miles Metaphor, who is represented as quite young, remembers "King Edward our late Leige" (d. 1553), and "has set down the pompe" with which he rode forth. Canon Hugh and Hilts, represented as strong and lusty in their disguise, as Captain Plums and his companion both fought at St. Quentin's (1557). Other facts give the same idea. If the scene was laid in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, there is no more reason why the play should have been written in 1598–1604, than in 1633. If the play was all written at one time, it must have been written at about 1633 on account of the satire on Inigo Jones.

[20] Cf. p. 64, "jeune moisson" should read "jaune moisson"; p. 96, the misquotation from Souriau (p. 310); p. 115, "le monde du cartonnier" should read "les moules du cartonnier"; etc.

A study of Ben Jonson's verse settles the question from another method of approach. Saintsbury throws out a hint that Jonson took much more liberty with the number of his syllables in his later than in his earlier plays. No one has ever gone into the matter. Having made a count of the syllables within the unrimed lines of the so-called 'early,' and so-called 'revised' portions of *A Tale of a Tub,* I find the average for one hundred lines to be as follows: 'early,' 24. 7; 'revised,' 24. 3. This result shows that *if* Ben Jonson's practice did vary, these parts were written at the same time. My count of the syllables within the unrimed lines of the first five and last two plays, and *A Tale of a Tub,* entire, and of a hundred lines of each of the intervening plays gives the following result, in an average for a hundred lines: *Every Man In,* 5; *Every Man Out,* 4. 5; *Case is Altered,* 2. 5; *Cynthia's Revels,* 4; *Poetaster,* 5; *Sejanus,* 3; *Volpone,* 9. 1; *Alchemist,* 15; *Cataline,* 3; *Devil is an Ass,* 12; *Staple of News,* 24; *New Inn,* 16. 6; *Magnectic Lady,* 24. 8; *Tale of a Tub* (entire), 24. 6. This proves two things. Both portions of *A Tale of a Tub* were written at the same time, and it was a late play.

In my edition of the play, which I hope to bring out in the Yale Series, in April, 1915, I have gone into the matter in greater detail. It seemed, however, worthy of notice at this time.

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A NOTE ON *As You Like It,* II, vii, 139 f.

Among all the numerous comments on Jaques' famous summary of the seven ages of man that have suggested parallels or sources for the speech, I do not remember to have seen remarked one analogous list that illustrates more forcibly than any other I know Shakespeare's striking criticism of traditional concepts by the light of experience and common sense. In the *Piazza Universale di tutte le Professioni del Mondo* (Venetia, MDCLXV, p. 273), a wonderfully rich collection of sixteenth century pictures and ideas, Tommaso Garzoni discusses briefly the seven periods of human life, naming them abstractly, explaining the reason for their differing characters and adding a table of the seven ages of the world, the "stage" on which we play our parts.

The first age, "Infantia," lasts, says Garzoni, till the fourth year, the second, Childhood, to the fourteenth; "Adolescentia" takes the lad to his twentieth year, Youth to his fortieth, Maturity to his fifty-sixth; Age endures until the close of the sixty-eighth year, and from then till death, Decrepitude. "And astrologers say," Garzoni goes on to explain, "that the seven ages are dominated respectively by the planets Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn." If the medieval association of certain temperaments with certain planets be applied, an association which has left its trace in our vocabulary, the seven ages would exhibit characters unreasonable (lunatic), mercurial, loving, sunny, martial, jovial and saturnine, for each planet was believed to have in its composition a metal that actually influenced the bodily "humours" of the persons under its power.[1] In Ben Jonson's treatment of this problem there is a simplification of it into a more scientific form; the stars and their influences are discarded and the four "humours," "the choler, melancholy, phlegm and blood," compounded of the four elements of earth, air, water and fire in varying proportions,[2] are interpreted "by metaphor" as conditioning human temperament; again common usage has preserved the ghost of the concept in our adjectives, choleric, melancholic, phlegmatic, and sanguine.

Now Shakespeare, although he uses the ancient seven-fold division of man's life, rearranges it in such a way as to show that his classifications when he made them, depended

[1] This seems to have been medieval commonplace. Cf. Chaucer's *Chanoun Yemannes Tale,* 272 f., and, for further light on the character of the various planetary influences, *The Book of Quinte Essence* (1460–70), Early English Text Society.

[2] Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour,* Induction.

on more than academic theories, whether of planetary interference in the world's affairs or of modern scientific analysis,—the theory of "humours" he more than once ridiculed. In place of Garzoni's abstractions stand Jaques' living figures; "the infant, mewling and puking in his nurse's arms" and "the whining schoolboy . . . creeping like snail, Unwillingly to school," are both drawn from life and have only enough of unreason and contradictoriness about them to justify by a far stretch their association respectively with "the inconstant moon" and Mercury, whose special metal, the astrological chemists of the Middle Ages decided, was the variable quicksilver. No planet but Venus could, of course, possibly regulate the Lover, "sighing like a furnace," but the Soldier should have been, according to orthodox tradition, governed in his jealousy of honor by Mars, the iron planet, "an enemy to alle thyngis"[3] except soldiers. Again, the Sun, the fourth influence according to Garzoni's list, should have been the fifth in Jaques', for Sol was conceived as the fullest in energy-giving power, "the worthiest planete"[3] of them all, whose metal, gold, is the one most sought after during man's maturity and also the one which might satirically be thought of as the object of the Justice's activities. In these two types evidently common sense far more than tradition determined selection, for if Jaques had been faithful to convention he would have reversed the places of his soldier and his man of law,—an inconceivable change if criticized by a standard based on probability or suitability of profession to age.

Another departure from convention is apparent in the realistic picture of the shrunken, hollow look of the "lean and slipper'd pantaloon," whose type is not at all that of the "frosty but kindly" age which might have been ruled by Jupiter, "the planete wele-willing to alle thingis . . . plentiful and plesyng,"[3] whose bright metal was tin. On the other hand the concluding misery, Decrepitude, suggests vividly the baleful ascendance of Saturn, the leaden star, "evel-willid and ful of sekeness,"[3] who rises over and sets upon the "last scene of all."

[3] *Book of Quinte Essence*, p. 26.

The greater fitness of the medieval association of planet and temperament in youth and extreme age than in middle life might be made the basis of deductions that would lead far into the psychological habit which determines such classifications. The attention of the theorists who first attempted to bring order into the study of man's life was evidently caught by the more striking moments of the human career, just as the poets of nature earliest sang the brilliancies of spring; with the growth of rational observation and analysis the dead level of maturity was more closely studied, as well as the duller seasons of the year. But I have no wish here to push such suggestions, for my main object is only to call attention once more, by means of an as yet unnoted example, to Shakespeare's power of vivifying an old conception through bringing into it his own fresh and true analysis.

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BRIEF MENTION

Beatrijs, that pearl of medieval Dutch poetry, for many years very difficult of access, has at length appeared in a new and worthy dress as No. III of the Publications of the Philological Society (*Beatrijs, a Middle Dutch Legend,* edited by A. J. Barnouw, Oxford University Press, 1914). The editor, who is Lecturer in English in the University of Leyden, has on the whole acquitted himself admirably of his task. The text is meant to serve—somewhat like *Der arme Heinrich* in the case of Middle High German—as an introduction to the study of Middle Dutch, and hence sets out with a Grammar of Middle Dutch (pp. 1–46), which gives an outline of the Phonology and Accidence but no Syntax. While not taking the place of Franck's *Mittelniederländische Grammatik,* this summary will be found entirely adequate for the purpose it is meant to subserve. Its examples are all taken from the text of *Beatrijs.* The effort at condensation that is in evidence everywhere has perhaps not altogether made for clearness. Unscientific nomenclature also crops out here and there. Thus the monophthongization of *ai* and *au* is styled "smoothing" (§ 23) and the same *ē* and *ō* that resulted from this process are referred to

as "the originally long ē and ō" (§ 7). The text is virtually a reproduction of the manuscript. While the Notes cover barely four pages, they furnish all necessary information not contained in the Glossary. In keeping with the auspices under which the volume appears, the Glossary emphasizes the correspondences between Middle Dutch and Old English, passing by the German material even where no English cognates exist, a narrowness of point of view that both in Glossary and Notes leads to the neglect of illuminating parallels. The Glossary does duty also as an accurate and complete index to the Grammar. That the editor has kept well abreast of current bibliography is shown, among other things, by his mention, in terms of high praise, of the version of an American scholar, Harold de Wolf Fuller (1909).

Dr. Henry Marion Hall has published a revised edition of his *Idylls of Fishermen,* a monograph which was first printed in 1912, and reviewed in this journal in January, 1913. About three-fourths of the book has been rewritten, and its most serious faults have been corrected. It still contains a number of minor inaccuracies, but in spite of these it may now be heartily commended to all students of the pastoral. It gives a good account of the "fisher idyll", from its rise in ancient Greece to its decline in eighteenth-century England. One little slip should be corrected here, because it concerns the history of the literary species. On p. 74 it is implied that an 'ecloga nautica' of Franciscus Modius is an imitation of Grotius' *Myrtilus.* But Modius' poem is the earlier of the two. It was printed in his collected works, "Wirtzeburgi, 1583", when Grotius was only three years old.

W. P. M.

Volume III of the *Diccionario de chilenismos y de otras voces y locuciones viciosas,* por Manuel Antonio Román (Santiago de Chile, Imp. de San José, 1913, 8vo., 621 pp.) treats the letters G–M, and is no less interesting and valuable than the two previous volumes. This dictionary is not merely lexicographical; it is replete with information on Spanish syntax and phonetics, as illustrated by the treatment of such subjects as the gerundive, verbs in *-iar,* the pronoun-article *lo,* the local pronunciation and use of the letters *g, h, l, m,* etc. The number of American words continues as large as in the two preceding volumes; for example, *Jersey, Jockey, jol* (hall), *jury, lause* (louse), *leader, lunch, gásfiter, gasfitería, michicumán* (midshipman), *moni.* The illustrative material includes citations from Chilean popular poetry, and from the standard treatises on other Spanish-American dialects. It may be noted in passing that the verbal suffix *le,* as in *ándale,* is not "exclusivamente chileno"; the usage is common in Mexico. The interest of the *Diccionario de chilenismos* is not confined, however, to American Spanish, since the author has included numerous citations from the various periods of Castilian literature. The book is especially valuable for the language of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Copyright of the *Dictionary of German and English, English and German* by Max Bellows (New York, Holt, 1912) includes, among others, these 'strictly original points': 1. The distinguishing of masculine, feminine and neuter genders by different types. 2. The arrangement of both the German-English and English-German divisions concurrently on the same page. The second of these features undoubtedly possesses some merit. As to the first, it seems more than doubtful whether differentiation by means of typography carries any advantage, other than the saving of space, over against the affixing of the forms of the definite article.

In the case of any German-English and English-German dictionary the question presents itself whether the book is intended primarily for an English or German public. If one may judge from the care with which Bellows indicates the pronunciation of English words, while of German words not even the accent is given (*Bagage, Bagatelle, Bajonett, Bakterien*), the answer in the present instance cannot remain doubtful. Whatever may be the merits of the work as an aid to the study of English by Germans, for the English-speaking student of German it cannot with respect to general utility bear comparison with the school dictionaries of Breul or James. Furthermore, it is somewhat disconcerting to encounter, under the head of General Rules (p. 24), such German as "In beiläufigen Sätzen. 'Shall' in der zweiten und dritten Person, nicht nur die Zukunft sondern auch den Wunsch der sprechenden Person anzeigt," and "Der Schüler welcher das Englische am besten sprechen wird (or spricht), den Preis bekommen soll." and "Unsere Meinung lässt uns glauben dass. . . ." It is perhaps only fair to add that, both as to author and original publisher, the book is a product of the English market.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CHAUCER AND THE LITURGY

Chaucer appropriately concludes his characterization of the gentle Pardoner with certain observations concerning his liturgical accomplishments:

> But trewely to tellen atte laste,
> He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste;
> Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie,[1]
> But alderbest he song an offertorie.[2]

It is obvious that these lines contain, in vernacular form, two technical terms from the Roman liturgy: *lessoun*, for the *lectio* of the Canonical Office; and *offertorie*, for the *offertorium* of the Mass. Students of Chaucer, however, appear not to have observed in this passage a third term from liturgiology in the word *storie*.

Many editors omit the word *storie* from notes and glossary, on the assumption, we may fairly infer, that the word is to be interpreted in its general modern sense.[3] Other editors provide such glosses as the following: "history, legend of a saint (or the like)";[4] "a saint's life or *exemplum*, a moral anecdote";[5] "the 'gospel' for a given day in the Church service; or perhaps the 'legend of a saint'";[6] "légende";[7] "history, story";[8] "legend."[9] No editor, so far as I know, has explicitly identified *storie* with the technical term *historia* of liturgiology.

The exact sense of the term may be most readily understood if we consider first the precise meaning and liturgical associations of the word *lessoun* (*lectio*). The liturgical *lectiones* are found in Matins, the first of the eight ecclesiastical offices that constitute collectively the Canonical Office. The chief content of Matins is a series of psalms, each provided with an antiphon, and a series of *lectiones*, each followed by a responsory (*responsorium*). These liturgical elements are grouped in units called Nocturns (*Nocturni*), Matins containing one Nocturn or three according to the ferial or festal nature of the day. The structure of the Nocturn may be outlined thus:[10]

NOCTURNUS
  Antiphona
Psalmus
  Antiphona
Psalmus
  Antiphona
Psalmus
Lectio
  Responsorium
Lectio
  Responsorium
Lectio
  Responsorium

With this scheme before us we may readily appraise the following precise meanings given in liturgiology to the term *historia:*

(1) A series of *lectiones* covering a book of the Bible, or a story in the Bible, or the *vita* (*passio, legenda*) of a saint, the series of *lec-*

[1] Mss. Cambridge, Corpus, Lansdowne: *story*.

[2] *Canterbury Tales*, ll. 707-710 (MS. Ellesmere).

[3] T. Speght, *The Works of . . . Chaucer*, London, 1587; T. Tyrwhitt, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1798; A. W. Pollard, *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, 2 Vols., London, 1894; *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Globe Edition), London, 1906; M. H. Liddell, *Chaucer: The Prologue, etc.*, New York, 1907; H. N. MacCracken, *The College Chaucer*, New Haven, 1913; E. A. Greenlaw, *Selections from Chaucer* (*Lake English Classics*).

[4] W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Vol. VI, Oxford, 1894, p. 248.

[5] F. J. Mather, *The Prologue, etc.* (*Riverside Literature Series*), Boston, 1899, *Glossary*, p. 22.

[6] H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer*, Northampton, 1907, p. 46.

[7] French translation by M. Cazamian in *Les Contes de Canterbury*, Paris, 1908, p. 22.

[8] O. F. Emerson, *Poems of Chaucer*, New York, 1911, p. 245.

[9] Translation into modern English by J. S. P. Tatlock and P. MacKaye in *The Modern Reader's Chaucer*, New York, 1912, p. 12.

[10] In regard to the structure of Matins see, for example, V. Thalhofer and L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, Vol. II, Freiburg, 1912, pp. 574-587; S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, Vol. I, Paris, 1905, pp. 354-397.

tiones being accompanied by appropriate musical pieces. The *historia* was usually referred to by the opening words of the *responsorium* attached to the first section of Scripture.[11]

In Septembre xv primis diebus de historia Job legitur, et cantatur responsorium *Si bona.* Reliquis xv diebus de historia Thobie, Judith, et Hester legitur, et canuntur de eisdem historiis, scilicet *Peto domine, Adonai*, et *Dominator domine.*[12]

Sequitur de temporali quod accidit ab octavis Trinitatis usque ad Adventum Domini, et continet in se multas hystorias, primo hystoriam Librorum Regum cum hoc responsorio *Deus omnium.*[13]

Dominica IIIa post Pascha et per totam septimanam legitur et cantatur sicut dictum est in precedenti dominica, scilicet de eisdem hystoriis.[14]

(2) A series of *lectiones*, without musical pieces, covering a book of the Bible, or a story in the Bible, or the *vita* (*passio, legenda*) of a saint.[15]

Septuagesima, sepcies decem, et representat tempus deviacionis, sive tempus culpe et pene; verum statim in prima dominica legitur historia libri Genesis, eo quod in eadem historia agitur de deviacione et errore primorum parentum.[16]

Sabbato proximo ante LXX . . . In I° et II° et III° nocturno, super psalmos solito more expenduntur *Alleluia.* Historia mutatur et incipit liber Genesis; responsoria vero nequaquam mutantur.[17]

In octabis beati Johannis . . . responsoria de hystoria propria, scilicet primum, secundum, at nonum; lectiones ex hystoria ecclesiastica que incipiunt *Audi fabulam.*[18]

In numerous references it is impossible to tell whether the word belongs in the first class or the second:

[In natali Sancti Urbani]
Lectiones leguntur de historia; responsoria cantantur de responsorio *Iste sanotus.*[19]

Historiae et caetera, quae in Ecclesia leguntur, non debent legi in Refectorio, donec in Ecclesia incipiantur.[20]

Lectiones leguntur in hystoria de epistolis beati Pauli; responsoria de responsorio *Absterget.*[21]

(3) A series of *responsoria* taken from one book of the Bible.[22]

Concinit chorus in sedendo hystoriam *In monte Oliveto*, donec omnia altaris laventur.[23]

Nota quod in ista Dominica cantatur Istoria *Dignus es Domine, etc.*, quae Istoria cantatur per duas Dominicas.[24]

Prima die octabarum legitur sermo beati Maximi

[11] C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, London, 1904, pp. 81, 132.

[12] Ordinarium Remense saec. xiii (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, ed. Chevalier, Vol. VII, Paris, 1900, p. 155).

[13] *Id.*, p. 235.

[14] *Id.*, p. 234.

[15] Wordsworth and Littlehales, pp. 81, 132. The word *history* is probably used in this technical sense in the following passages in *The Golden Legend* (*The Temple Classics*, ed. F. S. Ellis):

Here beginneth the history of Joseph and his brethren, which is read the third Sunday in Lent. (Ellis, Vol. I, p. 228.)

Here next followeth the history of Moses, which is read in the Church on Mid-lent Sunday. (Ellis, Vol. I, p. 256.)

I am not able to quote these passages from a manuscript or an early printed edition of the *Golden Legend* in English. These passages are not found in the Wynkyn de Worde edition (1512?) in the Harvard College Library.

[16] Ordinarium Remense saec. xiii (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, ed. Chevalier, Vol. VII, Paris, 1900, p. 109).

[17] *Id.*, p. 110.

[18] Ordinarium Baiocense saec. xiii (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1902, p. 77).

[19] Ordinarium Laudunense ann. 1173–1228 (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, ed. Chevalier, Vol. VI, Paris, 1897, p. 281).

[20] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, voc. *Historiæ.*

[21] Ordinarium Laudunense ann. 1173–1228 (*ed. cit.*, p. 230).

[22] Bäumer, Vol. II, p. 77; P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, London, 1912, p. 81; W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1882, p. xxvii; Amalarius Metensis, *Liber de Ordine Antiphonarii*, cap. lxii et seq. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CV, col. 1309–1311); Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, Libr. III, cap. xxix (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. CLXXII, col. 650); *Ordinale Sarum* (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. XX, London, 1901), pp. 29, 31, 33, 116, 130, 154, 157; Fragmenta Liturgica (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. VII, London, 1894), pp. 119–156 *passim.*

[23] Consuetudinarium Baiocense saec. xv (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, ed. Chevalier, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1902, p. 388).

[24] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, voc. *Historiæ.*

episcopi qui incipit *Audistis fratres;* responsoria de hystoria diei sicut predictum est.[25]

(4) A rimed office for a feast, in which all, or some, of the musical pieces of the Canonical Office are versified.[26]

Of the four definitions given above, it appears that either the first or the second (and the two are essentially alike) is apt in the Chaucerian line before us, which may now be interpreted in some such sense as the following: "He well knew how to read a *lectio* (a single *lesson*) or a *historia* (an entire series of *lessons*)." In the irreverent spirit of the context one is even tempted to lapse into the following: "He well knew how to read either a single lesson or the whole string of lessons."

Whether or not the interpretation of *storie* as *historia* suggests a fresh gleam of Chaucerian humor, it appears to provide an additional indication of Chaucer's accurate acquaintance with the liturgiology of the Church of Rome.

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[25] Ordinarium Baiocense saec. xiii (*Bibliothèque Liturgique,* ed. Chevalier, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1902, p. 81).

[26] Bäumer, Vol. II, p. 77; V. Thalhofer and L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik,* Vol. I, Freiburg, 1912, p. 77; *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* Vol. V, Leipzig, 1886, p. 6; Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon,* Vol. X, Freiburg, 1897, col. 968.

CONCERNING CHRISTOPHER SMART

It is definitely known that Smart employed the pseudonym "Mary Midnight" as early as 1751, and it is assumed that he derived the name from Henry Fielding's *Miss Lucy in Town;* but it is hard to determine precisely how much of what appeared over this signature is really Smart's. G. J. Gray, in his article in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (London, Vol. VI, pp. 269 ff.), takes up in detail the various pen-names which Smart used. In a note at the foot of page 281, the writer asks for further information about *Mother Midnight's Miscellany,* 1751; Mary Midnight's *Old Woman's Dunciad,* 1751; and *Mrs. Midnight's Orations,* 1763.

As far as I can judge, the first two works are not Smart's, but the last is. In the *Midwife,* I, 144, Mary Midnight (definitely Smart in this case) denies that she is the author of "that poor paultry pamphlet" lately published in her name, and further advertises that the *Old Woman's Dunciad* is not hers. This last pamphlet came out early in 1751 (see *Whitehall Evening Post,* Jan. 3–5, 1751) shortly before Mary Midnight's warning in her *Midwife,* and is a work directed in satire against Smart, Fielding, and Hill. Obviously this can not be Smart's production. But my information concerning the "paultry pamphlet" is less conclusive. The *British Museum Catalogue,* which definitely attributes the *Old Woman's Dunciad* to William Kenrick, is nearly certain that *Mother Midnight's Miscellany* is the above "paultry pamphlet" repudiated by Mary Midnight; yet I found that this and another pamphlet bearing the title *Mother Midnight's Comical Pocket Book* are both advertised in the cover of volume one of the Bodleian copy of the *Midwife.* Both are pamphlets approximately the same in size, but the latter has nearly three times the number of pages that the former has. Of their contents I know nothing; but I judge from the title-page of the *Miscellany* that this one, at least, is hostile to Mary Midnight. It is for these reasons that I believe that this is the "paultry pamphlet" referred to in the *Midwife.*

Mrs. Midnight's Orations, however, is Smart's work, or at least, is representative of his work. About November 15th, 1751, the publication of the *Midwife* seems to have been suspended for a long period; for between number 2 of volume 3 and number 4 of the same volume there is an interval of over a year. This fact is commented upon by John Hill in his *Inspector* of Dec. 7, 1752, in a passage which I quote below. Just at the time when Smart was about to abandon his work in the *Midwife,* the second number of the third vol-

ume (above mentioned) records the opening of Mrs. Mary Midnight's *Oratory* and prints her "Inaugural Speech." Smart had evidently taken up the giving of public entertainments in order to gain a living; and of this fact contemporary evidence is not lacking. Hill writes in his *Inspector,* No. 544, Dec. 7, 1752, in a scurrilous attack on Smart:

"When the *Midwife* died, and from Author he commenced Orator; when he produced, under the Name of the Old Woman's Oratory, what all have declared the meanest, the most absurd, and most contemptible of all Performances that have disgraced a Theatre . . . And very lately, when he had got into the Direction of a Company of *Dogs and Monkeys,* I (altho' from the Accounts I have since received I heartily beg Pardon of the Publick for it) spoke of them as capable to afford Entertainment."

Simon Partridge (pseudonym) in his *Letter to Henry Woodward* (Dec., 1752) mentions on page eight "my good Master *Smart,* who makes me laugh so lustily, with his *Spoons* and his *Salt-box,* and his Regiment of *Italian* Dogs."

The precise nature of these performances, the scene of their presentation, and the period during which Smart continued to direct them, are fairly easy to determine. *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Jan., 1752, p. 43, reviews the performance as a "Banter" on Henley's Oratory and a "Puff" for the *Old Woman's Magazine.* Smart, himself, in his *Midwife* of Nov., 1751, states that the purpose of the establishment is simply "to raise a Fund of rational Mirth" without blasphemy or treason, and not in opposition to the Clare-Market Orator (Henley); but I notice that some space is devoted to a take-off on Henley in Mary Midnight's review of her first performance. Among the early performers were "Signior Antonio Ambrosiano" on the violin "Cremona Staccato," and "Signior Claudio Molipitano" as a "Candle-Snuffer," who seem to have assisted Mary Midnight in her "Orations"; but who these persons were I have not been able to discover, and I am not at all sure that Smart took the part of Mary Midnight in delivering her declamations. Some further idea of the nature of these performances may be gained by perusing an advertisement in the *London Daily Advertiser* of Dec. 8, 1752, which records that on the evening of that day Mrs. Midnight was to give a concert and a performance called *The Old Woman's Oratory,* at which there was to be an "Oration on the Salt-Box, by a Rationalist; the Dissertation on the Jews Harp, by a Casuist, . . . with several New Performances of a very extraordinary Nature, particularly a Piece by Sig. Spoonatissimo, on an Instrument dug out of the Ruins of Herculaneum . . . to conclude with a grand Dance in the ancient British Taste." The public evidently liked to be hoaxed in an amusing fashion, for Sig. Spoonatissimo seems to have used ordinary household spoons (see Simon Partridge's *Letter* quoted above) to amuse his audience.

These performances were held intermittently throughout the year 1752 at the New-Theatre, Haymarket, and occasionally at the Castle-Tavern, Paternoster Row. Smart advertised often in such a way as to gain notoriety, and drew down on his head several adversaries who attacked him more often anonymously. The performances began at six P. M. and must have lasted way into the wee sma' hours; the prices of admission were from five to two shillings. Of the popularity of these performances I know nothing except that they had a long run, and were repeated as late as the year 1754 (see Douce Prints, a. 49, no. 142). To vary the programme, Smart gave, in May, 1752, a performance called *Caudle* in which Mons. Timbertoe (a peg-legged dancer) was the chief attraction. The details of this can be found in the *General Advertiser* of May 22, 1752. Another special performance at the Oratory in Dec., 1752, was that of Mrs. Midnight's *Animal Comedians*—Italian dogs and monkeys, referred to above in quotations from Hill's *Inspector* and Partridge's *Letter to Henry Woodward.* Among the Douce Prints (a. 49) one finds a picture of these performing animals; and in the *Adventurer,* No. 19, I, 109 ff., one can read a satire on the performance.

Dibdin, in his *Complete History,* V, 190 (1800), states that Rolt and Smart ran this "famous amusement," and calls Smart "an-

other dissipated promoter of midnight orgies." Whether the book, *Mrs. Midnight's Orations,* London, 1763, does faithfully record the orations "as they were spoken at the Oratory in the Haymarket" I do not know; but it seems likely that Smart, who was then living, was responsible for the publication of these *Orations.*

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LONGFELLOW'S *POEMS ON SLAVERY* IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO FREILIGRATH

When Longfellow went to Europe for the third time, he went, in the first place, to regain his failing health at the baths in the Schmitz Institution at Marienberg, near Boppart, on the Rhine. He met a poet friend and Maecenas, the Landrat Karl Heuberger, from St. Goar, who introduced him to Ferdinand Freiligrath, which led to an intimate and lifelong friendship. Both poets, already well known in their native lands, had heard of one another and each admired the other. After the introduction, active intercourse, oral and written, began and in a lively exchange of ideas the two poets influenced each other. On the twenty-second of June, 1842, Freiligrath sent his works to Longfellow, who was delighted with them. On July 2, 1842, the latter answered: "Meanwhile I have been reading your own, original poems ever and ever with new delight. They are fresh, vigorous and striking in the highest degree." This delving into Freiligrath's works, at that time as well as later, must have had a great influence on Longfellow, an influence that criticism has always suspected but never proved in detail. From the unpublished letters which were kindly put at my disposal by the descendants of Longfellow and Freiligrath, my long held presumption that Longfellow's "Poems on Slavery" show to a great extent the influence of Freiligrath can, I think, now be proved. Longfellow wrote these poems on the open sea during the latter part of October, 1842, when, after having sealed his friendship with Freiligrath, he was on his way back to America.

Throughout these seven poems, one is impressed with Freiligrath's personality, his peculiar, characteristic style, and his strange, far-fetched rimes. The hot sun of Africa lies brooding on these creations, and a fragant atmosphere permeates them, as with analogous productions of Freiligrath's Muse. For comparison, one may read these "Poems on Slavery" along with Freiligrath's "Alexandriner" poems, of 1838.[1] Without tracing the 'similarities' in detail, the *Quadroon Girl* may be compared with *Scipio,* p. 77; *The Witnesses* perhaps with *Die Toten im Meere,* p. 90; *The Slave in the Dismal Swamp* with *Der Mohrenfürst,* or with *Der Löwenritt,* and especially with *Leben des Negers,* where the borrowing in certain places extends even to words. This last-mentioned poem of Freiligrath must, as regards both content and form, have been most welcome to Longfellow as material for his poems on slavery. Here, as in Freiligrath's poem, a poor negro in the yoke of slavery, is forced to labor in a foreign land, far away from his beloved home, with its natural beauty and charms, its gold and its wealth. The following lines may serve as examples for comparison. Longfellow:[2]

> Wide through the landscape of his dreams
>   The lordly Niger flowed;
> Beneath the palm-trees on the plain
>   Once more a king he strode;
> And heard the tinkling caravans
>   Descend the mountain-road.

Freiligrath:[3]

> Da!—Palmenwälder dunkeln;
> Hyän' und Löwe dräun;
> Auf Königshäuptern funkeln
> Gold, Perl' und Edelstein!
>
> Aus unerforschten Quellen
> Rauscht stolz der Niger her;
> Mit hunderttausend Wellen
> Braust auf das heil'ge Meer.

[1] Freiligraths Werke, Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek, I, 68, ff.

[2] *The Slave's Dream,* second stanza.

[3] *Leben des Negers,* seventh and eighth stanzas.

Could "the lordly Niger flowed" and "Rauscht stolz der Niger her" be a chance congruence? Longfellow himself knew and felt that in *The Slave's Dream* much from Freiligrath had crept in, and he openly admitted it, as one of his unpublished letters shows. He writes on the sixth of January, 1843, from Cambridge: "We had a very boisterous passage. I was not out of my berth more than twelve hours for the first twelve days. . . . thus . . . I passed fifteen days. During this time I wrote seven poems on *slavery*. . . . A small window in the side of the vessel admitted light into my berth; and there I lay on my back, and soothed my soul with songs. I send some copies. In "The Slave's Dream" I *have borrowed one or two wild animals from your menagery.*"

This casual hint establishes Longfellow's attitude in this matter. A borrowing is evident, yet seldom can a literal borrowing be proved. The American poet was great enough to acknowledge independently a thought or expression that had pleased him and remained fixed in his memory. And if he later made use of the one or the other, he put an individual stamp upon it which states clearly and distinctly: Now I am American, now I am Longfellow.

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THE TEXT OF *SIR GAWAYNE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

Syr Gawayne; A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems, by Scottish and English Authors, relating to that celebrated Knight of the Round Table. By Sir Frederic Madden, 1839. [B]

Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, E. E. T. S., Original Series 4, 1864, revised edition 1869; reprinted 1893. [M]

Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight. E. E. T. S. 4, fourth edition, revised, 1897 [by I. Gollancz]; reprinted 1905, 1908, 1910. [G]—Revised in 1912. [G²]

The number of errata in a text so repeatedly and carefully collated with the ms. must of necessity be very small. And yet a re-examination of the ms. last summer has proved fruitful, resulting in the correction of a few very minor errors, of one curious misreading, and, above all, in the discovery of several readings where the ms. has been taken to be illegible, and which it had been regarded as necessary to supply conjecturally. The following are unindicated disagreements between the ms. and G²:

51 kryst*es* BM, MS, kryst*e* M² (revised ed., 1869), G. (The same contraction is expanded by G into *-es* in 62, 621, 877, 1111.)—137 on þe molde BMG, in þe molde MS. There is a trace of some partly erased or faded character on the upper left hand corner of the *i*, but the combination is not anything like an *o*.—461 fram G. frᵒm MS. This should be expanded into fr*o*m.—518 woxes G, waxes MS.—646 ioyeȝ G, Ioyeȝ MS.—663 þ*us* alle BMG, ryally MS. The word is a trifle rubbed, but is perfectly clear.—718 So G, fo MS.—815 þ*at* G, þᵉ MS. —910 joye G, Ioye MS.—1063 if G, If MS.—1230 iwysse G, Iwysse MS.—1369 lord G, lorde MS. Part of the *e* is rubbed away, but so much remains as to make its presence certain.—1447 myry BMG, nnyry (*or* miyry) MS.—1719 lift G, and in fn. lift. As *ft* and *ft* are indistinguishable in the MS., this may be *ft*. The fn. is therefore unnecessary.—1720 mute BM, muete G, mute MS.—2027 vertuu*us* BM, vertu*us* G, vertuu*us* MS. (As *u* and *o* sometimes are similar, the second *u* may be an *o* unclosed at the top.)—2523 bok*ees* G, bokeȝ MS.

The most interesting group of restorations of original readings occurs in 1442–45. These are the last four lines on fol. 110a (new number 114a). The first words in these lines are absolutely undecipherable, the ink having been almost or quite removed from the whole lower left-hand corner of the page. On the opposite page, however, in the lower right-hand corner, there seem to be a group of random pen scratches, fortunately on a space left blank because the lines of the poem are not long enough to extend clear across the page. The connection between the denuded spot on fol. 110a and these scratchings on fol. 109b is not immediately apparent because the ms. has been rebound, and to preserve it more effectually, the binder introduced a sheet of blank paper between every two pages. The undecipherable marks, however, are to be connected with the damaged spot on the opposite page. And when held up to a mirror their significance becomes clear. The ms. had at some time become damp, so damp, in fact, that the ink was softened in this lower inner corner of fol. 110a, and then stuck to the opposite page. When the ms., meanwhile dried out, was next opened at this place, the ink had become so firmly attached to

the opposite page that it was almost completely pulled off from its original page, leaving little or nothing there. The lost words, hitherto conjecturally supplied, and printed in brackets, may therefore now be restored with certainty from this "offset," as printers call a similar phenomenon.

On fol. 110a lines 1442–5 read:

. . . re quen he gronyed þenne greued mony
For . t þe fyrst þrast he þryȝt to þe erþe
& . . forth good sped boute spyt more
. . halowed hyghe ful hyȝe & hay hay cryed

The lacunae are thus supplied in M and G:

[And eue]re
For [þre a]t
& [sped hym]
[Ande þay]

The lines, with the readings from the "offset," are:

[hise (?)] gryndre quen he gronyed þenne greued mony
For þre at þe fyrst þrast he þryȝt to þe erþe
& spede rad forth good sped boute spyt more
þise oþer halowed hyghe ful hyȝe & hay hay cryed.

The first word of line 1442, hise(?), is extremely uncertain, as part of it is still on the original page and part on the opposite, and the two parts do not seem to fit together. The word *rad* in 1444 is also not quite so certain as the rest. But the other readings are absolutely certain.

It seems rather curious that the conjectural readings in 1443–44 should agree so closely with the restorations. These readings, according to Madden, in his Corrections and Additions, were suggested to him by Rev. R. Garnett. Madden says, "The hiatus may be restored with certainty." It seems almost as if Garnett must have noticed the "offset," and read it, except for the fact that he did not read line 1445 also, which is as clear as the others. (I ought to add that Madden prints 1445 as "Ande þay" without brackets.)

There are on other pages several other *lacunae,* of no special importance, however, which are legible in similar "offsets," and which therefore need no longer be conjecturally restored.

1433 [þay]. "þa" is perfectly legible in the offset, and "ay" is fairly clear on the original page.

1706 [w]eterly. *w* is clear in the offset. (*w* is unbracketed in BM, though it is bracketed in M², revised ed. of 1869.)

1745 reads wᵗ chere. BMG have a note to "*with,*" saying, "bi, à sec. manu." What is here taken for "bi, à sec. manu," is apparently written immediately below the *w*ᵗ. As a matter of fact, it does look like bi, but, read in a mirror, it turns out to be part of the word ful, from 1706 on the opposite page.

In 2178–79 the first words are þ*en*[n]e and D[e]batande. Here again the offset takes the letters *n* and *e* out of the realm of conjecture.

In 2187–88 the first words are He[re] and [þ]e. In the offset the whole word her*e* is clear, as is also the þ.

In 2329 the word [schaped] is supplied, with the fn. "Illegible." Madden had simply left a blank space for the word, and Morris had supplied [sikered], both with the fn. "Illegible." Part of the word is clear on the original page, and most of the rest may be made out in the offset. The word is schapen. G.'s conjecture thus turns out to be nearly correct.

Gollancz deserves great credit for discarding some of the old but unnecessary emendations (however enticing they may appear) that were inherited from Madden and Morris, and for rejecting two in 1912 that he had himself introduced in 1897. Those which B, M, and sometimes G¹ had adopted into the text, but which G² (and sometimes G¹) abandoned, are: 11 [turnes]; 651 fyrst M, fyft MS., G; 1161 [þat]; 1440 [seuered] M, [woned] G¹; 1510 [ar]; 1808 [on]; 2111 [I]; 86 Io[l]yfnes G¹. Besides these, B and M had suggested in footnotes twenty-four others, which G has not adopted: 334, 440, 558, 893, 988, 1114, 1188, 1281, 1304, 1355, 1480, 1513, 1572, 1578, 1671, 1700, 1878, 1962, 1995, 2002, 2018, 2167, 2422, 2447.

A rather striking restoration by G occurs in 1497. The MS. reads: "ȝif any were so vilanou*s* þat yow de vaye wolde." B and M, probably on the basis of *denayed* in 1493, and because *devayen* is elsewhere unknown in English, had changed the MS. in 1497 to *denaye,* recording the MS. reading in a footnote. Superficially, the change seems necessary. G, however, restores the MS. because the alliteration requires it. *devaye* is unquestionably the Anglo-French word *deve*(*y*)*er,* Old French *deveer* (Latin *deveto*), 'refuse.' The *y* was probably introduced through confusion with *deniier* (Latin *denego*), because of the practical identity of meaning. The past participle occurs in the form *deveyé* in the Anglo-French *Boeve de Haumtone,* line 1315. G is therefore right in rejecting *denaye.*

Textually, all this elimination marks a great editorial advancement, for in spite of the one hundred and twenty-five emendations that remain, every attempt to read and restore the MS. is a gain.

In dealing with texts, and especially with one-manuscript texts, there is still too much editorial inclination to make use of the "direct method" whenever an apparently unreadable passage is met—namely, to rewrite it into intelligibility. The only alternative is time-consuming and laborious, and is only too likely not to be very fruitful. Exhaustive search through dictionaries and glossaries, and extensive reading in works of the period for other cases of obscure words, parallel passages, and constructions that will throw light on the difficulties of the text at hand, do not offer an inviting prospect to the ordinary editor. Consequently our Middle English texts are too full of emendations, many of them, it is true, superficially convincing, many of them on close observation and study absolutely unnecessary or evidently unsatisfactory, and many others doomed as soon as some student points out the parallel passages that we need to prove the MS. text to be readable and significant. It is perhaps too much to hope that all editors will abstain as rigorously as possible from introducing these "editorially re-written" passages into their texts, but it is not too much to hope that gradually students may add to the small but important body of contributions furnishing us commentaries on obscure and supposedly unreadable passages in Middle English.

Fortunately the text of *Gawayne and the Green Knight* has been from the beginning in the hands of conservative scholars who have rarely permitted their mere ingenuity to exercise itself on the MS. readings. The abandonment by Gollancz of these old emendations, and the very sparing introduction of new ones, is extremely commendable, and sets a high mark for other scholars to aim at.

That the scribe of this MS. did make mistakes, however, is abundantly demonstrable. Omitting actual *lacunae* in the MS., where letters or words have been rubbed away or pulled off in the offset, there are over one hundred and twenty-five cases of changed or omitted words, or of bracketed parts of words or whole words in G². Of these rather more than half are transparently justifiable. To begin with, there are ten clear cases of dittography where a whole word is repeated: 95 of of; 182 as as; 1255 þat þat; 1712 to to; 1830 þat þat; 1919 her her; 2137 & &; 2247 þy þy; 2305 he he; 2426 with wyth. (Moreover, the number of similar errors in the other poems in the same MS. is large.) There are three cases consisting of the repetition of a syllable at the end of a word: 58 werere; 1693 bi forere; 2390 hardilyly. Cf. with these *Cleanness* 1460 ferlyle. With these undoubtedly should be classed *Gaw.* 1962 sellyly. The change of this to selly, suggested in the BM fns., may consequently be justified. There is another case of what amounts to the same sort of dittography as in werere in 634 v*er*ertueȝ. (A somewhat similar error occurs in 219 i*n* noghee. Here the *h* is crossed with the usual abbreviation for final *-e,* then the *-e* is also written.)

Another group of scribal slips is to be found in 705 clapel; 850 clesly; 930 claplayneȝ; 1286 sclulde. In all these the second stroke of an *h* has been carelessly omitted in the writing.

In another group *f* has been miswritten for *ſ:* 282, 384, 718, 1304 *fo* for *ſo;* in 1583 *f* for *ſ:* luflych; in 850 clefly for chefly. In another group *n* occurs instead of *m,* or *vice versa,* or *nn* (four vertical strokes instead of three) for *m.* 629 emdeleȝ; 865 hyn; 1037 nerci; 1810 tyne; 2240 welcon; 2131 mot; 1447 nnyry; 1690 nnorsel. (For an interesting parallel see *Pearl* 557, where *om* is altered to *on* by the scribe, according to Osgood.)

In another group the nasal contraction has been omitted: 432 ru[*n*]yschly; 774 say[*n*] (though M, G read say[nt]); 1262 a[*n*]swared; 1376 gaway[*n*]; 1981 aȝay[*n*]; 2010 lau[*m*]pe.

In two cases *for* seems to have been miswritten for *fro:* 1440, 1863. In one case, 1389 *ho* occurs where the context requires *he;* in one case, 1872 *he* where it requires *ho.* (MS. *e* is very different from *o.*)

In three cases final *-ee* has been emended to *-e:* 844 eldee; 1565 madee; 2241 tr*u*ee. But in three other cases the *-ee* has not been changed: 1274 trwee; 1378 schyree; 1707 tornayeeȝ. This seems to be an editorial inconsistency.

In 22 cases one or two letters are omitted by the scribe: 203 hawb[e]rgh: 751 seruy[se]; 803 i*n*-n[o]ghe; 877 þa[t]; 883 e[h]efly; 1030 þ[e]; 1069 þa[t]; 1092 ȝow[r]e; 1129 he[r]; 1357 a[y]þ*er;* 1479 sof[t]ly; 1611 [s]cheldeȝ; 1815 [n]oȝt; 1825 swere[s]; 1825 swyftel[y]; 1858 myȝ[t]; 1973 f[e]rk; 2223 [t]o; 2291 h[i]s; 2296 bihou[e]s; 2337 r[a]ykande; 2461 g[l]opny*n*g.

There are some other errors, unclassifiable, but none the less certainly errors: 1799 *of* for *if;* 2343 *uf* for *if;* 686 þad for þat (the following word begins with *d*); 813 *trowoe* for *trowee, trowe;* and the misplaced abbreviation for *er* in 124 sylue*n*er for sylu*er*en. (Cf. 886 sylu*er-in,* and *Cleanness* 1406 sylu*er*en; and especially the similar error in *Cleanness* 127, where the MS. has pouene*r* instead of pou*er*en.)

There remain over fifty emendations, many of which seem to be more or less unacceptable

for one reason or another. Some of these fall into classes, but many must be discussed individually.

822 quil, MS. quel. If the editor were governed by consistency, this change would involve normalizing the spellings of the whole MS., a process the wisdom of which would certainly be questionable.

825 burne, MS. buurne. The MS. here might just as well be left unchanged.

2205 as, MS. at, is simply a change in the direction of making the MS. "readable," though perhaps this is a case of scribal error.

591 ou[þ]*er*. MS.: þe lest lachet ou*er* loupe lemed of golde. On Gawayn's armor we might as well have "latchets over, above loops" as "latchets or loops." (Some support for the change, however, may be found in *Pearl* 138, where oþ*er* may be an error for ou*er*. See Osgood, fn.)

660 [a]i quere, MS. I quere. This may be a case of merely the careless omission of one letter. But the capital *I* seems to argue against the supposition.

There are also a very considerable number of words inserted by the editors for one reason or another, mostly, however, obviously "to make the sense smoother." Those which do not seem to be vital are: 100 [þe]; 1413 [&]; 1580 [&]; 1639 [hent]; 1648 [on]; 1752 [dyȝt hym]; 1861 [ho]; 2344 [&]; 2448 [hatȝ]; 2472 [bikennen]; 2506 [in]; perhaps 1936 [þe] is needed.

1386 reads: & I haf worthyly þis woneȝ wythi*n*ne. G rewrites this as follows: [þat] I haf worthyly [wonnen] þis woneȝ wythi*n*ne. Evidently he takes þis to be a demonstrative modifying woneȝ. It may, however, be a forward referring pronoun signifying the kiss which Gawayn, the speaker, delivers in the next few lines. The emendation is unnecessary.

1441 reads, as far as it is to be read with certainty: for he watȝ . . . or alþer grattest. G makes this: For he watȝ b[este baleful &] bor alþer grattest. His fn. is: MS. b[este &]; *illegible*; baleful, *conjectural*.

The "illegible" part of this line is extremely hard to read. Here, as in several other places, the scribe obliterated the word he first wrote by rubbing it with his finger while the ink was still wet. The "correct" word was then written upon the blot, in a second hand and ink, like some other words in 43, 81, and 1214; the ink is a darker brown than the original (see below). There are four letters upon the blot. The first might be either *b* or *h*. The tails of both strokes are gone, but evidently the character was not closed at the bottom, and I therefore take it to be *h*. The last letter when read in sunlight is plainly *e*. The second and third are uncertain. The second looks like *o*, the third like *g*. I take the word therefore to be *hoge*, a common enough spelling in this MS. for *huge*. There is no *&*; the final *e* has been mistaken for *&*. The first letter of the next word is also doubtful. It may be *b* or *h*. The second stroke has not so long a tail as is usual in *h*, but on the other hand the character is not closed at the bottom, and seems therefore likely to be *h*. The line then reads: for he watȝ hoge, hor alþer grattest, perfectly good Middle English for 'For he was huge, greatest of them all.'

An old emendation, first introduced by Madden, is in 427: þe fayre hede fro þe halce hit [felle] to þe erþe. As Napier showed with illustrations in *Mod. Lang. Quarterly* I (1897), p. 52, the word *hit* is a verb meaning 'came, fell and struck;' see also Napier, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 17, col. 170, and Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* 26, 402. The conjectural word is therefore superfluous.

286 reads: Be so bolde i*n* his blod, brayn-[-wod] i*n* hys hede. The emendation was suggested by Mätzner, but was not put into the text by Morris. At first it seems a good suggestion, but it turns out to be unnecessary. In Gawain Douglas's *Æneis,* cited in the *N.E.D.* s. v. *brain,* we find the line, "He walxis brayne in furour bellicall," the meaning of "brayne" quite evidently being 'mad.' Cf. also the *N.E.D.* s. v. *brainish:* Palsgrave, "Braynisshe, hedy, folisshe, selfe wylled;" Shakspere, *Hamlet* 4, 1, 11; and Drayton, Heroic Ep. Pref., "The Worke might in truth be judged Braynish."

A considerable number of emendations involving the change, omission, or reinterpretation of a letter, suggested or introduced by B or M, are in G's text. Among those which are probably admissible are: 1032 þ[t], MS. &; 1124 lede, MS. leude (rime 'ȝede'); 1412 crowe, MS. croweȝ; 1588 freke, MS. frekeȝ, 1906 hy*m*, MS. by; 1909 braþ, MS. bray; and a group in which G reads *u* where M read *n;* 1047 derue; 985 meue; 1157 meue; 1743 wayueȝ.

The word wayueȝ, wayued occurs in the poem seven times: 264, 306, 984, 1032, 1743, 2456, 2459. M printed it wayned everywhere except in 306, where he had wayueȝ. Skeat, however, pointed out in *Trans. of the Philol. Socy.* 27 (1885–87), p. 365, that the word wayne is a ghost-word originating in Stevenson's edition of *Alexander*. The Dublin MS. of that poem, however, by spelling the word wayfeȝ, identifies it with "waff, waif, wauff,"

in Jamieson. Chaucer has weyven in rime. It must be observed, on the other hand, that the word occurs twice in *Pearl* in rime, *wayneȝ* 131, *vayned* 249. It surely looks as if we have to deal with two words in ME.; see Bradley-Stratmann *s. v. waiven,* and also *wæven.* Wayven, waynen, and wȩven seem to have been thoroughly confused. At any rate, we should print wayued in *Gaw.* 984.

In 2290 ryueȝ M, ryneȝ G, the word, so far as the context is concerned, might mean either 'rive, split,' or 'touch,' going back to ON. *rīfan* or OE. *hrīnan.* But undoubtedly the sense 'touch' is better. The green knight 'strikes at him mightily, but does not touch him.'

One cannot feel quite certain about the change in 1315 watȝ G, *w*ᵗ MS. In 1696 casteȝ G, costeȝ MS., the MS. reading is perfectly satisfactory. In 1921 tyrueu, and 1514 teuely*n*g, G improves by reading *u* for *n* M.

An interesting reading occurs in 956, where BMG read the MS. scheder, and M suggested, and G adopts schedes. Light on this reading is to be found in *Pearl* 1068, where Morris and Osgood read the MS. as anvndeȝ, and change it to an-vnder. ȝ and one kind of *r* look very much alike in this MS., and the MS. in 956 is undoubtedly to be interpreted as schedeȝ, and in *Pearl* 1068 as an-vnder. Note, in the facsimile in Osgood, the *r* of by-fore, l. 6, and the ȝ of loueȝ and of syȝe, l. 20.

438 reads: As non vnhap had hy*m* ayled, þaȝ hedleȝ no we (*or* ho we). For no we (*or* ho we) B prints ho we, with the fn. he were? M prints the text as B, with the fn. he were(?) *or* nowe(?), but M[2] puts he we[re] into the text. I am inclined to believe that the MS. should be read no we, *i. e.,* nowe, even though the first stroke of the *n* is a trifle higher than is usual in this character, and the second stroke runs a trifle lower than usual.

It remains to speak of the sixteen absolutely new emendations which G[1] or G[2] has introduced. The most striking are as follows: 884 reads: Sone watȝ telded vp a tapit on tresteȝ ful fayre. For tapit G substitutes tabil. Other instances where tables and trestles are mentioned together are in 1648, *Cleanness* 832, *Babees Book* p. 311, l. 389, and p. 326, l. 822, and *Sir Degrevant* 1381–2. The emendation seems convincing.

881 reads: [A mantle] Alle of ermyn i*n* erde, his hode of þe same. For i*n* erde G substitutes e*n*ur*n*de. This seems to be supported by 634 and 2027. There, however, and elsewhere where the word enourned occurs, it is used of precious stones, jewelry, or figuratively. Furthermore, though the phrase in erde does not seem to have much force here, it must be remembered that elsewhere in the poem the same phrase is used in the same colorless fashion, as a sort of tag for alliterative purposes. See 27, 140, 2416, and 1070 vpon grou*n*de, 486 in londe, 614 i*n* toune, in all of which 'in the world' seems to have a vague meaning not especially suitable to the context. The emendation is a gratuitous "improvement."

In 1729 bi lag mon MS., bi-lag[gid] mon G, the emendation is convincing. See Bradley-Stratmann, s. v. *Bilaggen,* and Way's *Promptorium Parvulorum,* s. v. *Laggyd,* p. 283, and *Be-laggyd,* p. 29, and note 5.

In 992 MS., BMG[1] read ky*n*g. But the person referred to, the lord of the castle, is not regarded as a king in this poem (though he may have been in the sources). The rejection of ky*n*g, therefore, seems imperative, and G[2] substitutes 'lord.' My colleague, Dr. J. R. Hulbert, however, suggests knyȝt as a far less violent change. It is far easier to understand how the scribe should write 'kyng' for 'knyȝt' than 'kyng' for 'lord.' In *Sir Perceval of Galles,* 83, we find MS. 'kynghte' for 'knyghte,' and the same error frequently in *Sir Degrevant.* (See *Thornton Roms.,* p. 259.) 'kynghte' might readily become the still more erroneous form 'kyng.'

In 683 the change of cauelou*n*ȝ to cauel[aci]ou*n*ȝ appears advisable. The latter reading is supported by 2275. In 88 lenge MS. has been changed to longe, probably an advisable change.

A series of changes in the direction of making the text read more grammatically, or more nearly in conformity with the context, is: In 795 towre MS., Towre[s] G, because in this sentence the various other parts of the castle are spoken of in the plural. But may there not have been only one tower? In 727 schadden MS., schadde G, to make this verb agree with the subject wat*e*r. In 987 wedeȝ MS., wede G, the singular is adopted because the reference is to the hode of 983. In 1141 mote MS., motes G, the plural is adopted because the adjective is þre. In 1836 nay MS., nay[ed] G, the preterite is adopted to conform with the context. In 734 caryeȝ MS., cayreȝ G, because elsewhere in this MS. the word is regularly spelled cayre, kayre (see glossary). There is of course no question that etymologically the word is cayren, ON. *keyra,* 'to drive.' But the word became practically fused in meaning and form in ME. with carien, so that carien might be used with the original meaning of cayren. This is best illustrated in *Piers Plowman,*

A-text, prol. 29; of twelve MSS., four have some form of cairen, while eight have carien; in 4.22 three have cairiþ, while ten have carieþ. The word in both cases means 'go,' and should etymologically be cäiren. Therefore, in *Gawain,* in spite of the other spelling in 2120, 1048, 1670, the temptation to "regularize" the reading of 734 ought to be resisted.

1467 reads: Suande þis wylde swyn til þe su*n*ne schafted. For schafted G reads schifted. I am unable to cite any other instance of the verb shaften referring to the sun's beams, but there are so many cases in M. E. of the noun shaft, meaning figuratively the rays of the sun, that I feel the MS. should not be disturbed. In the *Wars of Alexander,* 1544 and 4816, we have the phrase "shaftis of þe shire son." *Pearl* 982 reads: "þe brok . . . þat schyrrer þen su*n*ne *with* schafteȝ schon." *Patience* 455 has: "þe schyre su*n*ne hit vmbeschon, þaȝ no schafte myȝt þe mou*n*tau*n*ce of a lyttel mote vpon þat man schyne."

Three absolutely unnecessary changes have been made in 2053 þay MS., he G; 1112 þis MS., þe G; 1514 þis MS., þe G.

In 1769 G[2] has capitalized MS. mare, making it signify the Virgin Mary (*i. e.,* 'If Mary should not think of her knight, Great peril would exist between them'—Gawain and the lady). As Dr. Hulbert points out, however, the next stanza makes this appear not to be the meaning. Gawain was in danger of yielding to the gentle seductiveness of the lady, and might have done so had he not thought more of her (*i. e.,* the lady's) knight, lest he 'should be traitor to that man who owned that mansion' (1775). As Gawain is here being subjected to a severe test of his loyalty (loyalty, generosity, and curtesy were the three qualities especially demanded of the knight), the interference of the Virgin would spoil the whole crucial part of the test, and seems inconceivable from such an artist as our poet.[1] If it be objected that mynnen is not used in M. E. in the sense 'come to mind,' it may be answered that mare may be a fusion of mare he, a suggestion of Dr. Hulbert's. Furthermore, that the scribe did not understand the reference here to be to the Virgin appears from his regular spelling of her name elsewhere: 754, 1268, 1942, 2140, mary.

Putting 1283–87 into quotation marks greatly improves the sense. The punctuation of 2208, making it clear that wee loo is an exclamation, is another improvement.

[1] The ordeal of Gawain is not a "chastity test," as is commonly asserted. This will appear in Dr. Hulbert's forthcoming paper on the poem.

One set of facts about the MS. has been obscured by the E. E. T. S. editions. It has to do with the first lines—the short ones—of the rimed five-line bits at the end of the stanzas. These are correctly printed by B where they occur in the MS. They never occur in the positions that they have been put into in the E. E. T. S. edition. They always, on the contrary, occur in the right hand margin, opposite some other line, sometimes the preceding, sometimes the following, and frequently some lines before the preceding line, where they often fit the sense much better. For example, 15 is opposite 12; 32 opp. 30 (it must, of course, refer forwards to 31); 55 opp. 53 (where it fits better); 80 opp. 77; 102 opp. 103; 125 opp. 123; 146 opp. 144; 174 opp. 172; 198 opp. 196 (with forward reference); 227 opp. 225; 274 opp. 273; 296 opp. 294; 318 opp. 317; 338 opp. 336 (does not fit); 361 opp. 360; 385 opp. 384; 412 opp. 411; 439 opp. 437; 462 opp. 460; 486 opp. 484; 511 opp. 509 (fits better); 531 opp. 529; 561 opp. 560; 585 opp. 583; 614 opp. 612; 635 opp. 634; other especially notable cases are: 1258 opp. 1254; 1397 opp. 1395; 1714 opp. 1712; 1865 opp. 1862; 1888 opp. 1886; 1947 opp. 1944; 2020 opp. 2017.

The student might well wish that the exact condition of the MS. in doubtful, "illegible," and other emended passages had been more explicitly described. I may, therefore, perhaps be pardoned for giving some additional information. The editor is not consistent in telling in his footnotes when letters and parts of words have been conjecturally supplied in blank or defaced spaces, and when they have been inserted where there is no space. In 312 gry[n]del-layk there is room for one letter where *n* has been inserted. In 659 nouþ[er], the last part of the word has been badly rubbed; þ is barely legible; as the word is at the end of the line, either *-er* or the abbreviation for *-er* has been undoubtedly defaced. In 1199 [in], there is an erasure of two letters. In 1514 F[or], the MS. has been badly smudged over the *-or;* the *o* is faint but legible. In 1516 le[des], the MS. is defaced; B prints le . . . ; only the *l-* is now really legible; there is room for *-edes.* In 1706 h[y*m*], BM print hy*m* without brackets; M[2] prints h[y*m*]; there is now absolutely no trace of the *y* or the nasal stroke above it, but there is room for the *y* plus the regular space between words. In 2171 we[re], at the end of the line, there is no trace of *-re.* Of course in all cases of the offset mentioned above, there are blank spaces on the original page.

In the following cases there is no space in

the MS., and that fact is clearly stated in the footnotes: 286, 683, 751, 795, 1729, 1752, 1815, 1825 (swere[s]), 1836, 1858, 2448 (the fn. is slightly misleading; the word hatȝ has been inserted), 2461.

In the following cases there is no space or erasure, but no indication is so given in the footnotes: 100, 203, 591, 660, 803, 877, 1030, 1069, 1092, 1129, 1357, 1413, 1479, 1580, 1611, 1639, 1648, 1825 (swyftel[y]), 1861, 1936, 1973, 2223, 2291, 2296, 2337, 2344, 2472, 2506.

In 1466 r[od]e, and 1467 wy[ld]e, a drop of water on the page has dimmed the ink, but the bracketed letters are perfectly legible except the *o* of rode, which looks to me more like *y*, though it may be *o*.

In 1213 g[aye], the scribe's pen seems to have been going badly, and it is impossible to make out what he intended the word to be. The *g* is very light and small, and the rest of the word trails off into a mere shriveled scrawl.

In 43 make is written in a dark brown ink, very different from the regular ink, and in an entirely different hand from the rest, over a smudged erasure (cf. "hoge," 1441). In 81 discrye, discry- is again in the dark ink and the second hand over a smudged spot; the *-e* is in the original ink and hand. In 1214 wel is in the dark ink and second hand above the line; a caret below the space between me and lykeȝ seems in the original ink and hand.

In 1591 wy[ȝ]test, the ȝ is legible enough not to require brackets.

In 1256 the MS. is perfectly clear in reading louue; there is no doubt about the reading. The footnote is misleading.

In 2344 ang*er*, the ang- is rubbed and faint, but legible, and there is a trace of the abbreviation for *-er*. In 2440 ȝonde[r], the *r* is a trifle defaced but perfectly clear (G[2] reads ȝonde).

1540 toruayle. T. G. Foster. in *Mod. Lang. Quarterly* I (1897), p. 54, says: "I have looked at the MS. carefully, and read *trauayle*, not toruayle; this reading suits the context exactly." I have examined this word with great care, and while I cannot speak with quite such assurance as Foster, I believe that the MS., while superficially looking like tor- rather than tra-, nevertheless probably ought to be read tra-; the third letter almost certainly is *a*.

There are a very few minor misprints. In 345 þis, the þ is broken. In 1303 knyȝt. the *y* is broken. In 1486 bi had better be printed with a capital B. In 1729 mon should be followed in the text by [3]. In 850 chefly should read chefly[2]. On p. 30, fn. 1, why the brackets? On p. 32, fn. 1 should read ky*n*g. Why are two kinds of type—boldface and Roman—used in the motto at the close of the poem? Nothing in the MS. justifies them.

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On Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages, by E. CLASSEN. University of Manchester Publications, Germanic Series, No. 1. Manchester University Press, 1913. xi + 91 pp., 3 sh. 6 d.

The extremely perplexing question of vowel alliteration in the Old Germanic languages has never been satisfactorily solved. The glottal-catch theory and the sonority or acoustic theory are both extremely doubtful. The above monograph seeks, by historical evidence, to throw light upon the theory of vowel identity as the original principle controlling vowel alliteration The work is divided into an Introduction and two Parts. The Introduction contains a concise history of the controversy. Part I contains an analysis of the three theories advanced, and Part II the author's investigation of minor monuments, and a comparison with Celtic, Finnish and Latin alliteration. The minor monuments of Germanic literature investigated are confined to *Béowulf,* the *Hêliand* and the Old Norse Eddic lays, *Vǿlundarkviða Hyndluljóð, Þrymskviða* and *Hymiskviða.* The work is arranged in logical order, preparing the reader for the analysis and application of the vowel-identity theory by setting forth the difficulties involved in the glottal-catch theory and the sonority theory. The monograph as a whole affords a convenient survey as regards the thesis involved, but the author's efforts to make his work compact often leave much open to conjecture and render his methods unclear.

The principal objections to the glottal-catch theory advanced by the author are, (1) that it is not at all certain that the glottal catch ever existed in the Old Germanic languages; (2)that even if its existence be assumed, the sound could not have acquired such promi-

nence as the conditions of alliteration demand, inasmuch as it never received an orthographical symbol; (3) the glottal-catch theory fails to account for the alliteration of a consonant (*v* in Old Norse, *h* in Anglo-Saxon and in Old Saxon) with a vowel. The glottal-catch theory is further elaborated by R. Hildebrand (*Z.f.d.d.Unt.*, V, 577), who compares it with the technique of rime. He starts from the thesis that the best rime is that which contains one element of identity and one element of difference. In the alliterative technique Hildebrand finds these necessary conditions of artistic perfection in the alliteration of the glottal catch as the identical element, combined with different vowels. This argument is well met by the author, who points out the simple fact that there is no analogy at all between a rime and a pair of alliterating vowels, so that no inference can be drawn from the technique of rime for that of alliteration.

The sonority or acoustic theory (*Klangfülle*) is more favorably viewed by the author. Here we are at least sure of the existence of vowel sonority, while we are not sure that there ever was a glottal catch. The sonority theory is based upon the assumption that, quite apart from any phonetic analysis, vowels as a group strike the hearer as having something in common, in spite of their difference in quality, whereas consonants do not. This theory, however, falls to the ground when we consider the fact that phonetic identity may be closer between certain consonants (*e. g.*, the labial explosives *b* and *p*) than between vowels of different quality (such as a palatal *i* and guttural *o*). The main point is the resemblance and not whether the resemblance consists of pure voice or any other peculiarity of articulation. The author's statement (p. 21) that "the sonority theory fails to account for the alliteration in O. Norse of *v*- with a vowel or of *j*- if we assume the latter to be consonantic," does not invalidate the sonority theory. It may well be that at the time of composition, P.G. *u̯*- remained a semi-vowel (consonantal *u̯*) in O. N., as Gering (*Z.f.d.Ph.*, XLII, 233) suggests, but at the time of the manuscripts *u̯* had become a bilabial or a labiodental spirant (*v*); so that when the time came for committing the poems of the Edda to writing, there would be a number of lines with the alliteration *v: vowel*, that is, lines with no text alliteration at all, which when traced back would be found to have vowel alliteration. The sonority theory might hold in such a case, inasmuch as the *v* of the text was originally a semi-vowel. The history of initial P. G. *u* in O. N., as Gering assumes it, is supported by Noreen (*Altisländische Grammatik*[3], § 242).

The vowel-identity theory was first advanced by the celebrated Swedish philologian, Axel Kock (*Östnordiska och Latinska Medeltidsordspråk*, Kjøbenhavn, 1889–94), and supported further by the Danish phonetician, Otto Jespersen (*Fonetik*, § 76, Amm. 2. Kjøbenhavn, 1899). The author seeks to produce evidence in favor of this theory, which never yet has been subjected to a historical test, by tracing back to their Old Germanic forms the actually existing alliterative lines. This procedure, as the author admits, can be nothing more than an experiment, inasmuch as even the oldest of the monuments examined (*Béowulf*) is no model of the original system, for almost all sound laws affecting vowels took effect prior to the composition of the poem. The system of vowel alliteration with identical vowels must have already broken down a considerable time before *Béowulf* was written. But the experiment is of value insofar as it may establish the fact that the frequency of identical alliteration considerably increases when older forms are substituted.

The hypothesis upon which the author's investigation proceeds is that originally in Old Germanic poetry only identical vowels could alliterate, just in the same way as only identical consonants could alliterate. The forces tending to disrupt this system must have been many and active. The poverty of the Old Germanic languages in initial vowels and the necessity of finding in a single line two words or more with such vowels must have imposed very severe restrictions on the liberty of expression of the poet. Added to the inherent germs of decay was the sensitiveness of vowels, as compared with consonants, to phonetic

change. These technical difficulties of vowel alliteration may account for the comparative rarity of double vowel alliteration, as well as for the rarity of words alliterating in initial *i, u,* and *o* in Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon. But the author's suggestion (p. 25 f.) regarding the process of decay of this system of identical vowel alliteration is not at all convincing. The author contends that as soon as the type *v,* different *v* | vx = *a o* | *a x* was reached, then gradually and without shock to the ear would arise the type *vv* | different *v x* = *a a* | *o x,* which represents a complete breakdown of the system, inasmuch as the *Hauptstab* in this case no longer controls the alliteration. But why should this transition take place? If the alliteration originally existed between the *Hauptstab* and one identical initial vowel in the first half-line, then it is difficult to see how two identical vowels in the first half-line could alone constitute the alliteration unless one of these vowels alliterated with the *Hauptstab.* How does the identity of two alliterating vowels in the first half-line do away with the necessity of alliteration with the *Hauptstab,* when the *Hauptstab* must have originally controlled the alliteration? It is possible that the poverty of identical initial vowels would justify the expedient of dispensing with the *Hauptstab* as the controlling element of alliteration, but this assumption is at best forced and not at all "easy," as the author avers. If we assume that the *Hauptstab* no longer controlled the alliteration, then it is "easy" to conceive how all three stressed syllables might contain non-identical alliterating initial vowels, since this assumption no longer involves vowel identity at all, for identity of initial vowels in the first half-line without reference to the *Hauptstab* does not constitute alliteration. Therefore, all three alliterating vowels might become non-identical as soon as the *Hauptstab* was no longer the controlling element in the alliteration. Why then should the *Hauptstab* be taken into consideration if it was no longer involved in the alliteration? Excluding the question of the *Hauptstab* altogether, the author is forced to explain why the identity of two initial vowels was not necessary for alliteration. To do this, he has resorted to the expedient of the *Hauptstab* (with non-identical initial vowel) which, according to his argument, no longer controlled the alliteration. The author's contention assumes the *Hauptstab* at the same time as both a non-controlling and a controlling element in the alliteration.

One may also take serious objection to the author's method (p. 35) of tracing the vowels back to their Old Germanic forms. He has traced all the vowels back to their Primitive Germanic forms except in the case of P.G. *æ* and *ŭ,* where he has represented the original P.G. vowels by what he considers as their equivalents in W.G. and P. Norse; in the former case (P.G. *æ*) by the W.G. = P. Norse *â* and in the latter case (P.G. *ŭ*) by *ŏ* wherever *ŏ* would occur in W.G. The author's treatment of the P.G. *ŭ* in Old Norse, however, does not accord with his marginal reductions in the text. He says (p. 35): "In O.N., on the other hand, where the change *u*>*o* is known to have taken place late, the *u* has been preferred." Selecting a single example from the *Hymiskviða* (23, 2):

orms einbani oxa hǫfþi (*o*<*wo*<*wu ei*<*ai o*<*o*)

we see that the Old Norse *ŏ,* occurring as the initial vowel respectively in *orms* and *oxa,* has been reduced by the author, not in each case to *ŭ,* but in the former case to *ŭ* and in the latter to *ŏ,* which contradicts his statement that "in O.N. the P.G. *ŭ* has been preferred." If, with his statement, the author meant to say: "Wherever in O.N. the change *u*>*o* is known to have taken place late, the *u* has been preferred," one might be able to account for this contradiction, but even then one is left in ignorance as to the conditions under which this change took place "late" in O. N. There is no evidence that such a phonetic change took place *late* in O. N. Even the old Runic inscriptions show evidence of the breaking of the P.G. *ŭ* to *ŏ* [Cf. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*[3], § 154, 2. worahtô (Tune, 5th. cen.), horna (Gallehus, 4th. cen.)]. Besides, the *a*-umlaut (which most often caused this breaking) was undoubtedly older than either the *i*-

or the *u*-umlaut.[1] In the example quoted above, *ormr* is the Gothic *waúrms* pure and simple. There can be no question of an *a*-umlaut here, since the *a*-ending had already disappeared in P.G. In *oxa* (nom. *oxi* = Gothic aúhs*a*), on the other hand, where the *a*-ending was retained in P.G., the breaking of *u* to *o* must have occurred. The *o* in *ormr* is, therefore, of P.G., and not of specifically O.N. origin. The breaking of I.E. *u* to *o* in P.G. seems to have taken place uniformly before *r* or *h*, just as in Gothic. Wherever, under such circumstances, *u* occurs in the Germanic dialects, as in the O.H.G. *wurm* (i), m., such an *u* must be considered of later origin, due either to the **i* (**wormi*<*wurmi*, nom. pl.) of the inflectional ending or to the "inserted" **u* (**wor*^{u}*m*<**wur*^{u}*m wurm*) which was generated between the *r* and *m* of the stem. The initial P.G. vowels for these two words (*orms*, *oxa*) are rather the reverse of that which the author maintains, i. e. *orms* — *oxa*, *o*<*wo* — *o*<*u* instead of *o*<*wo*<*wu* — *o*<*o*. The contention that P.G. *ŭ*, whatever the nature of the vowel in the following syllable, did not maintain itself before *r* or *h*, but was broken to *ŏ* is brilliantly defended by L. F. Leffler, *Bidrag till läran om i-omljudet*, Nord. Tidskr. for filol. og. pœd., Ny række, II.

Furthermore, it may be questioned whether the short *ĕ*, which the author has postulated for the W.G. and O.N. forms, can in all cases be reduced to a P.G. *ĕ*. It is more likely that I.E. *ĕ* was retained in P.G. only before *r* or *h*, and, in all other cases, was, just as in Gothic, not *ĕ* but *ĭ*.[2]

The author's method of tracing back some of the alliterative vowels to their P.G. forms and others to their W.G. or to their Primitive O.N. forms is confusing. If it was the author's intention to examine the status of P.G. poetry, why not trace back all the vowels in question to their P.G. forms?

[1] Cf. Adolf Holtzmann, *Altdeutsche Grammatik*, I. Bd., 2. Abteilung, p. 12 ff.

[2] Cf. Collitz, *Segimer oder: Keltische Namen in Germanischem Gewande*, J.E.G.Phil. VI, 253–306, who in this article entirely discards the theory of the P.G. *ĕ*.

The categories according to which the author has carried on his investigation are as follows: I. *Text Identical Vowels.* (*a*) in all members; (*b*) in two members including the *Hauptstab;* (*c*) neither identical nor approximately identical when traced back.—II. *Text Vowels Approximately Identical.* (*a*) in all members; (*b*) in two members including the *Hauptstab;* (*c*) neither identical nor approximately identical when traced back.—III. *Historically Identical Vowels.* (*a*) in all members; (*b*) in two members including the *Hauptstab.*—IV. *Vowels Neither Historically Identical nor Text Identical.*

The investigation shows that in every poem examined not only do lines with text identical, text approximately identical and historically identical vowels (I, II and III), represent a higher percentage than do lines with different alliterating vowels (i. e., different both in the text and when traced back, IV), but that the same is also true of those lines which, according to the author (p. 64), possess "actual identity" of vowel alliteration. This evidence is strongly in favor of the vowel-identity theory. The author's use of the term "actual identity" (p. 64) is, however, misleading. To arrive at "actual identity" of vowel alliteration, he has subtracted sub-category *c* (I and II) from the remaining sub-categories (*a*, *b*) in I and II. Under the head of "actual identity" he has, therefore, included category II (*a*, *b*), containing text vowels approximately identical, which, even if they are found to be identical when traced back, can hardly be termed "actually identical," inasmuch as they are not identical in the text as well as when traced back. The fact that such vowels are approximately identical in the text excludes the possibility of their being "actually identical"; which term would imply a vowel identity both in the text and when traced back. Actual identity in this latter sense can be possible only with reference to category I, which contains only text identical vowels, and the author would have spared the reader much confusion if he had confined the term to this sense.

Again on page 86, the terms which the author uses are very inexact and misleading.

He says, for instance, that "those monuments which are the oldest should show the highest percentage of identical vowels, and this is the case, for *Bēowulf* has 75.2 per cent., *Hêliand* 74 per cent., and the *Vǫ'lundarkviða* 82.6 per cent." He gives no intimation as to whether he means by "identical vowels," 'text identical' 'text approximately identical,' or 'historically identical' vowels. In his tables (p. 84) he carefully distinguishes these three categories but here he makes absolutely no distinction between them, leaving it to the reader to discover exactly what meaning he attaches to the term "identical vowels." Only by a comparison with his table of statistics is one able to determine which category is intended. Such a comparison shows that under this term the author has included all three categories of identical vowels.

Again, he says (p. 86): "From the statistical table it also appears that the *Hêliand* has the largest percentage of text identical vowels (21 per cent.)." But a comparison with the statistical table shows us that the percentage stated by the author must have reference only to text identical vowels in all members (Ia). The percentage for text identical vowels should include those which are identical not only in all members (Ia) but also in two members including the *Hauptstab* (Ib); *i. e.*, Ia + Ib.

Directly following his enumeration of the percentages of "text identical vowels" the author says (p. 86): "If one includes approximately identical vowels, *Bēowulf* then shows the highest percentage of 36 as against 23 per cent. in the *Hêliand*." A comparison with his table of statistics shows us that the percentages stated have reference only to text identical vowels in all members (Ia) + approximately identical vowels in all members (IIa). Here, too, under the head of approximately identical, as well as under that of text identical vowels (see above), the author has excluded those vowels which are found in two members including the *Hauptstab* (Ib + IIb). If we include this subcategory *b*, we find the percentage of text identical vowels (Ia and Ib) to be: *Béowulf* 24, *Hêliand* 36 and the *Edda* 21. This does not, however, refute the author's conclusion (p. 86) that "the *Hêliand* has the largest percentage of text identical vowels," although the percentages recorded by the author (p. 86) are: *Béowulf* 16, *Hêliand* 21, and the *Edda* 11, which, however, take no account of text identical vowels in two members including the *Hauptstab*, Ib. Similarly, if in the category of approximately identical vowels we include those which are found in two members including the *Hauptstab* (IIa + IIb), we find the percentage to be: *Béowulf* 31, *Hêliand* 7, and the *Edda* 28. If this percentage be added to the percentage found in the category of text identical vowels (*i. e.*, IIa,b + Ia,b), we have: *Béowulf* (24 + 31) 55, *Hêliand* (36 + 7) 43, and the *Edda* (21 + 28) 49, which supports the author's assertion that *Béowulf* shows the highest percentage (*i. e.* of text identical + approximately identical vowels). The percentages recorded by the author (who has excluded text identical and approximately identical vowels in two members including the *Hauptstab*, *i. e.*, Ib + IIb) are: *Béowulf* 36, *Hêliand* 23.

According to the percentages recorded by the author, one must necessarily infer that he considers the *Vǫ'lundarkviða* to be of earlier origin than either *Béowulf* or the *Hêliand*. He says (p. 86): "Finally those monuments which are the oldest should show the highest percentage of identical vowels, and this is the case, for *Béowulf* has 75.2 per cent., *Hêliand* 74 per cent., and the *Vǫ'lundarkviða* 82.6 per cent." That the *Vǫ'lundarkviða* could be of earlier origin than either of the other two poems mentioned is extremely doubtful. It is undoubtedly one of the oldest of all the Old Norse heroic lays,[3] but there is no evidence to the effect that it is of as early an origin even as the ninth century. It is probably not so old as the *Þrymskviða*, which is a purely mythological lay. The heroic lays are in general of later origin than the purely mythological lays, yet the author, in seeking to determine by a system of percentage the antiquity of the monuments examined, entirely discards whatever evidence the *Þrymskviða* might offer to this effect.

The retention of stereotyped traditional epic

[3] Cf. Finnur Jónson, *Den Islanske Litteraturs Historie*, 1907, p. 61.

formulas which had undergone phonetic change would hasten the decay of the original system of vowel identity. Likewise the development of originally identical vowels into vowels heard to be different but yet phonetically and acoustically very closely related would lead to the alliteration in new poems of similar, phonetically related, vowels which yet did not originate from identical vowels. The author's argument here (p. 31) is quite clear and convincing, provided we assume the alliteration still to be controlled by the *Hauptstab*. One would, therefore, naturally expect, as the author asserts, the percentage of text identical vowels in poems orally transmitted (*Edda*) to be less than in first-hand compositions, such as *Béowulf* and the *Hêliand*. Such is the case according to the author's statement (p. 31): *Béowulf* 36 per cent., *Hêliand* 31.5 per cent., *Vø'lundarkviða* 17 per cent., *Hyndluljóð* 24 per cent., and *Hymiskviða* 12 per cent. A glance at his table of statistics (p. 84) shows us, however, that the author's figures represent both *text* identical and approximately identical vowels in all members (Ia + IIa). It is evident that the author here (p. 31) has not only omitted text identical vowels *in two members including the Hauptstab* (Ib) but has also included approximately identical vowels under the head of "identical" vowels. On page 86 (as shown before) the term "identical" vowel includes not only these two categories but also "historically identical vowels." The loose use which the author makes of the term "identical" is extremely confusing. According to the author's statistics (p. 84) the percentages of text identical vowels should be: *Béowulf* 24.1 (text identical vowels Ia + Ib = 80 + 42 = 122; whole number of lines with vowel alliteration, 506; per cent., 24.1). *Hêliand* 36 (Ia + Ib = 21 + 15 = 36; whole number of lines with vowel alliteration, 100; per cent., 36). Proceeding in the same way with the Eddic lays we find the percentage of text identical vowels to be: *Vø'lundarkviða* 30.4; *Hyndluljóð* 13, and *Hymiskviða* 14.7. But here the author has omitted the percentage for the *Þrymskviða,* which should be 29.2. Why should the evidence which the *Þrymskviða* might offer be rejected, especially when, being undoubtedly the oldest of the four Old Norse lays in question, it would more than any other of the lays tend to reveal the older status of vowel alliteration in North Germanic? If we average the correct percentages in the four Eddic lays we find the result to be 21.8 per cent. The correct percentages for text identical vowels are, therefore: *Béowulf* 24; *Hêliand* 36 and the *Edda* 22, which does not, however, contradict the author's assumption that the percentage of text identical vowels should be lower in poems orally transmitted (*Edda*) than in first-hand compositions such as *Béowulf* or the *Hêliand*. But there are many things to be taken into consideration which may invalidate this assumption. Oral transmission may not be the only factor tending to lower the percentage of text identical vowels. First, the age of the poem in question must be taken into consideration, for the younger the poem the greater would be the tendency to deviate from the original system of vowel alliteration by virtue of the greater tendency to phonetic change on the part of the vowels. The four Old Norse lays in question represent a fairly synchronous phonetic state of affairs. The *Vø'lundarkviða* *Hyndluljóð* and *Hymiskviða* may all safely be put in the tenth century, while only the *Þrymskviða* could possibly be as old as either the *Hêliand* or *Béowulf*. The phonetic changes in O.N. would, therefore, tend to become greater than in *Béowulf* or the *Hêliand* by mere virtue of time, and oral transmission is not the only factor tending to reduce the percentage of text identical vowels. Furthermore, not only the question of time but also that of the phonetic peculiarity of the individual dialects must be taken into account. Phonetic changes take place much more rapidly and extensively in one language than in another. This is particularly true of Old Saxon on the one hand, and Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse on the other. Old Saxon vowels stand in phonetic identity much nearer to their primitive status in West Germanic than do the Anglo-Saxon vowels. In Anglo-Saxon, vowel-breaking, palatalization, etc., show a vowel sensitiveness which would naturally produce a much wider gap between the text vowel and its historical derivative (either the P.G.

or the W.G.) than is the case in Anglo-Saxon, and the same is true of Old Norse with reference to Old Saxon. A glance at the percentages for text identical vowels shows us that the *Hêliand* (36 per cent.) actually has a higher percentage than either *Béowulf* (24 per cent.) or the *Edda* (22 per cent.). We might, therefore, assume this to be due to the fact that the Old Saxon vowels were less liable to phonetic change than either the Anglo-Saxon or Old Norse vowels. At any rate, this is a very important factor in connection with the percentage of text identical vowels. The author's assumption with regard to oral transmission may be entirely invalidated by these two other factors; namely, that of time and that of the phonetic peculiarities of the individual dialects.

It is to be regretted that the author's investigations in Old Norse were not more extensive, since the paucity of material examined in that dialect would hardly justify a comparison with either *Béowulf* or the *Hêliand*. The total number of lines examined in Old Norse is only 635, as compared with 1,379 in the *Hêliand*, and the whole (3,182 lines) of *Béowulf*.

Omissions of lines which should occur under two heads are quite frequent. If a line should occur under two heads, the omission of this line under one head will not affect the percentage in question, inasmuch as the line must then be both added and subtracted from the total number of lines. But such an omission mars the form of the author's work and lessens the confidence in his general exactness. The following omissions have been noted:

Lines occurring under two heads, recorded under one head but omitted under another head:

Béowulf. I. Recorded in Ib but omitted in IIIb: ll. 2248, 2498, 3049, 3135.

Hêliand. I. Recorded in Ib but omitted in IIIb: l. 297.

Þrymskviða. I. Recorded in Ia but omitted in IIIa: ll. 6,1; 6,3; 9,1; 10,1; 13,2; 20,2; 26,1; 26,3; 29,5.

Misprints are very rare throughout the work. Only the following has been noted: *Hêliand* (p. 68), l. 261, i<i *a*<a a<a should read i<i e<a a<a.—On page 75 the author has classified l. 15,4 of the *Hyndluljóð* under IIIa. This line reads as follows:

ólu ok ǫ'ttu átján sunu (*ó*<*ō ǫ'*<*ai á*<*a*),

which obviously does not show identical vowels in all members when traced back but only in two members (including the *Hauptstab*) and should, therefore, be classified under IIIb.

The results of the author's investigations tend to strengthen considerably the vowel-identity theory. In all texts examined the high percentage of vowels both identical in the text and when traced back, as well as the high percentage of approximately identical vowels, could hardly be the result of mere accident. It is to be regretted that the author's use of terms has been so inexact and loose. His methods of deriving percentages could also have been made clearer. But the work has involved an enormous amount of labor and we may feel grateful to the author for having undertaken such a laborious task. Kock's theory of vowel identity has not been established, but it has at least been tried and in so far as it has been applied it has done all that was expected of it.

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FRENCH TEXT BOOKS

Eugénie Grandet by Honoré de Balzac, abridged and edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, by A. G. H. Spiers. Boston, Heath, 1914. xv + 236 pp.

Tartarin de Tarascon par Alphonse Daudet, with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, by Barry Cerf. Boston, Ginn, 1914. xxx + 204 pp.

Chez Nous, A French First Reader, with practical hints on syntax and idiom, by Henri Charles-Edouard David. New York, Holt, 1914. ix + 393 pp.

Our enterprising publishers and editors continue adding new French texts to the already considerable stock on hand with a zeal that is

commendable, since the quantity does not seem to interfere with the quality of the output. It is even a matter for congratulation that the editions of late years show a marked improvement over their predecessors of pioneer days.

In his introduction, Mr. Spiers gives the main facts of the author's career together with an estimate of his character and talent which is on the whole fair. One or two statements might, however, be challenged on the score of accuracy or completeness. Thus, when Faguet is quoted to the effect that Balzac's men and women "have the characters that suit their stations and their temperaments, the habits of their characters, the ideas of their habits, the speech of their ideas, and the acts of their speech," we have only part of the critic's judgment, and an exaggerated idea of the perfection of the novelist's art. Not all the character studies of the *Comédie humaine* attain the degree of excellence possessed by the outstanding creations. Balzac was unsurpassedly great in depicting elemental natures, overwhelming passions, commonplace people, and their surroundings. For this reason, the protagonists of his stories, chosen because of some dominant trait or passion, are as a rule superior to his subordinate personages. Where surroundings, education, occupation or necessity give the initial impulse a chance to exercise its activities to the fullest extent (Grandet, Goriot, Pons), the author is in his element, and the picture assumes grandiose proportions in its terrible reality. Where, on the other hand, circumstances are less favorable for the complete development of the innate forces, where angles have to be softened, and tones subdued, the result is far less satisfactory. The flower of society, male or female, he has not well portrayed. To quote the editor's authority, "les personnages de pure fantaisie et de la fantaisie la plus puérile heurtent dans ses ouvrages les personnages d'une vérité absolue." (Faguet, *Balzac,* in *Etudes sur le dix-neuvième siècle,* p. 438.) The conversations of refined people are characterized as stupid, and Parisians behave as "charretiers en liesse" (*Ibid.,* p. 414). His *grandes dames,* his young ladies of good society, his great artists are often falsely drawn. He is true to life in delineating "les gens de basse ou de moyenne classe", but "pour les hommes des classes supérieures . . . son information est trop restreinte, sa vue trop courte ou son induction trop hasardeuse" (*Ibid.,* p. 426). In the novel under consideration, the least well-drawn personages are Charles, the aristocratic Madame d'Aubrion and her daughter, who all are in some respects shockingly unreal, at any rate untypical of the better French society.

Further, can it be truly said that Molière becomes often tragical? In *Georges Dandin, le Misanthrope, Don Juan, le Malade imaginaire,* there is no doubt an undercurrent of seriousness, or even sadness and pessimism, but they remain comedies nevertheless, and the element of fun is predominant. The most one can say is *que ce serait à faire pleurer si ce n'était si drôle.* Satirical comedy feeds on vice and foible, and in as far as these can be considered as life's tragedies, in just so far may we speak of tragedy where Molière is concerned. Viewed philosophically, they lend to laughter rather than to tears.

The notes and vocabulary are accurate and to the point. Irrelevant matters have been generally avoided, the editor's object being to elucidate the text with the fewest possible words. This desire for brevity has led him occasionally to resort to the use of American slang of a questionable kind. Besides being open to objections on the part of Englishmen who might wish to use an otherwise good edition, the practice is of doubtful propriety also for the reason that American students are only too partial to such unliterary short cuts. *Faisons les mises* (23.6) is correctly translated by 'let us put up the stakes'. There was hardly need to add 'ante up' which is poker slang, the ante being different from the general *mise.* If a familiar term were thought useful, why not say 'let us come in', which is generally understood and is the exact equivalent of the French expression. *Votre serviteur* (33.3), implying refusal of a request or proposal, is adequately rendered; but the editor adduces the Americanisms 'nothing doing' (why not nothin' doin'?) and 'good

night'. Would it not have been more appropriate simply to instance the perfectly good 'excuse me', or 'I beg to be excused', which stand a better chance of being of a less ephemeral character? This objectionable 'nothing doing' is used again, together with 'no go' to translate *bernique* (105.6) which means 'it's all off' or 'all up' as the case may be. On page 111, note 3, *fichtre!* is rendered by 'gosh hang it!', as choice as the other specimens quoted. *Fichtre!* ('the deuce', 'the dickens', 'upon my word') is used by cultured Frenchmen with about the same force as *diable* or *ma parole d'honneur,* but 'gosh hang it!' can hardly claim the same social privilege either in America or in England. Even 'gee!' is called in for illustration (103.4), regardless of the probability that ten years hence such expletives will appear quite puzzling to the studious youths. In view of the above, one wonders why the editor did not translate *je les ai tous attrapés* (64.4) by 'I fooled them all', which seems, despite its triviality, to strike the right shade more exactly than 'I've got ahead of them all.'

The following further suggestions are offered for what they may be worth:

6, l. 21. Attention should be called to the fact that *pour qu'ils le fournissent de légumes* means habitual providing, not implied in the otherwise synonymous *pour qu'ils lui fournissent des légumes.*—About *chaises,* 6.5, it is stated that there are no pews in Catholic churches, a rule to which there are many exceptions. But notables like the Grandets have their own upholstered chairs for the care and placing of which they pay a yearly rental instead of the weekly two sous.—7, l. 16. A note should certainly explain that *cinq pieds,* Grandet's height, means in reality ten centimeters more than five feet, the French foot measuring 0.ᵐ 324, the English only 0.ᵐ 304. This makes him a man of medium height.—23.2. *neuffes-heures* is not, I imagine, meant as "an imitation of the uneducated speech which inserts an *s* by analogy with the voiced spirant in *deux, trois, six, dix,* and *onze heures*", for in that case Balzac would have written *neuve-z-heures,* or something to that effect. It is, I believe, rather intended as a wretched pun, still occasionally heard, namely, *neuf sœurs.*—37, l. 18. *Elle avait une tête énorme.* The vocabulary renders *énorme* by 'enormous', which is not quite the same here. Eugénie could not have resembled the Venus of Milo with an enormous head.—37.6. *le lointain des lacs tranquilles* is too freely translated by 'the calm distant lakes'. The French means that the horizon is distant, while the lakes may be lying at the beholder's feet.—60.1. *litanies* might well be rendered here by 'rigmarole'.—62.4. *pleure comme une Madeleine, que c'est une vraie bénédiction.* Two points may be noted here. Mr. Spiers translates *que c'est une vraie bénédiction* by 'it does one good to see it'. But that idea is not contained in *bénédiction* as used in the present instance, the notion of blessing being far from the maid's mind. The expression means simply 'abundantly', 'to overflowing'. A man who is beaten mercilessly might say *les coups tombaient dru que c'était une vraie bénédiction.* As to the connective *que* said to be loose and "used thus only in slovenly speech", I feel inclined to think that the condemnation is unduly harsh. To be sure, it is not considered exactly elegant to omit *tellement, à telles enseignes,* etc., in such a phrase, yet, in everyday conversation, this omission is tolerated; e. g., *ils se disputaient que c'était une honte,* a perfectly acceptable sentence.—82.7. *l'insulaire,* 'the islander'. The note suggests: perhaps a Britisher. It is really hard to know what Balzac did mean. *Insulaire* is also a slang term for *concierge,* and it is as conceivable that the elegant Charles had borrowed a sum of money from his janitor to pay a gambling debt as that he should have left the city without first settling what is generally considered *une dette d'honneur.*—91, l. 6. *le primevère.* It might be noted that this masculine is archaic and now rarely used, while *la primevère,* 'primrose', is, of course, common.—92, l. 16. *fuyardes journées* is rather unusual for *fuyantes* or *fugitives journées.*—103, ll. 6–7. *Tu n'as jamais tant parlé. Cependant tu n'as pas mangé de pain trempé dans du vin, je pense.* In none of the editions (Berthon, Bergeron, Spiers) have I found mention of the evident

reference to Molière's *Médecin malgré lui* where Sganarelle prescribes bread soaked in wine as a cure for the pretended muteness of his patient. At the same time it is doubtful that the idea was original with the dramatist and it is probable that long before his day the French had discovered *que le vin délie la langue.*—107, ll. 23–27. Either Grandet or Balzac is off on his figures, for it is hard to see how 6,000 francs could bring in annually 400 francs even if the government 3 per cent could be bought at 60.—*Grouillent,* 108, l. 5, is translated in the vocabulary by 'stir', 'bestir.' Is not the English 'grub' the exact equivalent etymologically and semasiologically?—127.1. The form *timère* is explained as "perhaps due to the analogy of *petit père";* the explanation is correct, and children pronounce *tipère* and *timère.* There is, however, no need of looking for a possible connection with *mon petit,* a masculine term of endearment which, the editor states, the French frequently apply to an essentially feminine being; for it should be stated that this is about as elegant as the English "old sport" applied to a girl. Historically, *timère* antedates by far the objectionable *mon petit.*—131, l. 24. *C'est dit, c'est dit, s'écria Grandet en prenant la main de sa fille et y frappant avec la sienne.* It should be stated that this striking in the hand signifies the sealing of a bargain.—142.4. The Dreux-Brézé family was well known to the public about the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the story of how they came by the second part of their name is surely of less interest than the circumstance that one of them who, as master of ceremonies under Louis XVI, conveyed to the Third Estate the King's order to disband, drew from Mirabeau the ringing reply: "Allez dire à votre maître que nous sommes ici par la volonté du peuple et que nous n'en sortirons que par la force des baïonnettes".—147.1. *mariage de convenance* is made sufficiently clear by 'marriage of convenience': the additional explanation 'of suitability' may be confusing, for such matches are frequently very unsuitable.—157, l. 21. *Nous nous poussons déjà. Se pousser* is correctly translated in 156.1 by 'help one another'. Here, however, it is used by Bonfons ironically with the meaning 'push out'.

Vocabulary and notes lack *fortune liquide* (4, l. 1), *cheveux-de-Vénus* (119, l. 32), and *cerner* (138, l. 13). *Métairie* (4, l. 7) translated by 'farm', and often loosely so used, is, strictly speaking, a farm worked on shares.[1]

Tartarin de Tarascon is firstly the foremost French specimen of sustained humor in the nineteenth century, secondly an admirable sample of what might be termed an *aimable causerie,* and thirdly, together with the *Lettres de mon moulin,* the best product of one of Daudet's characteristic moods.

The editor has brought all this out in his introduction, which is a sympathetic and, for the purpose, sufficiently comprehensive study of the author and his writings. It is therefore all the more astonishing that precisely in a book of the nature of *Tartarin,* Mr. Cerf should make the statement: "Sadness is the prevailing tone of his work, the sort of sadness that proceeds from pity. Where sadness does not dominate Daudet, irony takes its place." And yet Daudet has been so often compared to Dickens that to do so again would be commonplace. If Mr. Cerf tactfully and wisely refrains from making that comparison, he should not, however, overlook the literary kinship, and call Daudet an out-and-out pessimist. In his works tears and smiles mingle as they do in life itself, wherefore he is the true realist and one of the most satisfying of all modern fiction writers. It is true that there is tragedy in many of his stories, as there is in those of Dickens, but in spite of this one cannot help feeling that beneath it all there is the kindly optimism of the man, perhaps sobered by age or suffering, but real nevertheless.

The vocabulary is complete and accurate. The explanatory apparatus looks somewhat

[1] Misprints: 4, l. 29. *menaient.*— 29, l. 7. *tiendras.* —135, l. 31. *fut.*—138, l. 32. *veut.*—154. l. 21. *galant.* The following pages contain each one or more words with dropped or broken type: 67, 79, 88, 90, 94, 118, 131, 137, 139, 193.

formidable, and one wonders whether the class of readers for whom the edition is intended will have the time or the inclination to consult it all, for to do so would inevitably interfere with the enjoyment of the story. Some pages of thirty-two and thirty-three lines contain as many as eighteen notes. One might well question the propriety of putting a masterpiece of the worth of *Tartarin* in the hands of students who are in need of all this help. Whatever opinion one may hold on that point, certain it is that much of what appears as notes might have been relegated to the vocabulary, where it could be consulted more conveniently if needed. Some might well have been omitted altogether. Items like 5.3 *me direz-vous,* 'you (reader) will say to me (author)'. 5.7 *en pleine campagne,* 'into the open country', 3.19 *midi,* 'midday', 'noon', 'South', 'Latin *media dies*', 7.18 *les lui faire chanter,* 'to make him sing them', *faire chanter à Tartarin,* 'to make T. sing', 'to make him sing', 51.14 *en se levant,* 'as she rose', 91.16 *monta encore,* 'ascended still higher'—to quote only a few—are of doubtful usefulness among the notes, which they make unnecessarily bulky. The chief concern of the editor has evidently been, not merely to solve difficulties, but to leave nothing unexplained. The foregoing remark is intended less as a criticism for Mr. Cerf, who has done his work with the most painstaking care, than as an advice to young colleagues who contemplate editing texts, and who should remember that an annotated edition is not a poney. How well the present editor has acquitted himself of his task is proven by the careful way he has cleared up geographic, ethnographic, and dialectic matters, all of which means a considerable amount of labor. And all of it is good. Since, however, the average American student does not know what a league is, it might have been well to state that the word *lieue,* 4.8, is now generally used to designate an hour's walk (in France four kilometers, in Belgium five); that a *receveur de l'enregistrement* also collects certain taxes, and not merely registers deeds; that the French word *club,* 7.21, was used in revolutionary times to designate a society which was by no means interested in sport, and that the ungrammatical *t* in *si j'étais-t-invisible,* 6.24, is not inserted to avoid hiatus, but merely through analogy with the third person. The populace is not necessarily averse to hiatus, and will say unhesitatingly: *J't'ai pa encore vu aujourd'hui.* Incidentally such a mistake is called a *pataquès.* A *warren rabbit,* 10.13, is rather known in English-speaking countries by the name of *wild rabbit.* A *salade russe,* 56.22, served with a twenty-five-cent dinner in the Latin Quarter, contains no fish, but merely beans, carrots, cauliflower and perhaps some other vegetable. The word *rentier,* translated in the vocabulary by 'capitalist', 'gentleman', is indeed difficult to render. The English use the term 'gentleman of leisure'; the Americans, 'man living on his income', 'retired', etc.

Printing and proof-reading have been done most carefully: only one misprint has been noted: 2, l. 5, *arbos* for *arbor;* the same in the note.

Mr. David's Reader was inspired by Mr. Allen's German Readers *Herein* and *Daheim,* but these were, as the author tells us in his preface, "the starting-point rather than the models" of *Chez Nous.* A casual perusal soon convinces us that such must indeed have been the case, for *Chez Nous* is French to the core, and good French at that. It is made up of a number of sketches, stories, songs, fables, dialogues, and even a "Pièce à grand spectacle en 2 actes et 6 tableaux avec un prologue." A considerable amount of it is autobiographical, the author having drawn extensively on his reminiscences of Paris school days. This lends a remarkable freshness and life to this very original reader. A number of childish songs, popular all over France, "Au clair de la lune", "Nous n'irons plus au bois", "Fais dodo Nicolas", "Frère Jacques", etc., are included, together with their melodies, and piano accompaniments. The Reader is also supplied with copious helps for learner and teacher. Besides a complete vocabulary, there is a chapter entitled "Expressions", in which the idiomatic

phrases contained in each piece are noted and arranged for study or review, a chapter of questions, a considerable body of notes, a section on conditional sentences, one on the use of the subjunctive, three pages on the use of the indefinite pronoun *on,* thirty-seven pages on the use of the various prepositions, and eight on the infinitive after the verb. The parts dealing with grammar and idiom are all based on the text, which furnishes the necessary illustrative examples. In other words, the text is used to give what amounts to a complete course in grammar and syntax, scattered in notes and appendices. The foregoing is sufficient to show that the author's claim to produce "not only a reader, but at the same time a drill-book and a reference book" is well substantiated. From the nature of the reading material it is evidently intended for very young pupils, but it could equally well serve the needs of students who prepare for the teaching profession. They alone could make profitable use of the very extensive pedagogical apparatus that accompanies the reading matter. The grammatical part is often worded in a far too scientific and sometimes vague manner to be within the grasp of the childish mind. Even more mature students and teachers will need to consult a grammar in order to complete the general and partial statements of the author. Space forbids going into a detailed discussion; but, to mention only the treatment of the subjunctive, it seems to me to be lacking in clearness and simplicity. Beginners, even of a more advanced age, need three or four definite rules: First, subjunctive after verbs of volition and emotion; second, after impersonal expressions not implying truth, certainty or probability; third, after conjunctive expressions; fourth, in relative, so-called characteristic clauses, where there is doubt, and after *le premier, le seul,* etc. Such rules stick in the learner's mind. The most important exceptions should of course be indicated with the rules, which can be completed at a later stage. By making the numerous divisions Mr. David adopts, noun clauses, adjective clauses, adverb clauses, each with three, four, or even seven subdivisions, the matter becomes a bugbear to young pupils, and the result is apt to be disappointing. In all other respects the book is first-rate, and may be safely recommended. The material execution, printing, proof-reading, binding, is of the best.

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Selections from Mesonero Romanos. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1913. 12mo., pp. xxiv + 188 (Text 1–81). Portrait.

The Spanish essay of manners is a distinctive product. However much it may owe to De Jouy or *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes,* it has a flavor of the soil when it gets into the hands of the genial Mesonero, the sarcastic Larra, or the Andalusian Estébanez Calderón. Professor Northup has taken the first step toward opening this field to the American student in his selections from Mesonero Romanos. The work is scholarly,—satisfactory in every particular. While the reviewer cannot speak from the view-point of one who has put his victim to the supreme test of class-room use, he may essay the welcome task of giving an account of impressions gained from reading the book before us.

Larra's style may be more vigorous, and Estébanez, in a sense, more "Spanish," but we feel readier sympathy for Mr. Northup's task as editor of Mesonero than we should have felt if he had limited himself to either of the other *costumbristas.* Genial, wholesome, patriotic, broad of view, hopeful,—these characteristics come spontaneously to the mind of one who has read the *Recollections of a Septuagenarian,* of whom our editor has given his readers a pleasing and accurate account in his introduction, accompanied by a well-known portrait. We see him as boy, soldier, author, patriot, reformer, doing "more for the material and intellectual development of Madrid than any other Span-

iard of the nineteenth century" (p. xvii). Any man could wish to merit the verdict: "Sanity is his dominant characteristic" (p. xxi). The introduction is followed by a useful "Bibliographical Note."

No two critics would agree in the selection of a limited number of essays from so vast a field. One would guess that Mr. Northup's edition—by the way the book has no table of contents—includes *La casa de Cervantes* and *El retrato* for literary reasons rather than for interest; *La empleo-manía, El alquiler de un cuarto* and *Tengo lo que me basta* would be ascribed to the "Spanish atmosphere"; one might also wonder if there were not more interesting articles than *El barbero de Madrid.* As possible substitutes for some of these the reviewer would suggest *Un viaje al sitio* or *El día treinta del mes* (from the *Panorama matritense*), or perhaps *Una noche de vela* (from the *Escenas matritenses*). Nobody would wish that Mr. Northup had omitted *El amante corto de vista,* nor the choice skit on *Romantics and Romanticism* which shows Mesonero at his best and gives us a breath of contemporaneous literary atmosphere as well. From this last the editor has omitted a scabrous episode. Another omission, which he has failed to record, is that of the verse headings to the various essays,—an interesting little mannerism of the day which may have been due to Sir Walter Scott. The reviewer's tolerant eye has observed no misprints in the text.

The notes are illuminating and sagacious, though perhaps none too numerous. The insight evidenced in clearing up the author's mistake about Orbaneja de Úbeda (6:15) is typical of the excellent comment found here. One might make a few suggestions:

The translation of *duodécimo* (9:3) as "trumpery" (i. e., "miserable little") might not be clear to any but quick-witted students. The word appears only as "twelfth" in the vocabulary.

Dulcinea de Toboso (30:20) should read *del Toboso* (*Quixote,* I., xxvi).

On page 97 (note to p. 33, line 20) we find others "claim that it did not fall," an undesirable use of the Americanism *claim* for *maintain.* The use of *apogee* on the same page (note 34:1) for the more usual *zenith* is striking.

The note on Isla (40:7) is awkwardly worded.

Some may criticize the note on romanticism (51:3) because of its length, but it is really necessary to a complete understanding of the important essay in which the word occurs, and it is very well done. It hardly seems wise, however, to explain any of Byron's influence by the "glowing descriptions of Spain in *Childe Harold*": Byron was much more influential in France (without any such special cause), much of *Childe Harold* is insulting to Spaniards, and the poem was not at all conspicuous among the early versions of Byron's works. It would have added literary interest to point out how Mesonero's burlesque romantic tragedy satirizes the novelties of the genre, such as violation of the classical unities and rejection of fixed verse forms. Possibly some parallels to *Hernani* or *Don Alvaro* might have been established.

Further minor suggestions follow: *Maldita la gana tengo de ello* (26:15) is well worth a note.—The same might be said of the position of the adjective in *las civiles guerras* (33:24).—In speaking of Felipe II (34:12) it would have been well to add a word about *sus dos sucesores.* Has not the editor also failed to explain Carlos III and the sinister Fernando VII (35:17)?—In connection with Cervantes, something might have been said about the "sangre derramada en los combates" and the "ánimo esforzado en las prisiones" (page 37).—*Había de llevar* (42:11) is worth mention as a peculiar construction, infinitive with conditional flavor.—To call Balzac "one of the most famous of French novelists" (56:30) is almost too mild a statement.—On page 71, line 20, occurs the expression *en toda su vida,* for which we find in the notes the correct negative translation and nothing more. Unless explained, this is likely to puzzle the reader.

The vocabulary is strikingly apt and complete, so far as a few test pages can indicate. Possibly a class might root out an omission or

two for the delight of a more microscopic reviewer. The following words seem deserving of fuller treatment, or else of a special note:

Hallarse con: cf. p. 18, l. 9, "se hallaba con que se había ofrecido."

Llevar should be translated "bring," in order to fit the use on p. 23, l. 25.

Contigo (24:10) seems meaningless if translated "with you" (*sic* vocab.).

Pundonor (25:3) is hardly "point of honor" so much as "sense of honor."

El de más allá (42:17) does not seem clear from the vocabulary meanings of *más allá* ("farther on," "beyond").

Arreglar el pozo (43:28) will be translated as "arrange the well," if the vocabulary be followed. One suspects another meaning.

Convenir is given only as an active verb with the conventional meanings. This hardly seems to fit *la señora que se convenía á todo* (50:6).

The reviewer takes the liberty of adding one or two suggestions, without any insinuation that the implied omissions are culpable. (1) The reference to Maiquez (page 40, line 12) would not have been damaged by mentioning Cotarelo y Mori's interesting book, *Isidoro Maiquez y el teatro de su tiempo* (Madrid, 1902). (2) It may add interest to the mention of Utrilla y Rouget, "leading tailors of the day" (54:27), to inform the reader that the former is mentioned by Mesonero himself in his *Manual,* while Rouget's name appears in the celebrated *Handbook* of Richard Ford. (3) The *figuras de capuz* and *siniestros bultos* of page 57, line 13, may take on particular significance from the fact that. two or three years before the date of the essay in which the expressions occur, Escosura had published in *El Artista* a semiromantic legend entitled *El bulto vestido del negro capuz* (Cf. also Espronceda, *Obras* 1884, page 55). (4) *Perfectibilidad social* (77:29) evidently refers to ideas prevailing in France in the eighteenth century, with which Mesonero would have had scant sympathy.

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URBAN CRONAN, *Teatro español del siglo XVI.* Tomo primero. (Sociedad de bibliófilos madrileños, X.) Madrid, 1913. 8vo., x + 547 pp.

In the past students of the early Spanish drama have been hampered seriously by the lack of available texts of the minor dramatists, but recent publications have now made accessible nearly all the dramatic material of the first half of the sixteenth century. Of the late collections, the above-mentioned volume is the most important, not only for the large amount of material it contains, but also for the importance of the texts it reproduces. The list is as follows:

Comedia Tidea, by Francisco de las Natas. —*Comedia Tesorina* and *Comedia Vidriana,*[1] by Jayme de Guete.—*Tragicomedia alegorica del parayso y del infierno.*—*Farsa,* by Fernando Diaz.—*Egloga pastoril.*—*Egloga nueua.*—*Egloga,* by Juan de Paris.—*Farsa del mundo* and *Farsa sobre la felice nueua de la concordia y paz,* by Fernan Lopez de Yanguas.—*Farsa Rosiela.* These plays, the originals of which are to be found either in the National Library at Madrid or in the Royal Library in Munich, are well known to bibliographers, but they offer an almost untouched mine for linguistic and literary study.

In praiseworthy contrast to those editors who have been content to publish works from the editions nearest at hand when older ones were known to exist, Cronan has spared no pains to give a text based on a comparison of all the extant editions of the older period. He has aimed to reproduce these with the least possible change. "Hemos conservado la ortografía de los textos originales, limitándonos á extender las abreviaturas[2] y subsanar las erratas evidentes." When but one old text is extant,

[1] In the *Romanic Review,* Vol. I (1910), p. 459, I announced that I was preparing an edition of the *Comedia Vidriana.* Although everything that pertains to the study of the text remains to be done, the play is not important enough to justify a second edition at this time.

[2] Abbreviations rarely give trouble in these texts. However, p. 503, line 28?, should read, "Porque poneys (not podeys) los dos juntos."

there are, under these principles, but two serious sources of error, mistakes in copying and erroneous emendation. In order to show the condition of the original texts, and to test the accuracy of the present edition, all the variants [3] (with the exception of abbreviations) of the original print of the *Comedia Vidriana* to the end of the second act (1216 lines) are here given:

On the title-page the name of the author is given as Gueta, line 49 aqustas, 59 diabra, 186 toda, 187 vexa, 222 may, 278 majedero, 281 iamas, 290 mia, 361 escuas, 501 desseal, 606 enlestabro, 619 aquin, 620 desgarre, 660 atorgados, 732 aguda, 770 momoria, 772 escaria, 820 sufrimiente, 853 entiendo vs, 854 dientos, 883 trista, 905 bios, 1073 essarga, 1101 dexillo, 1157 ciertamiente, 1165 contingo, 1184 vezas.

It is at once apparent that extraordinary liberties have been taken in emending the text without accounting for the original readings in the notes. *Enlestabro* is supported by line 302 and is probably the correct reading for 271, *aquin* is accepted in the text in line 855, the orthography of *entiendo vs* is supported by 1451 *yo vs* and the *Tesorina* 1509 *no vs, bios* seems to be a euphemistic form here as also in the *Tesorina* 1049, *trista* is a good Aragonese form, *mia* and *ciertamiente* are found frequently, a garbled form like *momoria* in the mouth of Cetina is not surprising, and it is not at all certain that *majedero, escuas* and *atorgados* are misprints. The faulty readings of lines 187 and 620 are simply slips on the part of the modern editor or printer.

For the rest of this text the rejected readings of the original are given when they seem to be correct, and also within parentheses when doubtful:

1384 no son, 1399 a esta, (1408 cayga), (1411 entendio), 1451 vs, 1466 Sam, (1785 esso), (1928 seguedad), (1981 llabas), (2018 pansar), (2040 damanda), (it is safer not to correct the speech of Perucho even though it reads 2083 tado, 2084 espanto, 2088 las, 2154 vas), 2165 vltraje, (2219 enxabonarras), 2286 dessa, 2368 rinña (if linñaje is to stand in 2168), (2445 pesera), (2460 offenderora), 2780 (y) ya, 2874 o que afan.

[3] The variants cited have been taken from my own copies, but to insure reasonable accuracy, they have been compared anew with the original texts.

In the case of the *Tesorina* there are two existing texts. Cronan evidently chose the Madrid print as the basis for his edition, but he did not follow it as rigidly as he should. This text has several points in its favor: It is apparently about fifteen years older than the Munich print, and comes from the same press as the *Comedia Vidriana;* it also contains more rare dialect forms. The Munich print shows no emendations that indicate corrections of the author, but popular forms have frequently been rejected in favor of the more current literary ones. It is almost certain that these changes are due to the misguided efforts of a well-meaning printer. The readings of the 1551 text can scarcely have other value than that they represent the opinion of a Spaniard who was practically contemporary with the author. It is a serious error on Cronan's part to accept readings from the reprint when the earlier text could be shown to be correct.

In the following list the forms of the Madrid print are given that should, in the opinion of the reviewer, be restored to the text. The forms in parentheses are doubtful, and perhaps not always worth noting, but as they frequently show tendencies in similar directions, it seems rather unsafe to classify them as misprints:

Line 27 amostro, 53 parecen, 58 ellotro (similar emendation in 232, but compare 947 enell ayre, 1191 and 2373 ell ombre), 77 terciopedo (intentional blunder), 116 aga, 127 desfreçada, 141 vng moço con vng galan, 206 scuchara, 232 ellaltura, 241 quijeres (see below, 950 and 2278), 245 fundamiento, 339 ven, 417 qualquiere (cf. 2236), 448 mal, 451 otro, (495 the emendation is not convincing), 501 has, 521 mulata, 619 adiutoriz?, 692 vez (cf. 963), 709 vna, 723 ahos (cf. 132, 144, etc.), 742 Amnon, 747 v Orpheo (=u, cf. 2165), (748 y phio), 794 en, 805 pues que Dios te, 832 calor, 845 lignage, 888 sentemiento, 907 trista, 913 cocez, 917 aguardas, 919 entra, 950 quigesse, 963 veztc, 979 trizte, 989 drento (cf. *Vidriana* 818), (997 paraceiz), 1031 huays, 1033 en layre, 1049 bios, 1059 echeis (the emended form is of course what one would expect here), (1104 embidio, but cf. 1378), 1192 hablabais, (1221 mosorrabes), 1245 las bispas, (1257 sabacos), 1280 virgam (Gilyracho's

Latin may not be above reproach), (1309 entoces . . . quion), 1342 ni, 1437 hablaredes, (1449 cendero), 1454 vees, (1458 que lo que), 1509 no vs, 1543 en llespital, 1576 allega, (1762 çuerta), (1797 Salamon), 1848 reprhende, 1876 desta, 1881 callademente, 1887 azia a, 1896 hartaua, (1905 tenos), 1920 sallida, 1988 jodio (cf. 2440), 2031 Palblo (intentional?), (2037 rason), 2039 andemos, 2054 araña, 2165 v otra, 2230 xallia, 2231 xtar, 2236 qualquiere, 2243 pidiras, 2250 a dalguna . . . phro, 2267 vex, 2269 xinora, 2278 quigeras, 2440 jodio, 2484 vubon?, 2513 sallia, 2519 sallir, 2635 sallid, 2652 Fin.

The variants of the *Vidriana* and the *Tesorina* are sufficient to show the merits as well as the defects of Cronan's work. The care with which he has performed the heavy task of copying, preparing for the printer, and reading the proof of eleven plays, four of them in two editions, deserves only the highest praise. If the amount of material that he handled were not so great, he might be criticised more severely for rejecting so many forms that are capable of justification. However, it would take years to make a critical text, and to explain the difficult passages of the plays that are found in this volume alone. Such a critical text being out of the question, the all-important thing is to have an accurate reproduction of the original. One might even admit that it is permissible to correct without mention certain classes of misprints. In the Gothic type it was easy to confuse such letters as the long *s* with *f* or *n* with *u*, and it does seem pedantic to crowd the variants with such forms as *pnes* for *pues* and *foy* for *soy*. But when, in his effort to make a readable text, the editor emends without mention in the notes dialect forms that can be proven to be correct, or even those that have the slightest chance of justification, the result is that his work is robbed of much of its value for linguistic study. Until more is known of the popular language of the sixteenth century, the safer way will be to give all the readings of the principal edition at least, even at the risk of appearing pedantic.

Two other plays of the volume under review have been compared with the originals without finding material that would modify the opinions expressed above. It is important to note, however, that the earliest edition of Fernan Lopez de Yanguas' *Farsa del mundo* was overlooked. This text, which dates from 1524, has been described in the catalogues of the libraries of Salvá (No. 1300) and Heredia (No. 2312), and attention has been called to it more recently by Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, 1911, p. 150. Both the 1528 and the 1551-editions appear to be copies of the earlier edition. Cronan's text, although based on the later prints, is not at all unsatisfactory.

Of the remaining texts four had already appeared in the above-mentioned volume of Kohler. Cronan's text of the *Egloga* of Juan de Paris is the better, in that it is based on the 1536 edition with variants of that of 1551, while Kohler used only the later text. The *Farsa* of Fernando Diaz, the *Egloga pastoril*, and the *Egloga nueua* were reprinted by both editors from the old editions now found in the Royal Library at Munich. While both editions are undoubtedly excellent, those who are engaged in linguistic study will prefer Kohler, because he gives in the foot-notes the original readings corresponding to his emendations.

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The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser. Edited with critical notes by J. C. Smith and E. de Sélincourt, with an introduction by E. de Sélincourt and a glossary. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1912. Small 8vo. Pp. lxvii + 736.

The student of Spenser has still to await a single-volume edition which quite supersedes others. Though this Oxford concise Spenser, in view of its tasteful critical introduction, its inclusion of the Spenser-Harvey letters,[1] its facsimile title-pages, and its woodcuts from *The Shepheardes Calendar*, offers the greatest inducements for the least money, yet the Globe

[1] Apparently by afterthought, since the editor (p. xxi, n. 2) refers to them as quoted in Grosart.

edition remains unique in offering the *View of Ireland* and best in biography (by the late J. W. Hales), while R. E. Neil Dodge's edition must be had for the 1590 text of the *Faerie Queene* and the list of characters therein. No edition since Todd (1805) contains an adequate body of notes.

The present text leaves little to be desired in accurate reproduction of words and spelling, following as it does the larger Oxford edition with partial correction of errors noted (see *Anglia Beiblatt,* XXII, 41 f.; *Englische Studien,* 44, 260 f.). In *Daphnaida* the prefatory letter is still needlessly that of 1596, because the British Museum copy of 1591 chances to lack the letter. There is also considerable laxity in punctuation. Thus the sonnet to Harvey contains thirteen unnoted deviations and five tacit omissions of capitals (out of eight), according to the copy B. M. c. 40, d. 14, p. 75. Salutation and signature offer three more. Less excuse appears in *Astrophel,* ll. 14, 116, 170, 182, 194, 200,—all of which have a colon in B. M. 11536, and should have, because Spenser regularly so punctuates the second line of his six-line stanzas, as usually also the second line of the *Amoretti.*

The critical appendix singularly omits (p. 656) a note on *M. H. T.* 629, where the 1609 folio reads *he,* paralleling *R. T.* 447 and making it clear that the reigning sovereign is intended. The editor's experience with regard to *Mother Hubberds Tale,* of encountering folios dated only 1611 or 1612, is peculiar. The copy B. M. 78 h. 23 (like most I have seen) is dated 1613, though as usual bound in the 1611 folio of *The Faerie Queene.* A similar insouciance is encountered in the assistant's glossary, where William Alabaster, secretary of the Earl of Essex, figures as a pseudonym. So Amaryllis is 'a shepherdess,' though her sister Phyllis is rightly a pseudonym. Colin and Hobbinoll are omitted. Astrophel, despite warning (N. Y. *Nation,* 1910, Index, *Astrophel*) is entered as a botanical term. In fact the pseudonyms appear to be confined to those which occur in *Colin Clout.* Thus Meliboeus and Pastorella are omitted, and Alcyon and Daphne not referred to *Daphnaida.* Yet from the *Calendar* Algrind is included, and not Dido. Equally the general principle of the glossary is not clear: it includes words referred only to Harvey (*agent*), and words obvious to the reader (*ambushment, dromedare*). It is, nevertheless, clear and full.

The hand of Sélincourt in this volume appears mainly in the introduction, which consists of two very unequal parts,—an inaccurate and ill-informed biography to which that by Hales remains superior, and a tasteful, timely appreciation of Spenser's poetry. For example, it ignores Gollancz's discovery that Spenser was secretary of Bishop Young; it repeats without reserve the discredited theory of Spenser's being associated with Lancashire. To make a test case of the first page: the lines quoted from the *Prothalamion* indicate that Spenser's ancestors, not necessarily his parents, were not Londoners. The identification of his father as John Spenser, here advanced without question, was never widely received and was withdrawn by its proposer, Grosart (see *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell,* p. xx). That Spenser was born in East Smithfield is a late and tenuous tradition; but Sélincourt's avowal that John Spenser lived there is an undocumented inference from it. With easy credence he furnishes the poet with a brother John and sister Elizabeth, sending the brother to the poet's school and college. This offering as fact a tissue of conjecture is so typical that no serious student of Spenser will look to this account except for suggestive flashes of insight. There Sélincourt is happy, as in the hazard that Spenser appeared before the Queen as a boy actor. It is apparent throughout that the writer relies on second-hand sources even when ostensibly quoting the original. He reproduces (p. xxxviii, top) Grosart's misreadings of the manuscript, printing 'you' for 'your lordships,' inserting 'all,' and omitting 'the service of' where he reads 'in the wars.'

The pages (xl–lxvii) in explanation and appreciation of the poetry of Spenser may be commended to students as both lucid and sensible. Sélincourt is not led astray by the heresy that Spenser lacked humor—an example of the oral tradition not uncommon in modern critical

scholarship. His faults are too exclusive preoccupation with *The Faerie Queene,* a habit of universal statement, and a failure to recognize Spenser's following of precedent. The last appears in his implying (p. lv) that the idea of a fourth grace is original, whereas it dates from Homer (*Shep. Cal.,* April, Gloss, *The Graces,* June, Gloss, *Many Graces*). Nor does he indicate that Spenser's archaism is in reality a most conservative following of classical precedent: "unde *pictae vestis,* et *aulai,* Virgilius amantissimus vetustatis, carminibus inseruit." Quinctiliani, *Instit. Orator.* lib. 1. 7.

Before concluding, a challenge (p. liii) as to the identity of Calidore must be met. J. C. Smith urges that he is, like Sidney, distinguished as a runner and a wrestler. Only one reference indicates the latter (*F. Q.* 6. 9. 43–44). But there, to the contrary, we find an expert wrestler expecting in that sport "sure t'auenge his grudge" against Calidore. The latter wins by strength. It is not stated that he was apt in the art. That Calidore is a runner, I grant. But such an accomplishment would be unseemly haste in the knights of Holiness, Temperance, and Justice. The force of the comparison is further vitiated by comparison with 'the brave courtier' (*M. H. T.* 744–6) which merely declares that an ideal courtier will, among other forms of exercise, learn to wrestle. The advice was a commonplace of courtly instruction, familiar to any reader of Castiglione. In saying that the portrait of the courtier was 'drawn from Sidney,' the writer not only flatly contradicts his general view of Spenser's character portrayal (p. li), but misconceives the obvious method of composition. The portrayal of an ideal type—of poet, orator, courtier—was in ordinary course. Writers worked from the general to the particular, from the abstract to the concrete. This is especially obvious in a devotee to Platonic ideas.

Waiving judgment of details, the present volume is clearly the most serviceable one now available.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Wells' *Passionate Friends* and Fromentin's *Dominique*

From the outset let it be understood that I am not accusing Mr. Wells of plagiarism. My reading of *Passionate Friends* conjured up memories of a French novel of the latter half of the nineteenth century, Fromentin's *Dominique,* and upon analysing the two books I discovered that they had very much in common. I do not know whether Mr. Wells ever read the French novel. I sincerely hope he did, and if he did not, there is a fund of pleasure still in store for him.

Both novels depict the life of a man from his very earliest childhood until after he had passed through the greatest crisis of his existence and had reached the state of calm yet sad resignation. *Passionate Friends* is a document dedicated by a father to his son that he might be spared much sorrow and profit by the father's experience. The story of Fromentin is told by the man whose name the book bears to his friend, as an apology or an explanation of his present life. In detail the resemblance between the two novels is not very great, in spirit the resemblance becomes almost striking.

Dominique was introduced to the world of books and of careers by his tutor. Stephen, in *Passionate Friends,* was also under the spell of a tutor, but not so completely as Dominique, because after boyhood the tutor passed out of his life, while in the French novel the tutor acts as a father confessor to his pupil and is his friend for life. Dominique and Stephen meet the women who were to work such havoc in their lives when they are still youths at school. They are both extremely susceptible to the beauties of Nature. In *Dominique* the young woman marries a man she apparently does not love, but who is the choice of her family on account of his wealth. She does not allow him to guess her secret until all is over between them. Mary, in *Passionate Friends,* voluntarily and with a very clear purpose in mind, contracts a marriage with a man she

avowedly does not love, who is likewise wealthy, after having very frankly set forth the whole situation to her lover. The descriptions of the moods of the two men immediately after the wedding are almost identical. In *Passionate Friends* Stephen meets Mary for the first time after her marriage at a ball. There is a similar incident in *Dominique,* and a great resemblance in the portrayal of the conflicting emotions of the two men, with even such minor details as the admiration of the gowns worn by the two women, and the difficulty in realizing that these are the same young women they loved, so dazzled are they by the splendor about them.

Mary and Madeleine are two different types of women. Mary is brilliant and headstrong. Intellectually she is even the superior of Stephen. Madeleine also possesses a very strong will but she is much gentler than Mary. Both women have in common their overpowering passion mingled with a deep sensibility for the beauty of Nature. Nature in both books plays somewhat the same *rôle* as in Goethe's *Werther.* In *Dominique* we have no serious *exposé* of social theories as in the novel of Wells, and yet Dominique chooses a life in which he would be of greatest service to the community of which he is a member. Deeds are often better than words! Stephen marries partly at the instigation of Mary. After several years of anguish Mary puts the only possible obstacle between her and Stephen, death by suicide. Madeleine, after at last having confessed her love for Dominique (she never allowed him to learn it until now), once her secret is known, forbids Dominique to see her again and advises him to marry, saying that when he shall have forgotten her she will be either dead or happy. In *Dominique* we have a pure idyl. *Passionate Friends,* on the contrary, is an exceedingly modern book, full of intrigues and scandal; yet in spite of it all the reader is left in very much the same mood as after reading *Dominique.* That is the basis of my comparison. Both novels have a peculiarly quieting and purifying effect on the emotions. The æsthetic quality of the two novels is the same. It is this artistic, æsthetic treatment of the turbulent and passionate theme that produces the effect just described. In music it might be compared to the *Adagio* of Beethoven's *Sonate pathétique*—sad yet sweet resignation with an occasional outburst of revolt.

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A NOTE ON THE *Blickling Homilies*

M[ar]þon, as printed by R. Morris in his edition of the *Blickling Homilies,* p. 19, l. 23, has drawn the attention of several commentators. Zupitza, in his paper in the *Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur* I, 119 ff., simply says: "19, 22 (*read* 23!). *mar þon* entschieden unrichtig aber wie zu bessern?" Holthausen, in *Englische Studien* XIV, 393 ff., says "*þonne m[ar]þon . . . miht.* Ich schlage vor, *þonne* zu streichen und für *m—þon* das auch S. 89, 32 vorkommende *midþon þe* 'während' einzusetzen. Davor gehört aber dann auch ein komma, nicht ein semikolon, wie bei M., und hinter *miht* ein fragezeichen, denn das ganze, von *Hwæt* (z. 20) an, ist ein fragesatz." Max Förster, in a paper in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* XCI, 179 ff., says: ". . . . *faran . . . ondweard* = . . . *de loco ad locum venire. Quia ergo in divinitate mutabilitas non est atque hoc ipsum mutari transire est, profecto ille transitus* (d. h. vor dem Blinden vorüber) *ex carne est, non ex divinitate. Per divinitatem vero ei semper stare est, quia ubique præsens.* . . . Ein Wort *marþon* kennen überdies die Wörterbücher nicht. Wahrscheinlich ist zu schreiben *ne biþ on.* Das folgende ist jedenfalls verderbt: wer nicht den Ausfall einer Zeile annehmen will, könnte nach *omwendnesse* eine stärkere Interpunktion machen und statt *on carcerne* einen dem *transitus* entsprechenden Ausdruck, etwa nochmals *ondwendnesse* vermuten. Auch mit dem folgenden *miht,* welches Morris in der Übersetzung einfach ignoriert, ist so nichts anzufangen. Hiess es *of þære godcundan mihte?*" Neither of these conjectures is plaus-

ible, but Holthausen's proposal has this advantage over Förster's that it preserves the *m* of the MS., which there is no reason to reject.

I believe that the mysterious *marþon* should be read *mærþon,* and is another instance of *mærþum* 'miraculously, wondrously, gloriously.' This adverbial use of the dative plural of *mærþ(u)* is exemplified in Bosworth-Toller by two instances, taken from *Elene* and *Beowulf.* Morris translates the passage from *þoune* to *gedcundan* (*miht*): 'but, moreover, there was no change either of the divine nature or of the divine power in its imprisonment in the human nature.' 'Moreover' has no sense whatever in this clause; if we substitute 'miraculously' the sense is suited. If it should be objected that there is no corresponding word in the Latin text, I refer to the universal habit of the Old English translators to drop or insert words as appeared convenient to them. I agree with Holthausen that the sentence ends with *miht,* but I prefer to place a mark of interrogation after *oþerre,* and a period after *miht.* As regards the form *mærþon,* datives in *-on* are not rare in the *Blickling Homilies: eaȝon* 121, 1; *earon* 121, 2; *hæton* 59, 4; *lufon* 23, 24; *dælon* 53, 12.

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BRIEF MENTION

For some years it has been evident that the relations between the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* and the Goethe-Gesellschaft were becoming more or less strained. Thus no 'communication' from the Archiv was printed in either 1912 or 1913, and 1911 was also the last year that the *Festvortrag* of the *Generalversammlung* of the Society was published in the *Jahrbuch.* In 1912 the establishment of a separate official organ of the Society was resolved upon and the first volume has now appeared under the title *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft. Im Auftrage des Vorstandes herausgegeben von H. G. Gräf,* Weimar, Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1914 (8vo., 225 pp.).

Comparing the new organ with the older issues of Professor Geiger's *Goethe-Jahrbuch*—the publication of which has now ceased—we find the rubrics 'Abhandlungen' and 'Mitteilungen aus dem Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv' retained, with the difference, however, that the *Abhandlungen* in the new organ are fewer in number and are all contributed by men of note (Walzel, Seuffert, Pniower). The rubric 'Neue und alte Quellen' is practically identical in scope with the heading 'Verschiedene Mitteilungen' of the old Year-book. Added is the category 'Mitteilungen aus dem Goethe-National-Museum,' represented in the initial volume solely by an exquisite reproduction of the painting of Goethe by George Dawe, accompanied by some two pages of explanatory text, which have evidently not found the place intended for them in the volume. The old rubric 'Miscellen,' always rather scrappy in character, is dropped altogether, as is also the Bibliography, whether wisely or not is open to question. Outwardly and inwardly the distinguishing character of the new as compared with the old Annual is a certain *Vornehmheit* that accords well with Weimar traditions. Perhaps in line with this is the change from a Latin to a Fraktur type, a change which will otherwise be regretted by many foreign readers.

Les Aires morphologiques dans les parlers populaires du nord-ouest de l'Angoumois, par A.-L. Terracher (Champion, 1914. xiv + 248 + 452 pp., and Atlas). While listing and classifying certain of the speech phenomena of a limited locality with a thoroughness and, to judge from equipment and method, a sureness difficult to excel, the author has not written a local dialect treatise in the ordinary sense. Instead, this is a fundamentad study of the processes and possible causes of speech substitution, as tested in a small group of *parlers populaires.* The territory is northwest Angoumois, and the phenomena selected for observation are the inflexion systems there in use—a choice that needs no justification beyond the superior fashion in which morphological systems lend themselves to accurate observation. The geographical distribution of these phenomena is established with care, and shows for the territory covered no correspondence with physical or ecclesiastical boundaries sufficient to justify the assumption of a causal nexus. Mr. Terracher then proceeds to test the influence of speech-mixture upon the speech forms. This he does, not by means of assumptions or of specimen cases, but by positive data, and he has not hesitated before the colossal task of analyzing, for a period of one hundred years,

the individual marriage statistics of fifty communes with a population of some 40,000. The remarkably detailed and systematic study of these statistics leads to the establishment of a direct relation between the disintegration of the local speeches and the introduction of non-local elements into the community, by reason of the marriages which residents contract with outsiders. For a single village a minute examination is further made of the speech of every family and of the nature and extent of the changes wrought in families where extraneous members have been introduced. As a result of such a thoroughgoing and specific piece of work light can hardly fail to be thrown on many important questions of detail. It is definitely shown that the break-up of the old local patois is to a less extent due to the direct influence of French than to its indirect influence working through neighboring patois nearer to French than the one in process of disintegration. Of equal interest is the evidence adduced to show that the geographical distribution of extra-local marriages and of kinship in flexional forms is directly connected with the boundaries of the medieval fiefs. In all of the discussion, there is an admirable freedom from exaggeration of the element under consideration and from forgetfulness of the existence of other possible factors. It is striking that in this as in two other recent works bearing upon entirely different domains and problems—Bédier's *Légendes épiques* and Foulet's *Roman de Renard*—each author has independently of the other chosen the same path: the concentration of attention on a concrete, correlated, and accessible group of phenomena interpreted in the light of their *milieu* and *moment*. The coincidence is of no small import for the future of linguistic and literary study.

M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* Tomo IV, con una introducción de A. Bonilla y San Martín (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 21. Madrid, Bailly-Baillière, 1915, 8vo., 620 pp.) contains the following texts: "El Asno de Oro," de Lucio Apuleyo;—"Eurialo é Lucrecia;"—"Fabulario," de Sebastián Mey;—"Coloquios," de Erasmo;—"Coloquio de las Damas," de Pedro Aretino; "Diálogos de Amor," de Leon Hebreo;—"El Viaje Entretenido," de Agustín de Rojas. This choice of texts is in conformity with an intention, previously expressed, of treating "especialmente del género picaresco, y tambien de otras formas novelísticas ó análogas á la novela, como los coloquios y diálogos satíricos." The death of Menéndez Pelayo left the volume scarcely begun and the present publication is due to the devoted friend and pupil who knew of the plans of the *Maestro*. Bonilla has collated the texts on the original versions; he has supplied an authenticated critical commentary by listing such passages in Menéndez Pelayo's previous works as deal with the texts in question. Furthermore, he has added not a few notes of historical, literary, and bibliographical character, especially in connection with the *Viaje Entretenido.* In addition to the strictly editorial work, Bonilla has prefaced the volume with a biographical study (pp. 1–90) in which he presents a worthy treatment of the life, aims, method and work of Menéndez Pelayo,—a treatment based on an intimate acquaintance with both the man and his writings. Among the interesting biographical items may be mentioned the list of studies on Menéndez Pelayo himself (pp. 93–5); a plan of the unwritten volumes of the *Ideas estéticas* (pp. 47–49); reference to the unpublished correspondence between Milá and Ferdinand Wolf (p. 50); the fees received for various publications (p. 56); terms of the bequest of his library to the city of Santander (pp. 58–60). Finally, we have a descriptive and analytical bibliography (pp. 91–148) which is the culmination of several previous studies on the same subject and which may be regarded as final. An excellent portrait forms the frontispiece of the volume.

In his *Syntax der Modi im modernen Französisch* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1914, 266 pp.), Hermann Soltmann has collected material from contemporary sources and has grouped it according to kinship in thought categories rather than after the traditional schemes. Drawing upon works of the most unequal value, including authors notoriously careless of style, faddists, and no little trivial or ephemeral literature, the book is not one to be placed as a guide in the hands of the learner, but to the syntactical *piocheur* it is a delight. The author, whose eye is keen and whose reading is as extensive as it is catholic—or shall we say heretical—, has dug out a number of rare and interesting specimens among which hardly a reader but can find curiosities that will fill long vacant spots in his cabinet. The book is not speech history, but an interesting compilation of the kind of material from which speech history is made, for out of it and its like are culled those bits which, attaining a permanent hold, keep even the official syntax of a language from ever becoming a completed story.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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RHETORICAL CONTRASTS IN SCHILLER'S DRAMAS

I

Will and purpose have possibly never carried on a more truceless war with accident and chance than they did in the case of Schiller. From the time he entered the Karlsschule until irremediable affliction obliged him to dictate *Demetrius,* he experienced an almost perfect series of victories and defeats. His life was not like that of Kleist who lost, as time went on, health and money, love, friendship, and fame. Schiller won some of these, which only made the loss of the others more pronounced. Yet he fought on for the reconciliation of the ideal and the real. He tried without abatement and with success to make life, his life, a work of art, and to portray all life as he felt a real artist should. He felt, as did Nietzsche later, that the existence of the world is justified only as an aesthetic phenomenon. And, seeing that the world contains a superabundance of sweat and dirt, he consciously bowed before the idealistic imperative which bade him never cease poetizing sweetness and light. Throughout all of his works we find him emphasizing the fact that the tawdry and the low are depressingly common, and insisting that art can, and consequently should, memorialize the beautiful and elevate the vulgar. And his rare ability as a rhetorician in the best sense of the word aided him greatly in the accomplishment of his task, for he was a master at linguistic *Helldunkel.*

Though Schiller's style abounds in conceits peculiar only to himself, one of the most peculiar and most effective of these, by way of introductory explanation, is seen in *Semele,* ll. 354–356:

> . . . denn Wollust ist's
> Den Göttern, Menschen zu beglücken; zu verderben
> Die Menschen, ist den Göttern Schmerz. . . .

First we notice the pairs of contrasts: "Götter-Menschen," "beglücken-verderben," "Wollust-Schmerz." And then we note the force of what amounts to emphasis by repetition: naturally, if it gives the gods an enrapturing sort of pleasure to make mortals happy, it must pain them greatly to destroy mortals entirely. Since Schiller's style has been studied but little, and this phase of it not at all, simply to allow this matter to pass in review shows that it is a rich field, the exhaustion of which would result in a contribution of uncommon value.

To begin at the beginning, *Der Abend* (1776) is the earliest[1] poem by Schiller that has been preserved. The first four verses run as follows:

> Die Sonne zeigt, vollendend gleich dem Helden,
> Dem tiefen Thal ihr Abendangesicht.
> (Für andre, ach! glücksel'gre Welten
> Ist das ein Morgenangesicht).

That is to say, the setting sun in one hemisphere means the rising sun in another—a contrast and a parallel. Schiller's last poetic work was *Die Huldigung der Künste.* Even the casual reader can hardly fail to appreciate the use made of contrasts in this poem, despite the fact that it deals with the seven closely related major arts. In the ballads alone there is no conspicuous use of contrasts. In *Der Ring des Polykrates* we have one strophe that contains Schiller's most fundamental tenet, in contrast form, on the value of adversity:

> Drum, willst du dich vor Leid bewahren,
> So flehe zu den Unsichtbaren,
> Dass sie zum Glück den Schmerz verleihen.
> Noch keinen sah ich fröhlich enden,
> Auf den mit immer vollen Händen
> Die Götter ihre Gaben streuen.

It is of interest, however, in this connection to see how, in his essay *Über Bürgers Gedichte,*

[1] Cf. Gustav Schwab's *Schillers Leben,* p. ix, which refers to a still earlier poem of 1775. This, too, contains a contrast. In it Schiller has "die Jugend" offering us "Rosenhände," while "das Alter" brings us "Hörner oder die Pistolen gar."

he praises Bürger's *Balladen* as being incomparable, but the burden of his whole discourse concerning Bürger's *Gedichte* is that one misses "die Idealisierkunst." When quoting from Bürger he in two instances selects a passage that contains a contrast. For example, in *Blümchen Wunderhold,* these verses interested Schiller:

> Du theilst der Flöte weichen Klang
> Des Schreiers Kehle mit
> Und wandelst in Zephyrengang
> Des Stürmers Poltertritt.

And so these contrasts occur throughout Schiller's works. In the distichs written in collaboration with Goethe, those by Schiller can almost invariably be determined by the contrasts. It is hardly necessary to refer to the use made of them in *Würde der Frauen,* according to which woman is chaste, vigilant, graceful, modest, and pious, while man is passionate, careless, rough, impetuous, impious, and so on. *Das Ideal und das Leben* (1795) is built on the same plan. *Die Worte des Glaubens* (1797) begins: "Drei Worte nenn' ich euch." *Die Worte des Wahns* (1799) begins: "Drei Worte hört man." The expressions referred to in the first poem are "Freiheit," "Tugend," and "Gott," those in the second, "die goldene Zeit," "das buhlende Glück," "irdischer Verstand." That Schiller thought of these two poems as the counterpart the one of the other is self-evident. The fourth book of his *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs* closes as follows:

> "So fiel Wallenstein, nicht weil er Rebell war, sondern er rebellierte, weil er fiel. Ein Unglück für den Lebenden, dass er eine siegende Partei sich zum Feinde gemacht hatte—ein Unglück für den Toten, dass ihn dieser Feind überlebte und seine Geschichte schrieb."

Concerning his works on the various phases of aesthetics, we can lay aside all reserve and assert that they constitute an unending round of contrasts and parallels.[2] And even in his letters Schiller frequently employed this device. He wrote (July 21, 1797) to Körner concerning the Humboldts as follows:

> "Alexander Humboldt ist mir ehrwürdig durch den Eifer und Geist, mit dem er sein Fach betreibt. Für den Umgang ist Wilhelm geniessbarer. Alexander hat etwas Hastiges und Bitteres, das man bei Männern von grosser Thätigkeit häufig findet. Wilhelm ist mir sehr lieb geworden, und ich habe mit ihm viele Berührungspunkte."

Those who look upon this as a mere incident of fact will find numerous other passages in Schiller's correspondence where he went out of his way to bring in this sort of construction. And, finally, we do not find contrasts and parallels in the works of other writers translated by Schiller.[3] On reading these we feel at once that this is not Schiller, this is Shakespeare, or Racine, or Euripides, and so on.

Now, had Schiller not employed contrasts before becoming acquainted with the thesis-antithesis-synthesis formula (Kant-Hegel) of his day, one might be led to believe that it was a matter of acquired rather than of innate technique. But this would not cover the case. It came natural to Schiller to use contrasts at first, and later he consciously developed the conceit. He knew he was doing it, just as Heine knew he was making frequent use of the verb "lachen" in his creative works, or as Richard Wagner knew he was using "lachen" and "Wahn" very frequently. Schiller's instinctively dramatic mind impelled him to spend the major part of his life poetizing the ever-recurring conflict between the good and

[2] In the first of the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen,* Schiller writes: "Wie der Scheidekünstler, so findet auch der Philosoph nur durch Auflösung die Verbindung und nur durch die Marter der Kunst das Werk der freiwilligen Natur."

[3] If we could find many strong contrasts in Racine's *Phädra* as Schiller has translated it, that would suggest a number of things. But in the entire drama there are only three that remind of Schiller, and the most striking of these is the exact opposite of Schiller. Hippolyt says (IV, 2) to Theseus:

> Wie die Tugend, hat das Laster seine Grade;
> Nie sah man noch unschuldige Schüchternheit
> Zu wilder Frechheit plötzlich übergehen.

We do not, to be sure, find sudden transitions in Schiller from positive to negative, but he does accentuate the two by juxtaposition. As to transitions, Johanna's "Der schwere Panzer wird zum Flügelkleide" is only a romantic trope.

the bad. The contrast construction lends itself best to dramatic compositions, and it is in his dramas that we find it most conspicuously applied. But as to the application of this device, it is safe to become wholly dogmatic and say that it is always a matter of rhetoric, never of psychology.

There are about seventy-five such constructions in *Die Räuber* (1780). At the very beginning, Franz Moor draws a contrast between himself and Karl Moor. Karl, in turn, contrasts the present with the past in the familiar words (I, 2): "Mir ekelt vor diesem tintenklecksenden Säkulum, wenn ich in meinem Plutarch lese von grossen Menschen." And in Karl's fight against convention he says (I, 2): "Das Gesetz hat zum Schneckengang verdorben, was Adlerflug geworden wäre." Even in the Latin spoken by Grimm (I, 2) we have a contrast. But the real Schiller in this regard is seen in Moor's remarks to Schwarz (III, 2):

> "Ich habe die Menschen gesehen, ihre Bienensorgen und ihre Riesenprojekte—ihre Götterplane und ihre Mäusegeschäfte, das wunderseltsame Rennen nach Glückseligkeit;—dieser dem Schwung seines Rosses anvertraut—ein anderer der Nase seines Esels," etc.

There is no point in quoting all of it, or in tabulating all similar instances. Schiller clearly delighted in emphasizing the virtuous by setting it face to face with the vicious. And to say that he was fond of contrasts in scenes [4] neither explains nor weakens the significance of his linguistic contrasts. To say, however, that the contrasts of this drama smack of Rousseau [5] is to throw light on Schiller's language.

In his next and weakest drama, *Fiesco* (1782), sharp contrasts are again numerous [6] and similar to those in *Die Räuber*. A number are taken from the animal and plant world. Gianettino says to Julia: "Schwester, bist du doch stets von Schmetterlingen umschwärmt und ich von Wespen" (III, 8). Fiesco says to Zenturione: "Binsen mögen vom Atem knicken. Eichen wollen den Sturm" (II, 5). The figure reminds one of Kleist,[7] while the entire scene argues that Schiller was just then reading either Aesop or Rousseau, or both. Some of the contrasts in this drama are finely shaded. Verrina, for example, shows why purple is the royal color: "Der erste Fürst war ein Mörder und führte den Purpur ein, die Flecken seiner That in dieser Blutfarbe zu verstecken" (V, 16). Antitheses also occur. Leonore says to Fiesco (IV, 14):

> "Liebe hat Thränen und kann Thränen verstehen; Herrschsucht hat eherne Augen, worin ewig nie die Empfindung perlt—Liebe hat nur ein Gut, thut Verzicht auf die ganze übrige Schöpfung: Herrschsucht hungert beim Raube der ganzen Natur.—Herrschsucht zertrümmert die Welt in ein rasselndes Kartenhaus, Liebe träumt sich in jede Wüste Elysium."

One can, to be sure, feel the naturalness of contrasts—in scenes—in this drama, written as it was to portray the relative rôles of plan and chance [8] in human life, and written when

[4] Cf. *Schiller-Lexikon*, by Karl Goldbeck and Ludwig Rudolph, Berlin, 1890, Vol. 2, p. 261: "In Spiegelberg sehen wir Schillers Neigung zur Zusammenstellung wirksamer Kontraste in höchst glücklicher Weise in Erscheinung treten; denn während Karls rein tragischer Charakter uns zu tief ernstem Nachsinnen Veranlassung gibt, ist Spiegelberg eine grotesk-komische Figur; er ist eine vollendete Parodie des Helden unserer Tragödie."

[5] Such contrasts as the following are common: "Ein Holzapfel, weisst du wohl, wird im Paradiesgärtlein selber ewig keine Ananas" (II, 3). And such parallels as these are also common: "Aber was hier zeitliches Leiden war, wird dort ewiger Triumph; was hier endlicher Triumph war, wird dort ewige unendliche Verzweiflung" (V, 1). The expression, finally, that caused Schiller some embarrassment is only a strong contrast: "Reis' du ins Graubündner Land, das ist das Athen der heutigen Gauner" (II, 3).

[6] One is almost too ready to cry bombast on studying the contrasts in this drama. For example, "Dass du den Galgen für einen Zahnstocher ansehen sollst" (I, 9), or, "Ist wohl feuerfester als Eurer ehrlichen Leute: sie brechen ihre Schwüre dem lieben Herrgott; wir halten sie pünktlich dem Teufel" (I, 9).

[7] Cf. Kleist's "ein Frühlingssonnenstrahl reift die Orangenblüthe, aber ein Jahrhundert die Eiche."

[8] Cf. A. Schoell: *Über Schillers Fiesco*, Weimarisches Jahrbuch, I, 132: "Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua im Jahre 1547 hat zu ihrer Zeit viel Aufsehen gemacht und ist ein beliebter Gegenstand für die Darstellung geblieben wegen des Contrastes von Plan und Zufall, mit dem sie uns erschüttert."

Schiller[9] himself was now jubilant over bright prospects and now cast down by the misfortunes that had befallen him.

As to contrasts, *Kabale und Liebe* (1784) differs but slightly from the preceding dramas. Sharp contrasts in individual word-pairs are not so numerous, references to nature are rarer, well-balanced sentences are again introduced, and the oxymoron is used for the first time. General contrasts are abundant;[10] there are, however, none in Gemmingen's *Der deutsche Hausvater* (1780), the play that suggested a number of things to Schiller. One example of each of these phases of the matter must suffice. Ferdinand says to Lady Milford: "Wenn auch Klugheit die Leidenschaft schweigen heisst, so redet die Pflicht desto lauter" (II, 3). Passages in which duty is set over against love are frequent, as are also such pairs as "Herz-Geschlecht," "kalte Liebe-feurige Pflicht," "britische Fürstin-deutsches Volk,"—one of Schiller's first contrasts between nations. As to nature, Luise says:

"Fühlt sich doch das Insekt in einem Tropfen Wassers so selig, als wär' es ein Himmelreich, so froh und so selig, bis man ihm von einem Weltmeer erzählt, worin Flotten und Walfische spielen."

Concerning well-balanced sentences, Ferdinand says to von Kalb (IV, 3):

"Wenn du genossest, wo ich anbetete? Schwelgtest, wo ich einen Gott mich fühlte! Dir wäre besser, Bube, du flöhest der Hölle zu, als dass dir mein Zorn im Himmel begegnete."

As to the oxymoron,[11] Luise says to Lady Milford: "Warum wollen alle Menschen so grausam-barmherzig sein?" (IV, 7). There are, of course, in this drama strong contrasts in scenes; but these did not make linguistic contrasts indispensable.[12]

Though contrasts in scenes and characters follow each other in rapid succession in *Don Carlos* (1787),[13] rhetorical contrasts are, in proportion to the length of the drama, not so numerous;[14] there are about sixty in all. This is undoubtedly due to no mere accident. Schiller, tired of Storm and Stress, decided to break away from the naturalism of his more juvenile period of prose, and in so doing he chose, for the first time, the restraint imposed by the iambic pentameter. This verse form, coupled with the complicated and refractory theme, gave the young dramatist—he was still in his twenties—a good deal to think about. We find, however, what would be, for other dramatists, frequent employment of contrasts even here. Some of the more conspicuous ones

[9] In the preface to *Fiesco* Schiller writes: "Ich habe in meinen Räubern das Opfer einer ausschweifenden Empfindung zum Vorwurf genommen. Hier versuche ich das Gegenteil, ein Opfer der Kunst und Kabale."

[10] One of the striking features of the contrasts in this drama is their intensity, their association with the great human passions, and their occasional coarseness. Frau Miller, for example, suggests that her husband may secure a position in the Ducal Orchestra; to which Miller replies: "Orchester!—Ja, wo du Kupplerin den Diskant wirst heulen und mein blauer Hinterer den Konterbass vorstellen!" (II, 4).

[11] Schiller used the oxymoron rarely. In *Die Jungfrau*, l. 2869, occurs "menschenreiche-Öde," and in *Tell* we have "Bauernadel," l. 824. It seems that the oxymoron was not strong enough for his purpose, that it was too unreal, too cryptic. The expression "asphaltischer Sumpf" in the 35th *Xenium* is hardly an oxymoron.

[12] Cf. Ernst Müller, *Schillers Kabale und Liebe*, Tübingen, 1892, p. 71: "Auch hier (Luise—Lady Milford) tritt Schillers Neigung hervor, seine Frauencharaktere in scharfem Kontrast einander gegenübertreten zu lassen, wie schon vorher in Fiesco und später in Maria Stuart." But this has nothing to do with linguistic contrasts.

[13] Cf. *Schiller-Lexikon*, I, 217: "Wer Schillers vorwiegende Neigung zur überraschenden Zusammenstellung von Gegensätzen kennt, wird dieses höchst werthvolle Kunstmittel auch in dem Scenenwechsel angewendet finden, wo ja fortdauernd zwei Handlungen, die Intrigue und die Bekämpfung derselben, neben einander herlaufen müssen." But this does not cover the matter of linguistic contrasts.

[14] One cannot, however, read this drama without noticing how Schiller returns again and again to this scheme. For example, the König says (ll. 2522–2523): "Euer Haar ist silbergrau, und Ihr errötet nicht." The oddness of his not becoming red in the face could have been emphasized without referring to the fact that his hair was silvery gray.

are in the scenes between Carlos and the Königin, and have to do with mental states. Carlos says (ll. 750–752):

> Sie sind für mich verloren—O, in diesem
> Gefühl liegt Hölle—Hölle liegt im andern,
> Sie zu besitzen.

Others concern differences in dignity. Philipp says (ll. 1176–1177) to Carlos:

> Du redest, wie ein Träumender. Dies Amt
> Will einen Mann und keinen Jüngling.

And the counterpart to this is found in Carlos's remark (ll. 1660–1662) to the Prinzessin:

> Der gute Vater
> Besorgt, wenn ich Armeen kommandierte—
> Mein Singen könnte drunter leiden.

Occasionally a contrast is based on a situation in nature,[15] as in Marquis Posa's famous speech on freedom in nature (ll. 3217–3235). Two of the most important contrasts in the last two acts are in the reply of the Grossinquisitor to the König (ll. 5194–5208) and in Carlos's remarks (ll. 5294–5297) to the Königin. Taken as a whole, this drama on civic freedom of thought does not show a striking use of Schiller's favorite conceit. Posa-Schiller's overweening idealism left but little room for a discussion of life's realities.

From 1787 to the completion of *Wallensteins Lager* (October, 1798), Schiller studied history, philosophy, art, and poetry, and wrote some of his best-known poems. His mind was consequently mature when he began final work on his fifth drama. The *Lager* shows, however, no important development in the use of contrasts, aside from their increased frequency. We have the last line of the prologue, "Ernst ist das Leben, heiter ist die Kunst," the long list of antithetic puns in the speech of the Kapuziner, "Rheinstrom-Peinstrom," "Bistümer-Wüsttümer" (ll. 500–623), the Kürassier's observation on Heaven's inability to please everybody at the same time, one man wanting rain while the other wants sunshine (ll. 970–975), and the sharp contrasts in the soldiers' song at the end, in which the free and fascinating life of the "Wehrstand" is set over against the slavish, unattractive life of the "Nährstand." These are all that stand out, but there are many minor ones.[16] And it is indeed just these minor ones that first show conclusively that the conceit became with time, if it was not at first, almost a linguistic obsession with Schiller. That they cannot be classified is proof of their general attraction for him. They range from purely practical ones to others on states of mind.

In *Die Piccolomini* (December, 1798), Schiller made, as is well known, most consistent use of contrasts in scenes.[17] The public and the domestic, the loyal and the treacherous, the military and the civil, the ideal and the real follow each other with the uniformity of stripes in a plaid. One sees that Schiller is making broader use of contrasts; it is no longer a matter of mere rhetoric but of dramaturgy. Well-balanced sentences occur. Buttler says to Questenberg (ll. 251–256):

> Noch gar nicht war das Heer. Erschaffen erst
> Musst' es der Friedland, er e m p f i n g es nicht,
> Er g a b ' s dem Kaiser! Von dem Kaiser nicht
> Erhielten wir den Wallenstein zum Feldherrn.
> So ist es nicht, so nicht! Vom Wallenstein
> Erhielten wir den Kaiser erst zum Herrn.

Such sentences lead one to believe that Schiller now employs the scheme consciously. One new phase is introduced by reason of the astrological references. Thekla explains to Max the stars (ll. 1594–1618); melancholy Saturn, warlike Mars, joyful Venus, cheerful Jupiter, the Moon, the Sun, each plays a definite rôle. Indeed, all the stellar matter is an affair of contrasts. And as to general contrasts such as are found

[15] Cf. also ll. 2515–2518, where "glühend Gold" is sharply contrasted with "Wasser," which the König needed to quench his feverish thirst.

[16] In the 1106 lines there are over 100 contrasts.

[17] Cf. *The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller*, by Calvin Thomas, 1901, p. 349: "Schiller was a lover of contrast, and in his skillful use of it lies a large part of his effectiveness as a playwright. To a large extent his contrasts are made to order; that is, they proceed from the vision of the artist calculating an effect, rather than from the observation of life as it is."

in the earlier dramas, they are uncommonly numerous.[18]

In *Wallensteins Tod* (March, 1799), Schiller plays battledore and shuttlecock with contrasts. They occur on every page. Wallenstein's monologue (ll. 139–222) is a poetic dramatization of the "Doppelsinn des Lebens." The dialogue between Wallenstein and Wrangel (ll. 223–410) is an unending round of comments on things as they are in contrast with things as they were; on what is and what should be. The Gräfin says to Wallenstein (ll. 614–617):

> Was damals
> Gerecht war, weil du's für ihn thatst, ist's heute
> Auf einmal schändlich, weil es gegen ihn
> Gerichtet wird?

The Gefreiter says to Wallenstein (ll. 1941–1943):

> Du führtest uns heraus ins blut'ge Feld
> Des Todes, du, kein andrer, sollst uns fröhlich
> Heimführen in des Friedens schöne Fluren.

Wallenstein sounds the keynote of the drama in his remark to Max (ll. 2126–2127):

> Denn Krieg ist ewig zwischen List und Argwohn,
> Nur zwischen Glauben und Vertraun ist Friede.

In Max's heart, two voices are fighting for supremacy (l. 2280). Gordon assures Wallenstein of victory (ll. 3649–3651):

> Und Friedland, der bereuend wiederkehrt,
> Wird höher stehn in seines Kaisers Gnade,
> Als je der Niegefallne hat gestanden.

And finally Schiller rises to an even higher ironical, that is, implied, contrast in Wallenstein's last words (ll. 3677–3679):

> Ich denke einen langen Schlaf zu thun,
> Denn dieser letzten Tage Qual war gross,
> Sorgt, dass sie nicht zu zeitig mich erwecken.

It is, of course, not surprising to find in Schiller's greatest drama an intense conflict between two parties. This is merely good dramaturgy; but it is only the beginning of the matter. All sorts of conflicts surge to and fro with the regularity of the tide of the sea. "Liebe-Hass," "Treue-Verrat," "Wahrheit-Lüge," "Freundschaft-Feindschaft," "Sieg-Niederlage," "Hoffnung-Verzweiflung," "Zusammenkommen-Auseinandergehen," "Leben-Tod,"—these are the pairs that help to make the drama so effective. And it is their constant use that argues that the scheme was Schiller's own. Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg* is also effective, while it is much more poetic; and it is based on the immediate results of the same war. But one searches Kleist's drama in vain for rhetorical and linguistic contrasts.[19] And one reads Schiller's other dramas in vain for more persistent and effective use of contrasts.

And yet, one almost tires of marking lines in *Maria Stuart* (June, 1800) in which rhetorical contrasts occur.[20] Society occupied Schiller's attention in his first three dramas, cosmopolitanism in his fourth, fatalism in his fifth, the distinct personality of just one person, Maria Stuart, in his sixth. We find, therefore, the greater part of the contrasts centered

[18] In order to determine the exact number of contrasts in this drama from a disinterested point of view, the writer assigned to one of his students, Miss Lucy G. Cogan, the task of collecting them. Miss Cogan found 176 contrast constructions. A careful reading of the drama, however, by way of checking up the account forced the writer to reject about 50 of these on the ground that the contrast idea was not sufficiently pronounced to justify separate comment. Such lines (444–445), for example, as:

> Der seltne Mann will seltenes Vertrauen.
> Gebt ihm den Raum, das Ziel wird er sich setzen.

imply a contrast but do not of themselves contain it.

[19] We do, to be sure, find an approach to linguistic contrasts in the various speeches of the Prinz (ll. 354–364, 831–840, 1000–1003, 1829–1838), but they do not have Schiller's clarity, directness, and forcefulness.

[20] Even by adopting a rigid standard, there are about 110 instances of strong contrast in *Maria Stuart*. One cannot help but notice Schiller's scheme in lines 3840–3843. Leicester says:

> Stürzt dieses Dach nicht sein Gewicht auf mich!
> Thut sich kein Schlund auf, das elendste
> Der Wesen zu verschlingen!

In other words, if he is not crushed from above, he will be engulfed from below.

around this illustrious woman, who had done great wrong and to whom, from Schiller's point of view, even greater wrong had been done. This explains the frequent recurrence of such pairs as the following: "Gatte-Buhle," "üppiges Leben-Mangel," "Schmach-gekröntes Haupt," "Flattersinn-Schwermut," "dumpfe Predigtstuben-leuchtende Verklärung," "euer gutes Recht-euer ganzes Unrecht," "Personen-Amt," "ein englisches Gefängnis-die Wohlthat der Gesetze," "der königliche Gast-der Bettler," "sein-scheinen," "Brautgemach-Tode," "Ehen-Ketten," "Freund-Feind," "Ihr Leben ist dein Tod-Ihr Tod dein Leben," "ärmste Hirtin-grösster Fürst," "Gunst-Strafe," "Teppich der Wiesen-die traurige Gruft," "Königin-Gefangene," "Liebe-Rache," "handeln-schwatzen," "das Zeitliche-das Ewige," "schwarzer Block-blankgeschliffnes Beil," "das Wort-der Wille," "Sie trug auf ihren Armen mich ins Leben-sie leite mich mit sanfter Hand zum Tod," and so on. Now, it would be difficult to find another drama in which the two conflicting parties are so sharply set over against each other as in this drama with Elizabeth's Protestant England at war against France's Catholic Mary. While this does not mean that Schiller was obliged to use so many rhetorical contrasts, it is nevertheless his use of contrasts that makes us feel so keenly the division between the two parties. In Swinburne's *Mary Stuart,* for example, we do not find so many antithetical expressions. Swinburne impresses us poetically, Schiller rhetorically. Swinburne's English is elegant and pleasing; Schiller's German is logical and effective.

England and France are also the conflicting parties in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (April, 1801), but here the situation is totally different, owing to the long leap which Schiller took into the realm of romanticism. The heroine and the time treated, the variety of verse and strophe forms, the splendor and operatic pomp, the tendency to the heroic-epic, the supernatural in its various manifestations,—all of these are Schiller's tribute to the romantic trend of his time. When one reads the *Jungfrau,* one moves in the atmosphere of Tieck's *Genoveva* (1799), and such an atmosphere does not lend itself well to the use of sharp, direct contrasts. Nor do we find a large number of this type. The drama closes with the oft-quoted line,

> Kurz ist der Schmerz, und ewig ist die Freude,

Sorel describes Dunois (ll. 862–863) as a soldier who speaks crudely and sternly but acts civilly and gently, Burgund says (ll. 2028–2029) of Johanna,

> Wie schrecklich war die Jungfrau in der Schlacht,
> Und wie umstrahlt mit Anmut sie der Friede,

Johanna addresses (ll. 3466–3469) the Deity with

> Du kannst die Fäden eines Spinngewebs
> Stark machen wie die Taue eines Schiffes;
> Leicht ist es deiner Allmacht, ehr'ne Bande
> In dünnes Spinngewebe zu verwandeln.

And in other places we find such contrasts, where, as becomes evident on careful reading, they were not indispensable. That is, it was not a question of reporting on an actual situation; it was a question of heightening the effect by setting the very strong over against the very weak. Shakspeare's *Henry VI,* Part I, treats the same theme, but it is wholly without such linguistic contrasts. And in this drama Shakspeare is very inferior to Schiller from the standpoint of dramatic effectiveness.[21]

The most significant feature of the contrasts in this drama is their romanticism; they are more detailed, more poetic. And of this type there are many. Karl explains (ll. 476–485) to Du Chatel the beneficent influence of minstrels on an otherwise dull court in this way. The entire reconciliation scene (II, 9) with Burgund—a scene which resembles those in Goethe's *Iphigenie* in which Iphigenie heals

[21] Cf. Act IV, Scene 3. York says:

> He dies, we lose; I break my warlike word.
> We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get.

This is a mere matter of fact; Shakspeare was neither consciously nor unconsciously trying to heighten the dramatic effect by the use of contrasts. And the same is true of the other cases in which Shakspeare faintly resembles Schiller.

Orest, and in which strong contrasts are not used—is developed on the same plan. The Erzbischof's comparison between the letting loose of war by the powerful and the letting loose of the falcon by the hunter is all a matter of romantic contrasts. And no one can read Talbot's death scene (ll. 2318–2356) without feeling the effect of the contrasts that centre around such word-pairs as "Götter-Dummheit," "Vernunft-Aberwitz." "ernstes Lebengrobes Gaukelspiel," "Kriegsruhm-Staub," "lange Freundschaft-kurzer Abschied." In short, we find Schiller's most poetic contrasts thus far in this romantic tragedy; just as we find in the Maid [22] herself the greatest of contrasts as compared with the other characters. She was for Schiller the symbol of the poetic will.

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[22] Cf. ll. 3189–3192, in which Johanna says:

Du siehst nur das Natürliche der Dinge,
Denn deinen Blick umhüllt das ird'sche Band.
Ich habe das Unsterbliche mit Augen
Gesehen.

Throughout the entire drama, it is not only a matter of allowing art to portray faithfully the Maid's character; it is also a question of elevating the other characters through her influence.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON GATIEN DE COURTILZ, SIEUR DU VERGER

All readers of Dumas' *Trois Mousquetaires* know the name of at least one of Courtilz' novels, but little precise information concerning the author has been available. The biographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias, which uniformly follow Lelong and Niceron, are full of inaccuracies and errors. Some interest in Courtilz has been shown recently, and it may be worth while to collect all available data. The man took such pains to conceal his identity that contemporaries were not sure of his name and knew little of his life. What is here added to their accounts comes from Jal's *Dictionnaire critique*, Ravaisson's *Archives de la Bastille*, and from manuscripts preserved at Paris.[1]

The family of Courtilz seems to have been originally of Liège.[2] The first known of the name was Conrad Walgraphe de Courtilz, mentioned in documents coming from the archives of Liège. He was present at the marriage of his son, Gérard, in 1373. The first who came to France was Hermand de Courtilz, who emigrated about 1455, and married Jeanne de Canny, of a noble Picard family. By various advantageous marriages the Courtilz rapidly gained wealth, and several large branches can be traced. Gatien declares himself, in the contract of his second marriage [3] and in an inventory of his titles to nobility,[4] son of Jean de Courtilz, seigneur de Tourly, and of Marie de Sandras. The estate of Tourly [5] had come into the possession of the family toward the end of the fifteenth century by the marriage of one Jean de Courtilz with Isabeau de St. Pierre aux Champs. The mother of Gatien seems to have belonged to a family of Champagne.[6] Several signatures of Gatien have been preserved. He wrote "Gatien de Courtilz," to which he sometimes added "Seigneur de Sandras." Hence the name by which he has generally been known. Niceron says that the widow of Gatien (his third wife) could give no explanation of this title. It is likely that Marie de Sandras had brought some land in her dowry, and that her son, always eager for the insignia

[1] It is a pleasure to thank Professor C. H. Grandgent for kindly criticism of this article. A complete study of the life and writings of Courtilz is to appear shortly. A résumé, containing the relation of Courtilz to Lesage, has recently been published in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. IX, pp. 475–492.

[2] The documents on which the following conclusions are founded will be quoted at length in my forthcoming study.

[3] Cited by Jal.

[4] Preserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

[5] The little village of Tourly (Oise, cant. de Chaumont, arr. de Beauvais), possesses a church and a château of the fourteenth century.

[6] I have not found the name of Gatien or of his parents in the manuscript genealogies at the Bibl. Nat., but a careful study of all the evidence leads to the conclusion that he was descended from a younger son of the branch of the Courtilz who were lords of Tourly and other estates.

of nobility, assumed this title for lack of better. Why did he not call himself seigneur de Tourly? Among the documents regarding Gatien which are preserved in the Arsenal Library is an inventory of papers presented by him to prove his nobility. In them is mentioned an act dated the tenth of January, 1670, "par lequel Mre Gatien de Courtilz, chevalier, fils de Mre Jean de Courtilz, aussi cher, seigneur de Tourly, et de dame Marie de Sandras, renonce à la succession de son père, et s'en tient au douaire de la dame sa mère et au legs fait à son profit par dame Hélène de Billy, son aieule maternelle." [7]

Another item mentions a document "par lequel ledt Sr de Courtilz [i. e. Gatien], en qualité d'héritier de dame Marie de Sandras, sa mère, veuve de Mre Jean de Courtilz, chevalier, etc., vend à Guillaume Henné les héritages y mentionnés, moyennant 30 livres de rente." The document is lost and there is no identifying the *héritages*. In any case, Gatien had the title of *Seigr de Sandras* in 1684, as is shown by Jal. In the contract of his third marriage, also cited by Jal, he writes, *Seigr du Verger*. Documents at the Arsenal Library prove that he acquired this estate the 4th of June, 1689. The above-cited inventory seems to belong to a claim to exemption from taxes, as a noble, on this estate.[8] I have given the foregoing evidence in detail in order to justify my supposition as to the correct name of our writer.

The date and place of birth of Gatien are doubtful. Sallengre says he was a native of Champagne, apparently because his mother was a Champenoise. Lelong, correcting Sallengre, says he was born at Montargis,[9] and this statement, repeated by Niceron, appears in a number of biographical dictionaries. But Lelong, in his essay on Courtilz, and Niceron, correcting his earlier article, declare that he was born at Paris. Niceron adds "rue de l'Université." A register of marriage contracts of the parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois for the year 1640 proves that there was a family of Courtilz at Paris at this time. The date of the birth of Gatien is usually put at about 1644.

Nothing is known of the youth and education of Gatien. Lelong says he was a soldier [10] and captain in the regiment of Champagne. The contract of his second marriage states that he was "capitaine dans le régiment de Beaupré" in 1678. Ravaisson, without citing his authority, says he was "d'abord mousquetaire, ensuite cornette dans le régiment Royal-Etranger, puis lieutenant et capitaine dans le régiment de Beaupré Choiseul, où il fut cassé." [11]

[7] There is at least one error here. Hélène de Billy, according to the same inventory, was the mother of the father of Gatien, hence his paternal grandmother. She had married a Jean de Courtilz (see d'Hozier, *Armorial général*, II, 240). But, according to the manuscript genealogies, Jean had only two sons, *N. . . de Courtilz, seigneur de Tourly*, who died without contracting marriage, and *Jacques de Courtilz, seigneur de Tourly après son frère*, also deceased unmarried. The only remaining child, a daughter named Louise, married one Louis de Clère, baron de Beaumetz, Dec. 22, 1615. There is no mention of the Jean, seigneur de Tourly, whom Gatien claims as his father. It seems more likely that he was the grandson of a Charles, mentioned as the brother of Jean and brother-in-law of Hélène. The descendants of younger members of the family are not named. Then, after the death of the sons of Hélène, the estate of Tourly passed in total or partial title to Jean, son of the aforesaid Charles and father of Gatien. After the death of this Jean, the estate returned to the older branch, descendants of Louise de Courtilz and Louis de Clère. This hypothesis is supported by the following mention in the inventory: "Transaction entre Mre. Louis de Clère, chevalier, seigr de Tourly, et ledit Sr Gatien de Courtilz, pardevant notaires à Paris, en date du 3 mars 1672 pour raison dudit legs." Gatien may well have claimed descent from Hélène de Billy as being the greatest dame of the family.

[8] For the coat of arms of Gatien see J. B. Rielstap, *Armorial général*, Gouda, 1887, 2 vols. in 8vo.

[9] See the *Bibl. Hist.*, 1st ed., Paris, 1719, under No. 9745. This is changed in the revised edition. The earlier statement seems based on the fact that Le Verger is near Montargis.

[10] This is confirmed by a police report drawn up during his imprisonment: "Il a été officier dans les troupes, depuis établi en Hollande en qualité d'auteur, etc." Ravaisson cites part of this document, *op. cit.*, X, p. 7. The complete text is in the Bibl. Nat., *Coll. Clair.*, no. 283, fol. 353.

[11] I have not been able to get any further evidence as to his military career. The archives of the war office have no record of him, and his name is not in the *Gazette*, nor in the *Chron. Hist. Mil.* of Pinard.

From the few existing documents some evidence can be gleaned regarding the movements of Gatien from 1682 until his arrest. He was at Paris in 1682, and signed a paper by which his wife bound herself to pay his debts. These seem to have been numerous enough to justify Bayle's assertion that his first pamphlets were pot-boilers. Lelong says he moved to Holland in 1683 to have these books printed. They were contraband goods which finally landed their author in the Bastille. He was at Paris the 23rd of March, 1684, and signed the certificate of baptism of his son at St. Sulpice.[12] In Holland, says Lelong, he was known under the name of de Montfort,[13] and in fact, among the papers seized upon him at the time of his arrest is the record of transactions of a M. de Montfort with a M. Canto of Liège during the years 1688–89. Lelong adds that he thought proper to change his residence after the publication of the *Histoire de la guerre en Hollande* (1689), which had offended his hosts, and that he returned to Paris. From there we have a few letters[14] written to his wife, who was at Le Verger. In these letters he shows a warm affection for her, and a lively interest in the affairs of his provincial neighbors. In one he expresses his regret at the death of the village *curé,* and declares that he shall not feel at home with a new one. In another, much worried about his wife's health, he writes naïvely enough: "Mande-moi si tu es grosse absolument." It is good to recall such incidents, which throw a more sympathetic light on this licentious pamphleteer, who delights in describing with no little vivacity the amorous intrigues of the great.

There is good evidence that Gatien kept an interest in the army and that he recruited soldiers for his military friends. Among the Arsenal Library documents is a letter signed "de Courtilz Sandras" with a certificate of the death of one recruit and asking for five or six new ones.

More interesting is the proof that Gatien was active in aiding his associates, venders of contraband books, etc., to escape the consequences of their misdeeds. One of these fellows, Godard de Reims, was the cause of his imprisonment.[15]

On the 20th of April, 1693, he was incarcerated in the Bastille as a "faiseur de libelles dangereux, remplis d'injures atroces contre la France, le gouvernement et les ministres." And the report adds: "Doit être bien gardé." However, his wife secured permission to visit him frequently and in June, 1696, he obtained "la liberté de la cour." So, although Besmaus was charged to take care that the prisoner should not write or receive any papers other than family documents brought by his wife, and though his meeting with her was under the supervision of an officer, there is no reason to cancel from the list of his works a book which appeared during his imprisonment. He profited by this experience when describing the sufferings of some of his heroes in the Bastille, notably in the *Mémoires de M. de la Fontaine*

M. Funck-Brentano (*Cat. des Mss. de la Bibl. de l'Ars.*, T. IX, pp. 81–82), repeats the notice of Ravaisson, and adds that Courtilz was cashiered after the peace of Nimègue. There are in the works of Courtilz scattered references which may be cited for what they are worth. *L'Histoire de la guerre en Hollande* claims to be the work of an eye-witness who had fought through the whole war. In the *Mercure historique et politique* (T. V, p. 789), the writer claims to have been present at the death of Turenne, which is vividly described in the *Histoire* (Livre IV, p. 297). A "Sr de Courtilz, Lieutenant Colonel de Cavalerie, François de nation" in the service of Denmark, is mentioned in the *Mercure* (T. IV, p. 442). Again in the *Histoire* (Vol. I, pp. 335–336) a "Courtils (sic), capitaine de cavalerie," is named as in command of the rear-guard of the French army at *le Col de Bagnols* in Spain. The preface of *l'Histoire des promesses illusoires* states that the work is written by a Frenchman, who had been for some time in Cologne, vainly seeking advancement in the army which "S. A. Electorale veut mettre sur pied pour la défense de l'Empire." This work was published in 1684.

[12] Cited by Jal.

[13] Sallengre calls him *Montfort de Courtilz,* and police records, cited by Ravaisson, call him *Montfort de Courtils* (sic).

[14] Preserved at the Bibl. de l'Arsenal.

[15] Ravaisson, *op. cit.*, X, p. 7, quotes a part of this document. Thus printed it has been misinterpreted. It is a police report on certain prisoners then at the Bastille (dated 13 octobre 1697). See *Coll. Clair.*, n. 283, fol. 353, at the Bibl. Nat.

(1698), whose history seems to have been based on that of a fellow-prisoner.[16] One cannot help wondering whether the first idea of the *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan* (the famous captain was a fellow-countryman and comrade of Besmaus in their early days) did not come from this contact with the superintendent of the Bastille, or from stories told about him by other prisoners. Gatien seems to have kept a grudge against Besmaus.

The *Archives* at Paris possess an anonymous letter[17] addressed to d'Argenson. It is dated the 18th of January, 1699. The chief of police is directed to see Courtils (*sic*) and learn from him whether, if released, he has means to earn an honest living. The prisoner apparently gave satisfaction, for, six weeks later, on the 2nd of March, 1699, he was released. He received the order, however, to quit Paris and "de n'en approcher de sa vie de vingt lieues aux environs."

Deprived of Paris, Gatien was discontented, and three months later he obtained permission to return for three months to receive medical treatment. He managed to remain a longer time—the documents cited by Ravaisson indicate some connivance on the part of the police—and he soon drew upon himself the suspicion of the authorities. Police records, cited by Ravaisson, give an interesting picture of this period of his life. He seems to have plied his trade right under the nose of the officials. "Il a le secret de les [ses ouvrages imprimés en Hollande] faire entrer dans Paris comme il veut par des correspondances secrètes. Il en fait des débits extraordinaires; il les vend en blanc; il a un relieur attitré pour les relier," etc.

However, on the 12th of September, 1701, an anonymous letter from Rotterdam addressed to d'Argenson denounced the just published *Annales de la Cour et de Paris*,[18] and on the 28th of December Pontchartrain wrote from Versailles to d'Argenson: "Il ne faut pas différer d'arrêter du Rollet et Courtils (*sic*), s'ils se trouvent coupables, et les mettre à la B." [19]

No other documents have been discovered in regard to the second imprisonment, and nothing is known beyond Lelong's statement that he was imprisoned in 1702, and passed nine years in the Bastille. During the first three, adds Lelong, he was gaoled in a small cell.[20]

Gatien de Courtilz married three times, if we may trust Jal. Nothing is known of his first wife. His second was Louise Pannetier, whom he married the 14th of March, 1678. Her father, according to Jal, was "Maistre Jacques Pannetier, secrétaire de Me Ladvocat, maistre des requestes." He had stipulated that she should be "séparée de biens d'avec lui." I have referred to the document of 1682 [21] by which she bound herself to pay her husband's debts; the few letters preserved of Gatien's are addressed to her, and she is mentioned in the above-cited police reports. The date of her death is unknown. Immediately after his second exit from the Bastille, if we accept Lelong's dates, Gatien married, on the 4th of February, 1711, Marguerite Maurice, widow of the bookseller Amable Auroy.

He died the 8th of May, 1712, "rue du Hurepois," and was buried in the cemetery of St. André des Arcs the following day.[22]

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[16] The reasons for this statement will be fully set forth in my complete study.

[17] Archives, cote O¹ 43, fol. 29.

[18] This letter, cited as anonymous by Ravaisson, was written by Bayle. See Hermann Runge, *Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras und die Anfänge des Mercure Historique et Politique*, Halle, 1887, pp. 20–21.

[19] Cited by Ravaisson, X, p. 407.

[20] Ravaisson observes in a note: "Beuchot insinua dans la *Biographie universelle*, que cet ouvrage (*Les Annales*) avait fait mettre de Courtils (*sic*) à la Bastille. On voit que les *Annales* ont paru longtemps après la sortie du prisonnier." But it should be noticed that Beuchot is only repeating Lelong. Both refer to the second imprisonment, for they were ignorant of the first. Beuchot says, with Lelong and Niceron, that Gatien returned to Holland in 1694.

[21] See Dossiers Bleus, no. 218, fol. 395, at the Bibl. Nat.

[22] Marriage contracts and date of death are taken from Jal.

SPEKE, PARROT. AN INTERPRETATION OF SKELTON'S SATIRE

Certain poems, though familiar to the students of English, are yet nearly devoid of meaning. Chief in this unenviable class must be placed Skelton's *Speke, Parrot.* The "incomparable" Dyce calls it a "very obscure production." Of recent commentators Brie scarcely touches it; and Koelbing characterizes it as [1] "preserved in a greatly mutilated condition, it is the most incoherent of all his poems, and, in parts, absolutely unintelligible" —an opinion after a previous careful analysis.[2] For this criticism there are three excellent reasons. The earliest edition we have dates from the mid-century, and the composition is undated. Therefore we have no external guide to the time of the allusions. The sole indication is that in the list of works given in the *Garland of Laurel* (printed 1523) is mentioned

> Item the Popingay, that hath in commendacyoun
> Ladyes and gentylwomen suche as deseruyd,
> And suche as be counterfettis they be reseruyd.

And the poem *Speke, Parrot,* whatever may be the interpretation, has nothing to do with ladies and gentlewomen! Consequently it may have been written at any time between 1490 and 1529, when he died. It is unnecessary to remark how much this complicates the problem. Political satire is forceful as an acute criticism of events already known to the reader. And without dating how can we know the events? Imagine the fog that would inclose *Absolom and Achitophel,* if we knew only that it had been written between 1660 and 1700 and might apply to any circumstance in the reigns of Charles II, James II, or William and Mary. A certain measure of possible obscurity is, therefore, inherent in the type.

For the other reason, however, the poetic conceptions of the age are responsible. The avowed aim of the poet was to write so that there were two quite distinct meanings, the obvious and the hidden allegorical meaning. Thus Hawes [3] commends the ancient poets because

> They were so wyse and so inventife
> Theyr obscure reason, fayre and sugratife,
> Pronounced trouthe under cloudy figures,
> By the inventyon of theyr fatall scriptures.

And Skelton in the *Bowge of Courte* feels doubtful as to his ability to use sufficiently "couerte termes." In this type of work the pleasure of reading a poem was doubled with that arising from guessing a riddle. Obscurity was prized for its own sake. Wilson (1560) summarizes the condition as follows: "The misticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothing but quaint Proverbs, and blinde allegories, delighting much in their owne Darkenesse, especially, when none can tell what they doe say." In the particular poem in question Skelton may also have not desired to be too plain for political reasons. In any case he amuses himself, if not the reader, by putting all possible hurdles before his meaning. The poem purports to be a dialogue between a parrot and its mistress. But as a parrot is not logical, this device enables him to bring in any amount of casual gibberish, to break the connection whenever he chooses, to employ tags of Latin, or any language, to change allusions, etc. And when the abused reader objects, Skelton grins the reply that it is only parroting.

The third and last reason is that apparently it was composed at different dates. Consequently the poem *Speke, Parrot* is not one poem, but several. These are indicated by definite breaks, sometimes even by apparent dating. Thus after the *Lenuoy primere* comes "Penultimo die Octobris, 33°"; after the *Secunde Lenuoy,* "In diebus Novembris, 34," etc. The apparent conclusion is that between the first and second Envoy a year has elapsed. The result is inevitable confusion.

On the other hand, the poem has a definite

[1] Arthur Koelbing, *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.,* iii, 85.

[2] *Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's,* 123-127.

[3] Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure,* Percy Society, Chap. VIII.

hidden meaning. We are told (l. 207) that metaphor and allegory are the protection of the Parrot; that while ignorant fools may not see the meaning (ll. 298–9),

> For whoo lokythe wyselye in your warkys may fynde
> Muche frutefull mater . . .

that (l. 319) those who cannot see it, have small intelligence; and that (ll. 363–5)

> For trowthe in parabyll ye wantonlye pronounce,
> Langagys diuers, yet undyr that dothe reste
> Maters more precious then the ryche jacounce. .

This continued iteration upon the hidden meaning implies not only that many at the time found it difficult, but also that there is a definite meaning to be found.

It seems to the present writer that the assumption that the text is greatly mutilated is unnecessary. At least a possible interpretation may be given for the mass of the poem. The first question is that of the date. This is, I think, indicated by the figures given after the months. Dyce's note to l. 280 reads: "With respect to the dates . . . if '33' and '34' stand for 1533 and 1534 (when both Skelton and the Cardinal were dead), they must have been added by the transcriber; and yet in the volume from which these portions of *Speke, Parrot* are now printed (MS. Harl. 2252) we find, only a few pages before, the name of 'John Colyn mercer of London,' with the date '1517.'" The explanation of these figures is both obvious and unusual. Skelton, who was a Lancastrian and had been connected with the court of Henry VII, during his tutorship to the young Prince Henry must have dated his formal papers from the accession of that king. For sentimental reasons, or from a desire to be half intelligible, he continued to do so during the new reign of Henry VIII. This is of course without precedent and was probably a guide only for himself. As Henry VII began his reign on Bosworth Field, Aug. 22nd, 1485, "October 33°" and "November, 34" are translated into October, 1517, and November, 1518. If this be true, the various portions of *Speke, Parrot* form a running commentary upon the events of those two years.

To explain the situation it is necessary to go back a few years. From the Middle Ages Tudor England had inherited two different systems of courts: (a) the Convocation of the bishops and the ecclesiastical courts which claimed jurisdiction over all members of the clergy, and (b) Parliament and the state courts which claimed jurisdiction over the rest of the nation. That there should be conflict between these two systems to the modern mind seems almost inevitable, particularly as the ecclesiastical courts claimed the "benefit of the clergy" and the right of "sanctuary." That there was such conflict is shown by the fact that in 1513 Parliament decreed that the right of sanctuary should be denied to murderers and robbers. In 1515, Robert Kederminster, Abbot of Winchcombe, preached at St. Paul's Cross a sermon in which he denounced this act. As three members of the clergy had been accused of murder by a jury of London citizens, this sermon was regarded as a gauntlet of defiance thrown down by the Church. Henry Standish of the Grey Friars replied, asserting the superior right of the King's prerogative. The Convocation supported Kederminster and the Parliament Standish. Whereupon the King, upon the advice of Dr. Voysey, his chaplain, heard the case, and naturally decided in favor of the State. "I will never consent to your desire, any more than my progenitors have done."[4] Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, apparently felt strongly that the right of the Church had been impinged upon. Standish and Voysey were regarded as having betrayed the Church by the church party, and equally by their opponents as having defended the rights of the people. The result was that the clergy were disliked in London. Wolsey's attitude was apparently trimming; he argued for the Church at the same time protesting his attachment to the Crown. Then, toward the end of the same year, both Warham and Fox withdrew from active participation in the government, the one resigning the great seal and the other the privy seal, and Wolsey and Ruthal,

[4] Keilwey's report of the argument, quoted by Gairdner, *Church Hist.*, p. 47.

Bishop of Durham, took the places made vacant by them. By the City Standish was regarded as a hero. Consequently he was urged to defend them also from the foreigners who, they believed, were absorbing English business. John Lincoln, a broker, appealed to him. Upon his wise refusal, however, a Dr. Beale preached an incendiary sermon on the general thought of England for Englishmen. On this followed, 1517, the celebrated riot called "Evil May Day." The City rose in rebellion, which was put down by calling in the troops. Lincoln himself was hanged, with some others, but the majority were pardoned. Such is a very brief outline of events presupposed to be known to the reader.

The poem purports to be the rambling ejaculations of a parrot, with occasional reminders that more is intended than is obvious, and that the explanation is to be found in the use of metaphor and allegory (ll. 208–9). The parrot was created by God (l. 217), and is incorruptible (l. 218); it then represents the Church. As such it has the Pentecostal gift of tongues. But Skelton identifies the Church with his own particular party. The parrot consequently favors neither the new element of Wolsey nor the popular variety of Standish. It is the old conservative Church of Warham and Fox—a fact that would partly explain Barclay's possible enmity. That Church has fallen upon evil days. The suggestion for this curious personification may be due to the fact that a "popinjay" was affixed to a pole as a target for archery practice. And the present parrot has been instructed by Melpomene (l. 213). As by the latest possible date given for his birth Skelton, in 1517, must have been past middle age, the Parrot is conservative. It preaches discretion (l. 53) and cites biblical examples of patience under trials, Abraham, Job, etc. It is loyal to "King Henry the VIII, our royal king" (l. 36) and to "Kateryne incomparable" (l. 38). So with the gibbet of Baldock made for Jack Leg (John Lincoln?) (l. 75) in mind, of all things beware of riot (l. 103). In that Parrot is on the side of the King (l. 112) and "hath no favor to Esebon" (London) (l. 113). For the leaders of Israel (Warham and Fox) have abandoned it, and Seon, the regent Amorraeorum (Standish of the Grey Friars) and Og (Voysey or Beale) have taken possession (ll. 115–126). Now the right of sanctuary "standyth in lyttyll sted" (ll. 127–8). The real traitor is not the preacher (Beale or Standish) but he that advised the King (Voysey) (ll. 132–135). This ends the first part.

The second section takes up the discussion of Greek. Here again Skelton is conservative. He does not object to Greek (l. 146),

> For aurea lingua Graeca ought to be magnyfyed,

but to the fact that it is not practical (ll. 150–153). Yet with this limited knowledge they

> scrape out good scrypture, and set in a gall,
> Ye go about to amende, and ye mar all. (ll. 158–9.)

This seems like a reference to Erasmus's *New Testament.* The result of it all is that the clergy neglect their Latin that is necessary and fail to acquire Greek that at best is merely an adornment.

The third section consists of a curious love lyric. Galathea, a lady who appears for the first time, invites the parrot to tell the moan Pamphylus made for his mate. The allusion is to a medieval poem *De arte amandi.* The meaning apparently is that the clergy should return to Latin, that spurious Greek is worthless, and that amen with a *d* should be the order of the day.

The fourth section (ll. 280–300), *Lenuoy primere,* ends with the phrase "Penultimo die Octobris, 33°." If the present theory be correct, it is dated definitely October 30th, 1517. The book called the "Popagay" is told to persuade Jerebesethe "home to resorte" because Tytus is now at Dover, the *tonsan de Jason* is in the shrouds of the vessels, and Lyacon of Lybyk and Lydy has his prey. This obviously has no apparent connection with what has preceded. It must deal with some foreign policy. The sequence of thought,—if such a term may be used in treating a poem whose chief characteristic is lack of consecutiveness—seems to be that not only are the troubles of the Church due to diffusion of energy and a

questioning spirit on account of the study of Greek, but also to the new heads of the Church, Wolsey with the great seal and Ruthal with the privy seal are too much concerned with other than churchly affairs. In this connection two facts should be remembered. First, that as shown by the notes appended to the poems against Garnessche during these years Skelton was in relations with the Court.[5] Secondly that Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who in 1524 became Duke of Norfolk, was the strenuous opponent of Wolsey's policy.[6] He was a patron of Skelton, at his house, Sheriff-Hutton, the *Garland of Laurel* was written, and his son, the poet Surrey, was Skelton's pupil. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Skelton unsympathetic with the foreign policy of Wolsey. The key to the interpretation of the passage is given by the line,

For Tytus at Dover abydythe in the rode.

The passage will be clearer if certain historical facts are borne in mind. Almost the sole result of Henry's invasion of France in 1513 had been the capture of Tournay. But the perfidy of Maxmilian in the Treaty of Noyon caused a *rapprochement* between France and England. Rumors of an agreement between the two powers were imminent. "At Henry's wish the French commissioners crossed over to England in October,"[7] and by November 11th they had reached London. They came to purchase Tournay for 400,000 crowns. The *tonsan de Jason* is explained. Lyacon is of course Lycaon, as Dyce suggests. Lycaon, in the *Third Metamorphosis* of Ovid, by his impiety toward Juppiter, is the immediate cause of the deluge. That this was in Skelton's mind is shown by the fact that the last line of each of the last ten stanzas of the poem begins with the phrase "Syns Dewcalyon's flode." The contrast between Juppiter, Henry VIII, and the overproud subject, Wolsey, is given in ll. 399–404:

Jupiter ut nitido deus est veneratus Olympo;
    Hic coliturque deus.
Sunt data thura Jovi, rutilo solio residenti;
    Cum Jovi thura capit.
Jupiter astrorum rector dominusque polorum;
    Anglica sceptra regit.

Nor does he omit the pun on λυκάων, wolf; (l. 428)

Hys woluys hede, wanne, bloo as lede, gapythe ouer
    the crowne.

The phrase "of Lybia and Lydia" (Jeremiah 46, 9) suggests that Wolsey has not yet despoiled the Egyptians. Jereboseth probably refers to Wingfield then holding Calais. He was appointed commissioner to sit at Calais to adjudicate the disputes between the English and the French merchants,[8]

For replicacion restles that he of late ther made
(l. 284)

all of which was now rendered unnecessary. The lines, 282–3,

For the cliffes of Scaloppe they rore wellaway,
    And the sandes of Cefas begyn to waste and fade

allude first to the passage of the Channel. The names are taken from the Greek σκάλοψ, a mole, and κηφήν, a drone-bee, perhaps with a side hit at the policy of Wolsey and of Francis.

The fifth section, *Secunde Lenuoy*, according to this reckoning is dated "In diebus Novembris, 1518." The parrot is to be sent over the salt foam to urge "ower soleyne seigneour Sadoke," to come home. Though he has not the great seal, as president and regent he rules everything. Dyce's note on this passage reads: "In applying the name of Sadoke to Wolsey, Skelton alludes to the high-priest of Scripture, not to the knight of the Round Table." This is followed by Koelbing:[9] "Im zweiten (en-

[5] Brie, "Skelton-Studien," *Englische Studien*, XXXVII, 59.

[6] *Dictionary of National Biography*, article by the late Mandel Creighton, Bishop of London.

[7] Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, i, 189.

[8] I. S. Leadam, *Dictionary of National Biography*, article *Wingfield*.

[9] Arthur Koelbing, *Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's*, p. 125.

voy) wird der Kardinal als *soleyne seigneour Sadoke* (l. 304) verspottet, der Dinge unternehme, die eben unausführbar seien." The first obvious objection to this attribution is in the lines 309–10,

> With porpose and graundepose he may fede hym fatte,
> Thowghe he pampyr not hys paunche with the grete seall.

This can scarcely refer to Wolsey as he had the great seal! Actually it is again a question of the French alliance. Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, had been largely instrumental in negotiating it,[10] and in November, 1518, had the reward. He headed the elaborate embassy sent to the French court. The name, taken from the Tenth Book of the *Morte D'Arthur*, is applied because just as Sadoke was a friend to the young Alisander, so Somerset was enough older than Henry to guide him. It is he, presumably, that is the *Sydrake* of the sixth section, in which it is prophesied that he will lose all his effort. Sidrach is the guide, philosopher and friend to the King Bochus in the medieval romance. This section is dated the fifteenth of December, actually only three days later than the formal reception of the embassy at the French court.

The seventh and eighth sections are both very short, with much abused Latin, and are both a rather vague attack upon Wolsey. This brings us to the last section where the attack is clearly upon the conditions of the times and upon Wolsey as author of those conditions. As these accusations are much the same as those repeated later in *Why Come Ye Not to Court* they need here no comment or illustration.[11] Only one line presents any real difficulty, line 425,

> Of Pope Julius cardys he ys chefe dardynall.

The explanation adopted by Koelbing is that the reference is to Clement VII whose first name before the pontificate was Giulio. Aside from any question of date it seems improbable that an Englishman would mention the Pope in so unnecessarily familiar a manner, or be understood if he did. On the other hand, Julius II, *il Papa Terribile,* had left such a reputation for intrigue, that here his name is used for condemnation. If this interpretation be correct, there is no reason for dating the poem later than 1518.

It is quite obvious that this article cannot aim to be an annotated edition of *Speke, Parrot.* Many of the locutions are vague and many of the references unexplained. Some of them probably never can be, since so detailed a history of the two years as is required has not come down to us. Nor can we be certain that we have guessed the motive for the choice of the names. For example, the only reason for his calling the French commissioners "Tytus" that I know is that Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines, was the neighbor to Rome. And that seems very far-fetched! Partly, also, this obscurity was due to the deliberate intention of the poet. As yet, and while still connected with the Court, he did not dare to be more plain. Also, I think, he took a certain amount of amusement in veiling his meaning. That the present interpretation in general is correct is shown by the fact that it applies in so many particulars. The previous difficulty in arriving at a solution was due to the tendency to read Wolsey into all the varying passages. And in some places, such as those dealing with Somerset, where the attack applies equally to any leader of any group, it was very plausible. The difficulty is that it explained only in spots. The interest of the present solution is that it shows Skelton, not as a reformer, and not as a radical, but a *laudator temporis acti.* And this is the Skelton chosen to educate a prince of the blood royal and the heir of the house of Howard. Perhaps from this point of view so detailed an analysis as this may not be lacking in interest.

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[10] Brewer, *op. cit.*, 189.

[11] "The Dating of Skelton's Satires," *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Association of America,* XXIX, 499 f.

Le Roman de Renard, par LUCIEN FOULET. Paris, Champion, 1914. 574 pp. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, fascicule* 211.)

I

In a remarkable review [1] of Léopold Sudre's *Sources du roman de Renart*, written over twenty years ago, Gaston Paris said: "Il [M. Sudre] a écrit tout son livre sous l'inspiration d'une idée constamment suivie. . . . Cette idée . . . c'est que les récits du Roman de Renard ont pour base principale des 'contes d'animaux' empruntés au folk-lore et arrivés aux poètes français par transmission orale, et non des fables proprement dites gréco-orientales, bien que celles-ci y aient aussi leur part." [2] And as was so often the case with the great scholar, while recognizing the essential truth, as it seemed to him, of the thesis so ably maintained, he also saw its limitations. More than one of these he himself undertook to correct. For instance, he realized clearly that Branch I—the *Plaid de Renard*—was too obviously a satire of mediaeval society to be hastily judged a reflection of the folk-mind, above all it was too artistically composed, and he gently remonstrated with M. Sudre by saying: [3] "le poète . . . a, cette fois, véritablement 'trouvé' et son œuvre a mérité, comme le dit M. Martin, de 'passer dans le fonds commun des poésies classiques.'" It would be interesting to know what Paris would have thought of this new study of the animal epic. For, it may be said at once, the result of M. Foulet's work is to see white where M. Sudre saw black and to give us a *Renard* which, instead of being an agglomerate of folk-tales, composed by no one in particular and having as even G. Paris thought "no sources in the real sense of the word," is in the main the product of one or two men of genius drawing freely on Latin mediaeval literature, and possibly on Marie de France and some of her contemporaries. In short, to quote Foulet himself: [4] "influence littéraire, art conscient d'un but et d'une méthode, voilà ce qui sans cesse nous a apparu. Partout où on a tenté de rendre raison de l'œuvre de nos trouvères par un obscur travail préliminaire, dont ils n'auraient fait qu'enregistrer docilement les résultats, il nous a semblé qu'on avait fait fausse route." Extreme as this view seems at first blush, it is in line with the results arrived at latterly in the domain of the national epic and of lyric song. One needs but to recall the epoch-making studies of Bédier in his *Légendes épiques*. Foulet's study is dedicated to Bédier, and the premise upon which it rests is also Bédier's; namely, that the poems of the twelfth century must be considered primarily as the products of the twelfth century, and not with the *a priori* assumption that they are the last links in a chain, the first links of which have thus far passed unnoticed. As in all such reactions from an established point of view, there will doubtless be much in Foulet's work which further study will modify and correct, but his main thesis seems none the less sound and secure. The proofs of this abound in his extremely well-ordered and well-written treatise. Since Bédier's *Légendes épiques* there has not been a more important contribution to the history of Old French literature.

The book has twenty-one chapters and a "conclusion." The first chapter, entitled *théories actuelles*, deals with the present status of the problem. The beast-epic of Reynard the Fox survives in three well-known poetic forms: the Old French *Renart* (Foulet follows G. Paris in using *Renard*), the earliest branches of which probably go back to 1175, the *Ysengrimus* of maître Nivard of Ghent, a Latin poem of about 1152, and the M. H. G. work by Heinrich der Glichezâre of 1180, known as *Reinhart Fuchs*. Under the influence of Jacob Grimm, whose theory it was that the animal tale originates and survives among the folk at almost any epoch, scholars have been loath to attribute to these written documents any first-

[1] *Journal des Savants*, 1895. I quote from the *extraits*, Paris, 1895, 72 pp.

[2] P. 3.

[3] P. 6.

[4] P. 536.

hand value. And yet the prologue to Branch II of the *Renard* says [5] distinctly:

> Seigneurs, oï avez maint conte
> . . . .
> Mais onques n'oïstes la guerre,
> Qui tant fu dure de grant fin,
> Entre Renart et Ysengrin.

which is curious, to say the least, if a folk-tale to this effect was widely current in the twelfth century, but which is intelligible if we assume that the poet composed his work on the basis of written sources not accessible to the crowd. Even G. Paris, who was most prone to admit originality where it could be found, resolutely clung to the view of Sudre that the *Renard* is to be explained in the main as a product of the folk-mind, and that the extant written documents did not interact on one another but are themselves survivals of early folkloristic forms. Thus it is not strange to find Voretzsch in 1895 reject the strictures on Sudre's work made by Paris, and return almost *in toto* to the folk theory of Grimm. Witness what he says in the second edition of the *Einführung* [6] under the date of 1913: "Der um 1150–51 . . . verfasste lat. *Ysengrimus* vereinigt geistlich-gelehrte dichtung mit echt volksthümlicher tradition: aus dieser stammt der grösste theil der stoffe wie die hier zum erstenmal begegnende individualisierung der tiere durch namen. . . . Nicht viel jünger als dieses werden die ältesten französischen fuchsdichtungen gewesen sein, die augenscheinlich vom Ysengrimus unabhängig waren, aber nur in jüngeren bearbeitungen fortleben." In other words, to quote Foulet: [7] "Nous pourrions supprimer par la pensée tout ce qui, entre 1150 et 1250, a été écrit en dehors du *Roman de Renart* que nous n'obligerions pas MM. Sudre et Voretzsch à changer un iota à leurs théories." This, then, gives Foulet his point of departure: to investigate the actual extant branches of the *Renard,* their possible relation to the other written documents, notably Nivard's *Ysengrimus* and the clerical fable literature of the Middle Ages, and finally the authorship of the branches.

The second chapter takes up the archetype of the MSS. in which the branches occur. There are over twenty such MSS., which are far from agreeing in either the number or the order of the branches represented. Martin, who edited [8] the entire poem—or poems—of 30,000 lines, on the whole followed MS. 20043 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but attempted no rigorous classification. This has since been done by Büttner, a pupil of Martin's. Büttner [9] saw that they fall into two general groups: A and B respectively. In A, branch I is separated from branch Va by III (VI), IV and V; whereas in B the last two verses of II are omitted, and Va follows at once after II. It is obvious, however, from a glance at the text, that, although B represents the more logical sequence, which is thus important for the chronology of the various tales, the order of A is closer to the archetype. This, as Foulet shows, comprised 16 branches out of a total of 27, and is at best a heterogeneous collection made by someone who was anxious to give the beast epic cyclic form, much as in a part of the Grail-Lancelot cycle [10]—to quote an analogy Foulet does not mention—the various "branches" originated in response to a similar attempt, and as in the national epic the various *gestes* or families came into being. In any case, the archetype cannot be considered as the original MS. of any one tale, and the road is thus open to consider the respective branches in their logical relationship. It is to be hoped that some day Foulet will re-edit the *Renard* according to the latter principle.

The most important of the various tales is undoubtedly branch II. Here the enmity between the fox and the wolf is explained, and this is the main issue of the beast epic. But is branch II necessarily the earliest? And if so, is it an original version or a reworking (*un*

[5] Ed. Martin, p. 91.

[6] P. 402.

[7] P. 17.

[8] Strasbourg-Paris, 1882.

[9] *Die Ueberlieferung des Roman de Renard,* etc., Strassburg, 1891.

[10] The *Perlesvaus.*

remaniement)? To these two questions Foulet devotes the next three chapters.

Sixteen branches [11] are obviously earlier than the rest—on this all scholars are agreed. Of the sixteen, only two do not refer to preceding branches. These are branches II and III. These two again differ in that branch III starts *in medias res,* whereas II, which like III is one of the longest branches, is preceded by a prologue of some 1396 vv. Here the author (or *remanieur*) cites such works as the *Roman de Troie,* the lost *Tristan* by La Chèvre, and refers in general to the chansons de geste and fabliaux; then follow the above-quoted verses on the newness of his theme.[12] It is evident thus that his poem was written subsequently to the works mentioned, or approximately in 1175–1177, if, as Foulet argues, La Chèvre's *Tristan* was composed a short time after that of Thomas.[13] But what may be the *terminus ad quem* of the entire group of sixteen branches? To this question branch XVII alone can give us the answer, for XVII is possible only after the preceding fifteen branches. It consists of the so-called *processio* or would-be burial of Renard. That is, Renard feigning death is carried forth in funeral procession by the entire court of Noble, the lion. Before the conclusion of the ceremony, however, the fox is in full flight to the amazement and terror of the whole company. The branch was popular, as is attested by the number of its MSS. and by the references to its theme in mediaeval literature and art. Fortunately, a passage from Odo of Sheriton [14] enables Foulet to clench the matter. In one of his sermons (ab. 1219) Odo remarks: *Cum dives moritur, tunc processio bestiarum, que* [sic] *in parietibus depingitur figuraliter, adimpletur.* If Odo, writing in 1219, could refer to the scene of the *processio* as "painted on the walls" of some château, it is obvious that the poem in which this event was first narrated was composed before that date. Hence the *Roman de Renard,* at least the sixteen branches in question, was written between 1175 and 1219, provided always that the *processio* was not known (as of course the folklorists would affirm it was) from some earlier French source.[15]

The idea that the *Renard* cannot be an original is largely an inheritance of the Romantic past. To the Grimms, of course, most mediaeval literature is the detritus of earlier, more perfect works that have not survived. In the case of the *Renard,* the erroneous notion has obtained that the date of the MSS. is approximately the date of the cycle—an idea first expressed by Legrand d'Aussy in the year VII of the First Republic, and still current to-day; as though we should argue that Crestien de Troyes is an author of the thirteenth century because the MSS. of his works are all later than 1200. But there are two pieces of external evidence which have been adduced as definite proof of a pre-existing lost version, written, according to Paris, or oral, according to Voretzsch.

These are: (a) a passage from Guibert de Nogent stating that in 1112 the bishop of Laon, a certain Galdricus, on the point of being murdered called his assassin 'Ysengrimus'; and (b) the fact that the fabliau *Richeut,* dated about 1159,[16] bears the name which in a certain part of our cycle is given to Renard's wife. As regards (b), Foulet shows readily that the date of the *Richeut* may just as well be 1188; that is, after the appearance of branch II, and that since the name Richeut occurs only in MS. B of our cycle, and then in one of the late branches, namely XXIV, no inference can be drawn from it as to the other branches. As for (a), upon close examination the rather involved passage in Nogent resolves itself into

[11] See p. 31, note, branch xvii is the last in the group.

[12] Cf. Martin, *l. c.*

[13] See pp. 40 ff., 219 ff.

[14] Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins,* IV, 319; cf. Foulet, p. 103.

[15] On the chronology of the other branches of the group, see Ch. VI.

[16] See Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der franz. Litteratur,*[2] 1913, p. 197. The date depends on the statement: *Tolose Que li rois Henris tant golose.* Foulet (pp. 92 ff.) shows that this was still true in 1188. Lecompte, ed. *Richeut* in the *Romanic Review* IV, 262, gives the earlier date, though he observes, in agreement with Ebeling, that Richeut as the name of the Fox's wife is peculiar to branch XXIV.

the remark: "Solebat autem episcopus eum (the assassin) Isengrinum irridendo vocare, propter lupinam scilicet speciem: *sic enim aliqui solent appelare lupos.*" And interesting as this reference is, it would hardly justify us in assuming with Paris[17] that the names of "les principaux héros" of our epic were known at the beginning of the twelfth century. What it does prove is that some people, and they according to Foulet were clerks, called the wolf Ysengrimus as early as 1112, and further inferences Foulet would hesitate to make. So that here again we are thrown back on the testimony of the extant texts for a consideration of the source of our work.

Turning now to the main problem, so long deferred, Foulet finds this source largely in the Latin text of 1152. He establishes this fact by a comparison of the episodes of branch II and the parallel arrangement in book IV of the *Ysengrimus.* The prologue to branch II, we remember, mentions the chansons de geste, the fabliaux, the *Troie* and the *Tristan.* Thus its author would be an adept in the technique of narrative composition, the adaptation through elaboration of the materials of clerical Latin literature. That these lay in the domain of the fable, or rather animal tale, would not affect the question adversely. The climax of branch II is the rape of Hersent, wife of Ysengrin, by maître Renard himself. The branch begins with an account of how Renard successively but unsuccessfully tries his wiles on Chantecler, the cock, the titmouse or "mésange"—who has no *nomen proprium*—and Tibert, the cat. In each case he goes off hungry, largely through his own stupidity. Now, however, he encounters Tiécelin, the crow, and in an adventure which we all know he swindles the crow out of a savory, yellow cheese. Thus assuaged, he happens upon the lair of the wolf during Ysengrin's absence. Hersent, the wolf's wife, does the honors in true *courtois* style, to such an extent that Renard profits by the occasion to betray Ysengrin in her ladyship's embraces. He also insults the brood of young wolves, indignant at his action. When Ysengrin returns, Hersent of course denies everything and even promises to bring Renard to justice. But—and this is the sixth and last episode of the branch—Hersent is no match for the wily fox, who this time profits by an *impasse* in which she is caught to violate her before the eyes of her belated husband. The branch closes with Ysengrin desiring but unable to obtain vengeance.

With the exception of certain differences of detail (Nivard omits episodes 3 and 4—and the piquant circumstance that lady Hersent is a party to the crime) the narrative is that of the Latin text. "L'auteur de la branche II," says[18] Foulet, "a trouvé plus naturel que Renard ne cherche pas à tenter une seconde fois un coq qui a toutes les raisons du monde de se défier de lui, et c'est pourquoi, passant de Chantecler à la mésange, la narration doit recommencer sur nouveaux frais. Mais sur le point le plus important, le latin et le français s'accordent curieusement à grouper des récits qui ne semblent pas s'appeler ou se compléter." But the same series—if we omit episode 5—occurs in Marie de France; that is, *De vulpe et gallo, De vulpe et columba* and *De vulpe et ursa,* where to be sure the bear's wife and not the wolf's is the outraged lady. So that Sudre, who knows the latter episode (with the substitution of the bear's wife) also from modern folklore, argues that Marie, Nivard and *Renard* all came from the same source. On the face of it, however, such a conclusion is false: Marie lacks episode 5 on which so much depends in the other two versions, she knows nothing of the names of Ysengrin and Renard, and her tale of the fox and the wolf's wife contains the same *motif* but not the same plot as the other two versions. Since the problem then is whether Nivard and our romance represent parallel or derivative versions, the answer can only be that the *Renard* is here based on the *Ysengrimus.* As for the remainder of branch

[17] In the *Mélanges de litt. fr.* 361; see also *Esquisse* (1907), p. 79. The text given by Grimm also mentions a *Renulfus,* interpreted by scholars as *Renardus.* Hence Paris' error. Novati first showed that the reading is *revulsus,* which Foulet corroborates. For bibliography, see Foulet, pp. 78 ff.

[18] P. 125.

II, Foulet may be right in arguing, as he does in great detail, that the episode with Tibert is an invention of our author's, and that since Marie's version of episode 4 (the crow and the wolf) agrees with our text: 1, in motivating the theft of the cheese, 2, in not mentioning the beauty of the crow, 3, in leaving the last word to the fox, as against Phaedrus and the mediaeval Romulus collections, hence our author also drew on Marie,[19]—this conclusion is secondary to the main issue and should not be allowed to obscure it. For the important thing is that having once established the literary provenience of branch II, the other branches of the cycle take their places accordingly, as gradual additions—one is tempted to say 'accretions'—to the central episode of the story.

Thus Va is the natural continuation of II. The insult to Hersent cries for a settlement, and the well-known scene at Noble's court, where the animals with their amusing pseudonyms gather about the lion, like the knights about King Arthur, is a move in that direction. The redactor of MS. group B was correct in placing Va next to II: the two branches once constituted an entity and are, as language and style show, certainly by the same author. One of Foulet's most convincing chapters (X) is devoted to the latter's method of composition. We see there how under the influence of the epic and more especially of the *roman courtois,* together with a knowledge of legal procedure equal to that shown in the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis,* the trouvère transformed the clerical satiric episodes of Nivard into the more comprehensive beast epic, full of *bonhomie* and *verve,* a true reflection of mediaeval baronial society, destined to live on into modern times, long after its prototype the *Ysengrimus* was forgotten.

The rest of Foulet's treatise is devoted to the incidents of this growth. The various branches are considered with reference to their chronology and possible sources; the authorship of branches II and Va is considered, the relationship of the *Reinhart Fuchs* to our cycle is given a plausible explanation, and finally there is a chapter on the *Renard* and "folklore," in which the thesis is defended that "all of the passages from works of the thirteenth century in which scholars have sought to find echoes of contemporary folklore hail directly or indirectly from our widely-known romance."

A consideration of these problems will be taken up in the following number of this journal.

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[19] This has also been argued for episode 1, see for latest and most elaborate discussion, E. P. Dargan, *Cock and Fox,* in *MP* IV (1906), 57 ff. The fable occurs several times in the figures surrounding the Bayeux tapestry.

FREDERICK S. BOAS, *University Drama in the Tudor Age,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

Dr. Boas's book has been long awaited. First compiled in the form of a series of Clark Lectures, delivered at Cambridge in 1904–05, it was definitely announced as 'in preparation for publication in enlarged form' at the head of the bibliography of *University Plays* contributed by its author to the sixth volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1910). Let it be said at once that, in its characteristic excellence of style and judgment, in accuracy of detail, and in format, the volume can hardly fail to satisfy the expectations of the many students who for a decade have been looking to its publication.

There is, however, an important difference between the scope of the book as it now appears and that suggested in the earlier announcements that is likely to cause chagrin to Americans and other readers far removed from the English libraries, in which alone the majority of the academic Latin plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are accessible. The original title, *The English Academic Drama,* seemed to promise a comprehensive treatment of the entire extant output of the English scholastic stage till at least the period of the closing of the theatres in 1642; and Dr. Boas's summary of University Plays in Chapter XII of the sixth volume of the Cambridge

History, though restricting itself to plays acted at Oxford or Cambridge, did cover both the Tudor and the early Stuart age. It is therefore a disappointment to find that both in its actual practice and by its new title his definitive work refuses to treat any dramas not known to have been acted at one of the two universities before 1603. The particular reasons for this narrowing of range Dr. Boas does not explain, contenting himself with the categorical statement in his Preface: "I have dealt only with plays which were certainly written and, with one or two possible exceptions, performed at Oxford or Cambridge in the Tudor period. School and Inns of Court plays, though academic in the wider sense of the phrase, fall outside the limits of this volume."

So rigidly does the author hold himself to the newly imposed limits of his work that he allows formal discussion to no more than fifteen of the twenty-eight academic dramas summarized in the article of Professors Churchill and Keller ('Die lateinischen Universitäts-Dramen in der Zeit der Königin Elisabeth,' *Jahrbuch der dtsch. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft,* 1898). Not less than thirty-five other Latin plays included in Dr. Boas's own bibliography are similarly neglected. There is no doubt that the practice is consistent: the plays passed over are not definitely known to have been acted either at Oxford or at Cambridge before the death of Queen Elizabeth. When one considers, however, the haphazard nature of the records of university performances and the accidental preservation of such texts as survive, one doubts whether the scope of even the special Oxford and Cambridge stages can be properly gauged from so small a percentage of the total product. The great majority of the Latin dramas acted in England before the Restoration must have been the work of university men and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, may be fairly taken to represent university taste and practice, even where documentary proof does not set them within the limits of place and time established by Dr. Boas. A reader desirous of acquainting himself with the general nature of academic drama in Shakespeare's time can ill afford, for example, to ignore William Goldingham's *Herodes,* written by a Cambridge scholar about 1570–80, merely because its performance happens not to be recorded; nor can he easily rest satisfied with the purely casual mention of the most famous of all Anglo-Latin comedies, Ruggle's *Ignoramus,* first acted at Cambridge in 1614–15.

Dr. Boas's book fails indeed to offer the definitive study of Anglo-Latin academic drama from the time of George Buchanan to that of Laud, which has long been recognized as an urgent necessity and which the admirable bibliography contributed to the Cambridge History persuaded many students that he had in hand. A very large number of the most interesting plays of this type can still be studied only in the German plot-synopses given in the pioneer work of Churchill and Keller, now nearly twenty years old, or in the necessarily very cursory references of Professor G. C. Moore Smith (cf. especially "Notes on Some English University Plays," *Modern Language Review,* Vol. III).

By thus limiting his discussion of the Latin academic plays, Dr. Boas gains space in his volume for the treatment of two other subjects, closely but not indissolubly associated with the former. The external history of the Oxford and Cambridge college stages during the Tudor era is treated extensively in Chapters I, V, and X, and in parts of VI and VIII. Very minute attention is given also to the small number of extant university plays in English. To the discussion of the Cambridge *Gammer Gurton's Needle,* the Oxford *Caesar and Pompey* and *Narcissus,* and the Cambridge *Club Law* and *Parnassus* trilogy nearly sixty pages are devoted. The criticism of these plays is in all respects excellent, but it may be doubted whether they do not find their most illuminating treatment in connection with the general progress of English vernacular drama—a connection in which most of them have already been copiously discussed. Of the Latin plays which receive detailed attention four—*Hymenaeus, Victoria, Pedantius,* and *Laelia,* besides the later *Fucus Histriomastix* and the English *Club Law*—have recently been edited by Professor Moore Smith with a thoroughness which,

as Dr. Boas generously recognizes, leaves no great opportunity for fresh elucidation. Practically new ground, however, is broken in the author's discussion of Grimald's *Christus Redivivus* and *Archipropheta,* Christopherson's Greek *Iephthae,* the manuscript *Absalon* of uncertain authorship, Worsley's *Synedrium Animalium,* Gager's Oxford plays, and the Cambridge comedies of *Silvanus, Hispanus,* and *Machiavellus.* It is the excellence and unique importance of the pages given to these plays which may perhaps excuse the expression of the otherwise presumptuous wish that the author might have seen fit to devote a larger proportion of his book to the little known department of literature they represent.

The present book is by no means a simple amplification of the forty-page essay on 'University Plays' written five years ago for the *Cambridge History of English Literature.* In addition to the change of scope already alluded to, there are not infrequent alterations of judgment, based on new information or maturer reflection. The interesting evidence proving that the English interlude of *Thersites* is an Oxford play (p. 20 f.) apparently came to the author's attention after the preparation of the earlier article, which makes no mention of this play. That the British Museum Stowe MS. play of Absalom is probably identical with the play of the same name known to have been written by Thomas Watson of Cambridge; that *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was composed by William Stevenson; that Halliwell's lost *Dido* was written in hexameter verse; that *Byrsa Basilica* (by J. Ricketts?) was roughly contemporary with the opening of the Royal Exchange in 1570; that Anthony Munday wrote the English counterpart to *Victoria,* called *The Two Italian Gentlemen;* and that the notorious Francis Brackyn, Recorder of Cambridge, is satirized in the Recorder of *The Return from Parnassus* are all current assumptions which Dr. Boas accepted with little question in the Cambridge History, but which he sees reason to dispute in his later treatment.

In a volume obviously prepared with the utmost care by the author and printed by the nearly infallible Oxford Press it is surprising to find even the short list of apparent *errata* which follows:

Preface, p. v, l. 13, 'T e' for 'The.'—P. 18, l. 1, 'eo-Hellenicn' for 'neo-Hellenic.'—P. 18, l. 18, 'tragedie' presumably for 'tragedies.'—P. 114, l. 18, 'Richard,' apparently a slip of the pen for 'Richmond' (*i. e.,* Henry VII): 'Bernard André, who had accompanied *Richard* on his invasion of England.'—P. 227, l. 14, 'ther' for 'other.'—P. 413, Index. The page reference after '*Thersites* (the English play)' should be '20, 21' rather than '21–2' as given. On page 254, ll. 18 ff., occurs the only serious error the present reviewer has noted. In a quotation from Stringer's account of Queen Elizabeth's second visit to Oxford as printed in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth,* occurs the following gibberish: "'a long tedious oration made unto hir by the Junior Proctor of the University, *about a mile from the in the very edge of their bounds or liberties towards city, Shotover.*'" The italics are, of course, mine. In the second edition of the *Progresses of Elizabeth* (1823, Vol. III, p. 160) the passage italicized is given in the following obviously correct form: 'about a mile from the City, in the very edge of their bounds or liberties towards Shotover.' Reference to the printed page will show that the nonsense is chargeable not to Dr. Boas but to the compositor's accidental misplacing of the word 'city,' in altering the alignment after proof had been corrected.

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THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA OF THE GERMAN MIDDLE AGES

La théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au moyen âge, par GEORGES DURIEZ. Lille, René Giard, 1914. 8vo., 645 pp.

Les apocryphes dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au moyen âge, par GEORGES DURIEZ. Lille, René Giard, 1914. 8vo., 112 pp.

Taking the words of Creizenach: "Le dramaturge n'invente rien, il emprunte tout

au théologien" as basis, Duriez sets out in his book *La théologie* to search for the sources of the theological accretions with which the medieval dramatists have adorned the simple Christian story as told by the Gospels. These sources, according to Duriez, are "bibliques (Ancien et Nouveau Testament) et extra-bibliques, mais encore théologiques (tradition, apocryphes, Liturgie, Pères, docteurs, exégètes, commentateurs, mystiques" (p. 18).[1] The sermon, which likewise influenced the drama, he leaves out of consideration for the present. "M. l'abbé Petit de Julleville préparant en ce moment un travail sur le sermon au moyen-âge en Allemagne, la comparaison sera par la suite plus aisée" (*ibid.,* Note 27).

The task Duriez sets out to accomplish in this bulky volume is in his own words:

"Partir des mystères insondables de la Trinité, de l'Incarnation et de la Rédemption, dénombrer les habitants du ciel et ceux des enfers, raconter la création de l'homme et son exil du Paradis terrestre, passer en revue les Patriarches et les Prophètes, suivre Jésus dans sa vie cachée et dans sa vie publique, décrire sa Passion, sa mort, sa résurrection et son Ascension, retracer la vie de sa Mère et celle de son négateur, l'Antéchrist, pour conduire mes lecteurs, après les horreurs du jugement dernier, à la béatitude éternelle du ciel" (p. 637).

For his book *Les apocryphes,* for which he has reserved the scenes based exclusively, directly or indirectly, on the Apocryphal books, viz., "l'Interrogatoire de Jésus devant Pilate, avec: 1° la scène du Cursor, 2° des Étendards, 3° des Défenseurs de Jésus, l'Incarcération et mise en liberté de Joseph d'Arimathie, la Descente aux Enfers, l'Assomption de Marie," he takes the keynote from Wülcker. In his scholarly dissertation on the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in Occidental literature[2] Wülcker (pp. 68–71) states that the Gospel of Nicodemus constitutes one of the sources of the religious drama, and the book under review tries to show to what degree the Apocrypha, especially the *Gesta Pilati* and the *Transitus Beatae Mariae Virginis,* have inspired the medieval dramatists (*Les apocryphes,* p. 8).

To trace the drama back to its theological source is a great task, and but few are able to handle it.[3] Theology is in this modern age a *terra incognita* for most of us.

"La théologie, qui occupait une si grande place dans les études au moyen âge, n'est plus guère en honneur de nos jours que dans les séminaires" (p. 26).

Where will you find in our day and generation a literary critic who is also a theologian? And the impression one gets of these monographs is that the author is indeed at home in the dramatic literature of medieval Germany as well as in the teachings of the Church. One is almost inclined to say that the key-note of these treatises on the medieval religious plays is not only theological, but dogmatical and apologetical, if not homiletical. This is evident from the author's "Discussions sur l'Eucharistie" and "la véritable Église" (pp. 332–348) and "Puissance de Marie" (pp. 571–577), not to mention his "Conclusion," which is a fervent defense of the Church of Rome.

Great as is the task of tracing back the drama to its theological source—"la théologie et le drame sont des domaines si étendus" (p. 637)—, Duriez has acquitted himself of it to the satisfaction of the literary critic as well as of the theologian. Now and then, however, the reader wishes that he had treated the dramatical texts more critically. One gets the impression that the author did not always subject his material to the searching light of textual criticism. Two instances may suffice in illustration. Duriez takes at its face value a stage direction in the Eger Play, which ascribes to Satan a long-winded lamentation over his fall from heaven (p. 67), while a critical study of the characters of Lucifer and Satan in this and the other scenes of the Fall of Angels brings one to the conclusion that it

[1] Wherever the page number alone is given the larger book is meant.

[2] *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur.* Paderborn, 1872.

[3] Some of the traditions upon which the English miracle plays were founded are very ably traced to their sources by Prof. Gayley in his illuminating book, *Plays of our Forefathers,* pp. 224–278 and Appendix. Miss Bates treats this subject very superficially in *The English Religious Drama,* pp. 160 ff.

could not have been Satan who bemoaned his fall in words of remorse and anguish of soul. Satan was far manlier than Lucifer and submitted to his fate without a single murmur.[4] It is he who after the fall from heaven summons up all his powers of oratory to cheer and console his crest-fallen and despairing lord and master. The superscription in the Eger Play, which credits Satan with this heart-rending tale of woe is as erroneous [5] as the stage direction of the Vienna Easter play, which, strangely enough, ascribes the lamentations of the hell lord after his defeat at the hands of Christ (Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Fundgruben II, 307, ll. 13–22) to Caiphas and Annas.[6] Duriez also considers Seltenfrum as a separate individual (p. 104), while this is only another name for the devil Tutevillus.[7]

The reader will hardly find fault with Duriez for not confining himself to the period mentioned in the title of his books, and including later texts even down to the Oberammergau Passion play of our own day. What constitutes, however, a great defect in these treatises on the medieval religious drama is the omission of a few valuable medieval texts. One certainly cannot reproach Duriez for confining himself to printed texts and leaving out of account the manuscripts, which have so far not appeared in print. An author living in a foreign country has good cause to congratulate himself if he can get hold of all printed texts, and should be reasonable enough not to expect German libraries and museums to send him manuscripts for examination. We should, however, expect M. Duriez to know of the publication of the Klosterneuburger Easter play by Pfeiffer.[8] He knows only of "quelques fragments publiés au XIXe siècle par Bernard Pez dans son *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* d'après un ms. du XIIe siècle de Klosterneuburg, qui, depuis lors, a disparu" (p. 479).[9] This Latin text from the beginning of the thirteenth century, which has recently been found again, is of great importance to the student of the religious drama. To our knowledge it contains the first and only scene of *Descensus Christi ad Inferos* in the Latin language. But this is not the only medieval text lacking in Duriez's works. We miss also the Sterzing Christmas play of the year 1511. Next to the Hessian play, to which it shows great similarity,[10] this text is the most interesting Christmas drama of which we so far have any record. It marks the point of decay of the religious drama, for some of its scenes might as well have formed a part of a Shrovetide farce. Strange to say, Duriez mentions this play in his list of works consulted, and yet ignores it in his text. Did it perhaps reach him too late to be incorporated in his work? If so, why not a note to this effect in the Conclusion?

But M. Duriez states that he has consulted many other books, though we look in vain in his text for any mention of them. My essay on the prophet and disputation scenes in the religious drama of medieval Germany [11] is mentioned in his bibliographical list, but he seems to have profited very little by the reading of this little work. He would otherwise have found there the biblical source for many a prophetical quotation in the dramatic texts, a point on which he repeatedly confesses ignorance. And yet I almost feel inclined to say that Duriez has read my essay. We find in his book (pp. 239–241) the same explanation of the pseudo-Habakkuk prophecy "in medio duorum ani-

[4] Cf. p. 119 of my monograph *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*. Hesperia, Heft 6. Göttingen und Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915.

[5] Cf. ibid., p. 109, footnote.

[6] Cf. Höpfner, *Untersuchungen zu dem Innsbrucker, Berliner und Wiener Osterspiel*. Germ. Abhandlungen, 45. Heft, p. 124.

[7] Cf. *Der Teufel*, etc., p. 98, note 3.

[8] *Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel*. Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg I (Wien, 1908). Text pp. 27–40.

[9] The date Duriez gives for the publication of the *Thesaurus* is erroneous. The work *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* (*Dissert. isagog.*) in twelve volumes appeared 1721–1729. The fragment of the Klosterneuburg Easter Play is to be found in vol. II, p. liii.

[10] Cf. R. Jordan, *Das Sterzinger Weihnachtsspiel vom Jahre* 1511 *und das hessische Weihnachtsspiel*. Schulprogramm. Krumau 1902, p. 1.

[11] *Die Prophetensprüche und -zitate im religiösen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*. Leipzig, 1913.

malium" that I have given in footnote 2 on the last page of my pamphlet and afterwards elaborated in *Modern Language Notes.*[12] If M. Duriez consulted my essay, but had already independently come to this conclusion, why did he not insert a footnote to this effect?

The chapter "Les démons et l'enfer" covers the same ground as the first part of my monograph on the Devil, with the distinction, however, that M. Duriez confines himself to the tracing of the theological sources of Devil and Hell in the medieval religious drama of Germany.

In regard to the prophet scenes the author and I seem to be at issue. According to his Introduction M. Duriez hopes to succeed

"à convaincre le lecteur que le moyen âge a connu la Bible, ce dont certains critiques et non des moindres ont paru douter" (p. 19), "du moins en ce qui concerne les auteurs de mystères allemands, car," he goes on to say, "il est impossible de lire un drame religieux comme celui d'Eger, d'Alsfeld ou de Heidelberg, sans être frappé de la connaissance approfondie que les auteurs avaient de la Bible et en particulier des évangiles" (p. 20).

But a familiarity with the Christian story by no means presupposes a profound knowledge of the Gospels, as Duriez would have us believe. If the common people in the Middle Ages were well familiar with the life-history of their Savior, how much more must we expect this from the clergy? And even granted that the German medieval dramatists knew the Gospels, their ignorance of the Old Testament, a fact which many critics maintain, is not yet refuted. Old Testament prefigurations in a play like the Heidelberg drama do not prove that the author knew the Old Testament. He may have known the Old Testament stories, but the text may have been a book with seven seals for him. Duriez acknowledges that the medieval dramatists did not know the patristic and apocryphic writings (*Les apocryphes*, pp. 44, 72). He agrees with M. Mâle that "toute la littérature connue des chrétiens du moyen âge se réduisait à quelques ouvrages qui formaient un résumé de tout ce qui avait été dit dans les âges précédents (including the Bible?)" (pp. 21–22). I fully agree with Duriez that

"les auteurs de ces drames étaient des ecclésiastiques, séculiers ou réguliers, sans cesse en contact avec la Sainte Écriture par la récitation de leur bréviaire, la célébration du saint sacrifice et l'administration des sacrements, aussi bien que par leurs lectures des quelques ouvrages qui formaient un resumé de tout ce qui avait été dit dans les âges précédents" (p. 20),

but believe that all their biblical knowledge came only through these channels. Of course, one must guard himself against generalizations and admit that now and then an author may have directly drawn on the Vulgate. For my part, I am willing to admit this for Arnoldus Immessen.[13] If the dramatists were familiar with the biblical texts, the prophetical quotations in the dramas would have corresponded perfectly to their biblical sources, but this is far from being the case, as I have shown in my essay on the prophet scenes. Duriez acknowledges this contention to be true of the Benediktbeuren Christmas play (p. 157) and the Tegernsee Antichrist play (p. 588). He admits that he cannot find the corresponding biblical passage for Daniel's Messianic prophecy in the Frankfort Passion play, ll. 133–160 (p. 206),[14] and of the testimony of Ezekiel, on which the prophet Isaiah bases his famous oracle "*Ecce virgo concipiet*" (Innsbr. Easter play, ll. 136; 173–176).[15] In this case, as in many others, the dramatist credits one prophet with the words of another. Did he do this consciously? Was it not rather ignorance of the real authorship of Messianic prophecies which he knew from the liturgy and the liturgy only? Duriez admits "ne pas avoir retrouvé cette harmonie entre le prophète et le drame" (p.

[12] *Zum Verhältnis des religiösen Dramas zur Liturgie der Kirche.* Modern Language Notes, XXIX, 108–109. See also my papers "The Origin of the Legend of Bos et Asinus" and "Bos et Asinus Again," in *The Open Court*, XXIX, pp. 57, 191–192.

[13] Cf. F. Krage, *Vorarbeiten zu einer Neu-Ausgabe von Arnold Immessen, Der Sündenfall.* Rostock Diss., Heidelberg, 1912, p. 58. (This dissertation forms the first part of Krage's edition of this play, *Germ. Bibliothek*, II. Abt., 8. Bd., Heidelberg, 1913.)

[14] The biblical passage is Dan. 9: 26.

[15] The corresponding biblical passage is Jer. 7: 14.

614), and he emphasizes in many places the influence of the liturgy rather than the Bible on the drama (cf. pp. 158–160, 369, 374, 495, 531, 577). The best proof, however, that it was the liturgy and not the Bible which furnished the prophecies for the drama is furnished by the pseudo-Habbakuk prophecy "in media duorum animalium." For this passage is not to be found in the Vulgate, and it could have been known to the dramatists only through the liturgy. It is true that the Septuagint contains this erroneous passage, but even Duriez will not claim an acquaintance with the Greek text for the medieval dramatists. It is somewhat unfair on the part of Duriez to accuse those who doubt the familiarity of the medieval dramatists with the Bible of "mal connaître l'esprit du catholicisme" (p. 19). In our appreciation of the church of the Middle Ages we are not behind those who claim a knowledge of the Bible for the medieval clergy.

I do not, however, wish to detract from the merits of this book. Duriez has made a notable contribution to the study of the German religious drama, and while Wilmotte's purpose in his studies always was to prove the dependence of the German religious plays on the French, Duriez claims a common source for both, namely, the common teachings of the Church. The task of tracing the drama to its theological source was gigantic and tedious, for—in the author's own words—"les longs drames du moyen âge finissent par être fastidieux, et qui en a lu un, en a lu vingt," but Duriez has done it well and gladly. The closing words of his Introduction (p. 27) will—possibly with a few slight modifications for some of us—find an echo in the hearts of all who have made a study of the medieval religious drama:

> "J'ai pourtant fini par les aimer, malgré leur dure écorce; car ils envisagent au fond des questions pour moi capitales: Dieu, Jésus-Christ, la Sainte Vierge, l'Église; et sous leur forme fruste ils sont les sûrs témoins de l'amour des siècles de foi pour tout ce qu'il y a de beau, pour tout ce qu'il y a de grand."

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RECENT LEOPARDI LITERATURE

Leopardi sentimental. Essai de psychologie leopardienne suivi du *Journal d'amour,* inédit en français, par N. Serban. Paris, Champion, 1913. 8vo., 247 pp.

Leopardi et la France. Essai de littérature comparée, par N. Serban. Paris, Champion, 1913. 8vo., xix + 551 pp.

Lettres inédites relatives à Giacomo Leopardi, publiées avec introduction, notes et appendices par N. Serban. Paris, Champion, 1913. 8vo., xxiv + 260 pp.

Dr. Serban, a Roumanian who has taken a real French doctorate, has in these three books made substantial contributions to three different fields of Leopardi literature. The first of these, *Leopardi sentimental,* shows more fully than has before been done the subjective causes of the poet's pessimism. A poet, particularly a lyric poet, is *ipso facto* an egoist, and all his environment, all his experience of life were such as only to emphasize this tendency in the Italian poet. Dr. Serban has shown how Leopardi's philosophy of life, of religion, and of the world were the results of the contact of a sensitive nature with actual life, the intellectual reaction of his unhappy loves on himself. Nowhere can a critic find a better opportunity for approaching the understanding of a genius by a study of his near relatives than in the case of Leopardi. His father's latent sentimentalism was revealed in an erotic form in the two brothers and one sister of the poet, while in the last its thwarted aims found literary expression in a philosophy of pessimism. From the date of his sentimental conversion, the day he met his first love, Leopardi felt the shock of the difference between his inner life and the outer world, and this feeling was only intensified by ill-success in his subsequent love affairs, due to the lack of physical charms and of health. Even his scholarly industry was the result of a reaction, a nepenthe to

> drown the wakeful anguish of the soul.

The spasms and convulsions of a wounded heart were his measure for the universe. On account

of the important part his sentimental conversion played in the poet's life, Dr. Serban has republished, with a French translation, the *Diario d'Amore,* which is a remarkable bit of self-analysis to be written at nineteen, even by a great genius.

Leopardi et la France is a logical continuation of *Leopardi sentimental;* it is the history of the poet's intellectual progress, as the latter is a study of his emotional history. It is at once the satire of fate, and yet a natural thing, that Leopardi should find the material for his sceptical philosophy in French books in the library of his bigoted Gallophobe father, who, if we are to believe his own statement, had selected the books for the sake of his son's education. In doing so he had not included in the collection of 20,000 volumes such partisan writers as Molière and Racine, and yet had not denied admittance to the works of Voltaire and the *Encyclopédie.* In tracing Leopardi's readings, Dr. Serban was fortunate in having two guides, the library of Monaldo Leopardi at Recanati, where he worked among the French books—the list of which he has published in an appendix—, and the seven volumes of the poet's note-books, known as the *Zibaldone.* He has shown how French literary influence first appears in the juvenilia of the poet, in liberal textual borrowings. Thus, the *Pompeo in Egitto* (1811) has its chief source in Rollin, and the *Dissertazione sopra l'origine e i primi progressi dell'Astronomia* (1814) was based largely on Goguet's *De l'origine des loix* and Pluche's *Histoire du Ciel.* The *Saggio sopra gli Errori popolari* (1815) was suggested by the preface to Pluche's work, and one of its chief, if unacknowledged, sources was the *Encyclopédie.* If it professedly makes a plea for Catholic orthodoxy, there is evidence of an independent spirit of doubt, which was first stimulated by the logical methods of his French authorities, and not spontaneously, or through the influence of Giordani, as has been conjectured.

But it is in his later French readings commencing with 1818 that Leopardi found the material for his philosophy. As he states, it was only after reading several of the works of Madame de Staël that he believed himself to be a philosopher. His *Discorso sullo stato presente dei costumi degl'Italiani* (1824) and the first years of the *Zibaldone* show how he tried to make his own her views on racial affinities and distinctions. To her he is indebted for both his information and his opinions in regard to the English and Germans, while he glazes her romantic presentation of his own countrymen with the tone of his own sombre spirit. For the French he had at first an antipathy, due at once to his home breeding and to the evils the Napoleonic conquest had brought his native country. Then, too, he found in their individual attitude to Italians that condescension of foreigners which was to impress our Lowell. If they were emphatically a social nation, they were conventional, and lacked charm and simplicity. But with a more extended reading, he acknowledged what modern literatures owed to French models, and Italy's debt was only increased by French political domination. In Madame de Staël's theories in regard to the difference between the expression of grief in ancient and modern art, and its causes, he found reason to discard his earlier belief in the existence of an unchanging canon of beauty. But he had been prepared for a change of opinion by an earlier reading of Montesquieu's *Essai sur le goût,* which insisted on the influence of the character, manners, and conventions of different peoples upon their tastes in art and literature. Again, if the French authoress furnished him with the quintessence of romanticism—the emphasis laid on sentiment, the supreme position of lyric poetry, the enhancement of the imagination and enthusiasm, the taste for the indeterminate and vague, the anguish of the infinite—, the distinctively eighteenth-century aesthetic treatise had already revealed to him the importance of the sensation of the infinite and vague in art, one of a number of Montesquieu's aesthetic principles of which Leopardi only enlarged the scope to make them basic principles of his own pessimistic philosophy. Montesquieu declared that the infinity of man's desires for pleasure led him to love the infinite, the indeterminate and the vague, and that even the most varied

real pleasures being incapable of satisfying his desires, he must find a compensation in the pleasures of the imagination. From these dicta the Italian poet deduced the impossibility for man to be ever fully satisfied, which, joined to Rousseau's theories on the fatal consequences of human progress and the conceptions of Frederick II in regard to the indifference of nature to man, completed his own system of negation.

Dr. Serban has done a great service in pointing out the literary sources of Leopardi's philosophy of life. The source of Leopardi's remarks on the causes of France's taking the initiative in literary and social life has escaped him, and led him to make a statement beside the mark (166–167): "C'est en vain qu'on chercherait trace de ces opinions dans les auteurs français. Elles ne peuvent venir que d'un esprit ignorant de la société française." Montesquieu not only emphasizes the social characteristics of the French in the phrase cited from the *Lettres persanes;* a general statement in a chapter of the *Esprit des Lois* (XIX, 8) on the "Effet de l'humeur sociable" has been made more specific and its scope enlarged by Leopardi (*Zibaldone,* IV, 1–2), even if the second work was "prohibito" in Monaldo Leopardi's library (Serban, 137–138). One is surprised to find La Rochefoucauld, whose work was accessible to the poet (22, 124, 126, 476), not even mentioned as a possible source of Leopardi's philosophy, even if he is not referred to in the *Zibaldone;* for the poet notes, among the works he thinks of composing, "Massime morali sull'andare di Epitt. Rochefoucauld ec." (*Scritti vari inediti di G. Leopardi dalle carte Napoletane,* 395).

The second part of the book, on the interpretation and influence of Leopardi in French, is not so original in its results as the first part, but presents much that is of interest. A chapter is devoted to a well-justified rehabilitation of the poet's Swiss friend Louis de Sinner, whose services in promoting the reputation of Leopardi were as important in their way as were those of Ranieri and Giordani. He edited the philological works for the press, he translated into French three of the *Dialoghi,* and, most important, he supplied Sainte-Beuve with the information and documents on which the supreme critic based his article which made the Italian poet a cosmopolitan figure. From the evidence afforded by his chapters on French editions, translations and biographical and critical articles, Dr. Serban considers that Leopardi is the one Italian author of the nineteenth century who has had a certain continuous popularity in France. A chapter on the literary influence is even more negative in its results for the reader than for the author. Different in temperament as were Musset and Leopardi, the French poet knew, and showed he could appreciate, the latter's work, but came to know it too late in life to be influenced by it. If the thought of Alfred de Vigny's late poetry can be paralleled with Leopardi's, if in *la Maison du berger* one finds that the solidarity of mankind is the only remedy against the indifference of nature as in *la Ginestra,* it is not a case of borrowing, a chronological possibility, as Dr. Serban points out; it is because the two poets might have addressed each other most appropriately with Verlaine's verse:

Ames sœurs que nous sommes.

The *Lettres inédites relatives à Giacomo Leopardi,* might have as a sub-title *Contributions à la censure de la presse,* as the greater part is devoted to the letters written by the poet's friend Ranieri to the publisher Le Monnier, in regard to the edition of the works of the poet, published at Florence in 1845. The writer's character appears in a most amiable light. Without any pecuniary advantage to himself, he shows himself the faithful trustee of the poet's literary remains, insisting that they be printed in their complete and unchanged text. He had wished, and even prepared (cf. 97, n.), to print them in a country free of ecclesiastical censorship, but on the assurance of the publisher that an accommodating censor could be found to read the manuscripts, he consented to their publication in Florence. The censor did not prove to be accommodating, but Le Monnier was ready to incorporate his foot-notes with Leopardi's own, and to print another censor's *Avvertenze,* "prediche sulla fede cattolica, sulla individualità

di Leopardi, etc.," as prefaces to the poems or essays, of which the orthodoxy was dubious. Ranieri had to remind the publisher that they were publishing "*Leopardi,* non LEOPARDI CONFUTATO" (96), and Le Monnier compromised by printing the censor's notes at the end of the *Canti* and of the *Operette morali,* in the first volume, and by putting the *Avvertenze* at the end of the volumes, for the contents of which they were to serve as an antidote. The latter have been reprinted by Dr. Serban (245–250), and their every inane phrase is an excellent argument for the foundation of a United Italy.

Le Monnier played Ranieri false another time (163–183), out of fear of a loss in the sale of his publications in "qualche contrada d'Italia, dominata da' Gesuiti" (175), by not wishing to reprint his refutation of the Jesuit slander that Leopardi had died converted in the arms of a member of the order. It is worthy of noting in the same connection that Montanari's own copy of his *Elogio biografico* of Leopardi was incomplete, having suffered at the hands of the censor of the Roman States (220), and that Ranieri warned Le Monnier not to write to him by post in regard to Leopardi (118); for "una troppo maggiore sicurezza" (169), mail was sent in an unofficial way by steamers, going from Naples to Pisa, so as to escape the postal censors. A number of evident mistakes made in transcribing the letters could be pointed out. It is enough to note that the book of Leopardi which Creuzer considered not worth publishing in German, even in extracts (13; cf. *Leopardi et la France,* 271), was the *Saggio sopra gli Errori popolari degli antichi.* As he states, this juvenile work of the poet contained only material generally known to the learned world since the publication of the *De origine et progressu idolatriae, siue de theologia gentili* of Gerard John Vossius, for it is to this latter work that Creuzer refers in the phrase "*Lib. Gyraldus. Germ. Vossini,*" which Dr. Serban found "presque indéchiffrable," and which he does not undertake to interpret.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Note on Volume Two of the 1640 folio of Ben Jonson's Plays

The paging of the first three plays in this volume of the folio is as follows: *Bartholomew Fair,* pages 1–88; *Staple of News,* pages 1–75; *Devil is an Ass,* pages 93–170. The question has been as to what occupied the pages between page 75 of *Staple of News,* and page 93 of *Devil is an Ass.*

The Elizabethan Club of Yale has separate folio copies of *Bartholomew Fair* and *Devil is an Ass.* A study of these brought to light the fact that the numbering of the pages of these two plays is, allowing for one blank leaf between them, consecutive. This fact points to these two plays having appeared in one volume, and *Staple of News* in a separate volume, before the folio was made up. The Elizabethan Club copies are of slightly different size, and have different markings in the binding left on their backs. This shows them to have come from different copies.

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O Proper Stuff!—*Macbeth,* III, iv, 60

These words seem, so far, to have baffled all the commentators. No real definition of either the separate words or of the phrase as a whole has been offered, and the explanations given are but the purest guesses. The phrase is not, perhaps, of vital importance to an understanding of the play, but correctly interpreted it throws some light upon one of the most important aspects of the play, and helps to make clear the relations of Lady Macbeth to her lord and to his crimes.

None of the comments that I can find shows any appreciation of the words of the phrase, but all alike content themselves with an attempt to define the subjective mood of the speaker. Clark and Wright, in the Clarendon

Press edition of the play, give this explanation: "Mere or absolute nonsense, rubbish. We have 'proper' used in a contemptuous exclamation in Much Ado about Nothing, i, 3, 54, and iv, 1, 312. For 'stuff' see Measure for Measure, iii, 2, 5, and I Henry IV, iii, I, 154." Furness gives only the Clarendon note, and Editor II adds a quotation from Scott. Rolfe's note is obviously a restatement of the same conception: "Ironical and contemptuous. Proper (=fine, pretty, etc.) is often so used." These citations will suffice, for most other editors simply follow the Clarendon note without comment of their own.

Nor do the Shakespearean lexicons take us any nearer the true meaning. Schmidt's *Lexikon* gives two uses of "stuff," the second of which is: "Especially things spoken or recited: Usually in contempt," and for which our passage is cited as an instance. Cunliffe's *New Shakespearean Dictionary* does not give any definition of "stuff," and under the definition of "proper" does not cite this passage. Neither the commentaries nor the dictionaries, then, have given us the true meaning.

The words are spoken by Lady Macbeth to her lord just after their company have sat down to the Banquet. Macbeth has declined to be seated, for, as he says, "The table's full." He sees the ghost of Banquo in his place, but as no one else seems to see it his words are not understood. The guests are about to rise because of Macbeth's strange actions and words, when Lady Macbeth urges them to keep their seats, assuring them that "The fit is momentary." When chided for his behavior, Macbeth excuses himself by referring to the sight as that "Which might appal the devil." Then Lady Macbeth says to him

O proper stuff!
This is the very painting of your fear:
This is the air-drawn dagger which, you said,
Led you to Duncan.

That is, she is telling him that what he now sees is but the projection of his own inner fear, and is but another vision of "the air-drawn dagger," which came entirely from his own mind, or as she puts it is his own (proper) stuff.

The use of "stuff," in a subjective sense, for the things of the mind or spirit, is common enough in Shakespeare. It is used again in this sense in the last act of the play where Macbeth asks the Doctor if he cannot

Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart? (V, iii, 44–5.)

It is also used in a similar sense in several other plays, of which the following are the two most important:

My lord, there was no such stuff in my thoughts.
Hamlet, II, ii, 324.

Yet do I hold it very stuff o' the conscience
To do no contrived murder. *Othello,* I, ii, 2–3.

In two passages the word "stuff" is associated with "dream," and has a somewhat similar connotation:

'Tis still a dream, or else such stuff as madmen
Tongue and brain not. *Cymbeline,* V, iv, 146–7.

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on. *Tempest,* IV, i, 156–7.

There need be no difficulty with "proper," the other word in the phrase.[1] It is very frequently used, as here, in the etymological sense of "one's own" (Latin, *proprius* = 'one's own'). Two examples of this use will suffice: "My proper life," *Hamlet,* V, ii, 66; and "Our own proper son," *Othello,* I, ii, 97.

This interpretation makes it clear that Lady Macbeth does not at any time see the ghost of Banquo, and that Macbeth's vision is but the fear that arises from his guilty conscience. Lady Macbeth has apparently had no part in the murder, for it is not on her conscience, but only on her lord's. With the murder of Duncan her superior moral nature had all but col-

[1] C. T. Onions (*A Shakespeare Glossary,* Oxford, 1911) recognizes the required meaning of *stuff,* "matter, in a fig. sense," though he does not cite the passage here discussed. He also reads *proper* in a number of passages with the meaning 'one's own,' but cites the passage here discussed as illustrating the meaning "excellent, capital, fine (ironically)."—J. W. B.

lapsed, and Macbeth had to commit all the other crimes himself. The play is therefore primarily the story of Macbeth and his crimes, for not only the visions of daggers before the deeds, but the visions of ghosts afterward, are all his "proper stuff," or the projection of his mind alone.

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But Me No Buts

Bartlett, in his *Familiar Quotations* (ninth edition, pp. 861–2), gives nineteen examples of the use by English writers of phrases formed on the analogy of "But me no buts." Chronologically they run from Shakespeare and Peele to Tennyson and Bulwer-Lytton; alphabetically from "But me no buts" and "Cause me no causes" to "Virgin me no virgins" and "Vow me no vows." I have from time to time noted other uses of this form of speech in various English plays, and they may be worth recording.

"Blurt me no blurts." Middleton: *Blurt, Master Constable,* iv, 3.

"Confer me no conferrings." Shirley: *The Wedding,* iv, 3.

"Good me no goods." Beaumont and Fletcher: *The Chances,* i, 8.

"Hear me no hears." Porter: *Two Angry Women,* i, 2.

"Heart me no hearts." *The same,* ii, 4.

"Leave me no leaving." Ford: *'Tis Pity She's a Whore,* i, 2.

"Lord me no lords." Shirley: *Hyde Park,* v, 1.

"Star me no stars." Shirley: *The Wedding,* v, 2.

"Take me no takes." Shirley: *Hyde Park,* ii, 2.

"Treat me no treatings." Wycherley: *Love in a Wood,* iii, 2.

"But me no buts," which Bartlett quotes from Fielding and Aaron Hill, has been used in the anonymous play *Wine, Beere, Ale and Tobacco* in 1630. "Madam me no madams," which he refers to Dryden's *Wild Gallant,* the same writer had used in his *Evening's Love,* act iii, sc. 1. While it would be interesting to know of any earlier use of this locution, it is worth noting that it crops up in contemporary writers. The Baroness Von Hutten, in the *Green Patch* (1910, p. 330), has "Only me no onlies." An English critic, in a notice of Strauss's *Fledermaus* in 1910, indignantly exclaimed "Fleder me no fledermice!" and finally, I noticed in the *Woman's Home Companion* for October, 1911, the phrase "Jest me no jests."

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Bells Ringing Without Hands

Reviving the subject of bells ringing without hands, in the *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXX, p. 28, Mr. Phillips Barry has given an admirable collection of the earliest cases of the belief. May I round it off by giving the latest? One of the present warring monarchs is said to have issued a proclamation to the Poles last fall, reminding them that, it would seem very recently, the bell of the Holy Swiatogorsky monastery began to ring at night without human aid, and that the pious recognized this as signalizing a great event; to wit, according to the monarch, the present war and all the beneficent results sure to follow. This was quoted in the *Chicago Tribune* (31 Oct., 1914) from the *Gazetta* of Czenstochowa, in Russian Poland near the German border, by way of Petrograd. The monastery in question is undoubtedly the ancient and celebrated Jasnagóra monastery in Czenstochowa, its name (Bright Mountain) being translated into Russian as Swiatogorsky. The rest of the proclamation is also interesting to students of the past. Whatever the authenticity of the report, it shows the belief is still living in eastern Europe.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE SWINISH MULTITUDE

Admirers of Shelley as well as students of general literature have agreed in relegating to oblivion Shelley's unfortunate attempt at political satire, *Œdipus Tyrannus* or *Swellfoot the Tyrant.* From the artistic point of view, they are quite justified; the allegory is clumsy, the characterization crude, the humor forced and heavy, the incidents needlessly distressing; in short, *Œdipus* is everything that a political satire should not be, and neither adds to Shelley's fame nor marks an important stage in literary development. Nevertheless, it is a link in a very curious chain of literary borrowing that runs back to Burke and forward to Carlyle; and as such it may claim a consideration beyond its intrinsic merit.

The chorus of the *Œdipus,* it will be remembered, consists of a starveling "Swinish Multitude" (otherwise the British Public), which is oppressed in unmentionable ways by the king and his ministers, cheated by the priests, and completely befooled by the wronged but unadmirable Queen Consort. Concerning this Swinish Multitude, Mrs. Shelley's explanation has been considered sufficient:

"In the brief journal I kept in those days, I find recorded, in August, 1820, Shelley 'begins *Swellfoot the Tyrant,* suggested by the pigs at the fair of San Giuliano.' . . . A friend came to visit us on the day when a fair was held in the square, beneath our windows: Shelley read to us his *Ode to Liberty;* and was riotously accompanied by the grunting of a quantity of pigs brought for sale to the fair. He compared it to the 'chorus of frogs' in the satiric drama of Aristophanes; and, it being an hour of merriment, and one ludicrous association suggesting another, he imagined a political-satirical drama on the circumstances of the day, to which the pigs would serve as chorus—and *Swellfoot* was begun." [1]

The pigs of San Giuliano may have suggested the use of the Swinish Multitude as chorus for a drama; but the personification of the British public as down-trodden swine must already have been in Shelley's mind, and comes from another source. Shelley was, as we know, a faithful reader of Leigh Hunt's *Examiner,* which was sent to him regularly during his residence in Italy.[2] In the *Examiner* for Sunday, August 30, 1818 (No. 557, p. 548), is printed an article of which the title and an abstract follow:

A NEW CATECHISM for the use of the NATIVES OF HAMPSHIRE; necessary to be had in all sties. "Grundibat graviter pecus suillum." Claudias, Annalium 15, apud Diomedem. By the late Professor Porson.

Q. What is your name?—A. *Hog* or *Swine.*

Did God make you a hog?—No! God made me man in his own image; the *Right Honourable* SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL made me a swine. (Reflections.—P. 117, Ed. 1.)

How did he make you a swine?—By muttering uncouth words and dark spells; he is a dealer in the black art.

Who feeds you?—Our drivers, the only *real men* in the COUNTY.

How many hogs are you in all?—Seven or eight millions.

How many drivers?—Two or three hundred thousand.

With what do they feed you?—Generally with husks, swill, draft, malt-grains; now and then with a few potatoes; and when they have too much buttermilk for themselves, they spare us some.

What are your occupations?—To be yoked to the plough; to do all hard work; for which purpose we still, as you see, retain enough of our original form, speech, and reason, to carry our drivers on our shoulders, or draw them in carriages.

Are your drivers independent on each other?—No; our immediate drivers are driven by a smaller number: and that number by a still smaller; and so on, till at last you come to the CHIEF HOG DRIVER.

Has your chief driver any marks of his of-

[1] Shelley's Complete Poetical Works, ed. T. Hutchinson, Oxford, 1904, p. 452.

[2] See Shelley's directions to Peacock on this point, in a letter of June 8, 1818, from Livorno, *Letters,* ed. Ingpen, p. 602; also references to more or less delayed arrival of *Examiners,* ibid., pp. 694, 710, 720, 761.

fice?—A brass helmet on his head, and an iron poker in his hand.

By what title does he wear his helmet?—*In contempt of the choice of the hogs.* (Reflections.—P. 17, Ed. 1.)

Then follows a satirical account of Parliamentary procedure under the figure of transactions of the hog-drivers' association, at which the interests of the hogs are represented by unfaithful agents who are forced upon their constituents by a semblance of free election.

What is the advantage of being an agent?—Some court the office merely for the honour, but all the knowing ones are hired by the governors to say that none of them are hired, and that they are all chosen by *the free sense of the swinish multitude.*

The Bench is briefly but stingingly characterized as the *Black Letter Sisterhood,* a body of scolding old women in gowns and false hair.

What is their general business?—To discuss the mutual quarrels of the hogs, and to punish affronts to any or all of the drivers.

How can one hog affront all the drivers?—*By speaking the truth.*

What is the truth?—What is that to you?

Do none of the drivers take compassion on you, when they see you thus "grunt" * and sweat under a weary life? (* Instead of *groan,* Mr. Malone has restored *grunt* from the old copies.)—Several agents in the sub-meeting have proposed schemes for our relief, but have always been overpowered by a great majority.

Could that majority give any reasons for their behaviour?—Nine.

Name the first.—They said for their parts they were very well contented as they were.

The second?—They believed the present system of hog-driving would last out their time.

The third?—The chief hog-driver had published an advertisement against giving the hogs any relief.

The fourth?—The hogs were very desirous to have some relief.

The fifth?—The hogs were in perfect tranquillity at present.

The sixth?—The hogs were in a violent ferment at present.

The seventh?—The hogs were too good to need relief.

The eighth?—The hogs were too bad to deserve relief.

The ninth?—If they gave us what was right, they could not help giving us what was wrong.

How do you look when you hear such a mass of lies and nonsense?—We *stare like stuck pigs.*

The pigs, it is explained, are kept in order by a force "of twenty thousand hogs in armour," under the direction of the "ministers of peace"; these latter are also employed in preaching a doctrine of non-resistance with the alternative of hell-fire.

You talk very sensibly for a hog; whence had you your information?—From a learned pig.

Are there many learned pigs in Hampshire?—Many, and the number daily increases.

What say they of the treatment which you suffer?—That it is shameful, and ought instantly to be redressed.

What do the drivers say to these pigs?—That the devil is in them.

It is a devil of their own conjuring: but what do the drivers do to these pigs?—They knock them down.

Do all the learned pigs make the same complaint?—All; for the instant a pig defends the contrary opinion, he resumes his old form, and becomes a *real man master and tormentor general of innocent animals.*

Are there any other methods of recovering the human shape?—None, but a promise to treat the herd we have left with exemplary severity.

Who disenchants you?—The governor of the sub-meeting must always consent, but the ceremonies of transformation vary.

Give me an instance of a ceremony.—The hog that is going to be disenchanted grovels before the *chief driver,* who holds an iron skewer over him, and gives him a smart blow on the shoulder, in token of former subjection and future submission. Immediately he starts up, like the devil from Ithuriel's spear, in his proper shape, and ever after goes about with a *nick name.* He then beats his hogs without mercy; and when they implore his compassion, and beg him to recollect that he was once their *fellow-swine,* he denies that ever he was a hog.

What are the rights of a hog?—To be whipt and bled by men.

What are the duties of a man?—To whip and bleed hogs.

Do they ever whip and bleed you to death?—Not always; the common method is to bleed us by intervals.

How many ounces do they take at a time?—That depends upon the state of the patient. As soon as he faints, they bind up the wound;

but they open his veins afresh when he has a little recovered his loss: hence comes the proverb *to bleed like a pig*.

What is the liberty of a hog?—To choose between half starving and whole starving.

What is the property of a hog?—A wooden trough, food and drink just enough to keep in life; and a truss of musty straw, on which ten or a dozen of us *pig together*.

What dish is most delicious to a driver's palate?—A hog's pudding.

What music is sweetest to a driver's ear?—Our shrieks in bleeding.

What is a driver's favourite diversion?—To set his dogs upon us.

What is the general wish of the hogs at present?—*To save their bacon.*

CHORUS OF HOGS.—AMEN.

The similarity of this to the *Œdipus* is obvious, and occasionally the parallel extends even to details of phrasing.

CATECHISM.

How do these hogs [in armor] treat the obnoxious swine?—They burn down their sties and eat up their meal and potatoes.

(Cf. also passage on hunting swine with dogs.)

ŒDIPUS.

But now our sties are fallen in, we catch
The murrain and the mange, the scab and itch;
Sometimes your royal dogs tear down our thatch,
And then we seek the shelter of a ditch. . .
Act 1, sc. 1, ll. 43–46.

CATECHISM.

. . . But how do they manage you when you are numerous?—They praise our beauty, good sense, good-nature, gentleness, and great superiority to all other hogs; they kiss the old sows and the young pigs; they give us our belly full of new beer, till we are as *drunk as David's sow*, and wallow in the mire. . . .

Do the drivers wear badges of distinction?—Many; some have particular frocks and slops; others garter below the knee; some have a red rag across their jacket, and some carry sticks and poles.

ŒDIPUS.

Or fattening some few in two separate sties,
And giving them clean straw, tying some bits
Of ribbon round their legs—giving their Sows
Some tawdry lace, and bits of lustre glass,
And their young Boars white and red rags, and tails
Of cows, and jay feathers, and sticking cauliflowers
Between the ears of the old ones; and when
They are persuaded, that by the inherent virtue
Of these things, they are all imperial Pigs,
Good Lord! they'd rip each other's bellies up,
Not to say, help us in destroying her.
Act 1, sc. 1, ll. 296–306.

It must be admitted that Shelley has not improved upon his original; the mordant satire of the *Catechism* is vastly superior to the *Œdipus* in good taste, restraint, and technique. The circumstances leading to the appearance of the *Catechism* in the *Examiner* are somewhat mysterious. Porson, the great Greek scholar, had died in 1808, ten years before; and while he had written indiscreet political articles for the *Morning Chronicle* during the latter years of his life, there is no record that they were ever widely diffused or reprinted, or that any papers of this sort were posthumously published. Nevertheless, the article bears the stamp of genuineness, even to the scholarly accuracy of the note on Malone's correction. Is it possible that Leigh Hunt pilfered from back numbers of the *Morning Chronicle?* The question, however, is not of importance in the present investigation.

The animus of the article is betrayed in the bitter allusion to the Right Honorable Sublime and Beautiful; and the passages from Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* cited in the foot-notes leave no doubt as to the object of the satire.

In contempt of the choice of the hogs. (Reflections.—P. 17, ed. 1.)—So far is it from being true, that we acquired a right by the Revolution to elect our kings, that if we had possessed it before, the English nation did at that time most solemnly renounce and abdicate it, for themselves, and for all their posterity for ever.

The Right Honourable Sublime and Beautiful made me a swine. (Reflections.—P. 117, ed. 1.)—Nothing is more certain, than that our manners, our civilization, and all the good things which are connected with manners and with civilization, have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles;

and were indeed the result of both combined; I mean the spirit of a gentleman, and the spirit of religion . . . Happy if learning, not debauched by ambition, had been satisfied to continue the instructor, and not aspired to be the master! Along with its natural protectors and guardians, learning will be cast into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude.

To a reader with any respect for democracy, the whole passage is like a red rag to a bull; and the insult of the last phrase is all the more galling in that it is so utterly unconscious. It rankled in the breast of at least one other besides the author of the *New Catechism.* A periodical edited by a certain Thomas Spence, Land Nationalizer and crank preacher, in the years 1793–1795, bears the title *Pigs' Meat; or, Lessons for the Swinish Multitude.*[3] And doubtless other echoes of the phrase could be found in the ephemeral literature of the time; it is unlikely that the arrogance of Burke should have aroused so much resentment in these few quarters and have passed unchallenged elsewhere.

This was the history of the phrase when Shelley adopted it; and it might appear unlikely that it could ever again be used as a satirical characterization of the proletariat. The attitude of mind which coins a phrase like this is distinctly aristocratic, and the triumph of democracy was making the expression, at least, of that attitude impossible. Nevertheless, the idea, if not the exact phrase, was used once again, by one who hated democracy almost as bitterly as he hated the smug and self-sufficient aristocracy of such as Burke. Carlyle, who in *Sartor Resartus* had written, as his message to the new generation, "The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with specters; but god-like, and my Father's!"—this same Carlyle, in his old age, utters for the last time the unseemly allegory of the Swinish Multitude:

"The Universe, so far as sane conjecture can go, is an immeasurable Swine's-trough, consisting of solid and liquid, and of other contrasts and kinds. . . ."[4]

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[3] See British Museum Cat., *Periodicals. One Pennyworth of Pig's Meat; or, Lessons for the Swinish Multitude.* Collected by the poor man's advocate in the course of his reading, for more than twenty years, etc. Edited by T. Spence. 3 vols. Vols. 2 and 3 have the title *Pig's Meat;* etc.

[4] *Latter-day Pamphlets;* "Pig Philosophy," in *Jesuitism,* August, 1850.

RHETORICAL CONTRASTS IN SCHILLER'S DRAMAS

II

Romanticism plays also a large rôle in *Die Braut von Messina* (February, 1803), and contrasts play an interesting, because peculiar, rôle.[23] This is Schiller's unique dramatic production. It is wholly unhistorical, loosely constructed, vaguely elaborated, supplied with a chorus, and suspected, as to its dramatic feasibility, by Schiller himself. In his preface,[24] "Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie," he apologized, indirectly, for his general dramatic scheme. And though the drama begins with the distinction between "Trieb" and "Not," and though it closes with the unusual parallel,

> Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
> Der Übel grösstes aber ist die Schuld,

we do not find within the drama the same kind of contrasts that constitute an important feature of his other dramas, *Die Jungfrau* and

[23] Such contrasts as these run all through the drama:

> Laune löst, was Laune knüpfte (l. 359).
> Ihr seid der Herrscher, und ich bin der Knecht (l. 437).

[24] In this preface we find a number of antithetic parallels, such as: "Es ist nicht wahr, was man gewöhnlich behaupten hört, dass das Publikum die Kunst herabzieht; der Künstler zieht das Publikum herab." Also: "Das Publikum erfreut sich an dem Verständigen und Rechten, und wenn es damit angefangen hat, sich mit dem Schlechten zu begnügen, so wird es zuverlässig damit aufhören, das Vortreffliche zu fordern."

Don Carlos not excepted. There are, to be sure, contrasts in the choruses and in the dream of the father as over against that of the mother. But one has the feeling that Schiller was here consciously striving to be poetic rather than realistically effective; he was successfully trying to be romantic. Manfred, for example, compares peace with war. We would expect here a sharp contrast, such as we find in *Wallenstein* and *Tell*, but a change is introduced: both peace and war have their good sides. There is also a contrast between life and nature (ll. 228–230): [25]

> Ungleich verteilt sind des Lebens Güter
> Unter der Menschen flücht'gem Geschlecht;
> Aber die Natur, sie ist ewig gerecht.

One of the most poetic antithetic parallels is found in the words of Roger (ll. 283–293) in which the contrast is brought out between the evanescence of nations as a whole, and the indestructibility of the good name and great fame of the individual hero. Some of the more important pairs are: "Die Traurigen-Die Glücklichen," "Herrscher-Knecht," "Die Hohen-Die Niedern," "Liebe-Hass," "Die zarte Jugend-Des Lebens Grab," "Gewinn-Verlust," "Das Gute-Das Böse," "Wahrheit-Lüge," "Mensch-Himmel," "Geradsinn-Lüge," "Der Hölle Flüsse-Des Lichtes Quell," "rein-schuldig," etc. A number of these are used in connection with the elaboration of a favorite idea with Schiller,—the difference between then and now (ll. 1961–1972), and the inevitability of change: Cajetan says (ll. 2307–2309):

> Wer besitzt, der lerne verlieren,
> Wer im Glück ist, der lerne den Schmerz.

And a contrast that reminds somewhat of the other dramas is found in Don Cesar's words (ll. 2687–2690):

> Ja, könntest du
> Des Mörders gottverhassten Anblick auch
> Ertragen, Mutter, ich ertrüge nicht
> Den stummen Vorwurf deines ew'gen Grams.

Though the contrast is not quite complete, it is realistic; the others are more poetic, and it is this that differentiates *Die Braut von Messina* from Schiller's other dramas. Also, we find the most elaborate contrast thus far in the two dreams. The father saw the lily consume by fire the two laurel trees, and the Arabian astrologer said that the child to be born, if a daughter, would likewise destroy the two sons and eventually the entire house. The mother saw the lion and the eagle lay their prey in the lap of the child and then lie down together pacified, and the God-fearing monk said that the child to be born, if a daughter, would likewise reconcile the two sons and eventually the entire house. Such a contrast is far removed from the simple antitheses of *Die Räuber*. Schiller had at last become an efficient romanticist. In *Die Räuber* he was predominantly a realist, in *Don Carlos* a rationalist, in *Die Braut von Messina* a romanticist.

Simple rhetorical contrasts are abundant also in *Wilhelm Tell* (February, 1804). Stauffacher says (ll. 214–215) to Gertrud:

> Wohl steht das Haus gezimmert und gefügt,
> Doch, ach! es wankt der Grund, auf den wir bauten.

Later (ll. 301–327) he contrasts the curse of war with the blessings of peace. Tell's concise statements frequently consist of a rhetorical contrast. Melchthal's outburst on the awfulness of his blind father's plight centers around the idea that he, with two good eyes, can give from his sea of light not one ray to his eyeless father. Rudenz uses a well-balanced antithesis (ll. 784–785):

> Die Ehr', die ihm gebührt, geb' ich ihm gern;
> Das Recht, das er sich nimmt, verweigr' ich ihm.

Stauffacher (l. 1118) rings a change on Wallen-

[25] There are a number of contrasts between "Die Welt" and "Die Natur," such as (ll. 355–360): "O meine Söhne! Feindlich ist die Welt. Nur die Natur ist redlich." See also ll. 2586–2590:

> Auf den Bergen ist Freiheit. Der Hauch der Grüfte
> Steigt nicht hinauf in die reinen Lüfte;
> Die Welt ist vollkommen überall,
> Wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual.

stein's "Nacht muss es sein, wo Friedlands Sterne strahlen" in his

> Ist es gleich Nacht, so leuchtet unser Recht.

And at the close of the second act (ll. 1462–1465) Stauffacher indulges in a well-balanced antithesis in his remark on the relation of private gain to public good.

But it is not the individual contrasts that constitute the most instructive phase of this drama; it is the development Schiller has made, in this respect, over his practice in his earlier dramas. It is his use of dramaturgic contrasts. The very best men are placed face to face with the very worst, youth confers with old age, scenes of calm in nature follow those of storm, scenes of tranquillity in life follow those of turmoil, the old gives way to the new,[26] presumption and pretense are struck down when most arrogant,[27] death comes in the middle of life. In short, *Tell* is a drama not only of rhetorical contrasts but also of dramaturgic contrasts, and the latter are made more effective by the persistent application of the former. The most elaborate contrast is found in the fifth act, in the Johannes Parricida scenes. Tell, an impetuous peasant, assassinates, on just grounds and for the good of his countrymen, Gessler, the worst of tyrants, and is set free. The Duke of Austria, an instinctively calm nobleman, assassinates on unjust grounds and for his personal benefit, the best of emperors, and is outlawed. It is as useless to attempt to defend this long-drawn-out contrast from the dramatic point of view as it is to state that Schiller introduced it simply for the purpose of contrast. Everyone reads it, for the first time, with interest; no one likes to see it on the stage at any time. And if this most elaborate contrast in his last completed drama is a failure, it is owing to the fact that Schiller sinned against the laws of moderation[28] preached in this very drama frequently and effectively.

As to Schiller's dramatic fragments, it is necessary to consider at least *Demetrius*[29] (April, 1805), in which there are about seventy sharp rhetorical contrasts; they bear the strongest resemblance to those in *Wallensteins Tod*, being more realistic than poetic. From pairs in juxtaposition alone one could, if not entirely reconstruct the fragment, at least determine its general nature. For example: "Sturmvoller Reichstag-gutes Ende," "Ihn hören heisst ihn anerkennen-ihn nicht hören heisst ihn ungehört verwerfen," "Hass-Friede," "edler Feind-gefälliger Freund," "dunkle Nacht-lohe Flamme," "Wo alles eines, eines alles hält," "Stimmen wägen-Stimmen zählen," "das Kleid-das Herz," "der Sklave-der Herr," "Thaten-Ahnen," "Russe-Pole," "Verstorbene-Lebende," and so on. Even in the unelaborated sketches we see Schiller following his old scheme. He writes of the generals:

Zusky	eifersüchtig, dem Boris ergeben.
Soltikow	gewissenhaft, dem Demetrius zugethan.
Dolgoruki	ehrlich, aber schwach.
Basmanow	verrätherisch.
Mazeppa	zuverlässig.

The fragment offers, then, nothing really new

[26] Schiller uses a most peculiar figure, in this connection, in ll. 2423–2426, where Attinghausen speaks of the new freedom that will sprout from the head of Walther Tell!

[27] Just before Tell shoots Gessler, the latter tells of the things he will do, and with still another "Ich will" on his lips, Tell's arrow strikes him down. The melodramatic element, the moving-picture-show element, is pronounced in this drama because of rhetorical and dramaturgic contrasts.

[28] It is as unnecessary to point out instances in which the idea of "sich mässigen" occur as it is to tabulate the list of strong contrasts. After all, Melchthal is about the only hot-headed character in the drama, and of contrasts there are many more than a hundred. He who looks for them will find them.

[29] Cf. *Cotta*, volume 16, p. 8. Gustav Kettner says of this drama: "In den persönlichen Konflikt greifen die Gegensätze im Leben der Völker gewaltiger ein als in irgend einem anderen historischen Drama Schillers. . . . Und ähnlich wie im 'Tell' sollte auch die Natur Russlands in ihrer wilden Öde wie in ihrer unerschöpflichen Fülle sich abspiegeln." The similarity of *Warbeck* to *Demetrius* is well known. A study of the fragmentary sketches of the former reveals the same principle in, if possible, an even larger degree.

from this standpoint, it only corroborates what we have seen from the beginning.[30]

And now, to quote Questenberg, "Was ist der langen Rede kurzer Sinn?" That verbal contrasts are natural in a drama,[31] that there is something not only attractive but effective about well balanced, antithetical sentences, that writers other than Schiller have frequently employed such sentences, that all poets have certain peculiarities [32] of style, that contrasts aid in dramatic motivation, that Schiller, nevertheless, could have written [33] his dramas without the use of linguistic contrasts,—all of these things are self-evident. That Schiller always had a strong tendency to become rhetorical, sometimes at the expense of dramatic economy, that his style is highly individualistic, that he used rhetorical contrasts much more frequently than did, say, Lessing or Goethe, that it is possible to trace the evolutionary development of his use of contrasts from the brief and sharp to the elaborate and poetic, that his ability as a dramatist was preëminent,—all of these statements are irrefutable. There are, consequently, only two phases of the matter the discussion of which would result in enduring good: (1) To what extent is the use of rhetorical contrasts the mark of a great dramatist? If, for example, it could be shown that Tieck, Immermann, and Heyse rarely employed them in their many dramas, while Kleist, Grillparzer, and Hebbel did, that would be strong argument in support of an important thesis. To answer this question, however, would necessitate a broad, comparative study which cannot here be undertaken. (2) Was there anything, esoteric or exoteric, about Schiller's life that explains his frequent use of contrasts? Just a few words by way of attempting to answer this question must suffice.

The first question, however, to be settled, is, did Schiller borrow the device from his predecessors? That he did not is argued, if not proved, by the fact that he used it when he was sixteen years old, when, in view of the sort of life he had lived, he could have had but little opportunity to become familiar with the works of other writers. To be more specific, *Die Räuber* was begun in 1775 and finished when he was just twenty-one years old. The three works that influenced him most in the composition of his first completed drama are, according to Erich Schmidt,[34] Schubart's *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens* (1775), in which there are no contrasts, Shakspeare's *Richard III*, which contains a few,[35] especially

[30] It is not without significance that Hebbel also uses strong contrasts in his "Demetrius" fragment (1863). There is one in particular that resembles Schiller. Mniczek says to Demetrius, ll. 2350–2357:

> Der Mensch ist in der Welt,
> Was Belladonna oder Eisenhut
> Im Pflanzenbeet. Sie kriechen bei der Rose,
> In ihrer nächsten Nachbarschaft, hervor,
> Und hauchen schwüles Gift, wie diese Duft,
> Obgleich derselbe Boden sie erzeugt.
> Der Gärtner reisst sie aus, doch für den Arzt
> Sind sie unschätzbar!

[31] In *Kabale und Liebe,* Ferdinand says to Luise: "Deine Fusstapfe in wilden, sandigen Wüsten [ist] mir interessanter, als das Münster in meiner Heimat" (III, 4). That is to say, a slight depression in a level, sandy, uninhabited desert is set over against a great elevation in an irregular, inhabited, town. The figure is in itself dramatic. In Schiller's own review of *Die Räuber,* he worded this same figure as follows: "Eine Rose in der sandigen Wüste entzückt uns mehr als deren ein ganzer Hain in den hesperischen Gärten."

[32] Schiller, by way of illustration, made more use of the word "ein" and its various derivatives than any other German writer. He believed in unity, though, indeed because, he lived in an age of discord; hence his use of the word. Another peculiarity of Schiller's style is his perpetual use of the expression "ewig nie."

[33] In *Die Räuber,* Moor says: "Menschen—Menschen! falsche, heuchlerische Krokodilbrut! Ihre Augen sind Wasser! Ihre Herzen sind Erzt! Küsse auf den Lippen! Schwerter im Busen! . . . o, so fange Feuer, männliche Gelassenheit! verwilde zum Tiger, sanftmütiges Lamm!" (I, 2). It is easy to see that Schiller could have portrayed Moor's state of mind without reference to such contrasts, by simply pronouncing a curse on insincerity in all its forms; he made it very effective, however, by using contrasts.

[34] Cf. *Schillers sämtliche Werke, Säkular Ausgabe,* Bd. 3, pp. v–xxii.

[35] Gloster's opening lines resemble Schiller:

> Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
> Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.

But after the first act, there are very few such constructions.

in the first act, and Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent* (1776), in which there are none [36] at all. It is therefore safe to assume that the conceit is Schiller's own.[37]

And then as to generalities. Schiller took himself seriously. Only once, in *Wallensteins Lager,* did he become witty, and this was imitative; only once, in *Bittschrift,* did he become actually humorous, and this poem is humorous because Schiller wrote it. There is, to be sure, tragic humor in his dramas, just as there is some real humor in *Pegasus im Joch,* but there is more contrast than humor in this poem. And such a verse (77) as "Der Vogel und der Ochs an e i n e m Seile" is doubly typical of Schiller. According to Madame de Staël, his conscience was his muse. His genius was inexplicable. His information, his cultural background, was acquired by hard and prolonged study of history and philosophy, art and aesthetics. That he was an idealist was not so much a matter of merit as of instinct, and, instinctive idealist that he was, he waged a sort of reconciliatory war with gross and inevitable realities. He had most definite ideas, at least after he had written his first three dramas, as to how things should be; he always realized, to his poetic sorrow, how things really were. His body and his country were poles removed from what he desired; his mind and his soul were, on this account, always worried, but rarely disconcerted, rarely perturbed beyond the point of creating. Though his troubles would have overwhelmed an ordinary individual, there were but few times when he was forced to say with Wagner's Hans Sachs: "'s will halt nicht gehen." His life was one of storm and sunshine. A keen observer, he lived in a world of contrasts. He was speaking for himself and to Fate when he made Rudenz say to Bertha:

> Ihr zeiget mir das höchste Himmelsglück
> Und stürzt mich tief in e i n e m Augenblick.

Rhetorical contrasts came, therefore, natural to him; and he liked them. In a long letter to Körner (August 29, 1787), he wrote of a certain Frau Bohlin as follows: "Ein vortreffliches Gedicht 'Wind und Männer' (als Gegensatz zu dem englischen 'Wolken und Weiber') das im D. Mercur steht ist von ihr." That is to say, Schiller found this poem "vortrefflich" because of its contrast. And in another letter to Körner (April 15, 1786), he said of himself: "Eine Mischung ohngefähr von Speculation und Feuer, Phantasie und Ingenium, Kälte und Wärme, meine ich zuweilen an mir zu beobachten." In other words, he detected, at least he thought he did, unusual contrasts in his own nature; but this is a very common observation.

To conclude, however, that Schiller used rhetorical contrasts because he liked them, or because he felt now one way now another, throws light on nothing; the same might be said of Macaulay and his style. But if we contend that Schiller voluntarily used about twelve hundred contrasts in his twelve main dramas because, as has been suggested above, of his dissatisfaction with things as they were, and because of his consequent desire to idealize the worthy by bringing it face to face with the unworthy,[38] and thereby show how beautiful the

[36] There are sentences in *Julius von Tarent* that are just the reverse of what Schiller would have written. For example, the Fürst says (V, 7) to Guido: "Wer über ein Unglück verrückt ist, sieht ja immer das entgegengesetzte Glück." This is only talking about a contrast; Schiller drew contrasts.

[37] That Schiller was influenced in this matter by Rousseau is highly improbable. Josef Fusseder's dissertation, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache Rousseaus,* Leipzig, 1909, does not touch upon Rousseau's use of contrasts, and Ernst Schütte's dissertation, *Studien zum Stil von Jean-Jacques Rousseau,* Marburg, 1910, has a section entitled: I. Der Kontrast: 1. In der Komposition (z.B. der *Nouvelle Héloïse*). 2. Die Antithese innerhalb des einzelnen Satzes. Only the "Teildruck" of this study was accessible to the writer and the part dealing with contrasts is not included. But to judge from the space allotted to other phases of the matter, Schütte has very little to say about Rousseau's use of contrasts.

[38] Cf. Schiller's *Gedanken über den Gebrauch des Gemeinen und Niedrigen in der Kunst, Säkular Ausgabe,* Bd. 12, S. 283: "Ein gemeiner Kopf wird den edelsten Stoff durch eine gemeine Behandlung verunehren; ein grosser Kopf und ein edler Geist hingegen wird selbst das Gemeine zu adeln wissen." And

one was and how detestable the other, and incidentally heighten the effect of the theme treated, we indubitably approach the truth. One of his most significant poems in this connection is *Das Ideal und das Leben* (1795). And if we substitute "Der Idealismus" as the antecedent of "Er" in the place of Max in *Wallensteins Tod* (l. 3445), to which no one can object, and change "denn" (l. 3445) to "doch," "seh" (l. 3444) to "sah," and "liebenden" (l. 3449) to "läuternden," we allow Schiller (Wallenstein) not only to explain but also to appraise his many contrasts as follows:

Und kalt und farblos sah ich's (das Leben) vor mir liegen.
Doch er stand neben mir wie meine Jugend,
Er machte mir das Wirkliche zum Traum,
Um die gemeine Deutlichkeit der Dinge
Den goldnen Duft der Morgenröte webend—
Im Feuer seines läuternden Gefühls
Erhoben sich, mir selber zum Erstaunen,
Des Lebens flach alltägliche Gestalten.

It would be, then, a grievous error to believe that Schiller did not fully appreciate the ultimate value of the imperfect. In his *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), he formulated his doctrine in this regard. After showing how art did not flourish in the various nations so long as they were politically independent and economically prosperous, and how art did flourish with the decline of the State, he sums up the whole matter in this statement: "Wohin wir immer in der vergangenen Zeit unsere Augen richten, da finden wir, dass Geschmack und Freiheit einander fliehen und dass die Schönheit nur auf den Untergang heroischer Tugenden ihre Herrschaft gründet." [39] He poetized this same idea, among other places, in *Die Jungfrau* (ll. 3165–3179). It was necessary for Johanna to have her adventure with Lionel, to break her oath, to become weak, before she could really become strong. It was therefore the very colorlessness and coldness of life that gave Schiller his artistic energy; it was his country's lack of freedom that inspired him with good taste. He was an unbending idealist surrounded by the crassest of realities. And in him the statement, *le style c'est l'homme,* received a brilliant exemplification, for his life and his ideals are memorialized in the form, the style, the grammar of his works just as clearly as they are in their content.

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precisely the same idea is expressed in *Das Mädchen von Orleans,* the prefatory poem to *Die Jungfrau,* an idea that accompanied Schiller throughout his entire life. The first four verses of the last stanza contain the key to the whole situation:

Es liebt die Welt, das Strahlende zu schwärzen
Und das Erhabene in den Staub zu ziehen;
Doch fürchte nicht! Es giebt noch schöne Herzen,
Die für das Hohe, Herrliche erglühen.

And in a practical way, we have the same idea in *Tell* (ll. 2921–2922) where it is a question of disposing of the hat:

Der Tyrannei musst' er zum Werkzeug dienen;
Er soll der Freiheit ewig Zeichen sein.

[39] It is hardly necessary to state that this work abounds in contrasts; but such occur rarely in Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts.* Even in a foot-note, *Säkular-Ausgabe,* Bd. 13, S. 43, twelfth letter, Schiller could not help but step aside and comment on two expressions that were of great interest to him: "ausser sich sein" and "in sich gehen." And in Andreas Streicher's *Schillers Flucht von Stuttgart,* Hans Hoffmann edition, 1905, p. 58, we are told that Schiller on reading Klopstock's odes found one that interested him so that, though pressed for time, he immediately wrote "ein Gegenstück dazu." This has not been preserved, but we may be certain that it contrasted strongly with Klopstock, and that he wrote it in order to make a contrast.

THE BOOKS OF SIR SIMON DE BURLEY, 1387

The inventory of the books of Sir Simon de Burley, which is given below, has been noted by various scholars, but so far seems to have escaped printing.[1] The list is interesting be-

[1] J. H. Round, *Dictionary of National Biography:* T. Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken,* Leipzig, 1890, (Number 441, Great Britain): E. Savage, *Old English Libraries,* London, 1911, p. 272. Reference is also made to the catalogue in B. Botfield's MS. book, *Private Libraries of the Middle Ages.*

cause it serves as one of the comparatively few fourteenth century catalogues of private English libraries; because it offers evidence of a somewhat unique sort as to the presence in England of certain romance manuscripts, and finally because it is an index to the literary taste of one of the most prominent men of his day. Burley's rise to fortune began in the reign of Edward III; it was brilliant and rapid.[2] As the tutor of young Prince Richard he seems to have won a confidence which later deepened into enviable royal favor. It was Burley who helped to promote and bring about the happy marriage of Richard II with Anne of Bohemia, and his was a lasting place of honor at their court. He held many high offices, among them the Wardenship of the Cinque ports. Indeed he seems to have kept his dignity and wealth to within a few months of that tragic crisis when the Earl of Arundel dared refuse even the Queen begging on her knees, so the story goes, for Burley's life.[3]

The literary interests and associates of a man like Burley are significant. It is possible, as Mr. Round thinks, that Burley's taste for romances which is so amply evidenced by the large number of them in his library, goes back to his early friendship with Froissart, who found him "a gentle knight and according to my understanding of great good sense."[4] If we pass into the realm of conjecture it is not impossible to fancy that Burley may have known another famous lover of romance, the poet Chaucer. Their paths seem narrowly to have crossed on several occasions; in 1376 Chaucer was sent with John de Burley, Simon's brother, on a diplomatic mission—"in secretis negociis Domini Regis"; in October, 1386,[5] Chaucer was a witness at the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy;[6] Burley in December. Both men were Justices of the Peace in Kent in 1385–6,[7] though no record of their joint sitting has yet been found. The probabilities, one cannot call them more, seem to point to the meeting of the two men, and it is not beyond possibility that Chaucer may even have seen these twenty-one "bokes, clad in blak or rede," like the twenty of his pilgrim clerk.

The little library, which was nevertheless large for those days, was of notable variety. It was in "diverses langages," chiefly French and Latin. It included romances, chansons de geste, philosophy, didactic instruction, religious and historical writings. The manuscripts were handsomely bound, and one or two seem to have been illuminated. On the whole it was a handsome addition to the royal library which was, if extant records can be trusted, of very meager sort.[8]

Extract from an Inventory of the goods of Simon Burley at the Mews and at Baynard's Castle, 8 Nov. 11 Ric. II. (Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 25459, f. 206, Copy.)

Les livres.

Primerement j. livre de Romans et de Ymagery de Buys et de Aigrement.[1]

It. j. graunt livre de la Bible oue les histoire Escolastre.

[2] For details concerning Burley see Round's brief but excellent life; see also J. R. Hulburt, *Chaucer's Official Life*, Menasha, U. S. A., 1912, pp. 38–9. Cf. the *Life Records of Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, 1900, with the Index by E. P. Kuhl, *Modern Philology*, X, p. 531.

[3] *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart, Deux Roy Dengleterre*, ed. B. Williams, London, 1846, Eng. Hist. Soc., p. 9.

[4] Froissart, tr. Lord Berners, Bk. VIII, Ch. 51.

[5] *Life Records*, p. 201; no. 98.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 264, no. 193.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 254, no. 183, Writ of Association of Chaucer with the warden of the Cinque Ports and others, Oct. 12, 1385; Commission of the Peace to—Burley and others, including Chaucer, June 28, 1386, *Life Records*, p. 259, No. 188. My colleague, Dr. B. H. Putnam, informs me that an examination of the Payments of Salary to the Justices of the Peace which are enrolled on the Pipe Rolls would give conclusive evidence as to whether Burley actually served. In many cases great officials did not.

[8] E. Edwards, *Libraries and their Founders*, Lond., 1865, p. 390 ff.

[1] Romance of *Bueve* (Buef, Bues, Bue) *d'Aigremont*, the story of the death of Bueve. Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste*, 1897, p. 68: "On a donné ce nom à un épisode considérable des *Quatre Fils Aimon* qui forme l'introduction de la grande guerre entre Charlemagne et les fils d'Aymon." Gaston Paris thought it probable that this episode originally existed as a separate poem (*Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, 1905, pp. 300–1).

It. j. autre livre de Romans en prose covere de blanc cuer.

It. j. livre de Sidrak.[2]

It. j. livre de Romans oue ymagery covere au peel de veel.

It. j. livre novelle de X comandementz covere de cuer rouge.

It. j. livre de govrement de Roys et du Prynces.

It. j. livre de Romans de William Bastard[4] covere de blanc.

It. j. livre de philosophie rumpue covere de cuer rouge.

It. j. livre du Romans du Roy Arthur covere de blanc.

It. j. livret q[ue] commence misere mei deus.

It. j. autre livre de X comandementz covere de rouge.

It. j. livre de papier oue diverses paroles de diverse[s] langages.

It. j. livre de les prophecies de Merlyn.[5]

It. j. livret de Romans oue un ymage al comencement.

It. j. livre de Romans de Meis covere de blanc.[6]

It. j. livre de Englys del Forster et del Sangler.[7]

It. j. livret de bruyt.

It. j. livret de Romans de Maugis covere de Rouge cure.[8]

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[2] *Sidrac and Boctus,* a summary of medieval science in the form of a catechism in which King Boctus questions the wise clerk Sidrac (Shadrack, *Daniel* III). A semi-romantic character is given to the whole by the various adventures of Sidrac who comes first of all to tell Boctus why the fortress which he is building falls every night (cf. story of Vortigern's tower). See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances* I, 903–22; K. Bülbring (*Sidrac in England,* Beiträge z. rom. u. engl. Phil., Festgabe f. W. Foerster, Halle, 1902, p. 451) finds the earliest English reference to Sidrac in *Pricke of Conscience.* Cf. A. Hahn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolles Englischen Schriften,* Halle, 1900, pp. 19, 34 and 36–7. For a full and interesting discussion of Sidrac, see E. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age,* Paris, 1911, pp. 180–264.

[3] Probably a French version of the famous mediaeval treatise *De Regimine Principum* by Guido de Colonna (Ægidius Romanus, d. 1316). An English version made presumably about 1387 is ascribed by Warton to Trevisa (*Hist. Eng. Poetry* II, 128). A well-known instance of the use of *De Reg. Princ.* is in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (Booke of Governance) written about 1412. Cf. A. Aster, *Das Verhältnis des altenglischen gedichtes von Hoccleve zu seinen quellen,* Leip., 1888. The "Liber de Regimine Principum" is mentioned—to give one instance out of many—in the catalogue of Dover Priory, made in 1389; cf. M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover,* p. 463.

[4] In the list of books given by Guy de Beauchamp to Bardesley Abbey in the early part of the fourteenth century reference is made to "Le Romance de Willame de Loungspé" which I should be inclined to identify with this Romans de William Bastard. William Longsword was the illegitimate son of Henry II and Fair Rosamond, and the stories of his romantic birth as well as of his lively adventures would no doubt give rise to many tales which might well, long before the fourteenth century, have reached the dignity of a *roman.* His association with Ranulf, Earl of Chester, of whom, on the evidence of *Piers Plowman* (Passus VII, 11) we know "rymes" were made, would further strengthen this conjecture. Of quaint antiquarian interest is John Leland's "historical romance," *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury,* Lond. 1762. For an extant mediaeval poem on William Longsword see A. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe Siècles, Du bon William Longespée* (MS. Bibl. Cotonn. Julius AV).

"Ky vodra de duel et de pité tres-grant
De bon William Longespée ly hardy combatant."

Burley's book might, however, be a chronicle of William the Conqueror who was commonly called the Bastard. Cf. for instance, the Cronica Bastardi in the catalogue of the books of the Austin friars, York, ed. M. R. James.

[5] Cf. L. A. Paton, *Notes on Manuscripts of the Prophécies de Merlin,* Publ. Modern Lang. Assoc., XXVIII, 121–139 (1913): Ward, *Catalogue of Romances* I, 371–374. Whether Burley's book was a version of the thirteenth century prose romance *Les Prophécies,* or whether it was merely one of the many of the "pseudo-Joachimite Prophesies of Merlin current in the thirteenth and fourteenth century," it is impossible, from the mere title, to determine.

[6] Romans de Meis. I do not identify this reference.

[7] Probably an exemplum tale. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances,* II.

[8] Romance of Maugis d'Aigremont, son of Buef d'Aigremont. Cf. Langlois, *Les Epopées françaises,* 1878, I, 241, for MSS. This chanson de geste has been edited by F. Castets, *Revue des langues romanes* XXXVI, 5–259, 1892. It should be noted that of the three extant manuscripts of Maugis earlier than the fifteenth century that now in Peterhouse College, Cambridge, 2.05, was given by Dr. John

ORPHIC ECHOES IN MODERN LYRIC POETRY: ERNST LISSAUER'S *DER STROM* [1]

Most potent, perhaps, of all the influences that have left an impress upon later dreams concerning the essence and meaning of life, is the influence exerted down the long ages by the thought and symbolism of the Orphic Mystery. The Orphic Mystery was the crystallization in ritual of man's mystic realization of the identity of his turbulent transitory Self with the divine eternal All; and later Greek philosophy is only a farther development of early Orphic speculations. Recent appreciative reinterpretation of Pre-Socratic philosophy has shown that the mood of passionate subjective pantheism—or rather panentheism—which characterized those early philosophers, and which is always contemporaneous with fervid lyric expression, is allied in spirit to the mood dominant in the days of the Renaissance, and again in the days of German Romanticism. It is likewise the mood—growing in the world today—which forms the basis of our modern vitalistic monism, with its buoyant affirmation of the world-will's tireless creative energy, and its strong sense of the kinship, change, and re-embodiment of all phenomenal things. And so this world-old thought, this world-old symbolism, is finding in present-day poetry renewed expression and reinterpretation.

In most of the poets the motives appear more or less fugitively, and, except, perhaps, in Wille and Stephan George, are not organized into a definite scheme; but in Lissauer's *Der Strom* we find a definite framework of philosophic thought underlying and organizing the collection of poems. The volume gives typical, clear, and systematized expression to these world-old themes, and it is one of the most beautiful and significant volumes of lyric poetry published in late years. It is the work of a mature and poised, yet passionate poet, whose peculiar temper and philosophy of life and things—suffusing and at the same time focalizing the collection—gives significance and purpose to all the poems in their relation to one another and to the thought and mood of the whole. While a definite plan holds them together, each is also effective in itself.

Lissauer's work shows that harmony between the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies, between the dynamic and the static, which is the ideal alike of life and of art. While abandoning himself to Dionysiac enthusiasm and to a consciousness of the abounding fulness of life which pours itself out unwearyingly into endless manifoldness, he is no less a votary of Apolline unity, concentration, and control. His boundless 'one-and-all' feeling is caught and fixed in definite sensuous images, as well as in the definite plot which organizes the collection; yet the constant struggle of his passionate pantheism for escape from the limiting form gives to his work suggestiveness and a subtle, live fluidity of line free from all rigidity.

This poetry is in the finest sense symbolic: fugitively symbolic in a way, yet nevertheless quite definite and unmistakable in mood and meaning. Perfectly clear is the central symbol, that of the stream, the image with which the book opens and closes. The choice and the interpretation of this symbol illustrates Lissauer's ego-centric and yet cosmic starting-point. "Die Welt und mich, mich und die Welt" is written on his banner. The stream it is which binds to one another all parts of the earth: the water-stream on the one hand, thought of chiefly as the far-wandering warming Gulf Stream and as the fertilizing Nile; and the earth-stream on the other hand, the 'open road' which flows loudly and far out into the land. But the stream is the symbol, also, of the typical poet, all-embracive and blithe; it is the symbol, indeed, of Lissauer himself, the poet-priest; as—having sent his soul abroad hungry for experience, caught now and again in the turmoil of passion, of sorrow;

Warkeworth, master of Peterhouse, in 1481. Cf. M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of Peterhouse*, p. 236, No. 201.

Details concerning the various extant MSS. of the romances in Burley's library are for the most part omitted, as the writer hopes shortly to publish a study of the romances named in medieval catalogues of English libraries.

[1] Ernst Lissauer, *Der Strom*. Jena, 1912.

having found lasting joy, finally, in the possession of wife and child while remaining attuned none the less to the struggle and hunger of humanity—he thus grows gradually from youth to manhood, dedicating himself ever more consciously and joyously to his life-work, and traveling steadily 'oceanward' confident and unafraid. So he sings [2] of the stream and of his art:

> Wie er wandernd Meere an Meere, Länder an Länder bindet,
> . . . . .
> Also treibe ich . . .
> . . . . .
> Umarmend Ufer, Inseln, Länder, Meere, viele, viele.

Vertrauen

> Und eins ist not: sei gläubig! Spende
> Dich dem Geschick wie ein Segel dem Reisewind!
> Fürchte nicht fremde Gelände!
> Sei deiner Zukunft gläubig, wie ein Strom dem Meer, in das er rinnt!

This theme—the story of an artist's development and of his world-saving mission—is the old theme of the Romanticists; and it is also a flitting tradition which has haunted the ages and which harks back finally to the Orphic Mystery with its tale of Orpheus, prototype of all singers. But not only does the central theme of the book reflect world-old mystic thought; Lissauer reinterprets all the chief dreams and symbols found by man in his earliest gropings for an explanation of life and things, and he makes them vital and valid for us to-day.

Most pervasive of them all is the dream—the more than dream—of the intimate oneness of all things with one another and with the great all, now, and in the past, and in the future. Closely related to this, the most fundamental of all dreams, is the weird dream of the never-ending round of restless phenomenal transformation that takes place as the eternal 'soul' enters body after body, changing, developing, finding release at last from the wheel of sense-birth; and this dream of birth and re-birth, and final release is in its turn hardly to be separated from that other weird, wistful dream of the soul's outgo from a golden homeland; of the doom laid upon it to wander untold ages long, down the abyss of time, over the field of shows, vaguely reminiscent, ever and anon, of the primal glory to which it will find a late golden return.

Nachgefühl

> Oft ist es mir, ich war vormals ein Stern unter Sternen,
> In das Gesetz der Himmel eingeschlossen von bannender Kraft,
> Aber gelöst aus der seligen Haft,
> In Fall
> Durch das All,
> Reise ich rastlos von Fernen zu Fernen.
>
> Irr auf die Erde verschlagen,
> Mensch unter Menschen, leb' ich nun meine Zeit.
> Durch wimmelnde Mengen, von Taumel getragen,
> Schimmernd,
> Zertrümmernd,
> Stürz' ich in jähe Unendlichkeit.

Yet Lissauer does not dwell overmuch on this more troubled mood; he is too healthy an optimist, and too thoroughly a monist, not to affirm buoyantly the 'here and now' which, after all, seems intimately identical with the eternal. "Mitten im Tag wittre ich Ewigkeit," he says. In music—the great 'magical' panacea of the Mystery—he finds release from the disturbing problem of the finite, and in his poems on music and musicians he dreams ecstatically of spheral music and the basic harmony of things.

> Heiligend fliesst Musik mir im beglückten Blut.
> Es rührt mir an die Sterne eine weite Kühle. . .
> Durch meine klingenden Hände
> Jubilierend braust Musik der Welt.

In this connection the motive of 'initiation'—of the granting of final 'knowledge'—is suggested. For when, troubled, he climbs high up into a belfry, the solemn sounding of the bell reveals to him the great Mystery.

> Mein Haupt lauscht
> Und füllt sich schwer mit dem bebenden Klange,
> Und ehern berauscht
> Wird es aufgetan von der hämmernden Kunde
> Und vernimmt alles Geschehn in der tönenden einen Sekunde.

[2] "Wie der Golfstrom." Compare further "An den Nil," "Lobgesang," "Zuversicht," "Grabschrift für einen Dichter."

Aussummt
Die Glocke und ist verstummt,—
Erwacht aus dem Schlag,
Wissend schau' ich erstaunt auf den verworrenen
Tag.

Earth, water, fire, air—these four 'elements' that have played so conspicuous a part in religious and philosophic tradition—are fundamental notes, also, in Lissauer's thought and symbolism.

The significance of water has already been noted. The earth he pictures as the great solid stage over which life's varied never-ending show passes; and he bids his soul travel forth over it tirelessly.

Even more important than water and earth in his scheme of symbolism, are fire and air, or light and wind. These two he calls his progenitors. They are symbols of the dualistic principles of life, of that polarity which is life's fundamental phenomenon.

Herkunft

Wer hat mich gezeugt,
Dass ich bin voll Gewalt und Flamme?
Welche Amme
Hat mich mit Atem und Glut gesäugt?
Auf einer Pappel schwankendem Stamme,
Dünkt mich, wohnt' ich als Kind,
Ob mir fuhr Wolke und Blitz,
Oft rauschte ein Wehen gelind
Und wiegte den wiegenden Sitz.

Der ich bin, wie ich ward in Stunde und Jahr,
Licht
Breit auf dem Angesicht,
Von Wind durchstreift Stirne und Haar,
Von geschauter, gespürter Welt zu strahlender
Lohe entfacht,
Von Sturm die vollströmenden Adern durchwühlt,
Das selige Blut brausend in Taumel und Ton,
Von Flammen durchzuckt, doch von scharf aufspringenden Winden gekühlt,—
Ich bin des Feuers und des Windes eingeborner
Sohn.

Fire, with which he feels himself to have formerly been more directly one, is the vital power which quickens and impels his exuberant blood. Yet the fire in the blood seems less lasting to him, after all, than the wind-soul which he feels to be the inmost essence of himself as of all things, subtly, closely one, as it is, with the great universal world-breath. This great universal world-breath, all-embracing air, never-dying, wander-hungry wind, he celebrates unwearyingly. More than any poet before him he sings of the wind and its wanderings; and the group of poems on the wind is one of the most striking and beautiful parts of the book.

Beautiful, too, and well carried out, is the conception of his individual wind-soul. He sends it forth to travel everywhither and to make all things its own even as does the world-soul.

O du meine Seele, die du beglückst mein Blut,
meinen Leib, all mein atmendes Sein,
Du fliegst auf in die Welt, und die Welt wird mein,
Menschen und Fluten und Felsen und Sterne,—

O du meine Seele, wie fühl' ich dich reisen!

. . . . .

O du meine Seele, du sollst mir niemals wieder
kehren!
Du sollst wandernd wie Wind dich mit Samen von
Welt beschweren.

But when, grief-stricken, he sits alone, suddenly he feels his far-traveling wind-soul close by him, his best and truest friend.

Atem weht mich an, ich bin nicht allein,
Weiter wird die Stube, heller wird der Schein.
Leise um mich schattet ein betreuend Du,
Meine Seele, ich höre, du sprichst mir zu.

And for a while they nestle closely to one another, keeping the wind from the restless world without shut away.

O du meine Seele wie sind wir selig zu zwein!

. . . . .

Beschlossen ist das Haus, verloschen ist das Licht,
Selig im Dunkeln liegen und lauschen wir,—
Wind aus der Welt will herein zu mir und dir.

Such, then, are the fundamental notes struck by Lissauer in this volume. One is reminded of Orphic and Stoic and Romantic thought, of Nietzsche, of Whitman. But who can wish to emphasize influences where every word, every image, every thought, bears on it the seal of a personal temper and a personal vision of life and living? And yet, although so personal in his vision, Lissauer is at the same time an

embodiment—as indeed every real poet should be—of the dominant mood of his age: that mood of buoyant affirmation which characterizes our modern 'monism.'

And the outer form in which these thoughts and moods and experiences have found expression is equally individual. Rime is retained; but the rhythm manifests a vibrant life and variety which can be gained only by utmost freedom from conventional standards of verse. The metre is at one time pulsatingly expressive of ecstatic abandon; is at other times delicately sensitive; again, it is permeated by a sense of restraint, or rolls along, ample, sustained, majestic.

Thus Lissauer's *Der Strom* is in thought as in form one of the finest achievements of modern lyric poetry; and it is rich in emotional suggestion just because the fundamental motives and symbols are the world-old themes which have ever been dear to men: symbols which have haunted dreamers as prefiguring, in myth, the final 'knowledge' manifest to man at the end of his mystic quest.

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THE ORDER OF MONOSYLLABLES AND DISSYLLABLES IN ALLITERATION

Jespersen in his second edition of *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (p. 232 f.) says: "In combinations of a monosyllable and a dissyllable by means of *and*, the usual practice is to place the short word first. . . . Thus we say 'bread and butter,' not 'butter and bread'; further: bread and water, milk and water, cup and saucer, wind and weather, head and shoulders, by fits and snatches, from top to bottom, rough and ready, rough and tumble, free and easy, dark and dreary, high and mighty, up and doing."

Professor Scott, in an article in *Modern Language Notes,* XXVIII, 237 f., contends that this statement does not give a true impression of English usage. He says: "It implies, if it does not say outright, that rhythm groups of the type 'butter and bread' occur in English but rarely. It also suggests that such phrases lack idiomatic force. I submit that just the contrary is true; phrases of this type occur frequently, and they are strongly idiomatic." Professor Scott appends a list of 262 phrases taken at random, and finds that 42 per cent. are of the "unusual," that is, of the "butter and bread" type.

I have classified alliterating monosyllabic-dissyllabic and dissyllabic-monosyllabic combinations. My material I have found in Hans Willert's *Die alliterierenden Formeln der englischen Sprache* (Halle, 1911). Willert has gathered under various headings over 600 pages of alliterating phrases from the works of over one hundred authors. Such a stupendous *Opus* does not of course exhaust the alliterating groups in English, and some even of the fairly common groups are lacking, as one reviewer has shown. However, his lists seem to me to be inclusive and representative enough to permit of their statistical use for or against Jespersen. I shall follow Willert's classification, cite a few phrases of each class, and then give the numerical relation of the two rhythmic types: (1) Words of the same Root; (2) Nouns; (3) Adjectives; (4) Verbs. I shall give them in alphabetic order, treating the vowel-alliterations together.

(1) Words of the Same Root

Bread and butter type

arms and armour	foul and filthy
beds and bedding	gleam and glimmer
climb and clamber	god and goddess
duke and duchess	goose and gander
faults and failings	host and hostess
feed and foster	judge and jury
float and flutter	just and unjust

Butter and bread type

blossom and bloom

Total in Willert 17 in first type; 4 in second type.

(2) Nouns

Bread and butter type

aim and object
arms and ensigns
end and object
back and belly
back and body
bag and baggage
bags and boxes
bags and bundles
balls and banquets
bands and banners
bed and bolster
beds and boxes
bed and breakfast
beef and biscuit
bit and bridle
blight and blackness
blood and body
blood and breeding
blot and blunder
blows and buffets
bone and breeding
boon and blessing
boughs and branches
box and barrel
box and bottle
brain and bosom
brake and brier
broil and battle
brooch and bracelet
broom and bracken
bumps and bruises
bush and bramble
bush and brier

Butter and bread type

adder and eel
uncles and aunts
banner and brand
blemish and blot
body and bones
body and brain
body and breast
bower and bed
breeches and boots
bullocks and beeves

Total in Willert 215 in first type; 48 in second type.

(3) Adjectives

Bread and butter type

old and ugly
base and bloody
base and brutal
best and boldest
best and bravest
best and brightest
big and burly
bleak and barren
bleak and bitter
blithe and bonny
blue and brilliant
bold and brilliant
brave and brilliant
bright and balmy
bright and blooming
bright and busy
brisk and busy
calm and careless
calm and cloudless
clean and quiet
clear and quiet
coarse and common
coarse and cruel
cold and callous
cold and careless
cold and clammy
cold and cruel
cold and quiet
cool and cunning
cracked and crumpled
crisp and curly
damp and dirty
damp and dreary
dark and deadly
dark and dingy
dark and dirty
dark and dismal
dark and doubtful
dark and dreadful
dark and dreary
dark and drizzly
deep and dreamless
dim and dirty
dim and dismal
dry and deadened
dry and dusty
dull and dismal
dull and dreamy
dull and dreary
dull and drowsy
faint and faded
faint and footsore
fair and favoured
fair and fertile

Butter and bread type

favoured and fat
fearful and faint
feeble and faint
feeble and few

Total in Willert 158 in first type; 15 in second type.

(4) Verbs

Bread and butter type

bark and bellow
beat and batter
beg and borrow
bite and blister
bleed and blister
blush and blunder
boil and bubble
brag and bluster
bruised and bleeding
buy and borrow
catch and carry
clothe and comfort
come and carry
crouch and cower
fall and flutter
fawn and flatter
feast and fatten
fit and furnish
fix and fasten
flash and flicker
flush and fluster
flush and frighten

Butter and bread type

baffle and beat
blossom and bear
flicker and fade
flutter and flap

Total in Willert 64 in first type; 17 in second type.

Summary: Willert has a total of 538 of these phrases. In 454 of them the monosyllable precedes the dissyllable. We have then over 84 per cent. of the "bread and butter" type, and less than 16 per cent. of the "butter and bread" type. These percentages, it seems to me, justify Jespersen's statement, "the usual practice is to place the short word first," as far, at least, as the alliterating combinations are concerned.

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GINÉS PÉREZ DE HITA

Guerras civiles de Granada, Primera Parte. Reproducción de la edición príncipe del año 1595, publicada por Paula Blanchard-Demouge. Madrid, Bailly-Baillière, 1913. 8vo., cxviii + *a–n* + 337 pp. Facsimile title-page. (Junta para ampliación de estudios é investigaciones científicas *and* Centro de estudios históricos.)

Here is a splendidly printed reproduction of the first edition of Hita's *Historia de los*

Bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes, edited by a former student of the Universities of Toulouse and Paris. It is provided with a long and important introduction, a bibliography of the early editions, comments on the style and syntax of Hita, a few variant readings, some historical notes, and a list of *Documentos relativos a los moros y a los reyes católicos en la época de sus conquistas en Andalucía y toma de Granada.* In importance the work transcends that of many reprints of first editions, and I shall try, in the limited space at my disposal, to set forth the points which require comment.

Let it be said at once that we have not here a critical text, but only a reprint, and with punctuation and accent modernized. For reasons soon to be stated, a complete list of variant readings from later editions is a physical impossibility. Just how perfect the reproduction is, one cannot say, without a comparison with the rare original; there is no *Fe de erratas* to betray a guilty conscience. But certain obvious mistakes suggest that the work of collation might have been better done, or, at least, that an attempt should have been made to correct the misprints of the original.[1]

It appears from the facts set forth in the *Bibliography* that the need of a reproduction of the first edition was greater than anyone suspected. The book was first printed at Saragossa, 1595,[2] and editions succeeded one another rapidly, there being at least nine more within twenty years. But an edition published at Seville in 1613, and bearing upon the title-page "en esta ultima impression corregida y emendada" presented a version completely altered. According to the editress (p. xciii), no edition later than 1619 has followed that of Saragossa 1595; all the innumerable editions later than 1619 adopted the text of Seville 1613. Hence the prime importance of the present reprint.

The changes made in 1613 were not limited to a few word substitutions; they constituted a virtual rewriting of the whole book. The editress presents for comparison (pp. 317–320) nineteen variant passages from the edition of Seville 1613, but these convey only a feeble notion of the changes involved. Not only is syntax modernized, archaic words suppressed, adjectives and epic formulae excised,[3] whole sentences removed, but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that not a single sentence is left in its original form. It follows that those of us—practically all, I suppose,—who have read Hita only in a modern edition, such, for instance, as that edited by Aribau in vol. III of the Rivadeneyra collection of *Bibl. de Aut. esp.* (1847), have read something removed a thousand leagues from the original thought of the author. As a single example take this sentence (*Rivad.,* p. 527a, lines 5 and 4 from below): "La hermosa Galiana vivía libre de amor, y fué herida de amores de Hamete Sarracino, y con grande exceso." But in the text of Saragossa 1595 we read (p. 63, ll. 9–12): "La hermosa Galiana, que hasta aquella hora siempre avia sido libre de passion de amor, se halló tan presa de Hamete Sarrazino, y de su buena disposición

[1] For example: p. 200, line 3, *brolle* for *brote;* p. 253, l. 26, *este* for *esta;* l. 29, *desdicha* for *desdichada;* l. 36, *emplea* for *empleara;* p. 290, l. 12, *casa* for *cosa;* p. 291, l. 32, *al enojada,* (?), unintelligible. In the well-known *romance* on pages 252–3 (Wolf, *Primavera y flor,* no. 85*a*), the refrain is printed in the way that Byron took it: "¡Ay de mí, Alhama!" I don't know that this reading is quite impossible, but the "¡Ay de mi Alhama!" of most recent editors is more plausible.—The number of misprints in the *Introduction* does not increase one's faith in the accuracy of the text.

[2] A report that there was an edition of Alcalá 1588 found credence with some, in particular Durán, in the Bibliography of the *Romancero general* (vol. II, p. 688). It arose from a misprint, 1588 for 1598, in the *Catalogue de Soubise,* Paris, 1789. The mistake was pointed out as far back as Brunet's *Manuel du libraire,* and the point would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not that Fitzmaurice-Kelly, after giving the date of the first edition as 1595 in the first three editions of his *History of Spanish Literature* (English, Spanish, French), has, through a mere clerical error, returned to 1588 in the two recent ones (Paris and Madrid, 1913).

[3] Some brief notes are given on this matter, pp. xcv, xcvi. The most important single change in syntax is in the position of object pronouns, as, *para le matar, sin se lo merecer,* changed to *para matarle, sin merecérselo,* etc.

y talle, que no sabía qué se hazer." This is a fair example of the alterations introduced, and of the way in which the reviser carried condensation to a point where the meaning became obscure, and the color lost. A poem of sixty-one lines in blank verse (cap. XVI, pp. 258–9) is omitted in Rivad., with little loss, it must be said. On the other hand, three moralizing digressions, obviously out of tune with the context, appear in Rivad. that are not to be found in the 1595 text.[4] The reader will have no difficulty in understanding that whatever critics have had to say regarding Hita's style[5] must be fundamentally revised. In reality, the Castilian of the first edition is quite of its time, easy-going, loose in structure, full of unvarying epic formulae and enthusiastic adjectives; in short, unliterary and altogether charming. A certain sententious compression that one notes in the modernized text, disappears entirely. Words which are incomprehensible in Rivad. are found to be explained by a phrase which the reviser omitted. Acquaintance with the first version will increase Hita's fame, rather than diminish it; the book, as he first wrote it, is more naïve, more logical, and more picturesque.

Who was responsible for the rewritten version of 1613? Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge does not touch upon this problem. Would any editor make so free with so recent a book? It seems unlikely, especially if Hita was still living at that time, as is probable. Was it, like Tasso's *Gerusalemme conquistata,* an unhappy second-thought of the author's failing powers? Only a close comparison of all the early editions will bring light.

The editress, not content with having restored her author to his pristine charm, endeavors to prove that he is guilty of none of the faults ascribed to him. Thus she quotes (p. xciv) an incomplete sentence from Menéndez y Pelayo (*Orígenes de la novela,* I, ccclxxx), who said: "su misma novela indica que no estaba muy versado en la lengua ni en las costumbres de los mahometanos, puesto que acepta etimologías ridículas, comete estupendos anacronismos, y llega a atribuir a sus héroes el culto de los ídolos ('un Mahoma de oro') y a poner en su boca reminiscencias de la mitología clásica." Menéndez y Pelayo was not fooled by the revised text, which he laid, as I have said (cf. *supra,* note 4), to the edition of Madrid, 1833. Not being able to deny the charge of anachronism (which she omits in her quotation), the editress concentrates upon the other points, and declares that "mitología, ídolos de oro y etimologías ridículas, todo eso no se encuentra en la edición de Zaragoza 1595; todo eso fué introducido más tarde en la edición de Sevilla, 1613." She is surprisingly mistaken in her statement; anyone who had

[4] Cap. IX, p. 533b; cap. X, p. 539a; cap. XVII, p. 587a. I do not know whether all of these are also in the 1613 text. Only the first is among the variant passages quoted by Blanchard-Demouge, but it is evident that her selection is limited. This brings me to an important question which the editress has done nothing to clear up. Did all the changes appear in the edition of Seville, 1613, or were some made prior to it, or were many introduced in the nineteenth century? Not being able to consult any editions earlier than that of 1847, I can do no more than point out certain details that demand investigation. Thus, the second edition, Valencia, 1597, is declared in the title-page to be "corregida y enmendada en esta segunda impression," and one ought to know what changes were actually made then. The variations in the early editions escaped the notice of Menéndez y Pelayo, who laid them all to the account of a modernized text published by León Amarita (Madrid, 1833, 2 vols. 8vo.), for which, according to him, S. Estébanez Calderón was responsible. (See *Orígenes de la novela,* I, ccclxxxviii and ccclxxxix, note 1.) This text was copied by Aribau for the Rivadeneyra edition, if this last can be called an edition of anything, for it is full of the rankest blunders. Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge takes no cognizance whatever of any changes introduced in the 1833 edition, so that we are left to infer that all date back to 1613. This much is certain, that the nineteen extracts she presents from the text of 1613 are almost identical with the readings of Rivad. There are a few verbal variations, and one or two sentences appear in Rivad. which are found in 1595, but not in 1613. It will be seen that a critical text and a study of the different editions are badly needed. In my remarks about the disfiguration which the original underwent in 1613, I have assumed that the latter text is practically that of Rivad.

[5] Aribau, *B.A.E.*, vol. III, p. xxxvi, made some often-quoted remarks concerning the modernity of Hita's style.

read the proof of her reprint must have known that the "Mahoma de oro" is mentioned on p. 89, l. 28, as well as p. 104, l. 18. The phrase "etimologías ridículas" refers, I suppose, to the origin which Hita offers in his first chapter for the names Elvira and Granada, and these are in the first edition as well as any other. Lastly, the "reminiscencias de la mitología clásica" abound, on the lips of the Moors, and in their fiestas. As examples I may cite: the entire song of Abenámar, on p. 65; "el dios de amor," p. 84, l. 19; "el dios Marte," p. 99, ll. 13 and 25; and "Polyphemo" on the same page; "Diana," "Venus," "Troya," "Achiles," p. 159, ll. 13–15 (this passage is not in Rivadeneyra!); etc. So it is clear that Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge has spoken inadvisedly on this matter.

I come now to the two important points in the *Introduction:* [6] if the contentions of the editress be regarded as proved, the theories hitherto accepted are overthrown. The first deals with the identity of the "Moro coronista" from whom Hita claimed to obtain much of his material; the second, with the accuracy of the descriptions of fiestas and tourneys which lend brilliance to his narrative. Blanchard-Demouge goes counter to all former opinions by asserting that the element of truth is much greater than had been supposed.

The title-page of all the editions reads: "agora nuevamente sacado de un libro Arauigo, cuyo autor de vista (whatever that may mean) fue un Moro llamado Aben Hamin, natural de Granada." Hita, in the body of his work, mentions this Moor only once by name, in the third chapter (p. 24, ll. 7 and 9): "el Moro Abenhamin, historiador de todos aquellos tiempos, dende la entrada de los Moros en España." But he speaks several times of the "Moro coronista" as his authority, and in chap. XVII (p. 291) gives an account of how he obtained the Arabic history: the Moorish writer lived at the time of the fall of Granada, and passed to Africa, where he died; a grandson of his found the history of Granada among his papers, and gave it to a Jew, Rabbi Santo [Sem Tob?], who, at the request of Rodrigo Ponce de León, translated it into Castilian; it was presented to Hita by this same Ponce de León (whose friend he really was).

Every critic who has discussed Hita has taken for granted that this supposed Moorish source was a literary fiction, in the same category with Cervantes' Cide Hamete Benengeli.[7] But Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge declares (pp. xxx–xl) that such a Moor existed, that his name was Aben Aljatib, and that Hita obtained material from him, although the story of the passage of the manuscript from Africa to Spain is probably made up. Let us examine her proof.

In the Second Part of his *Guerras civiles* (chap. X, Rivad. p. 616b) Hita speaks of the capture of Ohanez having been prophesied by "aquel moro viejo, celebre sabio de Granada, llamado Aben Hamin, el mismo que por el ruego del Rey don Pedro de Castilla declaró los pronósticos de Merlín." This Moor was a well-known personage, called in the Castilian chronicles Aben Hatin; he lived 1313–1372, and wrote a famous series of letters to princes, and a history of Granada and its principal men, "conocida bajo el nombre de Jhata." [8] This history was continued by successors of Ibn al-Khatîb, and brought down to 1489. Hita's

[6] The *Introducción* is divided into the following sections: I, *Interés de la obra;* II, *Biografía de Ginés Pérez de Hita;* III, *El poema épico de Lorca, primer borrador de las "Guerras civiles;"* IV, *Fuentes históricas;* V, *Romances de las Guerras;* VI, *Ficción. Incidentes novelescos. Relaciones de fiestas.* There follows the *Bibliografía,* including an account of Hita's sale of his MS., remarks on his language and style, and a list of the editions of the *Primera Parte,* both in Spain and outside, giving in many cases the text of the title-page, the *Aprobación, Licencia* and *Tassa.* Two French translations are described at length; and two more French ones, one English and one German, are mentioned summarily.

[7] For example, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. de la litt. esp.,* Paris, 1913, p. 322; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* I, cccLxxx: "Nadie puede tomar por lo serio el cuento del original arábigo de su obra."

[8] In the conventional Arabic notation for English, his name was Ibn al-Khatîb, and the full title of his work "Al-ihâta fî târîkhi Gharnâta," that is "the circle about the history of Granada."

information about the cities in the kingdom of Granada and the chief Moorish families differs from that of the Christian chroniclers he used; "más bien parece proceder de . . . el prólogo de la *Jhata*" (p. xxxiv).

What is to be said of this important (if true) identification of the "Moro coronista"? Simply that it is very interesting, but very far from proven. We may pass over the phonetic changes involved in the passage from Ibn al-Khatîb to Aben Hamin, which do not seem impossible; we might refrain from pointing out that Hita himself does not claim that the Aben Hamin of the Second Part who prophesied the fall of Ohanez and lived in the days of Pedro el cruel, is the same as the Aben Hamin of the first part, who fled to Africa after the fall of Granada (since this last story is probably pure fiction). But there is no overlooking the fact that Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge has not presented an atom of positive proof that Hita derived information from the preface to the *Jhata.* The obvious and valuable thing to do was to include copious citations from Ibn al-Khatîb in support of her argument, with a translation for the benefit of the lay reader. But she has done nothing of the kind; indeed one may infer from the vagueness of her remarks concerning this Moorish author that she lacks first-hand acquaintance with him. She does not even tell us where we could consult him, if we were able;[9] we must turn to Pons Boigues' *Ensayo biobibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigos españoles,* Madrid, 1898, no. 294, or, more recent, to Dozy's *Spanish Islam,* translated by Stokes, London, 1913, p. 744, to learn that *al-ihâta* exists in MSS. of the Escurial, Paris, the Gayangos collection, and Tunis, and that it has never yet been printed, let alone translated.[10] Such being the case, is it in irony that the editress remarks (p. 321, l. 19) "Sobre la fundición de Granada, véase IBU (sic) ALJATIB: *prólogo a la Jatha*" (sic)? Why, if Hita had a contemporary Moorish source at hand, did he invent the strange anachronism of the slaughter of the Abencerrages by Boabdil, when it was the father of the Rey Chico who killed them? Menéndez y Pelayo's explanation of the origin of this legend is all-sufficient (*Orígenes de la novela,* I, ccclxxxiii ff.). Moreover, Blanchard-Demouge herself points out that Hita cites the Moor as his authority for one passage which he borrowed directly from Pulgar (cf. p. xxxvii), which proves well enough that his statements have no intrinsic claim to belief. All in all, it will require direct comparison with the text of Ibn al-Khatîb to prove that Hita owes him anything at all.

The other new point which Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge attempts to make is that the descriptions of fiestas at Granada, with their tourneys, emblems, devices and elaborate apparatus, is not so fantastic as has generally been assumed (see *Introducción,* chap. VI). Menéndez y Pelayo, although declaring that these gallant Moors were largely conventional, and lent themselves to caricature, qualified his remark by noting that Christian customs had penetrated the Moorish kingdoms toward their close, and that Hita's descriptions might not be true in detail, but they were faithful to the spirit of the decadent capital, torn by tribal feuds (*Orígenes de la novela,* I, ccclxxxvi and ccclxxxi). Mlle. Blanchard-Demouge attempts to show that even the details can be verified; that the "marlotas, alquiceles, zambras y saraos" were not catchwords, but were actually used in contemporary accounts.

What she really proves are the following points: (1) that tournaments and *pasos honrosos* were common among the Christians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; (2) that elaborate fiestas, with allegorical "floats" built to represent serpents, etc., after the fashion described by Hita, were often held in the second half of the sixteenth century; (3) that the triple tunic (*marlota, albornoz, alquicel*), of which de Circourt made sport, declaring any Moor would suffocate who wore so many clothes under a Southern sun, and the *adarga,* plumes

[9] Merely by chance, when on another subject, she refers to a MS. of the *Jhata* at the Escurial, no. 357 (p. lxxv, note 4).

[10] For further information see the third edition of Dozy's *Recherches* I, 282–284, and the same writer's *Script. Arab. loci de Abbadidis,* II, 169–172.

and bright colors, were the fashion and in current use for Christian tourneys toward 1600 (1570, 1605, 1559, etc.); (4) that Moors, dressed in native costume, took part in Christian fiestas and *juegos de cañas* in 1570 and 1571 (though the quotation leaves a doubt whether they were not Spaniards playing the part); (5) that there were duels and tournaments in Granada in the last days of the kingdom (this is the point least well supported by documents); (6) that the Moors used coats of arms with mottoes and devices, and knew the symbolism of colors; (7) that the chivalric spirit of the Moors and their respect for women were much the same as that known among the Christian warriors.

If the documents cited, of the authority of some of which one would like to know more, do not prove, rigorously speaking, anything except that Hita described the gallants and fiestas of his own time, at least they make it appear probable that similar gallants lived and similar splendid pageants were staged in the Granada of Muley-Hassan and Boabdil. But Hita's alleged accuracy was fortuitous; there is no likelihood that he knew or desired correct local color.

Of the remainder of the *Introduction* there is not space to say much,—nor is it necessary. Chap. II brings no new facts of importance to our knowledge of Hita's life, although it seems more thorough than any previous treatment. The date and place of his birth, the date of his death, are still unknown. Chap. III analyzes at some length Hita's extensive narrative poem in octava rima, *Libro de la población y hazañas de la M. N. y M. L. ciudad de Lorca,* which was freely used by Father Morote for his *Antigüedad y blasones de la ciudad de Lorca* (1741). The editress speaks of "el único manuscrito que se conoce" of this poem, but does not tell us, what is nevertheless the case, that it was published entire by Acero y Abad in his *Ginés Pérez de Hita,* Madrid, 1889. She lays stress upon the fact that in many ways this epic forecasts the methods used by Hita in the *Guerras civiles;* it contains detailed descriptions of fiestas, and even a *romance,* of which so many were inserted in the novel. In Chap. IV are discussed, beside the supposed Arabic sources that I have already mentioned, Hita's debts to Spanish chroniclers and to some other less certain helpers. The books that he used most, and referred to plainly, were Hernando del Pulgar's *Crónica de los reyes católicos* (1565) and Garibay y Zamalloa's *Compendio histórico de las crónicas,* etc. (1571) (see pp. xl–l). Chap. V takes up seriatim the 34 romances which Hita weaves into his narrative, and their sources. 20 of them are not found in exactly the same form anywhere else, and of the 20 most do not exist at all in any of the other old collections. In this class are such important poems as the Battle of the Alporchones (Wolf, *Primavera y flor,* no. 81), the famous ballad on the loss of Alhama (*ibid.,* no. 85a), the exploit of Garcilaso de la Vega with the Moor who had tied the Ave María to his horse's tail (*ibid.,* no. 93) [11] and "Mira, Zaide, que te aviso," the best-known of all *romances moriscos* (Durán, *Rom. gen.,* no. 56). Merely as a collector and preserver of good ballads, Hita deserves our gratitude. Did Hita compose any of these himself? We do not know, but it seems most probable that he received many, the ones he calls "antiguos," at least, directly from tradition, which he had excellent opportunity to know. Of those found in previous collections, only four come from the early ones, the *Cancionero de romances* 'sin año,' the *Silva* of 1550, Timoneda's *Rosa española* (1573); the rest are all taken from Pedro de Moncayo's *Flor de varios romances nuevos* (1589). These last are the *rs. moriscos artísticos* which Hita expanded into the romantic episodes of Zaide and Zaida, of Gazul and Lindaraja, etc.; he then quotes the poems as evidence in support of his fables! Menéndez y Pelayo had already pointed out this ingenious system (*Orígenes de la novela,* I, ccclxxxi).[12]

The *Bibliography* proper (pp. xcvii–cxviii)

[11] The editress states that this poem is found in Moncayo's collection, mentioned below, but neither Wolf nor Menéndez y Pelayo mention the fact, if it be true.

[12] The only romantic digression not found in *romances* published before the *Guerras civiles* is that of the Sultana accused of adultery, and defended by four Christian knights. Hita probably composed the

is intended to be complete for editions of the *Primera Parte,* or at least down to the nineteenth century, and includes foreign editions as well as those of Spain. I may point out that the following editions given by Salvá in his *Catálogo* (II, 172) are not included in Blanchard-Demouge's list: Lisbon, 1616; Barcelona, 1619; Gotha, 1805. Yet the edition of Barcelona 1619 is mentioned on p. xciii in another connection.

On the same page (xciii) the editress speaks of a particular edition of the *Segunda Parte,* Barcelona, 1619, which Wolf (*Studien,* 1859, p. 334, note 3) describes, but which she has sought in vain to discover, although she has had the librarians at Vienna and Munich hunting for it. If she scrutinized the words of Wolf with more care, she might have spared herself and the librarians some trouble. It is the edition of Cuenca 1619, not Barcelona, that he is describing the while, and it corresponds exactly to the edition of that place and date known to the editress.

The concluding list of *Documentos* (pp. 329–337) gives evidence of wide reading. It is to be regretted that here, as elsewhere, a lack of precision in reference is evidenced which would render it difficult to run down some of the works mentioned.[13]

story and the poems that accompany it. While speaking of *romances,* I ought not to pass entirely over that beginning "Ya te veo, Lorca mía,—la por mí tan deseada," which is inserted, not in the *Guerras civiles,* but in Canto XI of the epic on the city of Lorca (cf. p. xxiii). It has never been printed in any of the modern collections of *romances,* and offers interesting resemblances to some of the old ballads. Thus: "O Lorca, cuanto le cuestas—a este Reyno de Granada;" cf. no. 101 of Wolf's *Prim. y flor:* "¡O ciudad, cuánto me cuestas—por la gran desdicha mía!" One should compare also nos. 55 and 129 in the same collection. It is likely that Hita composed it himself, in spite of its apparent traditional ring.

[13] Many such inaccuracies have been noted in the course of this article. I must not fail to correct the statement (p. liv, l. 8) that the *Cancionero de romances* 'sin año' was *later* than 1550. It was, of course, *earlier* than 1550.—The quotations which the editress makes from the text of the *Guerras civiles,* on p. xxx, l. 25, xxxi, l. 3, and xxxi, l. 14, follow the Rivadeneyra version instead of her own!

To sum up, the inspiration of this reprint is most happy, and scholars have every reason to be grateful for a reproduction of the primitive text of the *Bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrages.* The editress shows an original turn of thought, and acquaintance with many an unusual book. It is a pity that these qualities were not accompanied by greater accuracy and a more critical judgment. A scholarly account of the different versions of Ibn al-Khatîb's *al-ihâta,* and generous translations from it, would have been invaluable. As it is, even the text cannot be called definitive, and the conclusions arrived at in the *Introduction* will have to be sifted well before they can be accepted.

Nothing is said which would lead one to suppose that the editress contemplates reprinting also the *Segunda Parte* of Hita's *Guerras civiles.* It is greatly to be hoped that she will do so. The text of the Second Part has suffered, according to Menéndez y Pelayo (*Orígenes,* I, ccclxxxviii) even more than that of the First Part, in modern editions. The Second Part has never hit the popular fancy, like the first, and has been, in fact, unduly neglected. The present generation, with its fondness for the actual and its aversion to works of the imagination, ought to revel in Hita's vivid descriptions of the Moriscos at bay, and ought to esteem his sympathy, extraordinary at that date, for the defeated enemies of his race.

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The Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. XI: *The Period of the French Revolution.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

The characteristics of earlier volumes of this work reappear in the latest instalment. There is the same lack of complete co-ordination and proportion that one has been led to expect and that is, perhaps, the inevitable result of works

of joint authorship. In the past volumes single chapters have stood out as conspicuously good —"The Arthurian Legend" by Lewis Jones in Vol. I, "Spenser" by Mr. Courthope in Vol. III, "Dryden" by Dr. Ward in Vol. VIII, and the like. But too often the impression has been made that the assignment was given to him who was willing to undertake it. Especially is it to be regretted that one such person undertook the treatment of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, besides a host of minor subjects. These qualities are conspicuous in the new volume. That it should include works ranging in date and subject from Burke's *Philosophic Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* to Lewis Carroll's *Sylvie and Bruno,* and should group them under the general title, "The Period of the French Revolution," is an example of the difficulties which beset the editors. Moreover, the lack of editorial synthesis results in there being no discussion of the general influence of revolutionary thought upon English literature nor is there discoverable any reference to the volumes by Dowden and Hancock on that subject. It is hard to accept an arrangement that divorces Wordsworth and Coleridge from Byron, Shelley, and Keats. William Cobbett, though he finds place here, belongs to a later age; Mr. Chesterton in his clever erratic little book on *The Victorian Age in Literature* begins with Cobbett. This sounds like a Chestertonian paradox since he died in 1835, but it is fundamentally sound, for Cobbett is essentially Victorian.

The merits of this volume, as of its fellows, lie in certain individual chapters, especially H. J. C. Grierson on Burke, H. V. Routh on the Georgian drama, and H. G. Aldis on "Book Production and Distribution 1625–1800." Equality of merit is not to be expected, but the various contributions should have been constructed along definite and similar lines. A comparison of Schelling's and Whibley's chapters on the Restoration Drama in Vol. VIII—the one labored, scientific, "documented," the other appreciative and stylistically of course preferable —illustrates this defect. So here, side by side with Routh's exact and elaborate study of the drama, is Saintsbury's invertebrate (the word is his own criticism of his method; see Vol. V, p. 238) discussion of the parallel period of the novel.

Several chapters are in the nature of serials, further instalments on subjects connected with earlier matters already treated of by the same writers. Thus Previté-Orton continues from Vols. VIII and X his study of political satire and other literature connected with public affairs—a theme for the handling of which he proved his competence in his prize essay of 1908. He writes with wit and learning, and makes the dry bones of the most ephemeral branch of literature take on at least a semblance of life. He does not make plain the debt of Godwin to Rousseau, Condorcet, and Helvétius. Paul Elsner's monograph, *Shelley's Abhängigkeit von William Godwin's "Political Justice,"* though of interest primarily to the student of Shelley, contains much of value for the study of Godwin and should have found place in the bibliography. It is noteworthy that an edition of *The Rolliad* for which Courthope asked ten years ago (*Hist. Eng. Poetry,* V, 244) is still wanting.

Professor Sorley, continuing his account of English philosophy, is clear and reasonably concise in his treatment of Bentham and his school, but it is at least open to question whether such writers as Bentham should appear at all in a history of literature. "One fault of this history of literature," *The Contemporary Review* wisely remarks in a recent notice, "is that it has striven to be the history of English intellectualism."

T. F. Henderson's chapter on "Scottish Popular Poetry before Burns" in Vol. IX is now followed by his study of Burns and lesser Scottish verse. One turns with interest to this chapter by the co-editor of the edition of Burns memorable for the essay by W. E. Henley. Mr. Henderson was then a sort of "silent partner." He has now the opportunity to match his critical acumen with that of Mr. Henley. The fault of the latter's brilliant essay, *Robert Burns: Life, Genius, Achievement,* was, as every one knows, that going to the opposite extreme from Carlyle (who does

not mention even Jean Armour), Henley laid too much stress upon the sensual side of Burns. Carlyle and Henley read together are mutually corrective and the composite picture, when allowance has been made for contradictions, is fairly accurate. Mr. Henderson, without the genius of his predecessors, but equally without Carlyle's transcendental bias and Henley's unhappily boisterous manner, has from the fulness of his knowledge of the subject written a charming essay. I note only one fault, but that is a grave one. Of Burns' life knowledge is assumed on the part of the reader; no biographical outline whatever is furnished. This is a great inconvenience in a work of reference and is another illustration of the lack of complete editorial supervision. To the bibliography should be added the convenient Cambridge *Burns* (Houghton, Mifflin), "drawn from Henley and Henderson." It is not usual to include poems on poets, but as Swinburne's *Burns: An Ode* (here styled "Poem on Burns") is mentioned, Mr. Watson's far finer poem *The Tomb of Burns* should not have been omitted. The three important poems in Wordsworth's *Memorials of a Tour in Scotland* are not mentioned.

A fourth "serial" is Saintsbury's account of English prosody, of which the present section deals with the eighteenth century and chiefly with theorists. Logically one would have expected some study of romantic innovations since the chief innovators, Coleridge and Blake, are discussed in this volume. But the subject is silently postponed for later treatment. The bibliography to this chapter unaccountably omits any list whatever of the eighteenth-century treatises referred to in the text, and as such titles are seldom given, and then not fully, in the text itself, the value of the chapter for purposes of reference is small.

In a chapter already mentioned Mr. Aldis continues from Vol. IV his account of the Book-trade. His study of a relatively unworked field forms one of the most interesting portions of the book.

For Grierson's chapter on Burke there can be nothing but praise; it is the ablest piece of work in the volume. In his bibliography it would have been well to include one or two of the numerous school editions of the speech *On Conciliation,* especially the excellent one by Professor Cook (Longmans).

One cannot but regret that the treatment of Wordsworth was assigned to a foreigner and not to such fellow-countrymen of the poet's as Bradley or Raleigh—men who have seen into the very heart of Wordsworth. But Professor Legouis' work on Wordsworth's youth is well known and proves his qualifications for his task. He is altogether admirable when discussing such matters as the contrast between the poet's actual childhood and his later doctrine of happiness as expressed in *The Prelude,* or in tracing after 1805, with the waning of Wordsworth's enthusiasms, the growth of his belief in the importance of the moral law. Legouis is less good on other topics. Especially to be deprecated is the opening statement that Wordsworth is to be classed among the sons of Rousseau. Rousseau was but one of many influences upon the poet. The true relationship between them is rather one of common descent. Legouis fails to make clear Wordsworth's debt to predecessors, especially Cowper, Thomson, Akenside, and Collins. There is no attempt to trace the fluctuations of Wordsworth's fame; nor to indicate the main current of his influence, as seen in Taylor, Aubrey de Vere, Arnold, and Mr. Watson; nor to describe his somewhat pallid but quite perceptible vogue upon the continent, particularly in France. The connection of his work with the Romantic philosophy of Germany is not considered. The following points are noteworthy in the bibliography: Page 450. The variant title-pages (London and Bristol) of the *Lyrical Ballads,* 1798, should have been noted. P. 452—Arnold's essay on Wordsworth dates from 1879; Bradley's essay is reprinted in his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry;* there is an English translation, 1887, by Lady Eastlake of Brandl's *Coleridge;* Alfred Austin's essay in *The Bridling of Pegasus* should be added.—P. 453. Add reference to Courthope, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* VI, chap. vii. In this list is the best place (since the volume has no preliminary general bibliography) for the rectification of the notable omission of Dowden's

French Revolution and English Literature and Hancock's *French Revolution and English Poets.* Knight is merely the editor of the *Wordsworthiana* of 1889, which is a selection from the *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society* and should have been classified thereunder.—P. 455. Add William Watson's *Wordsworth's Grave,* perhaps the best of all criticisms in verse.

Of the many excellent things that Professor Vaughan says in his chapter on Coleridge I shall note only his remarks on the subtlety of Coleridge's observation of natural phenomena. To an interesting instance of this attention has not, I think, been called. In the *Memoir* of Tennyson by his son it is recorded that about 1831 Tennyson "saw the moonlight reflected in a nightingale's eye, as she was singing in the hedgerow" (I, 79). With this compare the lines in *The Nightingale* (ll. 64–69):

> On moonlight bushes,
> Whose dewy leaflets are but half-disclosed,
> You may perchance behold them on the twigs,
> Their bright, bright eyes, their eyes both bright and full
> Glistening.

Strangely enough, Vaughan does not so much as hint that Coleridge ever wrote any dramas; yet *Revenge* and the translations from Schiller are not to be ignored. This omission, which might have been remedied by Professor Routh in the chapter on the drama, is, instead, awkwardly patched up by Routh in some notes inserted in the bibliography of Coleridge under the titles of the plays. No cross-reference in the text guides us to these perfunctory remarks. Several minor points may be noted. Where did Byron "avow" that the rhythm of *Christabel* served as the model for "the cancelled introduction of *The Siege of Corinth*"? (p. 141). The lines which Byron feared might be thought to be plagiarised from *Christabel* are 522–32, and Byron expressly told Coleridge that these were written before he had read *Christabel.* See *Letters and Journals,* ed. Prothero, III, 228 f. An unaccountable omission from the bibliography is J. L. Haney's *Bibliography of S. T. Coleridge,* 1903. Note also the serious printer's error of "William Wordsworth" for "Coleridge" as the running title of pages 457 and 459—a mistake that has caused confusion in the entries in the index.

Mr. Saintsbury is at his delightful best in his discussion of Southey. In his anxiety to be just to a great fame now somewhat faded he perhaps overpraises some of his work, notably *Wat Tyler.* He even hints at a desire to break a lance for the unhappy *Vision of Judgment.* There should have been some reference to *The Fall of Robespierre,* of which, though it is usually included among Coleridge's works, more than half is by Southey. A pleasant topic for investigation is suggested: the change in Southey's political and philosophical opinions as recorded in his writings—a matter of some moment, especially for the light it might cast on the parallel development in Wordsworth.

Mr. Routh takes up the subject of the drama about the point where Nettleton left it in Vol. X and has accomplished a careful piece of work. The treatment afforded Joanna Baillie is surely inadequate unless (what does not appear) her plays are to be considered further in the next volume. *De Montfort* is misdated (p. 303). The Kotzebuë-craze is almost ignored. This, too, has perhaps been left for the next volume, but its place is here since *The Rovers,* which is a parody of the *genre,* and the novel of the school of terror, which is a closely related type, are discussed. The influence of Kotzebuë upon Sheridan, though referred to in the bibliography, is overlooked in the text. Mr. Routh speaks of Jeremy Collier shaming "the theatre out of its chief source of amusement" (p. 312); but Collier's pamphlet was in fact only one sign, of which the change in the tone of plays was another, of a rise in the standard of public morals. To the bibliography under Holcroft (p. 502 or p. 506) should be added a reference to the series of contributions towards his bibliography that have been appearing lately in *Notes and Queries.* Under section iii (p. 494 f.) add a reference to the curious tract by John Styles: *Essay on the Character and Influence of the Stage on Morals and Happiness,* 1802. It is hard to see why Gay-

ley's *Plays of our Forefathers* should find place in a list of works on the Georgian Drama.

Writing on the novel from Amory to Peacock Mr. Saintsbury merely covers again part of the ground of his recent *English Novel.* Some of his readers will remember that at the end of his *Short History of French Literature* he employed again the closing passage of his article on the same subject in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* with the excuse that "a man cannot say exactly the same thing in two different sets of words so as to please himself or perhaps others." This is sound doctrine, and the editors might well have obtained from another hand an essay on the growth of the later novel.

In Mrs. Aldis' sprightly and interesting chapter on "The Bluestockings" a reference to Byron's *The Blues, a literary Eclogue* and Moore's *The M. P. or the Blue Stocking* would have been to the point. Mr. Harold Child's excellent chapters on Cowper and on Crabbe call for no comment beyond the adjective I have just used, except to say that to the books by Thomas Wright on Cowper should be added the *Life,* 1903. William Blake has become so highly specialized a subject that I do not feel qualified to speak of the chapter on him by J. P. R. Wallis except to say that I have found the analysis of the prophetic books of much value.

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Dat Narrenschyp von HANS VAN GHETELEN. Herausgegeben von HERMAN BRANDES. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1914. lxxix u. 576 S.

Der Bericht über die neunte Jahresversammlung des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung im Mai 1883 enthält die Mitteilung, dass H. Brandes die Herausgabe des nd. Narrenschiffes vorbereite. Nun liegt diese Frucht 30jähriger Beschäftigung mit dem Gegenstande vor uns, ein stattlicher Band, der des Interesses sicher sein darf, und dem es zu gute gekommen ist, dass Brandes' Arbeiten in der Zwischenzeit z.T. einschlägige Fragen behandelten und so gleichsam als Vorarbeiten des vorliegenden Buches angesprochen werden können.

Das Ergebnis der Untersuchungen in Kap. II der Einleitung vorausnehmend, setzt B. auf den Titel den Namen Hans van Ghetelens, in dem er den nd. Bearbeiter gefunden zu haben glaubt. Hans van Ghetelen gab 1488 in der Lübecker Mohnkopfdruckerei die "Ewangelia" heraus. B. hält ihn für den Bearbeiter aller Veröffentlichungen dieser bedeutenden Werkstatt, verknüpft also seinen Namen mit den besten spätmittelniederdeutschen Erzeugnissen, wie "Reinke de Vos" und "Narrenschip" (NS.). Es ist möglich, dass B. Recht hat, aber zur vollen Gewissheit darüber, ob der Herausgeber der "Ewangelia" (und wohl der übrigen Erbauungsschriften der Mohnkopfoffizin) auch die nicht-theologischen Bücher des Verlags für den nd. Leser bearbeitete, bedarf es noch einer umfassenderen Untersuchung, als B. in der Einleitung geben konnte.

Das entscheidende Gewicht legt B. auf einige sprachliche Eigenheiten, die in allen Mohnkopfdrucken neben den gewöhnlichen nordnd. Formen auftauchen, freilich in verschiedenem Umfange (NS. hat z.B. *jo ne eme,* nicht *ju nu ome*). Es sind keineswegs in die Dichtung einschneidende, nicht einmal dialektisch ganz einheitliche Sprachmerkmale. Einzeln begegnet ein Teil auch in anderen Lübecker Texten. Der Rostocker Druck des NS. kann ohne Schwierigkeit einige derselben, z.B. *söven: seven,* umsetzen. Ihre Bedeutung darf nicht überschätzt werden. Solange nicht erwiesen ist, dass Bearbeiter und Drucker *eine* Person ist, können sie für die Verfasserfrage nicht in Betracht kommen, sie können durchaus auf die Druckerei zurückgehen. Man vergleiche, was B. selbst S. LXXIV zum Rostocker Druck ausführt. Auch sind diese Formen in dem ersten Buche (1487), das B. der neuen Werkstatt zuweist, einer Neuauflage (keiner Bearbeitung!) des Ghotanschen Gebetbuches von 1485 für Ghotans Schreibweise eingesetzt, woraus m.E. der Anteil der Druckerei an der charakteristischen Schreibung ziemlich deutlich hervorgeht. Ferner zeigen die bei Geffcken (Bildercatechismus I, 140 ff.) abgedruckten Stücke aus "Speygel der Dogede" (Gothan

1485), soweit die Probe erkennen lässt, die gleichen sprachlichen Eigenheiten wie die Mohnkopfdrucke, z.B. *boven, godes* mit *o; benedden, reddelik* mit *dd; sesse, sevede, dridde; doit* (*tut*), *desse, men* (*als*). Zum Teil, wenigstens *desse, o* für zerdehntes *o*, Doppelkonsonant in *pleggen, hemmel, nedder* usw., finden sie sich auch im "Lycht der Selen" (Ghotan 1484). War etwa der spätere Inhaber oder Mitinhaber der Mohnkopfdruckerei zeitweise bei G. tätig? [1] Und erklärt es sich vielleicht aus solchen Beziehungen, dass der mit Arbeit überhäufte G. die Neuauflage des Gebetbuches dem jungen Unternehmen überliess?

Nun identifiziert allerdings B. den Mohnkopfdrucker mit dem Bearbeiter, indem er eine neue Lösung der Frage nach dem Inhaber dieser wichtigen Druckerei versucht, deren Geheimnis so schwer zu lüften ist, weil sowohl ihre Lettern wie Holzschnitte ihres Zeichners auch in andern Betrieben begegnen, wie sie selbst auch Stöcke benützt, die für andere Firmen geschnitten waren. Seit Seelmanns Untersuchungen (*Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen* I, 19 ff.) galt den meisten Mathäus Brandis als Mohnkopfdrucker. B. hält Ghotan und den erwähnten Hans v. Ghetelen für seine Mitarbeiter. Ghotans Teilhaberschaft scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich, Brandes' Begründung kaum stichhaltig. Wie er selbst betont, druckt G. unabhängig von der Mohnkopfdruckerei in bedeutsamer Tätigkeit bis 1492 weiter. Danach ist er nicht mehr nachweisbar. Wenn dem Bericht Reimarus Kocks zu glauben ist, wäre G. ca. 1493 nach Russland gegangen und hätte dort den Tod gefunden. Jedenfalls sind Beziehungen der russischen Gesandtschaft in Lübeck 1492 zu G. urkundlich festgestellt.

Wichtiger ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Frage, ob der genannte Bearbeiter der "Ewangelia" Drucker und Mitinhaber der Offizin war. Das Zitat aus "Ewangelia" (S. XXVI) "desse sulve de dyt ewangelienboek *leet maken*, heft ok vele unde mannigerleie art van bedeboeken *maken laten*" scheint gegen die Identität von Herausgeber und Drucker zu sprechen. Vgl. "Salter" und "Speighel der Leien:" "De dyt boek *leet* maken" (S. LVIII bezw. LX). Ähnlich schloss B. selbst früher (ZfdA. XXXII, 40) mit bezug auf den Totentanz aus V. 1681 "*de dit heft gedicht vnde laten setten.*" Damals (S. 35) hatte er den Verfasser der dort besprochenen Drucke für einen Geistlichen gehalten. Wenn er ihn nun unter Nichtbeachtung dieser Stellen zum Drucker macht, so leiten ihn zwei Beobachtungen, 1) die Vertrautheit mit dem Druckbetrief, die in NS. bemerkbar ist, 2) der mehrfache Hinweis auf Bücher desselben Verlages, der des Bearbeiters Interesse am Absatz derselben bezeuge. In den "Ewangelia" und fast wörtlich wiederholt in "S. Birgitten Openbaringe" 1496, ein Jahr vor Erscheinen des NS., werden diejenigen gescholten, die *geistliche* Bücher nicht kaufen, von weltlichen wird ausdrücklich Abstand genommen. Prüft man die zu 2) gegebenen Beispiele, so zeigt sich, dass überall ("Ewang.," "Speyghel der Leyen," mehrmals im "Salter") nur "bedeboke" des Mohnkopfverlags angepriesen werden, nur um diese ist es ihm zu tun. Der Zusammenhang der Erbauungsschriften ist ohnehin wahrscheinlich. Kann nicht auch ein Verfasser auf seine früheren Werke weisen, die er in der Mohnkopfdruckerei "leet maken," über manches kurz hinweggehen (S. XXVIIf.), weil er es schon früher behandelt hat? Keinesfalls *muss* ein Drucker diese Stellen geschrieben haben, und vollends geben sie keinen Aufschluss über die Verfasserschaft der späteren weltlichen Drucke, wie andererseits der erste Punkt nur über NS. (und dessen Kreis) aussagt. Doch scheint mir dieser ebenso wenig zwingend. Freilich hielt schon Zarncke auf Grund von NS. 1, 98ff.; 48, 64ff.; 65, 45ff.; 103, 101ff. den nd. Bearbeiter für einen Drucker. Doch sind diese Stellen nicht etwa ganz selbständige Zutaten, sondern freie Erweiterungen der Vorlage; die wichtige Stelle

[1] Dem bei Bruun I, 18 ff. beschriebenen jütischen Gesetzbuch, 1846, s. l. et typ. n. (Typen von M. Brandis; die Illustration zeigt die charakteristischen Formen der Mohnkopfdrucke nicht) entnehme ich die Beispiele: *nye*, neu; *wu*, wie; *ambegynne; gode, boven; wetten, noggen, weddewen, nedder, wedder.* Einen naheliegenden Schluss zu ziehen, hindert die Kürze der Textprobe.

NS. 48, 64ff., die genaue Kenntnis des Betriebes voraussetzt, beruht in den Grundlagen auf S. Brant. Klagen über Nachdruck (1, 98ff.; 103, 101ff.) wurden zu allen Zeiten auch von Schriftstellern ausgesprochen. Jedenfalls genügt das Gegebene noch nicht zur einwandfreien Beantwortung der Frage, ob alle Mohnkopfdrucke, Erbauungs- und nicht-theologische Schriften, demselben Verfasser, dem Bearbeiter der "Ewangelia," angehören, und ob dieser mit dem Inhaber der Offizin identisch ist.—Auch Brandes' weitere Gründe reichen, wie mir scheint, zur Entscheidung nicht aus, wie der Hinweis, dass alle Verlagswerke gelegentlich Anklänge an andere Mohnkopfdrucke zeigen. Sie benützen ebenso Werke anderer Verleger, vgl. für NS. S. LXIV. Auch handelt es sich meist nicht um wörtliche Übereinstimmung, nur um ein gleiches Bild, einen gleichen Gedanken, wenn auch in anderer Einkleidung, ein Zitat, das hier wie dort im gleichen Zusammenhang steht. Vielfach ist es wohl überhaupt allgemeines Gut der Zeit, nur sind die Lübecker Drucke für Vergleichungen leicht zur Verfügung. Sie werden auch in Drucken anderer Verleger ausgeschöpft (z.B. Rostocker j. Glosse z. Reinke, 1539). B. weist ferner auf die Neigung der Mohnkopfdrucke zu eingestreuten Versen, die wieder höchstens ein Charakteristikum der Erbauungsbücher unter sich wäre, da der andere Kreis ganz in Versen abgefasst ist. Die aus den "Ewangelia" S. XLVI angeführte Probe unterscheidet sich stark von allen übrigen. Wenn auch NS. einige hd. Formen übernimmt, solche Ungeschicklichkeit, solche Hilflosigkeit der Umsetzung wie hier findet sich nirgend sonst. Es scheint kaum glaublich, dass der Mann, der dies Gereimsel anfertigte, in dem er sich nicht von der Vorlage loszureissen vermag, neun Jahre später eine so hervorragende Bearbeitung wie NS. liefern soll.

Können wir hiernach Brandes' Folgerungen noch nicht als völlig gesichert ansehen, so bleiben die anregenden Beobachtungen und Ausführungen der Einleitung doch ausserordentlich dankenswert. Weitere Forschung wird hierauf aufbauen, um Hans v. Ghetelen seinen Platz zuzuweisen, und es steht, wie mir scheint, noch mancher Weg offen. Darin dass Henning Ghetelen der Bearbeitung des NS. fern steht, stimme ich (schon aus grammatischen Erwägungen) mit B. überein.

Ausser diesen näher charakterisierten Kapiteln enthält die Einleitung die bibliographischen Angaben; sie bespricht das Verhältnis des Rostocker Druckes (1519) zum Lübecker, und dies Kapitel wird ergänzt durch Anführung der Rostocker Abweichungen am Fusse jeder Seite des Textabdruckes. Ein Vergleich, den B. auf diese Weise leicht gemacht hat, zeigt, dass die Rostocker Änderungen meist stärker schriftsprachlichen Charakter tragen, namentlich in der in meiner Mnd. Grm. § 18 erwähnten etymologisierenden Richtung (Lüb. *wattu, yd rike; gelacht; bracht, bunden* = Ro. *wat du, dat rike; gelecht; gebrocht, gebunden* u. dgl.), wie auch darin, dass die hd. Spuren des Lüb. Drucks, ausser im Reim, umgesetzt werden (z.B. Lüb. *uff myn eyd, ist, beschytz* = Ro. *up . . . is, beschytery*), mit der Einschränkung, dass ungefähr in Brandes' "zweitem mannich-Gebiet" die Formen der Vorlage häufiger beibehalten sind. Die Rostocker Zusatzkapitel stimmen im sprachlich-orthographischen Charakter völlig zum übrigen. Standen sie vielleicht schon in einer (bisher durch kein erhaltenes Exemplar belegten) Lüb. 2. Auflage? Die Beliebtheit und Verbreitung von NS. lehrt ja die in meiner *Gesch. d. Schriftsprache in Berlin*, S. 117, A. 2 angeführte Notiz. Zu dieser Annahme stimmt der hier vorkommende lübeckische Ortsname Slukup (vgl. R. V. 6168), während freilich die Holzschnitte der Ro. Ausgabe, die an A, nicht wie die der Lüb. an N anschliessen, dafür zeugen, dass man ihr Selbständigkeit zusprechen darf. Eine Probe der Lübecker Illustrationen mit ihrem Strassburger Vorbild beschliesst die Einleitung.

Dem sorgfältigen Textabdruck folgen ausführliche Anmerkungen. Überall wird an erster Stelle das Verhältnis zur Vorlage dargelegt, der Anteil des Lübecker wie des zweiten nd. Bearbeiters herausgearbeitet. Hatten auch Zarncke und Schröder im allgemeinen für diese Anmerkungen trefflich vorgearbeitet, so enthalten dieselben auch viele eigene Beobachtungen. Hieran schliesst sich ein ausführliches, sehr gewissenhaft zusammengestelltes

Glossar. Man kann über die Anlage eines solchen verschieden denken: die Stichworte können in der Schreibung des Druckes oder auch in normalisierter Form gegeben werden. Brandes folgt im allgemeinen der ersten Auffassung. Die Inkonsequenzen, die dabei zahlreich begegnen, zeigen deutlich die Berechtigung der zweiten Ansicht, namentlich für einen Text wie den vorliegenden, der, von Anfängern kaum gelesen, in seinem Glossar weniger eine Brücke für diese als vielmehr eine Zusammenstellung des Wortschatzes und Wortgebrauchs bieten sollte. Einige Beispiele werden dies erhärten: Für stimmloses *s* (nd. *s*, mhd. *s*, *tz*) braucht der Setzer die Zeichen *s*, *ſs*, *tz*. Dementsprechend trennt B. *boselen* (*-ose-*) von *botzelspyl* (*-otze-*); *sucker* steht unter *s*, *tzege* unter *t*; *Rutze*, Russe, ist hinter *Ruter* aufgeführt, *spytz*, spitz, unter *-it-*, aber *spyss*, Spitze, unter *-is-*. Die Übersichtlichkeit leidet hierunter, da zahlreiche Fälle ähnlicher Art begegnen, von denen ich hier nur wenige Beispiele anführen kann, wie *ummylde:unmyldicheyt* (*-mm-* S. 539: *-nm-* S. 540), *ambegyn:anbeghynnen* (unter *-mb-* und *-nb-*); *seyl, meyst, meysterschop* (*-ei-*): *mene, menen, mester* (*-en-*, bezw. *-es-*); *prediker* folgt hinter *predekye*, *seggelen* hinter *segen*. Leichter sind die Fälle, in denen die zufällige Schreibung die Einordnung nicht beeinflusst, wie z. B. *anvangen:anfanck; oghe: ogenblick; afftheen, antheen:aftoch; buthe: buten; affghaen, afflaten:afganck, aflaet; lychte: lichtlyck; berichten:berycht*. Ähnlich im Namensverzeichnis am Schluss: *Ryge*, Riga, hinter *Rutzen; Yrlant* steht nach *W; Lyps*, Leipzig, nach *Lupke*, Lübeck; *Nydhard* nach *Norwegen*.

Es liesse sich wohl auch an einen oder den andern Artikel eine Bemerkung knüpfen, z.B. zu S. 478 *gheystlicheyt* 26, 17 (das für hd. *getzlicheyt* steht; Ro.: *vele fr̨ude vnde lust de joͤget hat*), *entfrommen* S. 475; *ghensen* (*ghans* S. 477) durfte unter *goes* (S. 483) mitbehandelt werden (Mnd. Grm. § 261). Nicht gerechtfertigt ist die Zusammenziehung von Adverb und Verb in ein Kompositum in Fällen wie *entjeghenlegen*, mit Lügen entgegen wirken, u.ä. unter *e!* Vgl. sogar *tovele* unter *t*. Ro. schreibt alle diese getrennt, wie Lüb. sich verhält, lässt der Abdruck nicht erkennen. Ebenso unberechtigt ist die Trennung des Part. Prt. vom Verb, wo die verbale Bedeutung in der adjektivischen Funktion nicht verändert ist (*kopen* S. 496, *schryven* S. 521 unter *k*, *s*: *ghekoft* S. 479, *gheschreven* S. 481 unter *g*). Auch wäre im Interesse der Übersichtlichkeit zu wünschen, dass hd. Wörter als solche gekennzeichnet wären. Im Bestreben, Stelle für Stelle genau zu übersetzen und doch rein lautliche Umsetzung möglichst zu vermeiden, scheint in einigen Artikeln die spezielle Anpassung mit Hintansetzung der Grundbedeutung etwas weitgehend, z.B. *mederaken*, nicht unerwähnt lassen; *eynem eyn oor ansetten* (i. e. an die Narrenkappe), einem seine Torheit vorhalten, hintergehen, usw.

Aber dies sind kleine Einzelheiten, Wünsche, die der sorgfältigen Arbeit im ganzen kaum Abbruch tun. Ein Namensverzeichnis bildet den Schluss des Buches. Die niederdeutsche Sprachforschung ist dem Herausgeber dankbar für diese Gabe, die für die Literatur- wie die Buchdruckergeschichte Norddeutschlands wertvoll ist.

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Le Roman de Renard, par LUCIEN FOULET. Paris, Champion, 1914. 574 pp. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, fascicule* 211.)

II

We can readily agree with Foulet that branches I (the so-called "plaid de Renard"), III (Renard's theft of the fish—Ysengrin's tonsure and the loss of his tail), IV (the story of how Renard tries to drown Ysengrin in a well), V (the division of the 'bacon' and the tale of the cricket), X ("Renard médecin") and XIV (Renard's fight with Tibert and with Primaut, the wolf's brother), all appeared shortly after the publication of the central branch, the existence of which they either admit or assume. For example, I, which opens

the cycle in ten out of fifteen MSS., and which is undoubtedly one of the gems of the collection, begins by saying:

> Perrot, qui son engin et s'art
> Mist en vers fere de Renard,
> Lessa le meus de sa matere.

It then proceeds to relate the judgment, or to use the technical term, the *plaid de Renard.* It will be recalled, a similar scene was enacted in Va, which Foulet regards as the continuation of II. Only there the wheels of justice had failed to move because Noble, with his characteristic weakness for Renard, had himself impugned the reliability of Hersent—an interested party—and it seemed doubtful that Ysengrin had witnessed her disgrace. What sensible man, implied Brichemer, wouldn't? Moreover, the trick so cleverly planned in II, to catch Renard by making him swear (*escondire*) on the body of Roonel, the hound, who feigns death, had failed, and the court of justice had resolved itself into a mad but futile chase after the fox. Thus, according to Foulet, branch I comes à propos. Perrot would be the author of II, and the *meus de la matere* which he neglected, would be the new judgment or *plaid* related in branch I. Here Renard is accused by all the animals in unison—a situation from which his ingenuity again saves him, for he pretends to have a contrite heart and is planning, he says, a pilgrimage *outre mer.* Doubtless the tale is told well; the symbolism of mediaeval life is maintained better than elsewhere; the author has a high sense of his art; Ste. Beuve who knew branch I asked himself: "si le hasard seul a pu produire une parodie si fine, qu'elle ressemble à l'art même." [20] Yet Foulet is, I believe, right in his opposition to Sudre, that Va is the earlier tale and I a secondary version. The identification, so admirably worked out in I, of the animal epic with the real world of *seigneurs* and their unruly retainers, is prepared by branches II and Va, and in I reaches its fruition, both in idea and style— and hence I is subsequent to II and Va. Unlike the fables of La Fontaine, the *Renard* still lacks a critic like Taine to interpret its social significance, but Foulet comes close to rendering that service. The excellent pages in which he characterizes branch I are not only the best in his book, but among the best ever written on mediaeval French literature.

So, too, we may agree that III, IV and XIV are among the earliest branches, while V and XV (the "compagnonnage"—I should call it—of Renart and Tibert), whatever their date, were written with direct reference to II, with which in fact they could be incorporated. Thus V not only imitates *Ysengrimus,* but in some places translates it (on this point Martin, Voretzsch, Sudre, and Foulet agree); at the same time the opening lines [21] fit in with the closing episode of II; and XV refers in so many words to episode 3 (the so-called "steeple-chase") of branch II. As for III, Foulet concludes that though independent of II in matter, it yet owes its substance to *Ysengrimus,* and is influenced by II: thus the wolf is called *monseigneur,* the fox lives in *chastel Renard,* and the two animals are officially known as *compères,* while certain verses distinctly recall well-known verses of II. On the other hand, IV is an epic fable from the *Disciplina Clericalis.* The story does not occur in *Ysengrimus,* Marie [22] or any *Romulus.* Phaedrus in the fable *Vulpes et Caper* employs the same *motif* but lacks the characteristic traits of our version (the incident of the two pails). These occur first in a commentary on the Talmud by the rabbi Rashi, who was born at Troyes in 1040. From his work the story might naturally pass to the *Disciplina,* since Petrus Alphonsus had access to Hebrew sources; and from the *Disciplina*—whose popularity is attested by the *Lai de l'oiselet,* an adaptation—the story became known to the author of IV,

[20] *Lundis,* VIII, 287; cf. Foulet, pp. 332 ff.

[21] Vv. 8–9.

[22] Marie de France has only the story of *De vulpe et umbra lunae;* cf. *Fables,* ed. Warnke.

assuming as we have every reason to assume that he was at least half as well read as the author of II.[23]

A similar case of clerical provenience is furnished by X, only here the ultimate source is Æsop's fable of the Sick Lion. In the eighth century Paulus Diaconus gave an epic version of this story, replacing the wolf by the bear, as the victim of the fox's cunning. The *Ecbasis Captivi* of the tenth century then enlarged the framework of the tale by transporting the scene into a humanized animal-world: the lion now suffers from a kidney-trouble; the wolf reappears, this time as *camerarius* to his tawny majesty; and when the fox, whom the court has previously sentenced, appears, he brings "ointments," but he also demands the skin of his *patrinus,* the wolf. In this version the wolf's life is temporarily spared since his executioners, the lynx and the bear, do not skin his head and feet—although he does die in the end. This tale as we have it in the somewhat legalized form of the *Ysengrimus,* Foulet considers the source of our version. Yet, again, the author of X knew the preceding branches, for the prologue of X obviously seeks to rival that of I, and the two branches are thus akin. The same is true also of the very late branches, XXIII and XXVII, which in turn indicate the popularity of I, an influence which Foulet discovers as well in the Franco-Italian poem *Rainardo.*

But what of the *Reinhart Fuchs,* written in 1180? All the critics, with the sole exception of Paulin Paris, have derived the German poem from a lost French *Renard,* itself the prototype of our stories. And how explain the other seven branches (VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XVI and XVII) of the original group of sixteen? Did they, too, have Latin sources? Or are they, like I, literary originals, dependent—if dependent at all—on the group we have been considering? Here it seems would lie the crux of Foulet's contention that not only is the *Renard* literary in its principal source and inspiration, but that it is literary throughout, a work of genial monks in which the folk, as such, had little or no share. Whatever may be our verdict on the latter question, we must at least grant that the evidence from the German poem of Glichezâre is strongly in Foulet's favor.

In the first place, the branches we have considered comprise all of the subjects found in the *Reinhart Fuchs.* It is universally admitted that Glichezâre's poem is the only poem on the Renard which has a consistent plot; those least favorable to Glichezâre's originality admit that 342 verses or at least $^1/_7$ of his work is of his own invention, and that he was an author of marked distinction, capable, if need be, of considerable independence. In the second place, Voretzsch, who gave final form (in *Zeitschrift* XV, 124 and following numbers) to the current theory, views the *Renard* as practically a continuous work like the *Ivain* or the *Troie.* This it is manifestly not. So that, neglecting the disparity, chronological and other, of the various branches, which he thus views on about the same level, he wrongly concludes that the illogical and heterogeneous *Renard* could not have inspired the consecutive and homogeneous *Reinhart Fuchs.* And granting even that his premise were correct, it does not follow that a logical composition cannot have been taken from an illogical one. Besides, as Foulet demonstrates, Glichezâre is not as consistent as Voretzsch maintains.

An example of Voretzsch's method is furnished by the story of Tiécelin and the cheese[24] (see above). In the *Renard,* the fox, who was wounded in his preceding encounter with the cat, complains to the crow that the odor of the cheese is harmful to his wound. Glichezâre, who does not relate the adventure with Tibert, nevertheless retains this feature. Yet according to Sudre, whose argument Voretzsch repeats, it was not Glichezâre who here reversed the sequence of his original, but rather the *re-*

[23] Voretzsch argued from a sudden drop in the percentage of *rimes riches* that IV is by two different authors. This Foulet contests by adducing branch XVII which shows a similar variation but which is obviously by one hand.

[24] Foulet, pp. 420 ff.

manieur of the lost French version. He remembered that the fox was once wounded in an encounter with Tibert, consequently he made this tale the introduction to the one in which Renard—according to Sudre—beguiled Tiécelin about an imaginary wound ("une blessure imaginaire").

In short, the evidence of the German poem would not in itself justify us in assuming a lost French version. And such a step becomes quite unnecessary when we consider Glichezâre's object. Obviously this was to write a connected story of Renard and Ysengrin; further, that story was to be short and condensed. Glichezâre's eye was therefore fixed on the various episodes of his original rather than on its division into branches. So considered, the tales fall into three groups: (a) the conflict between Renard and an animal weaker than himself; (b) his conflict with Ysengrin in open warfare; (c) his conflict with him while professing to be his friend. In Glichezâre, group (b) naturally had to follow group (c)—but the French branches gave at least three accounts of Renard's forced appearance at Noble's court. Glichezâre could not use all of these, so he hit upon the following sequence: the *escondit,* now explained by a suspicion of Ysengrin's that his wife is not all that she should be; the sudden flight of Renard; the rape of Hersent; the judgment at Noble's court and Renard's vengeance as physician to the king. A similar attempt at unification, says Foulet, was made in 1350 by the Flemish poet who took branch VI as his framework, yet one has only to compare in order to see that Glichezâre succeeded where the former failed. Thus it was Glichezâre who first put our discursive collection of branches—at least that section of it current before 1180—into a consistent form.

In treating the other problem of the omitted branches, Foulet, it seems to me, is less successful, and the weakness of his too great insistence on literary provenience makes itself felt. Thus branch VIII which relates the pilgrimage *at loca sancta* of Renard, certainly a clerical idea, is motivated by the widespread theme of the league of the weak—"la ligue des faibles," as Sudre calls it.[25] The weaker animals, each of whom is threatened by some imminent danger, meet—more or less casually—and band together in their common misfortune. In several versions of this tale, the fox does not figure at all or, if so, he plays a subordinate rôle. Thus in a Russian variant a cat is the protagonist, in a Norwegian it is a sheep, in a Westphalian it is a dog (cf. the *Bremerstadtmusikanten,* where we have an ass), in certain others a man joins the animals, etc. Yet in all these cases the animals escape the first danger in order to fall into a second and greater one. So that assuming—for the moment—that some such narrative underlay our story, the animals in league with the fox would naturally be attacked by wolves. In some cases the attack on them occurs as they are gathered about a fire in the woods; in others it takes place in a house where they have sought shelter—this, strange to say, is the case in our version. Now the story is already told in the Latin *Ysengrimus* with the additional *motif* of the pilgrimage. We entirely agree with Foulet that branch VIII took the story from the Latin poem, since it is more natural to ascribe its variation from the Latin to the more popular, epic tone of the French trouvère than to seek it in a hypothetical common source. But whether we side with Foulet or with Sudre in this respect, in either case the ultimate derivation seems to us folkloristic, and the clerk or trouvère would simply have adapted the folktale to his social setting by linking it to the contemporary motive of a pilgrimage. While Foulet would object—as indeed he practically does in his last chapter—that it is unjustifiable to take a modern folktale, no matter how extensive its diffusion, as a proof of what occurred in the twelfth century, the fact that such a twelfth-century folktale is not recorded does not disprove its existence, and the modern versions, in this case quite independent of the *Renard,* argue that it may have existed—and that possibility once admitted, Foulet's extreme position seems to us untenable.

Or let us take another of the "omitted"

[25] *Op. cit.,* pp. 212 ff.

branches, no. IX. Here we have the story of the rich *vilain* or serf who, while plowing his field, grows so disgusted with one of his oxen that he invokes the bear against him. No sooner said than the bear claims his victim. The fox now acts as intermediary between the serf and the bear, much to the former's ultimate harm. The author of IX asserts that he has the tale from a story-teller,

> Qui tos les conteors surmonte
> Qui soient de ci jusqu'en Puille.

And Krohn[26] and Sudre[27] have no difficulty in unearthing the story in popular modern versions. Foulet[28] grants that "il est possible qu'il faille en effet voir dans un récit de ce genre la source de l'auteur de IX." Yet in the end he concludes for a less similar version contained in the *Disciplina clericalis.* Why? Because the Latin text, "littéraire celle-là, . . . a l'avantage très sensible à nos yeux d'être chronologiquement antérieure au Roman de *Renard.*"

In other words, although the "omitted" branches doubtless were all written with reference to those already in existence, and XVII, containing the *processio,* probably formed—to use Foulet's expression—*la conclusion joyeuse* of the entire original group,[29] still clerical sources need not necessarily have been exclusively used. We can admit, as we certainly must, that the *Roman de Renard* is a literary work of the twelfth century, in the main the product of clerics employing written Latin material, without asserting that the *Ysengrimus* of 1152 was wholly literary in its origin, or that the accessible sources after that date were entirely such. The sobriquets 'Ysengrin' and 'Renard' are obviously not classical. To reject the theory of Grimm that the tales in which these names occur came into being contemporaneously with them, *i. e.,* at a time when 'Ysengrin' and 'Renard' were etymologically significant, does not compel us to disagree with G. Paris that "tous ces noms sont incontestablement germaniques." "Comment admettre," continues Paris (p. 25), "qu'un poète (ou un simple conteur) soit allé chercher pour le donner à son loup un nom qui aurait été inconnu dans son pays?" Nogent, writing in 1112, could have easily meant "some people in general (*aliqui*)" and not only clerks. In another place[30] he carefully distinguishes hearsay from authenticated tradition (*scriptorum veracium traditio*), and he apparently knew the talk of the people. One of Foulet's strongest points (p. 566) is his observation that the clergy were the intermediaries between the other social groups in the Middle Ages. Hence they were responsible, he argues, for the diffusion of the *Renard* among the people. But doubtless also the clergy and the folk interacted. This he appears to forget, for if the clergy enriched the folk-mind, the clerics may well have drawn on the store-house of popular lore. "Il est bien digne de remarque," to quote again Paris,[31] "que des fables de Phèdre . . . qui, par l'intermédiaire des mises en prose, ont été connues au moyen âge, il en est peu qui aient trouvé accès dans le *Roman de Renard.*" It is one thing to reduce the evidence of folklore to its proper sphere, especially when that evidence is modern and collected in a very unscientific manner by word of mouth. On this every sensible person must agree with Foulet. But it is another matter to deny it any value, not as an absolute proof of what did exist, but as an indication of what might have existed. Mediaeval France had its professional "conteurs," and their stock in trade was hardly derived wholly from antecedent literary works. On the contrary, if popular tales for which we cannot find a literary source are still current to-day, to how much greater an extent this must have been the case in the twelfth century. And to this fact the animal tale could not have been an exception. For these reasons,

[26] *Mann und Fuchs, Drei vergleichende Märchenstudien,* Helsingfors, 1891, pp. 11–37.

[27] Ch. IV.

[28] P. 446.

[29] Ch. XVIII.

[30] See, *e. g., Patrologia latina,* CLVI, § 330, p. 613.

[31] P. 51.

I believe, the last chapters of Foulet's treatise are the least valuable part of his contribution.

One further point, and we may conclude. Early [32] in his work Foulet sets up the theory that the author of branch II was a certain Pierre de St. Cloud. The writer of branch XVI calls himself by this name, and branch XXV refers to the *aventures et conte* which Pieres de Saint Cloot related, *ans et jors a ja passés.* We recall [33] that the prologue of I had said that *Perrot . . . lessa le meus de sa matere.* Since Foulet interprets this as a reference to branch II, Perrot, whom he identifies with Pierre de St. Cloud, would be the author of II and thus the person most concerned in the composition of the romance.

On the surface the theory is inviting. It is, however, beset with various difficulties. The chief authority for the name is a branch which is a mediocre work of art: a later and unsuccessful part of the cycle. Sudre,[34] who was deeply impressed with the fact, concluded that Pierre de St. Cloud is a pseudonym chosen by the *remanieur* of XVI, and dismissed the theory that the name has any bearing on the authorship of the cycle. G. Paris was of practically the same opinion.[35] Voretzsch, to quote his most recent statement,[36] says: "Pierre von St. Cloud wird an verschiedenen stellen als verfasser von Renart branchen genannt, ohne dass man ihm eine der vorhandenen mit bestimmtheit zuschreiben könnte." And, indeed, Foulet himself remarks: "il est peu probable que le trouvère qui vers 1177 eut l'idée très neuve de composer un poème héroï-comique de Renart et d'Isengrin, se soit avisé, plus de vingt ans après, d'y ajouter un assez médiocre supplément." But if Pierre de St. Cloud is not the author of XVI, how can we argue that he was the author of II? Pierre [37] is a common Christian name; branch XXV is posterior to branch XVI and may well have derived its reference from it; the author of II, so explicit about his literary equipment, is silent about himself. Moreover, the name does occur elsewhere. The *Roman d'Alexandre,* in part IV, the earliest dating of which is 1180, mentions a *Pieres de St. Cloot,* but in an entirely different and rather obscure connection; and in 1209 Caesarius of Heisterbach speaks of a*Petrus de Sancto Clodovaldo* who became a monk to escape persecution. Neither of these references is to a person of the character of our trouvère, and the attempt [38] to connect them with each other has, as Foulet admits, failed. Consequently, the only safe conclusion, it seems to us, is to grant that the author of branch II is still unknown.

Except for the limitations mentioned, however, the new treatise on the *Renard* is bound to stand. The admission of some popular influence does not militate against the important fact that the poets of the twelfth century drew chiefly on mediaeval monastic sources. On this essential point Foulet requires no vindication. We can subscribe to the statement that their point of departure was the "*Romulus* en prose,[39] peut-être l'*Ecbasis,* certainement et surtout l'*Ysengrimus.*" As for their originality: "lisons," says Foulet, "les poèmes de Renard.[40] Nous y trouverons des inventions

[32] Pp. 22 ff.

[33] See above.

[34] P. 22.

[35] P. 14.

[36] *Einführung*², p. 404.

[37] See, however, G. Paris, p. 10, who says: "Ce Perrot . . . est certainement le Pierre de Saint-Cloud que la branche XVI se donne pour auteur."

[38] Jonckbloët, *Etude sur le roman de Renart,* 1863, pp. 290 ff.

[39] Pp. 548 ff.

[40] Foulet makes no independent attempt to establish the locality in which the *Renard* originated. See p. 14. G. Paris thinks Pierre de St. Cloud was a Parisian (*Ext.* p. 10), "à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de Saint-Cloud-sur-Touque (Calvados)." He places II and Va in Normandy; I (on account of *welcomme,* v. 777) in Artois, so too X and XIV; XI and XV in Picardy, likewise VIII; while VII refers to Compiègne and would thus belong to the Ile-de-France. On the whole, the north-east would thus be the district in which the story was composed. Cf. *Ysengrimus* written by Nivard of Ghent, and also the reference of Guibert de Nogent concerning Laon.

It is to be regretted that the volume has no index. From misprints it is singularly free. We noted only one of importance: p. 372, l. 7, "l'ours, son *patrinus*" should read "le loup, son *patrinus.*"

antiques, des mœurs médiévales, un souffle de large humanité. Et notre étonnement sera que, pendant si longtemps, on ait pu faire passer pour un ramassis incohérent de textes remaniés et rapetassés une des productions les plus achevées et les plus originales de l'ancienne France."

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Interior of the Fortune

In view of the comparatively small amount of direct information regarding the Elizabethan theatre, it is surprising that the following vivid description of the interior of the Fortune has hitherto escaped notice.

The Fortune, it will be remembered, was not round, but square. The passage, which has previously been regarded as fanciful, is obviously a description of theatre and audience as if they constituted the fourth wall of the apartment in which the scene is laid. In Act I, scene i of *The Roaring Girl,* "As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-stage," Sir Alexander Wengrave ushers his friends into a room in his house:

Sir Alex. . . . Th' inner room was too close: how do you like
This parlour, gentlemen?
All. O, passing well!
Sir Adam. What a sweet breath the air casts here, so cool!
Goshawk. I like the prospect best.
Laxton. See how 'tis furnish'd!
Sir Davy. A very fair sweet room.
Sir Alex. Sir Davy Dapper,
The furniture that doth adorn this room
Cost many a fair grey groat ere it came here;
But good things are most cheap when they're most dear.
Nay, when you look into my galleries,
How bravely they're trimm'd up, you all shall swear
You're highly pleas'd to see what's set down there:
Stories of men and women, mix'd together,
Fair ones with foul, like sunshine in wet weather;
Within one square a thousand heads are laid,
So close that all of heads the room seems made;
As many faces there, fill'd with blithe looks,
Shew like the promising titles of new books
Writ merrily, the readers being their own eyes,
Which seem to move and to give plaudities;
And here and there, whilst with obsequious ears
Throng'd heaps do listen, a cut-purse thrusts and leers
With hawk's eyes for his prey; I need not shew him;
By a hanging, villainous look yourselves may know him,
The face is drawn so rarely: then, sir, below,
The very floor, as 'twere, waves to and fro,
And, like a floating island, seems to move
Upon a sea bound in with shores above.
All. These sights are excellent!

Mr. Bullen (Middleton, Vol I, Introd. p. xxxvi) attributes the lines to Dekker. The attribution is doubtless correct; not, however, on the ground that the passage is only an "airy extravagance."

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Noires Saies

In his edition of *Berte aus grans piés* (Bruxelles, 1874), Scheler remarks in his note to line 221 (*Berte chaï pasmee sor un drap noir com saie*): "Je ne sais pas comment justifier l'expression *noir com saie;* le mot aurait-il peut-être pris l'acception spéciale de drap mortuaire?"

In a note on the word "saie," in the *ZRPh.,* XXV, 354 f., Meyer-Lübke comments on the same passage: "Das Wesentliche, Eigenartige der *saie* ist im Mittelalter die schwarze Farbe gewesen, und zwar in solchem Grade, dasz Adenet geradezu den Vergleich wagen konnte *un drap noir com saie* (Berte 37), ein Vergleich der Scheler (Anm. zu der Stelle) und gewiss vielen andern nicht ganz verständlich war, da man daraus allein doch nicht wohl schlieszen durfte, dasz die *saie* überhaupt 'schwarz' gewesen sei, der aber sofort das Befremdliche verliert, wenn man damit Barb. u. M. I 345, 2298 zusammenhält, wo ein Geistlicher sagt *Mais por*

ce, se vest noires saies Et il vestent les robes vaires, Ne lor desplaise mes affaires, welche Stelle mir A. Tobler auf meine Frage nach der genauen Bedeutung jenes Vergleiches freundlichst nachwies. Der Stoff *saie* aber kann zwar schwarz sein, ist es aber nur ausnahmsweise, so dasz also auch nicht Gleichheit der Farbe die Bedeutungsverschiebung erklären konnte."

Perhaps the above passage (it comes from Gautier de Coinsi's *Seinte Léocade*) is partly responsible for the utterly inadequate definition of *saie* in the Grand Larousse: "Serge dont les moines se faisaient des chemises." The records of the Flanders cloth industry in the thirteenth century show that *saie* was very generally used for "cauches," a sort of long stocking, almost drawers, which came well up on the thigh, and which, at least in the city of Saint-Omer, were always dyed black.[1] In the anonymous poem entitled *l'Ordene de Chevalerie* these lines occur, in an account of the knighting of Saladin by Hugues de Tabarie (I copy from MS. B. N. Fr. 837):

> Apres li a chauces ch(auc)ies
> De saie noires deliees.[2]

Another manuscript of the same poem (Brit. Mus. Harl. 4333) gives for the second of these lines *De saie de b(ru)ges deliees,* but informs us later that the *chauces* were black. If we should accept the reading of the latter manuscript, which I am afraid, for various reasons, we dare not depend on, we might infer that Bruges, as well as Saint-Omer, dealt in "chauces . . . de saie noires," and that thirteenth century *chausses,* when made of "saie," were commonly black; but as matters stand, there is only a probability in this direction.

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[1] See A. Giry, *Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Omer et de ses institutions jusqu'au XIVe siècle,* Paris, 1877, pp. 360 and 564.

[2] In the version as printed in the Barbazan-Méon, I, 59 ff., which follows B. N. Fr. 25462, the lines read: *Après li a cauches cauchiés De saie brune et delijés* (ll. 165–66); and in MS. Cambridge Gg. 6. 38, the couplet runs: *Apres ly ad chauces chaucez De brune saye delyez;* but all the versions refer to the *chauces* later, in rhyme, as black.

CONCERNING THEODORE WINTHROP

As the only member of Theodore Winthrop's family now living who knew him, I trust I may be permitted to answer Mr. Elbridge Colby's note in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for February, on the reprint of *The Canoe and the Saddle,* which Mr. John H. Williams of Tacoma published in 1913, greatly increasing its scope and interest by adding Winthrop's complete Western journals and letters, furnished by me.

Mr. Colby, who had been seeking materials from Winthrop's representatives for publication, was easily identified by them as the author of a review (unsigned) of this new edition in *The Nation* of December 18, 1913. This review attacked the statement of Mr. Williams's Introduction that George William Curtis "did not know Winthrop as an author" when he wrote his well-known sketch of the young soldier for the *Atlantic Monthly* shortly after Winthrop's death at Great Bethel. In the pamphlet to which Mr. Colby refers in your columns,[1] Mr. Williams amplified this brief statement by showing that while Curtis's essay mentioned the existence of "several novels, tales, sketches of travel, and journals" which Winthrop had left, it said no more of them *because Curtis had not yet become acquainted with them.* As authority for this assertion, he quoted information received from me, but he was further justified by Curtis's own words to him, which he cited, and still more by the *Atlantic* sketch.

In that appreciation of Winthrop, Curtis wrote not as a critic but simply as a friend and biographer. Had he known the MSS., and not merely known of them, he could not have overlooked the fact that they were the real achievement—the only important literary achievement—of his hero's life. He must have given his readers some information about these vital books, and perhaps a taste of their quality, instead of praising and quoting Winthrop's fragmentary papers merely. In the pamphlet mentioned, Mr. Williams says in part:

[1] *Winthrop and Curtis; A Reviewer Reviewed.* By John H. Williams. Tacoma, 1914.

"Curtis naturally made his biographical sketch as complete as possible. . . . The essay is in fact a defense of its subject from the possible charge that his life had been lacking in purpose or product. Are we to believe that its writer deliberately concealed the fact that Winthrop's brief career had really been rich in output, although that output had not yet been given to the world? . . . In all American literature there has been no other find of unsuspected gold equal to the posthumous discovery of Winthrop's manuscripts. Of all men and journals, Curtis was the man to have proclaimed this treasure, and the *Atlantic Monthly,* under Lowell, the forum for this proclamation."

Mr. Colby, apparently still trying to show that Curtis had become acquainted with Winthrop's books before he wrote his sketch, and yet deliberately ignored them, quotes a letter from my aunt, Elizabeth Winthrop, to Mr. James T. Fields. This letter alone is ample proof of the truth of Mr. Williams's assertion, for it was written to set at rest the insinuation that Curtis's failure to do justice to Winthrop's unpublished books, and so to "bring him forward as an author," was due to "jealousy lest he be eclipsed"! I quote her own sentence from this letter, which Mr. Colby has obliged Winthrop's kindred by discovering and publishing:

"To us who know his noble nature, his genuine admiration of Theodore's books, and his joy in their success, as well as the helping hand he always holds out to his literary brethren, this is simply absurd and ridiculous; and the mention of the fact that Theodore never showed him any of his writings but 'Love and Skates,' which he immediately recommended his sending to the *Atlantic,* . . . is sufficient answer," etc.

It will be clear that Elizabeth Winthrop could not have written these words if Curtis had read her brother's MSS. in the short time available for preparing his *Atlantic* essay, nor have asked in her letter that he be requested to write a second Winthrop paper. Her meaning is unmistakable; Curtis's seeming injustice to his dead friend was known to her and her family to have been wholly unintentional, because he did not then "know Winthrop as an author."

Mr. Colby is again inaccurate in saying that the "proper and dignified review" of Winthrop's writings published later was "written by G. P. Lathrop." This interesting article may be found in the *Atlantic* for August, 1863. The *Atlantic* Index shows that it was the work of Charles Nordhoff.

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A HOMILETICAL DEBATE BETWEEN HEART AND EYE

In his discussion of the medieval Debate between the Heart and Eye, Dr. J. H. Hanford [1] recognizes two distinct types: the courtly debate, in which the question is the relative responsibility of eye and heart for the pain which the lover suffers, and the theological debate, in which sin rather than love forms the subject of the discussion. Of the latter type the only examples which he cites are the well-known *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum* [2] and a passage in da Riva's Debate between the Body and the Soul.[3] Further evidence of the currency of this theological discussion appears in two texts, hitherto unprinted, in which the contention between heart and eye is condensed into a form closely resembling the *exemplum.*

The first of these occurs in a manuscript of the late fourteenth century, in the Library of Merton College (MS. 248, fol. 132a, col. 2):

Nota hic disputacionem inter cor & oculum. Cor accusat oculum: tu violas animam solo visu. & oculus: non ego set tu praua cogitacione. & cor: tu habes portas per quas omnia proueniunt. & [oculus:] in tua potestate est eas claudere. cui cor: tu nimis stulte respicis quod delectabile est. & oculus: nec est peccatum sine consensu tuo quia tui est conuertere me ad deum sine consensu cuius ne possum superare. & autem veniunt racio & intellectus

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVI, 161-165.

[2] Ed. T. Wright, *Latin Poems of Walter Mapes,* pp. 93-95.

[3] *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akad.,* 1851, pp. 132-142.

dantes rectu*m* iudiciu*m*: volo q*uod* ocul*us* lac*r*imet p*ropter* malu*m* visu*m* & cor doleat p*ropter* mala*m* cogitacione*m*. & *sic* fit expo*si*cio i*n* gallico & post ea*m* i*n* angl*ic*o.

Cor.	Tu mas hony de ton mau' regarder.
Ocul*us*.	Mes tu mas hony p*ur* mau penser.
Cor.	Nestu la porte ou entre peche.
Ocul*us*.	Tu la puys clore a ta volunte.
Cor.	Vou*s* regardez t*r*op folement.
Ocul*us*.	Ceo nest peche p*ur* ton assent.
	Donk vij*n*t reson & iugement & dist ensi:
	Ieo voil q*ue* le oil plur*e* & wayme*n*te
	& le coer de maus ceo repente.

Ist*ud* facil*iter* dici po*test* in anglico: þe herte seiþ to þe eie þus:

	þou vs ast shend þoru þi fol loking.
[Eye]	but þou vs ast shent þouru þi fol þe*n*chi*n*g.
[Heart]	nartou þe ȝate þoru wa*m* comeþ si*n*ne & þoutes ille.
[Eye]	þou maist it shette at þine wille.
[Heart]	folies biholden niltou bilinne
[Eye]	Wiþ oute*n* þe it is no synne.
	þan comeþ r*e*son & vnderstanding
	& herof ȝif*us* a riȝtful demyng & seiþ þus:
	Ich wil þat þe eie wepe ful sor*e*
	& þat þe herte sorwe & synne no mor*e*.

The second text, consisting of an English version only, is found in the Commonplace book compiled by Johannis de Grimestone in the year 1372, which is now preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh (MS. 18. 7. 21, fol. 99b).

*N*ota. *Disputac*io *inter cor & oculum*.

Dic*i*t Cor oc*u*lo.	þu schendest me sor*e* wit*h* þi loki*n*g
R*espondi*t Oculus.	þu schendest þe mor*e* wit*h* þi þe*n*ghki*n*g
Dic*it* Cor.	þu art þe ȝate of þouthtes hille
R*espondi*t Ocul*us*.	þe ȝate mauthtu scitte*n* at þi wille
Dic*it* Cor.	þu lokest to lithliche on fair*e* þi*n*g
Dic*it* Oculus.	þ*at* is no se*n*ne but þoru þi suffring.
Tunc Rac*io* dat Iudicium.	Lat eyȝe wepin for his loki*n*g & lat h*er*te r*e*pe*n*ten for wikke þe*n*ki[n]g.

The similar phrases in the two English texts, especially in the first two or three lines, are not sufficient to establish any direct connection, as the likeness may be explained on the supposition of a common Latin original. This Latin prose text, as represented by the Merton MS., when compared with the metrical *Disputatio* shows noteworthy differences. In the first place, whereas in the latter the Heart speaks only once and the Eye makes only a single reply, in the prose text Cor and Oculus each speak three times. Again, though in both pieces Ratio comes forward as the arbiter of the dispute and renders a verdict which affirms the guilt of both parties, yet the judgment rendered is not the same. According to the prose text, instead of drawing a philosophical distinction between the cause and the occasion of sin, Ratio assigns to both Heart and Eye appropriate penance. Indeed, the resemblance between the Latin poem and the prose *Disputatio* hardly extends beyond the essential idea which lies at the basis of both. Standing side by side, they illustrate the difference of form resulting from the employment of the same idea for widely different ends. The purpose of the poem is literary and philosophical, while that of the prose text is definitely homiletical.

It would be idle, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt to define the relationship existing between the prose *Disputatio* and the other versions of the theme. One sees, however, that its concise form and its direct and simple statement of the moral issue fitted it for wide circulation. And in some such form as this, we may easily believe, the conflict between Heart and Eye was impressed upon laymen in many a medieval congregation.

To the list of courtly debates given by Dr. Hanford still another instance may be added. In the Old French *Guillaume de Palerne* the love-wounded Melior debates for some seventy lines (vv. 828–898) the relative responsibility of heart and eye, in a fashion which easily recalls the corresponding passage in *Cligés*.

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A NOTE ON *COMUS*

There are five lines in *Comus* which have provoked from commentators some discussion, the simplest explanation and true meaning of which, however, I believe have not yet been suggested. The passage occurs at the end of one of Milton's long sentences (ll. 720–736). Comus, in his efforts to seduce the lady, ad-

vances the argument that she should make use of her beauty, replenish the earth, and thus show due appreciation of the gifts of the Almighty. Moreover, if we should not avail ourselves of temporal blessings, we should not only become surfeited with them, but evil would result.

It is the expression *they below,* in line 734, to which I have reference particularly. Three interpretations of this have been suggested, differing according to the meaning attached to *the deep,* in the preceding line. These are succinctly stated by Professor Neilson: "(1) If 'the deep'='the sea,' then 'they below'='sea-monsters,' or (2) 'men.' If 'the deep'='the centre of the earth,' then 'they below'='gnomes.'"[1]

The late William Vaughan Moody accepts the first of these, taking 'the deep' to mean 'the sea.' He says: "Can it be that Milton believed that diamonds were found, like pearls, in the sea, or does he refer to diamonds which have been cast there from shipwrecks? Or is 'diamonds' used in a general sense for 'precious stones'?"[2] Verity thinks that the reference is to men beneath the sea. Mr. C. W. Thomas, referring to an early manuscript, in which the line reads

> Would so bestud the centre with their starlight,

claims that this "makes it fairly clear that 'deep' here means depths of the earth," and that "'they below,' therefore, would refer to the gnomes and other supernatural creatures who were supposed to dwell within the earth."[3] Professor Trent, in his edition of the minor poems, is inclined to agree with this interpretation. Masson makes no comment on the passage.

It is certainly "fairly clear" that 'the deep' refers here not to the sea, but to the depths of the earth; for the sea could hardly be said to have a *forehead.* The explanation of *they below,* however, I believe is that it refers not to gnomes, but to men. That is, 'below' does not mean below the surface of the earth, but below the heavens, and is to be taken in a general sense as referring to the inhabitants of earth. This word is often used to designate men, as distinguished from the heavenly hosts; as for instance in the line of the Doxology,

> Praise him, all creatures here below.

And Milton himself, in the second book of *Paradise Lost* (l. 172), uses *above* in the same manner.

A paraphrase of these five lines, then, I believe would be something like this: The sea *o'erfraught*—overladen with its treasures—would *swell*—overflow; and *the unsought diamonds,* bulging out from their beds under the ground, would so *emblaze,* or illuminate, the *forehead of the deep*—the surface of the earth—and *so bestud with stars,* that *they below,* the inhabitants of earth, would become so *inured to light* from gazing on the brilliancy of the precious stones that they could soon look with impunity upon the sun itself.

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[1] *Milton's Minor Poems,* Lake English Classics, p. 142.

[2] Cambridge edition of Milton, p. 388.

[3] Riverside Literature Series ed. of Minor Poems, p. 88.

BRIEF MENTION

Prince de Ligne: *Lettres à la Marquise de Coigny.* Edition du Centenaire par Henri Lebasteur. Paris. Champion. 1914. xxix + 96 pp. The centenary of the Prince de Ligne, probably the most accomplished Gallicized foreigner of the old régime, is being celebrated by the republication from his extensive memorials (*Mélanges littéraires, militaires et sentimentaires,* 1795–1811, 34 vols. *Mémoires et mélanges historiques,* 1827–29, 5 vols. Also *Lettres et pensées,* ed. Mme de Staël, 1809. Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi,* VIII, 234–72) of several selections which best illustrate his various phases: his military experience, his taste for gardening, and the above small volume of letters. This last is the lively record of an eyewitness concerning the travels of Catherine the Great in the Crimea, January to July, 1787.

It has heretofore appeared only in the varnished version of Mme de Staël and in that of De Lescure (1886). It seems worth while that these nine letters, originally *apprêtées* for publication by the author, forming a complete and, as Sainte-Beuve emphasized, a most interesting episode, should now emerge in a critical edition. In restoring the text, M. Lebasteur has recorded the variants and added enlightening historical notes. He has also provided a "Causerie préliminaire" in which are exhibited the chief traits of the Prince de Ligne and of his lady correspondent. Among the former these are stressed: the Austrian's preoccupation with *esprit;* his gaiety, adaptability and skill in flattery—apparently compatible with a sincere admiration for his imperial hostess; his aristocratic Neo-Classicism combined with a dawning Romanticism. It is particularly in marking this transition that the *Lettres* themselves are valuable, and here it seems that the editor has rather skimped the part of Rousseau and the suggestion of Chateaubriand. The remarkable fifth letter, "De Parthenizza," full of souvenirs of Iphigenia and of other classical allusions, is partly no doubt a *morceau de bravoure,* but the sentence on "mélancolie vague" as anticipating passion, the *sensiblerie* in connection with nature, and much self-analysis shown by the writer in reviewing his own career in camp and court, are surely significant. Other engaging features of the letters are the descriptions of luxurious travelling and barbaric embassies, the characteristics of Oriental Europe, the Prince's clinging to his submerged career as a warrior, his gallant and *précieux* tone toward his correspondent, his candid royalism, and the fact that all his wit does not impede a certain shrewd wisdom. Taken together with Sainte-Beuve's study this volume affords a striking portrait of an individual who was also a type.

E. P. D.

Max Diez's *Über die Naturschilderung in den Romanen Sealsfields* in the *Washington University Studies,* April, 1914, is a very satisfactory study of Sealsfield's (Carl Postl) treatment of nature in his novels. Chapter I gives a survey of the parts of America described and of what in their scenery most attracted the author. In chapter II the writer discusses three distinct kinds of descriptions employed in Sealsfield's novels: (1) general descriptions which serve as backgrounds for the actors; (2) panoramic views described by the actors; (3) descriptions closely interwoven with the experiences of the actors themselves. In chapter III, perhaps the most interesting, the writer draws conclusions concerning Sealsfield's character and temperament from his realistic descriptions of nature. A question of some interest, not treated by the writer, is to what extent Sealsfield was influenced in his treatment of nature by the descriptions of such scientific travelers as Humboldt and Forster. Also a comparison of Sealsfield's descriptions of nature with those of such "Amerika" writers as Gerstäcker, Strubberg, and Möllhausen might produce interesting results. While Sealsfield's descriptions exhibit greater artistic skill and originality, they are on the other hand often very grotesque, exaggerated, and even inexact, and certainly never as far-reaching as those of the above exotic writers, whose works, though less praised, were far more extensively read by those Germans who were to seek new homes in America.

P. A. B.

The question is sometimes asked "What is a New Edition?" In the case of *Die Harzreise,* edited by L. R. Gregor, Revised Edition, Ginn and Company, 1915, one is moved to inquire "What constitutes a Revised Edition?" and the answer would apparently have to be "The addition of a Vocabulary." A spelling has, to be sure, been modernized here and there, but otherwise there is not the least sign that the editor has profited from an examination of the various editions of the *Harzreise* (Vos, Kolbe, Fife) that have appeared since his own (1903). To mention only some of the more conspicuous lapses that remain undisturbed: *die Nordsee* (p. 22, l. 7) is still *the Baltic, verfallen und dumpfig* are still referred to the *Gose* instead of to *Goslar* (p. 29, l. 7), the *Kaiserworth* and the *Kaiserhaus* are still confused (p. 29, ll. 23–24). Greifswald is located 'in Stralsund, Prussia'—a statement that seems to owe its origin to a note in Colbeck's *Prose Selections from Heine.* The editor also continues ignorant of the fact that the passage, p. 67, l. 28—p. 68, l. 19, is a literal translation from Ossian's *Darthula,* and hence still insists that *deine Halle* (Ossian's *thy hall*) contains a play on the name *Halle,* and that p. 68, l. 17, is "perhaps meant to be a parody on Denis's translation into hexameters." The most characteristic feature of the edition is the renderings of numerous passages of considerable length into English, renderings that are meant to serve as models for the student. Almost invariably these are brilliantly done. It is to be regretted all the more that a book setting so high a literary standard should show so little regard for the demands of scholarship.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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EATING A CITATION

Some editors of Nashe and Greene have supported the theory of Greene's authorship of *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield,* by pointing to the similarity between the incident (Act 1, Sc. 2) where George a Greene forces the insolent Mannering, who comes with a commission from the rebel Earl of Kendall for supplies for his army from the town of Wakefield, to eat the three wax seals of his commission and see the commission itself torn into shreds, and an incident which is supposed to have been true of Greene himself. The yarn is briefly told by Nashe, in a defense of Greene:

"Had he liu'd, Gabriel, and thou shouldst so unarteficially and odiously libeld against him as thou hast done, he would haue made thee an example of ignominy to all ages that are to come, and driuen thee to eate thy owne booke butterd, as I sawe him make an Apparriter once in a Tauern eate his Citation, waxe and all, very handsomely seru'd twixt two dishes." [1]

This anecdote is taken not as the jest of a satirical writer, but rather seriously, by McKerrow, in a suggestion which he contributes for the "Notes on Publications" in the Malone Collections, Parts IV and V, 1911, pp. 289–90. As a possible explanation of the manuscript note on the title-page of the Duke of Devonshire's copy of the 1599 quarto of *George a Greene* to the effect that "Ed. Juby saith that ye play was made by Ro. Greene," Mr. McKerrow proposes to construe the *by* as *for,* and hence, in this instance, virtually *about* Greene. After illustrating the usage, he goes on to say:

"Robert Greene was a well-known figure in his day, and was undoubtedly much talked of after his death. Is it not possible that Juby fancied that the incident of George a Greene and Mannering in the play had been suggested by Robert Greene's treatment of the apparitor; and that the true meaning of the note is not that the play was written by Greene, but that it was aimed at him or made use of incidents of his life?"

The incident occurs in several places. It is found in full in the prose romance on which *George a Greene* is based, the manuscript of which has been supposed to belong to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (the earliest extant printed copy being dated 1706). It is not known whether this prose version is later or earlier than the play, but it has been pretty generally assumed that the play is founded on the prose version in one form or another. The action is substantially the same in play and romance, the romance having an added touch of realism in Mannering's choking on the seals and being given a bowl of ale to wash them down, a detail which appears, doubled, in a similar incident in *Sir John Oldcastle* (1600).

The whole scene in *Sir John Oldcastle* (Act 2, Sc. 1) is on a larger scale. The Summoner here is a sort of stock character, whose traits, dramatically suggested by soliloquy and dialogue, carry with them a faint suggestion of the kind of wickedness so earnestly inveighed against in church councils in the Middle Ages, and so humorously hit off by Chaucer in the character of his summoner to ecclesiastical courts. One may imagine the "taking down" of such a character as furnishing great enjoyment to the audience even as late as the seventeenth century, the summoner being so generally unpopular.[2] The Sumner appears at Sir

[1] Strange Newes, 1592. Cv_3, McKerrow, I, 271, line 25.

[2] Special abuses of the office of summoner, or pursuivant, of the ecclesiastical courts during the period 1580–96 may have led to the revival of good old stories about wicked summoners and also encouraged the summoned to acts of violence against the messengers. In the Acts of the Privy Council for 1580 (Eliz., Vol. iv, p. 820) there is a letter to the Lord Bishop of London "with a supplicacion enclosed complaining of the attaching and sending for by his seruantes (to the abuse of the Commission Ecclesiasticall) for poore men to their great charges and hinderance, nothing at their coming being laid unto their charg, but offered to be excused for a little money." In spite of whatever action the Council may have taken, the abuse con-

John Oldcastle's place and attempts to serve a citation for him to appear at court before the Lord of Rochester. He is received by Harpoole, a member of Oldcastle's household, who not only denies him audience, but beats him severely, and obliges him to eat the one wax seal, though it were "as broad as the lead that couers Rochester Church," exhorting him, "Be champping, be chawing, sir." Harpoole gives him a draught of beer, and then continues the punishment by requiring him to eat the parchment commission itself, washing it down with a cup of sack. A reminder of this closing incident occurs in *2 Henry IV*, II, ii, 148, where Poins, after reading Falstaff's letter to the Prince, says, "My Lord, I will steepe this Letter in Sack and make him eate it."

Mr. McKerrow, in his note on Nashe's anecdote,[3] cites two allusions to similar scenes in real life. One is in Scott's *Abbot*, Note F, 'Abbot of Unreason,' where "a similar incident is described as taking place at the castle of Borthwick in 1547." The other is a case reported in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, II, 346.

The case in Pitcairn is in part 2 of volume I of the Edinburgh 1833 edition (p. 346), and it is dated February 3, 1595, though the root of the whole trouble goes back to December, 1594. James Hamilton and his wife, Agnes Cockburn, and their four sons were "denounced rebels" for not answering to a complaint of James, Lord Lindsay, David Dundas, and John Yallowleis, Messenger (at arms). Yallowleis had been sent with two companions to carry four letters, among them a citation for the Hamiltons to appear at court to answer for certain misdemeanors. Hamilton and his sons had been having a hilarious time in the country round about, slaying cows and oxen, breaking up mills, and driving the millers from their work. Lord Lindsay and Dundas appeared personally to pursue the Hamiltons before the King and the Council; but the defendants absented themselves (Dec. 19, 1594). The Messenger went to the *Place of the Peill,*

"and at the yett thairof, the said Agnes &c. cuming furth at the said yett, tuke the said messinger be the craig, struck him upone the heid, armes, and shoulderis, and gaif him mony bauch strikis with pistollettis; held bendit pistollettis to his breist, causit thame to sweir

tinued. There are reprinted by the Historical MSS. Commission (Report 10, App. 2, p. 37) two letters to Bassingbourn Gawdy, of Norfolk, one under date of 28 June, 1593, from Sir Edward Stanhope and Dr. B. Swale, and one under date of 3 July, 1593, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the serving of a forged summons upon Gawdy by a "bad fellow," Thompson, the warrant being signed apparently by Drs. Cosin, Swale, and Drury. The Archbishop hopes that Gawdy "will yet further discover the knot of these cozeners . . . and disburden the poor people of such filthy cormorants." Matters had evidently reached a crisis by 1596, for at that date, according to Strype (*Annals*, Vol. iv, no. ccvii), there was published a "proclamation against sundry abuses practised by divers lewd and audacious persons falsely naming themselves messengers of her majesty's chamber; travelling from place to place, with writings counterfeited in form of warrants." Associated with these false messengers were those from the ecclesiastical courts. "Deceitful persons, falsely taking upon them to be messengers of her chamber; and for that purpose undutifully wearing boxes, or escutcheons of arms, as the messengers do; being associated with others of like bad disposition; have, and still do go up and down the country, with writings in form of warrants, whereunto the names of the lords and others of her majesty's privy council, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, are by them counterfeited." The abuse has continued, according to the proclamation, in spite of the pillorying and branding of offenders after prosecution in Star Chamber. Fees have been taken for the messengers' services; and, to cover up their trickery, these false messengers have compounded with those living at a distance from the courts "to dispense with them for a sum of money, and to make their appearance before the said lords." To correct the abuse, messengers are forbidden in future to receive their fees until those summoned appear with them in court; and all compounding for a sum of money forbidden, under heavy penalties.

The "knot of cozeners," the "filthy cormorants" which the Archbishop of Canterbury refers to so feelingly in the summer of 1593 give a contemporary significance to the treatment of the character of the summoner in *George a Greene*, which is noted by Henslowe as an "old" play in December of the same year.

I am indebted for the references to these three items to a foot-note in Usher's *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (pp. 62-3).

[3] *Works of Nashe*, IV, 163.

neuir to use ony Letteris agains thame; and in end, with mony threatningis and minassingis, in ane verie barbarous and uncouth maner, forceit the said Messinger to eit and swallie the haill copyis of the saidis Letteris, and tuke the principall Letteris frome him; and thaireftir, shamefullie and cruellie dang the said Witnessis with bendit pistollettis and quhinzearis, and left thame for deid: The lyke of quhilkis shamefull and presumptuus insolencies hes sendle bene hard of in the In-cuntrey."

The dates preclude the possibility of influence of this case upon the play *George a Greene*, as the play is noted in *Henslowe's Diary* as old 29 December, 1593. If there is any connection, this is a case of a popular play influencing history, rather than history influencing the play. It is not necessary, however, to assume that the Hamiltons got their notion of how to treat the unwelcome messenger from this or any other play.

As early as 1290 a similar incident occurred in real life. In the *Rolls of Parliament*, I, p. 24, col. 2, no. 15, is recorded a case brought against Bogo de Clare by Johannes le Waleys, clerk, who carried letters of citation from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the home of Bogo. He was received by members of Bogo's household, who beat and otherwise maltreated him, and compelled him to eat the letters and even the seals appended:

"Bogo de Clare attachiatus fuit ad respondend' Johanni le Waleys, Clerico, de hoc, quod cum idem Johannes, die Dominica in Festo Sance Trinitatis proximo perterito, in pace Domini Regis, et ex parte Archiepiscopi Cantuar' intrasset domum predicti Bogonis in Civitate London et ibidem detulisset quasdam Litteras de Citatione quadam facienda, quidam de Familia predicti Bogonis ipsum Johannem Litteras illas et etiam sigilla appensa, vi et contra voluntatem suam, manducare fecerunt, et ipsum ibidem imprisonaverunt, verberaverunt, et male tractaverunt, contra Pacem Domini Regis, et ad Dampnum ipsius Johannis viginti Libr' et etiam in contemptum Domini Regis mille Libr'. Et inde producit sectam" &c.

Bogo put up as defence the fact that the injury had been inflicted without his knowledge or his orders, by members of his household. The King regarded the offence as enormous because of the contempt of church and throne; but Bogo was allowed to go on condition that he would appear later, bringing some suspected members of his household to answer for the crime. He came with all his household except these particular men, "qui incontinenti post praedictum factum recesserunt et abierunt." Bogo was then dismissed and Johannes le Waleys advised to pursue the principal agents.

On reading Note F to Scott's *Abbot*, I was first inclined to view the story with suspicion as a possible combination of a good old anecdote, about how to treat a summoner, with a stock character, the Abbot of Unreason, or lord of misrule. But it seems to be founded on fact. In his Essay on Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, under the heading "Borthwick Castle," Scott quotes in full the record of the case as it was extracted for him from the Consistory Register of St. Andrews by the Scottish antiquary, J. Riddell, Esq., Advocate. It is dated 16 May, 1547.

"HAY, DOMINUS BORTHWICK.

"Eodem die (die lunæ) Willielmus Langlandis baculus literarum cititarum Domini Officialis emanatarum super Johannem Dominum Borthwik ad instantiam Magistri Georgii Hay de Nynzeane et literarum excommunicandum pro nonnullis testibus contumacibus, juravitque quod Idem Willielmus baculus presentavit literas hujusmodi Curato dicte ecclesie pro earundem executione facienda die dominico decimo quinto die mensis instantis Maii ante initium summe misse. Qui Curatus easdem ante summam missam deponenti redeliberavit, et dixit, se velle easdem exequi post summam missam. Et supervenit quidem vulgariter nuncupatus ye Abbot of Unressone of Borthwick, cum suis complicibus, and causit him passe wyt yam quhill he come to ye mylne-dam, at ye south syde of ye castell, and compellit him to lope in ye wattir, and quhan he had loppin in ye wattir, ye said Abbot of Unressone, saide ye deponent was not weite aneuche nor deip aneuche, and wyt yat keist him doune in ye watter by ye shulderis. And yerefter ye deponent past agane to ye kirk, and deliverit yaim to ye curate for executione of ye samyn. And you, ye said Abbot of Unressone, came, and tuke ye letters furt of ye Curate's hand, and gaif ye deponent ane glasse full of wyne, and raif ye letters, and mulit ye samyn amangis ye wyne, and causit ye deponent drynk ye wyne

ande eit ye letters, and saide, gif ony maa lettres came yair, salang as he war lord, yai sulde gang ye said gait: propterea judex decrevit Curatum citandum ad deponendum super nomine et cognomine dicti Abbatis de Unressone et suorum Complicium et literas in futurum exequendas in vicinioribus ecclesiis. Et dictus Abbas et complices excommunicandus quam primo constare poterit de eorundem nominibus." [4]

The details of this situation are so dissimilar to those of *George a Greene* that it is quite unnecessary to assume any relationship between the historical case and the play; for there is nothing in the incident narrated that accounts for anything lacking in the prose romance of *George a Greene.* There are a few details in which the situation at Borthwick castle resembles that in *Sir John Oldcastle.* A summoner is sent from an ecclesiastical court bearing unwelcome letters of an official nature. He is forced to eat the letters steeped in wine. The whole affair of the Abbot of Unreason, the setting of the church service, the ducking in the mill-dam—these are all irrelevant to our purpose. The only distinctive feature of the story that reappears in *Oldcastle* and is not sufficiently accounted for otherwise is the use of the wine.

Mr. J. R. MacArthur seems to feel that this item needs accounting for. In his dissertation on The First Part of *Sir John Oldcastle* he discusses the relation of the Oldcastle incident to that of *George a Greene.* He notes the close parallelism between the play and the prose romance of *George a Greene* up to the point where the pindar forces Mannering to swallow the seals.

"Here the scene in the play closes. In the romance the treatment of the unfortunate messenger is somewhat more humane, for George a Greene, seeing the Sumner almost choked, sends for a cup of sack, which the poor wretch drinks. This proves that, although the authors of Sir John Oldcastle may have known Greene's play, of which an edition was published in 1599, they could not have derived from it this incident, which seems to have existed elsewhere. There was, moreover, a ballad on the subject of the Pindar of Wakefield, a few lines of which are quoted in the two plays of 'The Downfall' and 'The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon.' We shall see a little later that Munday, one of the authors of Sir John Oldcastle, was concerned in the composition of these plays. Hence it is probable that some version of the story was accessible to the writers of Oldcastle other than that given in Greene's play. From the latter they could not have derived the last incident of the story, the drinking of the ale." [5]

Of course, if the prose version of *George a Greene* were accessible to the authors of *Oldcastle,* the use of the wine might be traced to that as a source. Or, perhaps some may choose to suppose a familiarity on the part of the playwrights with the 1547 case at Borthwick Castle. That the wine figured in an early version of *George a Greene* and was omitted purposely from the play is not inconceivable. It would not indicate less humanity in the treatment of the messenger so much as it would indicate a greater dignity, as well as brevity, in the handling of the scene. In the play of *George a Greene,* the action moves very rapidly at this point, with a minimum of talk between the pindar and the messenger, and a minimum of stage business. The choking over the seals and washing them down with wine (it will be remembered that in neither version of *George a Greene* is the letter eaten) would have exaggerated the farcical nature of the incident beyond the apparent intentions of the author. In spite of the essentially comic character of the incident, we get the impression of a certain strength and dignity of character in the hero. In *Oldcastle,* on the other hand, the comic features are expanded till the result is broad farce. The situation is visualized by the playwrights down to the slightest detail. To a writer who is dallying with the situation, expanding it with much talk, prolonging the agony of mastication and of swallowing, what more natural than to hit upon the idea of washing down the choking stuff with wine,—and then, of multiplying the incident by two? The wine may be traced to two possible sources, provided we assume a sufficiently early date for the prose

[4] Cadell, Edinburgh, edition of 1834, p. 205.

[5] University of Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1907, p. 49.

romance underlying *George a Greene;* but is it, after all, really necessary to assume that the authors of *Oldcastle* were incapable of inventing this bit of business? It seems to me entirely possible that several writers handling this situation might invent this independently, because it occurs so naturally the moment one begins to visualize the process of chewing wax seals and parchment and trying to swallow them. It is only a question of how many sources it is desirable to assume for the treatment in *Sir John Oldcastle.*

George a Greene is practically rejected as a source of *Oldcastle* by R. S. Forsythe who says, in commenting on Schelling's derivation, that "a careful comparison of the three scenes in question will show only the germ of both the later ones in that in *George a Greene,* while there is, on the other hand, a close correspondence between that in *Henry V* and that in *Oldcastle."* Mr. Forsythe draws up an extremely careful parallel between the Oldcastle incident and that in *Henry V,* Act V, Sc. 1, to which one cannot do justice without quotation:

"Fluellen and Gower enter, the former with a leek in his hat; and in response to a question from Gower he says that he will force Pistol to eat it. Pistol enters swaggering, and is accosted by Fluellen. The latter comes to the point and bids Pistol eat the leek. He refuses contemptuously. Then Fluellen beats him and continues at short intervals to do so, all the time discoursing upon the virtues of the leek until it, and even its skin, is eaten. Then Fluellen gives Pistol a groat to mend his broken pate, while Gower reproves him for his previous actions. In Oldcastle a summoner (corresponding to Pistol) enters before Lord Cobham's (Sir John Oldcastle's) house, with a process from the Bishop of Rochester's Court to serve upon Oldcastle. Harpoole, the faithful servant of Oldcastle, appears and learns the summoner's business. He examines the parchment which the officer has, and then comes to his point—the forcing of its bearer to eat it. The officer, who is, at his entrance, quite assured in bearing, attempts to brave it out. Harpoole beats him, however, until, protesting very vigorously—as does Pistol,—he eats the summons. While he does so, Harpoole ironically praises its wholesomeness. As Fluellen makes Pistol eat the skin of the leek, so does Harpoole force the summoner to eat the waxen seal on the parchment. After the document has been disposed of, Harpoole calls the butler and orders a pot of beer for the summoner, with which to wash down his lunch. The beer having been drunk, the officer is dismissed, Harpoole in the meantime giving him certain directions concerning his future conduct." [6]

Mr. Forsythe is evidently assuming the stage performance of a version similar to that of the Folio of *Henry V* to have been the source of the scene in *Sir John Oldcastle.* It were a pity to attempt to mar the exquisite symmetry of the parallel by attacking it in any one part. Fortunately that is not necessary. For the average person's common sense will rebound to the conclusion that, while the situations requiring the sending of the message are by no means identical in *George a Greene* and *Sir John Oldcastle,* they are much more similar to each other than is either to that in *Henry V;* for the serving of a disagreeable official message is considerably more like itself than it is like the serving of even the most fragrant leek upon an unwilling man; for eating purposes three wax seals are rather more like one wax seal than they are like an onion skin; and the destruction of a commission, whether by tearing it to pieces only or by eating it, has no essential similarity to the heroic demolition of an onion. How natural it is to close such a scene as that in *Oldcastle* with good advice to top off the maltreatment may be seen by referring to the incident at Borthwick Castle, 1547, and the Scotch law case in Pitcairn (1594–5). One needs no special source for so natural a detail as this.

Confronted with a choice between *George a Greene* and *Henry V* as sources for *Sir John Oldcastle,* one would without hesitation accept *George a Greene.* But it is very clear that the general framework of *Sir John Oldcastle* is not at all accounted for by that of *George a Greene,* romance or play. A very substantial resemblance will be found between the earliest historical case that I have found, that of Bogo de Clare in 1290, and the treatment in *Sir John Oldcastle.* In both the messenger sent is a summoner from an ecclesiastical court, who carries

[6] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* 26, 104–7.

an unwelcome citation to a lord of a household. The summoner is received by one or more members of the lord's household, and, with a beating in one case and threats of a beating in the other, is forced to eat not only the letters but the seals. These are the only two versions here discussed in which both letter and seals are swallowed. There is still another respect in which these versions correspond and in which they differ from the others. There is a sequel to the incident. Bogo de Clare later answers at the King's Court for the offense, but is allowed to go free because the defense pleads that not Bogo himself, but a member of the household, without his master's knowledge or consent, committed the offense. Similarly there is a later scene in *Sir John Oldcastle* (Act II, Sc. iii) where the hero appears before the King's court to answer for his conduct. Here the King takes Oldcastle's part and not the Bishop's, and assists him in establishing the defense that, as he was absent when the offense occurred, he is not responsible for the actions of the members of his household. Like Bogo, Oldcastle goes free on the ground that suit must be brought against the principal agent, and the lord is not responsible for his servant's actions if they are without his knowledge.

I should not care to insist that the Rolls of Parliament were inspected by the authors of *Sir John Oldcastle,* and that the law case here cited was the direct source of the two scenes in *Sir John Oldcastle.* But it is worth while noting that there is a substantial similarity in narrative detail. Forcing a messenger to eat unwelcome letters seems to have been a favorite diversion in England and Scotland for several centuries, judging from the number of allusions that survive. A slight resemblance to the situation may be found in another case in Scotland, noted in *Bannatyne's Journal,* p. 243. In the reign of Mary, one of the Queen's pursuivants, sent out to proclaim everything null which had been done against her in her imprisonment, was forced to eat his letters, was beaten, and warned not to come that way again.[7] We have, in addition to this inexactly dated occurrence, three law cases, 1290, 1547, 1594–5; the prose romance of *George a Greene,* of uncertain date but probably existent before 1593; the play of the same name, played as old, 29 Dec. 1593, and the play of *Sir John Oldcastle,* first performed in 1599. In view of the evident popularity of the custom of forcing a messenger to eat unwelcome letters, whether in real life or on the stage, need we attach any weight to Nashe's little anecdote about Greene's treatment of the apparitor in the tavern? The personal anecdote was as popular in the times of Elizabeth and James as it is to-day. The jest-books show the habit of attaching good old stories to new characters that they seem to fit. How universal such a habit is will be understood by anyone who ever undertook to collect the stories told as true of any public man who got a real hold upon the popular imagination—say Abraham Lincoln, for example. Greene was certainly one type of man that could be expected to accrete anecdotes; and in the incident there is some artistic fitness to the popular conception of Greene's conduct. Greene may, of course, have done exactly the thing attributed to him by Nashe; but in view of the historical incidents above related, it seems entirely possible that Nashe's little anecdote was but a jesting allusion to what he expected every reader to recognize as a well-known good old story. Certainly we should be cautious about concluding that Greene wrote *George a Greene* because of a parallel between the facts of the play and the facts of Greene's own life, or even that Juby fancied that the play was written either by or about Greene merely for this reason.[8]

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[7] See Scott's *Essay on Border Antiquities,* p. 71, note.

[8] Brief notes on "Eating of Seals" (most of which are indexed under "Oldcastle") were contributed to *Notes and Queries,* 1893–8. The most important are those by Edward Peacock, 8th S. iii, 124 and 9th S. i, 305, in one of which he raises the query whether the compulsory seal-eating ever occurred or whether the anecdotes he reprints from various sources are to be regarded only as jests.

THE INFLUENCE OF COOPER'S *THE SPY* ON HAUFF'S *LICHTENSTEIN*

In recent years there has appeared a number of critical essays showing the influence of various works in English literature upon the writings of Wilhelm Hauff. The German novelist's indebtedness to Walter Scott [1] and Washington Irving [2] have been satisfactorily demonstrated. Upon investigation it has been found that with the above-mentioned authors there must be included a writer whose influence upon Hauff seems to have hitherto passed unnoticed; namely, the American novelist, James Fenimore Cooper. This paper proposes to show that Cooper's *The Spy* is a source for Hauff's novel *Lichtenstein.*

The Spy was first published in 1821, and two translated editions of it appeared in Germany in 1824, two years before the publication of *Lichtenstein.* It at once became popular in Germany and, as Dr. Barba says,[3] "assured Cooper's success on the Continent." The German critics hailed Cooper as the "American Scott." Hauff's admiration for Scott is well known, and it is scarcely probable that he should have remained unacquainted with the works of a man who was being so favorably compared with the great English novelist. As a matter of fact, Hauff really was familiar with Cooper, as statements from his sketch *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* show. In this sketch the bookseller is made to say, "Ich streite Scott und den beiden Amerikanern (Cooper, Irving) ihr Verdienst nicht ab; sie sind im Gegenteil leider zu gut." Further he adds, in giving an example of how the philistine is wont to criticize an author, "Er (indefinite: author criticized by the philistine) ist doch nicht so schön als Walter Scott und Cooper, und nicht so tief und witzig als Washington Irving. Und welcher Segen für unsere Literatur und den Buchhandel wird aus diesem Samen (Scott, Cooper, Irving) hervorgehen, den man so reichlich ausstreut?" These quotations have been used as concrete proofs of Hauff's acquaintance with Irving and to some extent also with Scott, so there is no reason why they should not perform the same function in the case of Cooper.

Hauff's chief indebtedness to *The Spy* is for the character of the Piper of Hardt. Most commentators on *Lichtenstein* are somewhat at variance in their explanation of this character; in fact, it has seemed to be one of the few cruxes which the book furnishes. Three papers dealing with Hauff's relations to Scott have been read before the Modern Language Association. In 1900 C. W. Eastman in his paper, in which he maintained that *Ivanhoe* was Hauff's chief Scottian source for *Lichtenstein,* said, "The most original character in *Lichtenstein* is without question the Pfeifer von Hardt, and there seems to be no one person in *Ivanhoe* to whom he seems to exactly correspond." [4] Three years later (1903), W. H. Carruth showed that *Lichtenstein* bore more resemblances to *Waverley* than to *Ivanhoe.* In regard to the character of the Piper he said, "Hauff's materials are if anything more attractive than those of Scott, and, as they were indigenous, he was forced to treat them in his own manner." [5] The most comprehensive of these papers was that read by G. W. Thompson in 1911. In it is found the following concerning the Piper: "On the other hand, the Pfeifer von Hardt is a strange composite of Scottian functions. In him we find a guide, spy, messenger, soldier, friend, musician, and general utility man for the hero-heroine-prince interest." [6] A German critic, Max Drescher, in dealing with Hauff's sources [7] considers the character of the Piper as purely the invention of the author and states, "Alle drei Elemente nun, sowohl das der Treue gegen den Herrn als das plötzliche Auftreten

[1] Cf. G. W. Thompson, *Wilhelm Hauff's Specific Relation to Walter Scott, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXVI (1911), 549-91.

[2] Cf. Otto Plath, *Washington Irvings Einfluss auf Wilhelm Hauff, Euphorion* XX, 459-71.

[3] P. A. Barba, *Cooper in Germany, Indiana University Studies,* No. 21.

[4] *Americana Germanica* III (1900), 388. See also *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XV (1900), Append., p. lxxv.

[5] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XVIII (1903), 525.

[6] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXVI (1911), 570.

[7] *Die Quellen zu Hauffs Lichtenstein,* Leipzig, 1905, p. 145.

und das Geheimnisvolle, das erst am Schlusse seine Aufklärung findet, hat Hauff in seinem Pfeifer von Hardt vereinigt und ihm damit jene Eigenart und Wirkung verliehen, die ihn zu einer der interessantesten Gestalten unseres Romans machen."

In addition to the fact that a few of the critics seem to consider the Piper to be a character original with Hauff, the majority of them agree on one point at least, that he is a complex character, whatever be his source. Several men have tried to show that the character of the Piper is a kind of synthesis of elements taken from a considerable number of Scottian characters. There does not appear to be any single character in Scott's works which is endowed with more than a very few of the distinctive traits belonging to the Piper. There is one Cooperian character, however, which in composition and function is nearly identical with the Piper. That character is Harvey Birch, the hero of *The Spy.*

Considering the Piper and Birch in detail, we find in the first place that both authors, Cooper and Hauff, have endowed their respective characters with almost the same physical characteristics. Both Birch and the Piper possess extraordinary bodily strength, and remarkable endurance and dexterity, qualities which the ordinary observer would scarcely attribute to the men from their appearance. Their eyes are of the same cold gray color and are especially commented upon in both cases. The remarkable control which both of these men have over themselves is emphasized repeatedly. They are able to change their manner and bearing at will. An excellent example of this power in the Piper is the difference in his bearing on the first and second days in Ulm (*Lichtenstein,* Pt. I; Chs. VIII, IX).[8] Hauff says of him in this connection, "Welche Gewalt musste dieser Mensch über sich haben! Es war derselbe, und doch schien er ein ganz anderer." Several instances of the same ability on the part of Birch are to be found in Bk. I, Ch. III, of *The Spy.*[9] There we have him characterized by such remarks as "his whole system seemed altered;" and "the whole manner of Birch was altered." This extraordinary power of self-control is also shown in another manner, in the cleverness, namely, with which both men wear disguises and actually seem to assume the character of the people they are feigning to be. In one instance Birch disguises himself as a sutler-woman and in another as a country parson, and in both cases he plays his part so skillfully that he is able to deceive the shrewd American soldiers. In a like manner the Piper disguises himself as a peddler to gain information in Tübingen.

The narrative of the trip through the mountains on which the Piper acts as guide to Georg Sturmfeder contains many striking parallels to the account of a similar trip in *The Spy*[10] on which Birch acts as guide for Capt. Wharton. The chief points of similarity in the stories of these trips are noted as follows:

1. The unusual familiarity of both the Piper and Birch with the mountains is commented upon. These two guides know every path and by-way, and the situation of all the farms, villages, etc.

2. Both parties stop beside a brook to enjoy a lunch which the guide has brought along in a "wallet." Compare the following parallel passages:

> "Am Rande eines schattigen Buchenwäldchens, wo eine klare Quelle und frische Rosen zur Ruhe einlud, machten sie halt. Georg stieg ab, und sein Führer zog aus seinem Sack ein gutes Mittagsmahl."[11]

> "After reaching the summit of a hill, Harvey seated himself by the side of a little run and opening the wallet that he had slung where his pack was commonly suspended, he invited his comrade to partake of the coarse fare that it contained."[12]

3. Both guides make a sudden deviation in their course and lead away at almost right angles from the path they have been following in order to avoid parties of the enemy.

4. Troups of the enemy's horsemen pass close by.

[8] References to *Lichtenstein* are to the Kürschner Edition of Hauff's Works, Vol. I.

[9] References to *The Spy* are to the 2nd Edition, 2 vols., New York, 1822.

[10] Bk. II, Ch. XVI.

[11] *Lichtenstein,* p. 104.

[12] *The Spy,* II, 240.

5. In certain vicinities the guides take unusual precautions to escape falling into the hands of the enemy.

6. The descent from the hills to the lowlands is particularly mentioned in both accounts.

The similarity of the relations between the Piper and Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and those between Birch and Washington is also worthy of consideration. In *Lichtenstein* the Duke does not enter into the action until late in the story and then for a time he remains incognito. For a period of some weeks his chief place of shelter is a cave where the Piper is his only attendant and chief informer. The remarkable devotion of the Piper to the Duke is repeatedly shown. In *The Spy* we catch a glimpse of Washington, incognito, in the first chapter of the book and then he does not enter into the story again until near the end. Even then he remains incognito and it is only in the next to last chapter (Bk. II, Ch. XVIII) that his identity is revealed. He frequently meets Birch, the spy, in a lonely rendezvous which is half cave, half hut. Birch is his chief informer as to the movements of the enemy. The splendid loyalty of Birch to his country and his devotion to Washington are shown in the scene of the last meeting of the two men (Bk. II, Ch. XVIII).

In addition to the similarities in the characters of the Piper and Harvey Birch mentioned above, the following close resemblances should also be noted:

1. Both characters belong to relatively the same class of society. Birch cannot be called a peasant, for no such class has ever been recognized in America, but he belonged to the class which most nearly corresponded to that which in Europe was designated by the term *peasant.*

2. The Piper, like Birch, is known among the enemy as a spy. The enemy are continually trying to capture him and his life is constantly in jeopardy, as is the case with Birch.

3. The fact that both these men are away from home for weeks and months at a time is commented upon by those whom they have left behind them at home.[13]

[13] Cf. especially *Lichtenstein,* p. 127; and *The Spy,* I, 149.

4. Birch brings a warning to Capt. Wharton which is unheeded until it is too late to avoid capture (*The Spy,* Bk. I, Ch. IV). The same is true of the warning which the Piper brings to Georg (*Lichtenstein,* Pt. I, Chs. VIII, IX).

5. Both men aid considerably in furthering the development of the principal love interest. Birch's part in the love affair of Major Dunwoodie and Frances Wharton may not seem very evident, but upon close observation it will be found to be fully equal to the Piper's part in the love affair of Georg and Marie.

6. Both men die fighting for the cause which they have loved and long served so well.

In his statement quoted above, Dr. Thompson describes the Piper of Hardt as a "composite of Scottian functions" which he designates as "guide, spy, messenger, soldier, friend, musician, and general utility man for the hero-heroine-prince interest." It will be found to be true that the character of Harvey Birch performs all these functions with the exception of one. We do not find mention of Birch possessing any musical talent; but it must be remembered that the Piper's profession of musician serves the same purpose as Birch's peddling, namely, to conceal his actions as spy and informer for the cause which he served.

There are other interesting analogies in the plot, structure, and content of the two works under consideration, but as in most cases parallel analogies with one or more of Scott's novels are also found, one is more prone to give credit for these similarities to Scottian sources. Yet it is not possible to deny absolutely that Cooper also had some share in influencing Hauff in these respects. For the sake of illustration, a few of the analogies (between *The Spy* and *Lichtenstein*) referred to above are here given:

1. A strong friendship between men fighting on opposite sides—Sturmfeder and Frondsberg in *Lichtenstein;* Capt. Wharton and Major Dunwoodie in *The Spy.*

2. The two chief female characters are in love with men of opposite parties.

3. The hero of *Lichtenstein* and the character most nearly corresponding to him in *The Spy,* Major Dunwoodie, both save and befriend persons of the other side.

4. The two principal female characters are closely related.

5. The parties in the principal love affair are engaged before the commencement of the action.

6. A mysterious stranger visits the home of the heroine. This stranger proves to be the leader in the political interest and plays an analogous part in the action of both novels.

The facts presented show quite conclusively, it is believed, that Cooper's *The Spy,* as a source for Hauff's *Lichtenstein,* must be reckoned along with the number of other influences which have been shown to have had their effect on this novel. It is not contended that Cooper's influence has been more than a minor one, but, nevertheless, the pointing out of it will, it is hoped, clear up what has hitherto been a matter of some uncertainty and conjecture.

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ROSTAND, MAGNE, AND BARO

If a lover of *Cyrano* chances to read *les Erreurs de documentation de Cyrano de Bergerac,*[1] his appreciation of the play will not be lessened by reason of the anachronisms that M. Magne discovers in it. He will, however, be led into error if he believes that the critic's documentation is everywhere superior to the poet's. This fact can be readily established if we read what Magne has to say in regard to Rostand's use of Baro's *Clorise.*

It will be remembered that this is the play in which Montfleury is acting when he is cruelly interrupted by Cyrano, and that Rostand in his stage directions dates the scene 1640. Here lies what Magne considers "l'erreur principale"[2] of the first act, for, as *la Clorise* first appeared in 1631,[3] possessed little merit, and encountered the rivalry of a number of better plays,[4] he believes that it could not have been acted later than 1631. He then criticizes Rostand as if he had laid the scene in that year and points out the facts that at that time high society, and especially Richelieu, would not have come to the disreputable Hôtel de Bourgogne, that there could then be no reference to the *Cid,* that L'Epy, Jodelet, and other actors mentioned by Rostand were not then playing at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, that Montfleury was not in Paris, and that Cyrano himself was an eleven-year-old boy at school in the country.[5]

A portion of this criticism, clipped from the *Revue de France* and sent to Rostand, drew from the poet a letter in which with charming irony he pointed out that local color does not depend on historical minutiae, that he was aware of his anachronisms when he wrote the play, and that Magne's objections are of no value, as he refuses to accept 1640, which Rostand believes to be a reasonable date for a revival of *la Clorise.*[6] Let me quote from Magne's emphatic reply to these wise words: "Vous posez comme des axiomes indiscutables les erreurs qui ont provoqué ma critique. 1640 fait tomber, dites-vous, *une partie de mes observations.*—Mais justement, 1640 est une date fausse et mes observations ne tomberont que devant la preuve d'une reprise de *la Clorise.* Et je doute que vous me la donniez jamais, car on se[ne] songe guère à reprendre la pièce

[1] By Emile Magne, Paris, 1898.

[2] P. 15.

[3] *Ibid.* This date is correct, but Magne makes the further remark that the play was printed in 1632, although the edition which he has had in his hands has the date 1631 in its *achevé d'imprimer.*

[4] Numerous mistakes occur in this connection on pages 17 and 18, which would be of no importance in *Cyrano,* but which amaze us in one who professes devotion to accuracy. Rotrou did not bring out *Cléagénor et Doristée, Diane, Occasions perdues,* and *Heureuse Constance* in 1630 and 1631, but three years later; cf. Stiefel, *ZFSL.,* XVI, 1–49. Rotrou's best plays were not written between 1631 and 1640, for *la Sœur, Venceslas,* and *Cosroës* appeared after the latter date. "Chauvreau" is a misprint for Chevreau. Gilbert's best plays were not written between 1631 and 1640, for his first piece came out in the latter year (cf. Chapelain, *Lettres,* I, 656, 657) and his others were subsequent to it.

[5] Pp. 19 *seq.* Magne appears to be ignorant of the fact that the first representation of the *Cid* was at the Théâtre du Marais.

[6] This autograph letter is published by Magne in his preface, pp. xviii, xix.

ancienne d'un auteur à l'instant où il en donne une nouvelle—surtout quand cet auteur est Baro." [7] I, too, doubt whether Rostand has furnished this proof, but the following remarks may serve as a substitute.

"Qui songeait à *la Clorise* six mois après son apparition?" asks Magne.[8] In the first place, the publishers probably did, as it was customary to wait six months after the appearance of a play before printing it.[9] There were also a number of readers who thought of it, so many, indeed, that a second edition appeared in 1634. It was also thought of by the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne as late as the spring of 1633, at which time, if not later, a description of its *mise en scène* was incorporated in the *Mémoire* of Mahelot, a fact that furnishes good evidence of its being played after that date. Furthermore, the *Gazette* of February 2, 1636, declares that on January 27 of that year the *Cléoreste* of Baro was played before the queen at the Hôtel de Richelieu, and, on account of the similarity of name and the fact that we have no other evidence of the existence of a play called *Cléoreste*, the frères Parfaict [10] have concluded that this was *la Clorise*. If we accept this opinion, which seems to me worthy of credence, the supposition that the play held the boards nine years and that it attracted the attention of Richelieu ceases to astonish us. In consideration of all these facts, Rostand ought not to be criticized for assuming a revival of the play in 1640.

But Magne does not stop here. He suggests that Rostand would have done better to select instead of *la Clorise* Baro's *Clarimonde*, which he declares to have been acted in 1640.[11] Unfortunately, he gives no authority for the latter statement and probably has none better than the marginal date given by the frères Parfaict. He should know that when these authors do not give their authority, this marginal date is merely their best guess. The play was printed in 1643. It may have been first acted in 1640, but certainly Rostand had no proof of it. If he had assumed such a date, he would have laid himself open to the same charge that Magne has brought against him. It is quite as probable that *la Clorise* was acted in 1640 as that *la Clarimonde* was.[12]

Rostand is right, then, in insisting that Magne's attack upon his use of *la Clorise* is as unwarranted from an historic as from an aesthetic point of view. It is hard to see how any one can so misunderstand the nature of art as to disparage *Cyrano* because of errors in historical detail. It is also remarkable that one who does so should lay himself open to attack with his own weapons. I would not, however, deal so harshly with Magne as he does with Rostand, for, despite his errors in documentation, Magne gives an interesting appreciation of Cyrano the man, however little sympathy he may feel for the inimitable Cyrano of the play.

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[7] P. xxi.

[8] P. 18.

[9] Cf. Chapelain's letter of March 9, 1640.

[10] V, 167–169.

[11] P. 18. As I have shown above, he uses the appearance of this new play as an argument against the revival of *la Clorise*.

[12] An additional error lies in Magne's assertion on p. 18 that none of Baro's plays were printed except *la Clorise*, in refutation of which statement I refer him to La Vallière, Soleinne, Brunet and the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

NOTES ON *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*

I

Parolles: He has everything that an honest man should not have; what an honest man should have, he has nothing.
First Lord: *I begin to love him for this.*
Bertram: *For this description of thine honesty?* A pox upon him for me! He is more and more a cat. (IV, III, 289 f.)

Bertram's question is an added stroke in the characterization of this spineless youth. Both his sense of moral values and his intelligence suffer in his inability to follow the First Lord's thought. Bertram would not have asked this question if he had understood why the First

Lord had expressed his love for Parolles only after he had heard the rascal slander him. However, what Bertram failed to perceive was evident to the seventeenth century hearers of the play, although not evident to our day.

The thought in the mind of the First Lord when he uttered these words was that "the slanders of the wicked are the commendations of the godly," as it is phrased in *Nathan Field's Remonstrance,* 1616 (*Shakespeariana,* 1889, p. 218); and since Parolles was a great knave, slander from his mouth was an unusual commendation.

The occurrence of this thought is frequent in the dramatic literature of this period; and required at that time no interpretation. Shakespeare uses it again in *Timon* (IV, III, 173):

Alcib. *I never did thee harm.*
Tim. *Yes, thou spok'st well of me.*
Alcib. Call'st thou that harm?

Ben Jonson knew the thought and made use of it in two of his plays.

Cynthia's Revels, Everyman's Ed., p. 177:

Crites. . . . *So they be ill men,*
If they spake worse, 'twere better; for of such
To be dispraised is the most perfect praise.

The Devil is an Ass, Everyman's Ed., p. 330:

Ever. You have made election
Of a most worthy gentleman!

Man. *Would one of worth*
Had spoke it! but now whence it comes, it is
Rather a shame unto me than a praise.

Ever. Sir, I will give you any satisfaction.

Man. Be silent then: Falsehood commends not Truth.

The Devil is an Ass, p. 344:

Fitz. (possessed of the Devil):
I'll feast them and their trains, a justice head and brains
Shall be the first.—

Sir P. Eith. The devil loves not justice,
There you may see.
. . . . .
Be not you troubled, sir, the devil speaks it.

Gosson's Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Gentlewomen (Percy Society, 31), p. 14:

This lesson old was taught in schooles;
It's praise to be dispraisde of fooles.

Scourge of Drunkenness (Halliwell Edition, 1859), p. 18:

Though scoffingly they [drunkards] say he is precise,
Yet drunkards tongues his credit cannot staine:
For blest are they which have an evill report
By them which are right of the devils consort.

II

Within ten years it [virginity] will make itself two, which is a goodly increase, and the principal itself not much the worse for wear. (I, I, 158.)

The difficulty in this passage consists in disposing satisfactorily of the two-in-ten-year idea. From Hanmer to the present day the text has been violently changed to make it lie upon a Procrustean bed of critical misconception. It is, however, not to child-bearing, as the emendators have assumed in making their changes in the text, that "ten" and "two" refer.

Parolles is arguing against virginity in terms of interest upon money invested. "If you do not put it out to interest, 'you can not choose but lose by't.' Therefore, 'out with't.' If the law allows ten per cent. interest upon money invested (which in ten years will double itself) how much more profitable to you would be a venture in marriage? Your original investment, yourself, would double itself, by the birth of a child, in a much shorter time than would be necessary for your money to double. 'A goodly increase, and the principal not much the worse for wear.'"

In other words, that which makes itself "two" in "ten years" is not "virginity," but money put out to interest according to the legal Elizabethan rate of ten per cent.

Phillip Stubbes, in *The Anatomie of Abuses,* gives us evidence that ten per cent. was the legal rate. [New Shakespeare Society, Series VI, p. 124.] In reproving usury he quotes the law of his day to the effect that "thou shalt not take above ii.s. in the pound; x.li. in the hundred, and so forth." Another reference to the same legal rate is found in the moral play, *The Three Lords and the Three Ladies of London* [Tudor Facsimile Edition, H3.]:

Policy (Branding *Usury*):
Sirrah, *pollicy* gives you this marke, doo you see,
A little x. standing in the midd'st of a great C.,
Meaning thereby to let all men understand,
That you must not take above bare x. pound in the hundred,
And that too much too, and so be packing quietly.

Shakespeare associates in other places the general ideas of usury and of procreation. "'Twas never merry world," Pompey says (*All's Well,* III, ii, 6), "since of two usuries, the merriest was put down, and the worser allowed by order of the law a furred gown to keep him warm." Again in *Twelfth Night* (III, i, 43), Feste, pointing to the coin that he has just received, inquires, "Would not a pair of these have bred?" Viola's reply is, "Yes, being kept together and put to use."

In two other passages Shakespeare recurs, in figurative speech, to the idea of interest doubling the principal in ten years. In one of them (Sonnet VI) he makes use of this idea in way of argument to persuade to marriage:

Sonnet VI.

That use is not forbidden usury,
Which happies those that pay the willing loan;
That's for thyself to breed another thee,
Or ten times happier, be it ten for one;
Ten times thyself were happier than thou art,
If ten of thine ten times refigu'd thee;

Richard III (IV, iv, 324):

The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearls,
Advantaging their loan with interest
Of ten times double gain of happiness.

Another example of the idea of ten years' interest doubling the principal is found in the allegorical play *The Three Lords and the Three Ladies of London* (Tudor Facsimile Edition, H2):

Ne(mo) (of *Lucre* when giving her in marriage to *Pompe*):
Take her Lord pomp, I give her unto thee,
Wishing your good *may ten times doubled be.*

Pom(pe): *The wished good this world could give to me.*

III

Here is a pur of fortune's, sir, or of fortune's cat,—
(V, II, 19.)

An examination of the scene in which "pur" occurs, reveals a striking unity of thought emphasizing Parolles' decline in fortune. Parolles, in introducing himself to the Clown after his disgrace in camp, is the first to announce his changed condition: "I have ere now, sir, been better known to you, when I have held familiarity with fresher clothes; but I am now, sir, muddied in fortune's mood and smell somewhat strong of her strong displeasure." The Clown in reply emphasizes Parolles' misfortune, and introduces him to Lafeu as "a pur of fortune's," or as one entirely changed from the one time gallantly attired soldier. Afterwards Parolles describes himself to Lafeu as "a man whom fortune hath cruelly scratched." The emphasis of the scene is placed entirely upon Parolles' decline from prosperity to poverty.

The *Oxford Dictionary* does not record two examples of "pur" that are found in Marston's *What You Will* (1607), in a passage descriptive of the game of battledore and shuttlecock. In this passage young women are banteringly speaking to one another in terms of the game, while engaged in tossing the shuttlecock back and forth. Suddenly the banter is interrupted, presumably by the missing of a stroke by one of the players. Hereupon her opponent, in sudden interruption of what she was saying, exclaims, "(pur); 'tis downe, serve again, good wench." The game is then resumed, until

amidst the gaiety of the conversation it is interrupted by the second parenthetical "pur," with the speaker's laughing comparison of her lovers to shuttlecocks that she plays with "till they be downe."

The passage itself will make what I have said clearer (Halliwell's Ed. of Marston's Dramatic Works, 1856, Vol. I, p. 272 ff.):

Luc(ia). Madam, here is your shuttlecock.
Mel(etza). . . . Come, you, You prate: yfaith, Ile tosse you *from post to piller!*
Cel(ia). You post and I piller.
Mel. No, no, you are the onely post; you must support, prove a wench, and beare; or else all the building of your delight will fall—
Cel. Downe.
Lyz. What, must I stand out?
Mel. I, by my faith, til you be married.
Lyz. Why do you tosse then?
Mel. Why, I am wed, wench.
Cel. Pree thee to whome?
Mel. To the true husband, right head of a woman—my wit, which vowes never to marry till I meane to be a fool, a slave, starch cambrick ruffs, and make candells (*pur*)*; tis downe, serve again,* good wench.
Luc. By your pleasing cheeke, you play well.
Mel. Nay, good creature, pree thee doe not flatter me. . . . I have a plaine waighting wench . . . she shall never have above two smockes to her back, for thats the fortune of desert, and the maine in fashion or reward of merit (*pur*)*; just thus do I use my servants.* I strive to catch them in my racket, and no sooner caught, but I tosse them away; if he flie wel, and have good feathers, I play with them til he be downe, and then my maide serves him to me againe; if a slug, and weake-wing'd, if hee bee downe, there let him lie."

A detailed account of battledore and shuttlecock would doubtless give further information about the exact use of "pur" in the game. It seems clear, however, from this passage that it signals the falling of the shuttlecock to the ground and consequently the temporary discontinuance of the game. Shakespeare borrows this technical term from the game, and with transferred meaning applies it to Parolles who has been struck down by the force of fortune's blows. In this connection it is of interest to recall that we have in our common "tossed from pillar to post" a phrase that preserves the technical terms of battledore and shuttlecock to describe the buffetings of fortune. In calling Parolles "a pur of fortune's," the comparison of man to a shuttlecock tossed from pillar to post is carried a step further. In the Clown's words, Parolles has been more than merely "tossed from pillar to post"; he has suffered so much that he can no longer sustain himself amidst the blows of fortune; and, falling to the ground, has become a "pur of fortune's."

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SOURCES OF AN ECLOGUE OF FRANCISCO DE LA TORRE

The little volume of poems of Francisco de la Torre, published by Quevedo at Madrid in 1631,[1] contains eight eclogues which in beauty of form and language are entitled to be ranked with the best pastoral poetry in the Spanish language. His third eclogue, entitled *Eco,* is exquisite in its charming simplicity. The shepherd Amintas, after bidding his dog Melampo guard his sheep from the wolf, lies down to lament the indifference of Amarilis. He calls upon Echo whose voice still fills the woods, as she mourns eternally the loss of her Narcissus. Then he asks Mother Nature to receive his weary body, and begs unhappy Echo to join him in his grief.

The introduction, consisting of fourteen lines, is a translation of the opening verses of the eclogue entitled *Iolas* of Andrea Navagero, who, it will be remembered, suggested to Boscán

[1] This volume was reprinted at Madrid in 1753 and Mr. Archer M. Huntington published a facsimile of the rare first edition at New York in 1903. The eight eclogues may also be read in Vol. VII of Sedano's *Parnaso español,* Madrid, 1773.

in the year 1526 the advisability of attempting to employ Italian measures in Spanish poetry. A comparison of the following lines with the introduction to Francisco de la Torre's third eclogue will show the extent of the Spanish poet's indebtedness.[2]

Pascite, oves, teneras herbas per pabula læta,
Pascite, nec plenis ignavæ parcite campis:
Quantum vos tota minuetis luce, refectum
Fecundo tantum per noctem rore resurget.
Hinc dulci distenta tumescent ubera lacte,
Sufficientque simul fiscellæ, et mollibus agnis.
Tu vero vigil, atque canum fortissime, Teucon,
Dum pascent illæ late per prata, luporum
Incursus subitos, sævasque averte rapinas.
Interea hic ego muscoso prostratus in antro
Ipse meos solus mecum meditabor amores:
Atque animi curas dulci solabor avena.[3]

The remaining ninety-four lines of Francisco de la Torre's third eclogue are almost a literal translation of Navagero's Latin eclogue entitled *Acon,* in which the poet begs Echo to share his grief at the cruelty of the nymph Telayra. The last eight lines of the Latin version were not translated by Francisco de la Torre, but with this exception, the two versions are practically identical.

In addition to the fact that many of the poets of the Renaissance interpreted the classical doctrine of *imitatio* as justification for borrowing the ideas of another author, and that translations from a foreign tongue were regarded as a legitimate form of scholarship, we can in no wise bring the charge of plagiarism against Francisco de la Torre since he did not publish his own verse.[4] I have indicated the sources of his third eclogue merely in order to furnish additional evidence of the influence of Navagero's poetry on Spanish literature.[5]

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[2] Andreae Naugerii, *Opera Omnia,* Venetiis, 1754, pp. 180–81.

[3] For the indebtedness of Ronsard in his second eclogue to Navagero's *Iolas,* see an article by Paul Kuhn entitled *L'Influence néo-latine dans les églogues de Ronsard,* published in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France,* Vol. XXI, 1914, pp. 317–25.

[4] For the indebtedness of Francisco de la Torre to sonnets of Torquato Tasso, Giambattista Amalteo and Benedetto Varchi, see James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española,* Madrid, 1913, pp. 242–43.

[5] Menéndez y Pelayo mentioned the fact that the delightful *coplas* of Castillejo entitled *Al Amor preso* is a paraphrase of Navagero's epigram, *De Cupidine et Hyella,* and that the last lines of Fernando's *canción Al Sueño,* are derived from a sonnet by the same poet. See *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos,* Madrid, 1908, Vol. XIII, p. 79. Estévan Manuel de Villegas also translated Navagero's epigram, *De Cupidine et Hyella.*

P. Sipma, *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian* with phonetic texts and glossary. (Publications of the Philological Society, II.) London, Oxford University Press, 1914. vii + 175 pp.

No other Germanic language is so closely related to Anglo-Saxon and English as the Old Frisian. The similarity when looked at from the point of view of historical phonetics, is so perfect that Anglo-Saxon may be regarded as one of the Early Frisian dialects. Its separation from the other Frisian dialects in the course of the fifth century meant for Anglo-Saxon a separate history and accordingly the development of many individual peculiarities. In spite of these peculiar Anglo-Saxon traits, however, the comparison of the Frisian dialects remains most instructive and one of the most important aids for the study of Anglo-Saxon.

Unfortunately our records of the Old Frisian language are rather scant. With the exception of a few not very important Runic inscriptions, there are hardly any records left of the period contemporary with Anglo-Saxon. The sources generally called 'Old Frisian' should, strictly speaking, be termed Middle Frisian, inasmuch as they are contemporary with Middle High German, Middle Low German, Middle English, etc. These sources, moreover, consist almost exclusively of collections of Frisian laws. If we apply to these the term 'literature,' we might

just as well regard the term 'French literature' as identical with the Code Napoléon. Nevertheless this so-called literature, together with what is left to-day of Frisian dialects and of Modern Frisian literature, enables us to trace the history of the Frisian language from the middle of the thirteenth century to the present time, and to arrive at certain conclusions as to its condition at an earlier period.

The Frisian language, in any case, would seem important enough to call for a widespread interest and a thorough study at least in the two foremost English-speaking countries. Actually, however, the study of Frisian has been utterly neglected both in England and in the United States. It is very characteristic that, *e. g.*, Henry Sweet's admirable *Handbook of Phonetics* (Oxford, 1877) contains specimens —in phonetic transcription—of English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, but none of Frisian.[1] To be sure, there appeared in 1879 W. T. Hewett's *The Frisian Language and its Literature* (Ithaca, N. Y.), and in 1881 J. A. Cummins's *A Grammar of the Old Frisian Language* (London, 2d ed., 1877). But the latter is hardly more than an adaptation of the corresponding sections in Heyne's *Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte,* while Hewett's treatise was apparently intended as a popular account rather than as an original contribution to the study of Frisian. With these few exceptions, the English-speaking world has been satisfied to leave the linguistic work in Frisian to the Frisians and to German, Danish, and Dutch scholars. Under these circumstances it is gratifying to meet with the present contribution to the grammar of Modern West Frisian in the Publications of the Philological Society. This the more so as we learn from the preface that the President of that Society, Dr. Craigie, has personally interested himself in the publication and the revision of this work.

[1] In justice to the late philologist, however, it ought to be stated that in his treatise on "Dialects and prehistoric forms of Old English" in the Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1877, p. 543 seq., he emphasized the importance of the study of Frisian in view of its relation to Anglo-Saxon.

There is every prospect that Mr. Sipma's grammar may become the standard grammar of Modern West Frisian, or that it will serve at least to prepare the way for a future more comprehensive grammatical work on Modern Frisian. A comparison with the current grammars of this language, especially with G. Colmjon's *Beknopte Friesche Spraakkunst voor den tegenwoordigen tijd* (Leeuwarden, 1863), which in a second edition appeared under the name of Ph. van Blom (Joure, 1889), will easily convince us how much a work like the present one was needed. Mr. Sipma above all, by giving an exact phonetic transcription of the West Frisian sounds, enables his readers to find out how the language is actually pronounced: a very essential matter in grammatical study, yet a matter which remains rather obscure in grammars like the *Beknopte Friesche Spraakkunst,* where the Frisian peculiarities are disguised under the current spelling, a spelling chiefly modelled after that of the Dutch language.

The necessity of using a phonetic spelling for the modern Frisian dialects was urged many years ago by Theodor Siebs, not only in his Frisian Grammar in Paul's *Grundriss* (to which Mr. Sipma refers in his Introduction, p. 5), but somewhat earlier in his work *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache* (Halle, 1889). West Frisian words here are quoted by Siebs, not in the common spelling, but in a phonetic transcription. It stands to reason that in works concerned with Frisian in all of its various periods and all of its modern dialects, Professor Siebs could grant comparatively little space to Modern West Frisian. Yet there are instances in which Siebs is more complete than Sipma. The latter, *e. g.*, quotes p. 74 (§ 249) the preterits *koe* and *scoe* without adding a phonetic transcription, while Siebs in Paul's *Grundriss* I², pp. 1328 and 1330, states that these forms are pronounced *kûə* and *sûə*. In general Mr. Sipma has followed too little the example set by Grimm's Grammar of illustrating sounds and forms by an ample number of examples. His grammar, therefore, would seem to need as a supplement a West Frisian dictionary (much more complete than

the glossary found at the end of the present grammar) in phonetic transcription.

In transcribing the modern Frisian dialects Professor Siebs used more or less his own phonetic system, while Mr. Sipma has throughout employed the symbols of the International Phonetic Association. The advantage here, it seems to me, is not altogether on the side of the latter. The system of the International Phonetic Association has, to be sure, been widely spread by the works of P. Passy, W. Viëtor, and others. It is very doubtful, however, whether its general adoption, though recommended by many authorities, would be desirable. Perhaps this would mean a step backward in matters of phonetics: not only for the general reason that the adoption of a final, obligatory system precludes, or at least reduces, the possibility of additional improvements (a fact illustrated by most of the current systems of spelling), but especially because the system of the Internat. Phon. Ass. has several features in distinction from other phonetic systems which cannot be regarded as improvements. Among these I would reckon the fact that the stress is marked by an accent, not on the sonant element of the syllable (the "Silbenträger") which invariably bears the stress, but by an accent in front of the whole syllable. If this system were applied to Greek, we should have to spell, *e. g.*, ΄δακτυλος and κα΄λος instead of δα΄κτυλος and καλο΄ς. Our author accordingly, in his specimens of West Frisian, writes, *e. g.*, *'naχt* and *om'klamət* instead of *na'χt* and *omkla'mət*.

There is another objection to using the International Alphabet for the ordinary phonetic transcription of individual languages like Frisian and, I would add, like German, French, or English. While it is not difficult to devise an exact phonetic alphabet and at the same time a simple alphabet, not very different from the current Latin or German alphabets, for an individual language, the attempt to use one and the same phonetic alphabet for several different languages, especially languages as different in their sounds as French, German, and English, will necessarily make such an alphabet clumsy and complicated. While for a single language it is generally possible to get along with an alphabet consisting of simple signs, an international alphabet needs numerous diacritical marks, letters turned upside down, defaced letters (*e. g.*, an *i* deprived of its dot), and similar means which necessarily must interfere with the ready understanding of the alphabet. The International Alphabet in this respect shares the disadvantages of a general phonetic alphabet. I am by no means hostile to the attempts to devise such an alphabet in the interest of phonetics and general linguistics. I believe, on the contrary, that the construction of a general phonetic alphabet—be it after the plan, *e. g.*, of Lepsius' standard alphabet or in the entirely different manner suggested by Professor Jespersen—belongs to the fundamental tasks of phonetic science. Nor do I object, from a phonetic point of view, to the International Alphabet. But it is necessary to distinguish here between the aim of the phonetician and that of the grammarian, or, in other words, between general and special, or historical, phonetics. To substitute a general or an international alphabet (in the sense of a general alphabet of limited scope) for an individual phonetic alphabet of a single language (*e. g.*, in the transcription of texts, of specimens of dialects, etc.) means confusing the methods and aims of general linguistics with those of historical grammar. I must add, however, in justice to Mr. Sipma, that the misunderstanding to which he has fallen a victim is shared by many authorities on Phonetics and Modern Languages. His grammar, in spite of this deficiency, remains a work for which we have every reason to be grateful.

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KARL VOSSLER, *Italienische Literatur der Gegenwart, von der Romantik zum Futurismus.* Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. 8vo., 145 pp.

Some years ago Professor Vossler asked and answered the question: "Wie erklärt sich der späte Beginn der Vulgärliteratur in Italien?"

Now, at the other and ever moving limit of his field, he traces the course of Italian eloquence even unto *Cabiria* and the *gorgogliatore*.

His new book consists of a series of essays first given as lectures before the Freie Deutsche Hochstift in Frankfort. The authors studied at some length are Manzoni, Leopardi, Carducci, Fogazzaro, Verga, Ada Negri, De Amicis, Pascoli, d'Annunzio, and Croce. Briefer comment is accorded Guerrini, Gnoli, Serao, Di Giacomo, Belli, and Pascarella; others still are mentioned and dismissed with one or two epithets apiece.

Ada Negri, one would think, should hardly be classed with the writers of the first rank; and Gnoli and Pascarella might well have been consigned to the outer adjectival twilight. Some other men deserve more recognition than they receive,—notably Zanella, Nievo, De Sanctis, and Giacosa. Zanella is mentioned, to be sure, as the author of "feine, schwächliche Lyrik," but that is by no means the whole truth. Better than the *Conchiglia fossile* and the rest of his humanitarian verse are the late descriptive sonnets, Horatian again and again in their clear perfection; better yet the ringing patriotism of the ode to Cavour. And there are passages in *Milton e Galileo* that are worthy of Dante himself in their combination of profound thought and superb beauty.

Vossler's criticism is illuminating and judicious. It is the product of careful independent thinking, it is resolute, it is rich in verbal and figurative resource. Many qualities in books and men become the clearer for his delineation. His intellectual and moral standards are admirably high. He, like Fogazzaro,

> *sdegna* il verso che suona e che non crea;

and the thing created, however vigorous, finds with him no mercy if its vigor is evil.

His moral severity is most welcome, particularly in its shattering of the commercialized aestheticism of d'Annunzio. One can but feel, however, that his intellectual severity leads him, at times, into some injustice. He demands from poet or novelist a much more complete philosophy than poet or novelist is, in the general critical conception, required to possess; and his verdict, for those who do not measure to his rule, is tinged with a certain disdain. It is indeed far better to demand substantial thought than to consider form as paramount—far better to demand wealth of the Indies than to be content with the argosy's swift lines and flowing sail—but surely the poet's task is less the scientific organization of a rotund *Weltanschauung* than the moving, vital utterance of single truths. Leopardi did not attain to the logical system of Schopenhauer, but his *Canti* are none the less the supreme specific for the *katharsis* of pessimism. It may be granted that, in Vossler's sense, Carducci "kein Denker, sondern ein Dichter war"; but past speaks to present, through his verse, with the power that is born of wisdom. Fogazzaro never quite reconciled Darwin and Augustine; but he gave the best of his life to the prophecy of two eternal verities that would suffice, could they but strike home in the hearts of men, to make this earth a very different dwelling-place. The first is that religion, being conditioned by human intellect, is necessarily a changing thing; that beside its inmost, permanent truth it has at any time temporary habits of form and creed that are subject to renewal or rejection. The second is that Christianity should be an affair for laymen as well as priests, should be democratic and pervading, the inspiration and the prime motive of all social and political life.

Nor is Vossler quite fair in his account of the famous colloquy in *Il santo*. After mentioning Benedetto's four protests—against the *spirito di menzogna,* the *spirito di dominazione del clero,* the *spirito di avarizia* and the *spirito d'immobiltà*—he continues: "Und welche Reformen schlägt er vor? Dass der Papst einen wahrheitsliebenden Mann zum Bischof machen und die Bücher eines modernistischen Religionsphilosophen nicht auf den Index setzen soll." Vossler implies that the four protests are subordinate and preliminary to the two petitions. In reality, each of the protests is in itself an eloquent plea for a great reform; the petitions are illustrative and incidental.

The essay on Fogazzaro, deficient, to my thinking, in these respects, is otherwise remark-

ably fine in its keen analysis and sure inference. It is the most detailed study in the book. Each of the seven novels is reviewed in content and in quality; the author's development is exactly traced from stage to stage; and his abilities and shortcomings are set forth in full light. Particularly good is the treatment of Fogazzaro's interacting lyricism and realism: the lyricism, more native and more essential, appears chiefly in the protagonists of his novels, creatures of his own mind and heart; realism determines the unsurpassed portraiture of the minor figures, drawn with humorous sympathy and wonderful deftness from the "little worlds" that Fogazzaro knew. As serious blemishes in his work there are noted, rightly, a certain mystic vagueness, and a "religiös parfümierte Lüsternheit."

Carducci, Latin of the Latins, remains, to the northern critic, a foreigner. Excellent as it is in many passages—notably in the discussion of Carducci's scholarship—Vossler's essay on Carducci reveals an incomplete understanding of the poet's inspiration and achievement. Vossler regards patriotism as the essential impulse of Carducci's verse. Even deeper, I think, is a motive which Vossler does not mention: the celebration of normal life, the life of man bound by the moral bond to fellow man, a life healthy with labor and joyous with love. This motive clearly dominates several of the finest poems, as *La madre* and *Il canto dell'amore,* and it underlies many of the others.

Vossler's insensitiveness in this regard narrows his service as interpreter. His treatment of *Il bove* is a case in point: "In dem wunderbaren, formvollendeten Sonett . . . ist kaum eine Regung des Gemütes mehr und fast nur noch Zeichnung, Farbe, Plastik zu spüren. Man fühlt sich in der Nähe der Eisgrenze, wo die Dichtung als darstellende Kunst zu sinnlichen Formen erstarrt." But *Il bove* is not merely an objective picture. Its true meaning is revealed in that first adjective, equally famous and misunderstood: "T' amo, o pio bove." Carducci employs *pio* again and again, throughout his work, to denote a willing consciousness of the moral bond between man and man,—as when he bids the sun illumine

> non ozi e guerre a i tiranni,
> ma la giustizia pia del lavoro.

With the significance of the word thus affirmed in his own mind, he uses it freely to denote relationships similar, in poetic fancy, to the human tie. So, in the sonnet to Virgil, the moon, as giver of consolation, becomes "la pia luna." And just so, in *Il bove,* the ox is called *pio* as a willing sharer in the normal life of man. That justifies the requiting "T' amo," and informs the lines

> mite un sentimento
> Di vigore e di pace al cor m' infondi

and

> al giogo inchinandoti contento
> L' agil opra de l' uom grave secondi:
> Ei t' esorta e ti punge, e tu co 'l lento
> Giro de' pazienti occhi rispondi.

That too is why the fields are called "free and fertile," why the lowing rises "like a happy hymn," and why the green silence of the plain is "divine." The *Eisgrenze* is very far away.

Carducci, we are told, devoted himself to the past primarily for the sake of escaping the present. But Carducci's avowed reason is very different: "The spaces of time under the Triumph of Death are infinitely more immense and more tranquil than the brief moment agitated by the phenomenon of life. Hence the imagination of the poet can there freely take its flight, while the appearances of the present, in their continual flux, do not allow the artistic faculty so to fix them as to be able to transform them into the ideal." Moreover, the past, for Carducci, lived in vital and serviceable relation to the present: witness the climax of the *Canto dell'amore,* wherein the historic elements of a wonderfully visualized Umbrian landscape unite in the cry:—

> Salute, o genti umane affaticate!
> Tutto trapassa e nulla può morir.
> Noi troppo odiammo e sofferimmo. Amate.
> Il mondo è bello e santo è l' avvenir.

The poems of the past are for the most part poems of heroism, and their light is the eternal glow of heroic fire, not the sunset glamor of a day bygone. To Vossler, however, even Carducci's heroism is suspect. It is necessarily meaningless and ineffective, he argues, because

there underlies it a "Naturreligion gemischt aus modernem Materialismus und Positivismus und antikem Epikureismus und Stoizismus." But heroes do not always stop to reason why.

Vossler finds it odd that in 1866 and 1870 Carducci did not celebrate Napoleon III or the King of Prussia; rather is it odd that he finds it odd. He asks why Jesus, Paul, and Augustine are not classed in the *Satana* with Savonarola and Luther. The answer is that Carducci's *daimon,* bent on the assertion of self, abhors self-sacrifice. Too much is made of the influence of German romanticism on Carducci. That influence is clear in such inferior work as the *Anacreontica romantica,* but it is hardly to be discerned in any of the later and finer verse. One must dissent, moreover, from the parting verdict that the poetry of Carducci may be "in aller Welt geachtet und bewundert, aber doch nur in Italien erlebt und geliebt." It has already won love and entered into life far beyond the Alpine barrier.

There are several minor misstatements in the pages on Carducci. He translated not "manche Perlen altfranzösischer und spanischer Liederkunst," but just one Old French and just two Spanish poems. It was not an actual beefsteak but an imaginary pork chop that got him into trouble at San Miniato. His appointment at Bologna did not follow immediately upon his private teaching in Florence: there intervened a period of service at the Liceo of Pistoia. His university work did not continue until his death, but ended with his resignation in 1904.

The treatment of Leopardi, so far as it goes, is sound; the causes and character of his pessimism are set forth as clearly as one could desire. But the half, and the better half, is left untold: the passionate striving of Leopardi's poet-heart to withstand the arguments of his relentless mind; the passionate clinging to the old ideals of beauty and love. Nor is the quality of his verse, essentially classic in its resolute finality, adequately characterized in such terms as these: "die sanften, innigen, müden Harmonien; süsser schmelzender Gesang, so weich und doch nicht süsslich, so schmachtend und keusch; voll hingebender Stimmung; schmiegsamer wiegender Traum."

The quotation and the rendering of the first lines of *Amore e morte* are slightly incorrect: the punctuation is so altered as to injure sense and syntax, and the translation is faithful to the fault. The title *Pensieri* belongs to the selection of a hundred *pensées* published by Ranieri: Vossler uses it with reference to the seven-volume mass of notes called officially *Pensieri di varia filosofia e di bella letteratura,* and properly referred to, when brevity is desired, as the *Zibaldone.*

The other essays are uniformly excellent. They contain many fine statements of commonly accepted opinion, and many judgments that bring initial challenge and ultimate acquiescence. This passage, from the essay on Pascoli, is quite typical in thought and expression:

> Und so ist ihm die ganze Welt: ein Irrgarten von Geheimnis und eine Blumenwiese von Kostbarkeiten, eine grosse dunkle Allegorie und eine niedliche Kleinwelt. Und im Grössten liegt das Kleinste, im Kleinsten das Unendliche beschlossen. Aber keine Stufenfolge, keine Ordnung führt vom einen zum andern. Traumhaft ist alles durcheinandergeschlungen. Niemand kommt der Wirklichkeit näher als der Träumende. Wer im Traum zu weinen weiss, hat die Vollendung erreicht:
>
> Chi piange in sogno, è giunto a ciò che vuole.

Very notable, too, are the pages on Verga and Italian realism, the demolition of d'Annunzio, and the careful report of the critical doctrine of Croce.

To Croce's admirable essays on modern Italian literature (just now reissued in book form) Vossler gladly acknowledges his indebtedness. But Vossler's borrowing, in its judicial independence and its re-creative power, reveals a critical faculty not inferior to that of Croce. Vossler builds, moreover, on the surer basis; for whereas Croce holds to a theory of expressional satisfaction, Vossler proceeds from the belief that literature is of and is for the whole inner man—heart, mind, and will. Croce's actual criticism, broader than his theory, displays and applies a varied wealth of human interest; Vossler's criticism is worthy both of his Italian model and his own creed.

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Three Plays by Friedrich Hebbel. Introduction by L. H. Allen. Everyman's Library, 1914.

This translation is one of the various signs that the indifference of the English-reading public to Hebbel is at last giving way, and as such, as well as for its own sake, should be heartily welcome. It contains three plays, two translated by Mr. Allen of Sidney, N. S. W., the third, *Maria Magdalena,* by Barber Fairley.

Mr. Allen, with whom I am chiefly concerned here, chose *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Gyges und sein Ring,* which may be considered fortunate selections. He has attempted the difficult task of turning them into English blank verse, being guided, as he himself tells us in his Introduction, by the distinctive rhythm of the original, as far as he was able to attain this. Without going further into this feature of the translation, I will merely say that he seems to me to have succeeded well in his effort. It must be particularly difficult to translate Hebbel, both on account of the individuality of his single expressions, and the general complex movement of his larger groups. The peculiar inflexibility, expressed in his language no less than in his characters, the presence of beauty won from a conflict, the sense of depth, passion, and force, restrained but always there—such things belong to the atmosphere of his language, and can be found in no dictionary. It is in this phase of translating that Mr. Allen is well equipped. His work has little of mere routine about it. The amount of energy he has expended in finding adequate renderings is astonishing. His translation might pass for an original production in English. Conscientious interpretation of the text, according to the spirit, seems to have been his principle throughout. A few examples follow.

In the well-known lines where Kandaules, comparing skilful Greek with rough Lydian, speaks of the Greek influence as a net, cunningly woven but easy to break, he adds:

Und geh'n zu uns'rem eignen Spass hinein:
Ein kleiner Ruck macht uns ja wieder frei.
(ll. 111–12.)

The translation has:

And with a covert laugh we bungle in
Because a tiny fin-flick sets us free.

And these lines, all from *Gyges,* with translations immediately succeeding:

Dich hüten will ich, wie die treue Wimper
Dein Auge hütet. (ll. 1002–3.)

I will watch o'er you as the trusty lashes
Watch o'er your eye.

Und in dem falben Strahl der Abendsonne,
Der durch die Ritzen des Gemäuers drang,
Sah ich ein Wölkchen blassen Staubes schweben.
(ll. 168–70.)

And in the sickly shaft of westering sunlight
That pierced a passage through the chinkėd wall
I saw a wisp of pallid dust was swaying.

That fine line where Gyges explains his determination not to become visible in the Queen's chamber as coming from his desire to spare her

Die ewige Umschattung ihres Seins,

is translated by

The eternal crypt of shadow round her being.

And these lines from *Herod and Mariamne:*

Ein Sklav' stand hinter ihm, das Ohr gespitzt,
Die Tafel und den Griffel in der Hand,
Und zeichnete mit lächerlichem Ernst
Das auf, was ihm in trunk'nem Mut entfiel.
(ll. 163–66.)

A slave behind him with his ear acock,
A tablet and a stylus in his hand,
Was setting down—absurdly solemn owl!
Whatever crank escaped his tippler mood.

Not only is it difficult to translate Hebbel, it is not always easy to understand him. In respect of accuracy the translation deserves praise. Of Mr. Allen's work the *Gyges* seems to be better in this quality than the *Herod.* Only two or three errors came to my attention in the former, but more in the latter. Some of them follow.

Mariamne in explaining the envy of the weak for the strong (p. 103) says:

> What has the slave for solace when the king
> In gorgeousness and glory sweeps him by
> Than this—to say, "He gets his turn like me!
> I grudge it not! And when he mounts his throne
> Fresh from a field o'erstrewn with graves in thousands
> I'll praise him for't: it chokes his covetous mood!"

Here the quotation marks, lacking in Hebbel, should end with "He gets his turn like me!" The next words are Mariamne's own, and "he" refers not to "king" but to "slave." The word translated "mount" is "*rücken an,*" which could not mean that. It here means to "put" or "place," and the whole passage means: "If he (the slave) places the battle-field with its thousands of graves right next to the throne, I approve it, for that chokes his envy." (Cf. ll. 1095 ff.)

> The deed I must accomplish,
> And that on both, or else endure them both.
> (p. 106.)

This should read: "The deed I must accomplish, and that on both, or else suffer it." The word rendered by "them" is "*sie,*" and it refers to *Tat* of the line before. The speaker, Joseph, must either kill both Mariamne and Alexandra or be killed by them. (Cf. ll. 1183 ff.)

A somewhat difficult passage (p. 110), in which Mariamne reads the thoughts of Joseph from the expression of his face, seems to have been misunderstood, at least if we are to judge from one of its crucial lines:

> Dann hätte ich an einen kalten Gruss
> Mich nie gekehrt—
> I had not turned me with a cold good-bye.

It is not quite clear what the English means. The German is plain. Mariamne says that Joseph is thinking: "I should not have worried about a cold greeting." That is, if Joseph had known that Mariamne would take her own life anyway, granting Herod's death, he would not have feared her and worried about her unkind treatment of him. (Cf. ll. 1289 ff.)

In her final conversation with Titus, Mariamne explains the necessity of her action in these words:

> Wenn nichts als Trotz mich triebe, wie er meint,
> Der Schmerz der Unschuld hätt' den Trotz gebrochen:
> Jetzt machte er nur bittrer mir den Tod.

Mr. Allen translates:

> Naught but defiance drives me as he thinks;
> If so my guiltless smart had broke defiance
> And now 'twould mean a bitterer death.

The last two lines have been misunderstood. "*Der Schmerz der Unschuld*"—"the pain of innocence"—refers to the pain of her children in the everlasting farewell mentioned in the line before. The context shows that, and if there were any doubt at all, the variant reading given by Werner would dispel it. The line first read: "*Der Kinder Unschuld hätt' ihn schnell gebrochen.*" The last line quoted from the translation should accordingly be: "Now it only made my death more bitter." (Cf. ll. 3090 ff.)

Herod, speaking to Joab, says:

> Was Moses bloss gebot, um vor dem Rückfall
> In seinen Kälberdienst dies Volk zu schützen,
> Wenn er kein Narr war, das befolgt dies Volk,
> Als hätt' es einen Zweck an sich—

The translation is correct here except for the rendering of the words, very characteristic of Herod, "wenn er kein Narr war." Mr. Allen says, "though *he* was no fool." He gave himself unnecessary trouble with the conjunction, for the expression simply means, "if he was no fool." The sense of the passage is, that Moses, unless he was a fool, gave the Jews his precepts not as an end in themselves, but to protect them from idolatry. (Cf. ll. 149 ff.)

I will mention only one other passage in full. This consists of two lines from the Appendix, where certain passages from earlier versions are given. The lines formerly came after l. 828:

> Es wär' genug den Cäsar zu bezahlen
> Und schätzt er selbst sich ab vorm Tode.

The "schätzt" here is an error of the translator for "*schätzt',*" though this does not seem to have influenced his interpretation of the lines. Mr. Allen says in his note: "The words seem to mean 'The tribute would be enough to pay Caesar if he (Herod) were assenting to his own value to save himself from death.' The passage proved too much for me,

and I owe this explanation to Mr. Nicholson. I translate:

> It were enough to quit his debt to Caesar
> Were he himself to rate his worth 'gainst death."

This translation is plainly not correct. It is neither very plausible in itself nor does it square with the German. Again Werner gives a suggestion, showing a variant reading of the second line to have been: "Und schätzt' ihn seine eigne Waffe ab!" Werner conjectures that *Waffe* may have been *Wage*. That conjecture fits what seems to be the natural meaning of the two lines under discussion. Sameas, who is trying to give a vivid picture of the richness of Herod's tribute to Rome, says: "It would be enough to pay for Caesar, at Caesar's own valuation before his death." "Before his death" is added as a further, too fine, pointing of a not particularly happy thought.

Besides the passages mentioned, I have, without making a line-for-line comparison, noticed slight errors in the following places: ll. 509, 740, 925, 1518, 1630–32, 1910, 2998, and, I believe, 2256. There are not enough inaccuracies seriously to impair the value of the work. All in all, the English reader may approach these translations with confidence, sure of finding not only the words and thought, but the atmosphere and character of the original.

The translation of *Maria Magdalena* is done in vigorous and idiomatic prose, and, so far as I observed, with a very high degree of accuracy. Mr. Allen's Introduction to the volume furnishes a brief but admirable survey of Hebbel's personality and work.

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Elementary French Grammar (*Grammaire Française Elémentaire*). By Everett Ward Olmsted. New York, Holt and Company [1915]. Pp. iii–v, Preface; pp. 1–217, forty-three "Lessons"; pp. 219–338, tables of verbs, four pp. of phonetic transcriptions, two vocabularies, and an index.

From Mr. Olmsted's Preface: [1] "The aim of this book is to offer a thorough and practical course in French that shall combine the best features of both the so-called 'grammatical' and 'direct' methods of instruction." . . . [2] "Every lesson contains a reading exercise of connected prose. These exercises present topics of general, practical interest in the early part of the book, and in the latter part are devoted more particularly to French life and culture [a distinction which this reviewer fails to grasp]. The aim has been to introduce a thoroughly French atmosphere, and such subjects as the arrival in Paris, the choice of an apartment, sight-seeing in Paris, the history of the city, French education, Parisian theaters and cafés, etc. [cf. *Le Petit Parisien*], have been chosen with that end in view. Some of the information given may be of value to future travelers." (Here attention is called to "an exceedingly brief, but useful résumé of French literature" in lessons XXXVIII–XL.) [3] "If used with judgment, this grammar is appropriate to all sorts of beginners, those in the high-schools as well as those in the colleges. However, in those preparatory schools where the teacher may prefer to begin with a *very elementary method,* this grammar will be found ideal for the review work of the second year." Then [4]: "The introduction contains the most complete presentation of the phonetic symbols to be found in any similar text-book, and many teachers will welcome this aid." (Mr. O. explicitly acknowledges indebtedness to Brachet and Dussouchet, and to Fraser and Squair's larger *French Grammar.*)

Generalities

To consider a typical "lesson," Mr. O. gives a Vocabulary, states a few principles of syntax, inserts a Reading Exercise (usually of his own composing), a Grammatical Drill, a Conversation, Composition (English to French), and an Oral Exercise (in English). The sentences to be translated are brief, for the most part simple, generally relevant, and seldom of the Ollendorffian sort or otherwise too characteristic of "grammars." I say "seldom" because occasionally (perhaps purposely) Mr. O. writes very French-like English and sometimes he inserts sentences which leave a good deal to be desired from various points of view.

For example: P. 51: ". . . qui commence par ('by') une voyelle" . . . P. 74: "*le pantalon* . . . the pantaloons." P. 87: "The interesting little blue book on his desk

is our French grammar." P. 108 (grammatical note): "*Le* is often used pleonastically [an error] in the predicate," etc.; then: "*Êtes-vous heureuse?—Je le suis. Êtes-vous mère?—Je le suis.*" Such examples of "pleonastic" *le* occur only in grammars. § 251: "There are only two irregular verbs in *-er, aller* and *envoyer.*" Mr. O. does not define "regular" and "irregular"; but, if by "irregular verb" we understand *any verb showing non-negligible variations in its stem, and having all the inflectional endings of,* say, *parler,* there are hundreds of irregular verbs in *-er,* some of which raise serious difficulties. P. 137: "Dites-moi de deux façons différentes 'French is an easy subject.'" Of course one is free to say almost anything in the "exercises" of a grammar; but is not this precisely one of those things that should not be said? The average student *thinks* this in many different ways, whether after two or three years of study he is still unable to express any independent series of thoughts in passably correct French or not. Why should any class be thus tempted to perpetuate this harmful delusion? Why not take, instead, the point of view of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who, to this very statement would have us reply: "Sir, can you write and speak French correctly?" Limited though it be in its scope, and lightly though it deals with everyday difficulties, Mr. O.'s book itself abundantly indicates that French is not "an easy subject."

On page 114 we meet "*éclairer,* to lighten;" p. 116, "I am afraid when it lightens," and in both Mr. O.'s final vocabularies *éclairer* and "to lighten" are thus defined. P. 124: "Dans quel bateau est-ce que j'ai fait mon premier voyage en Europe?" Of large craft, *sur* is the correct preposition, and is in fact used by Mr. O. in this connection on p. 123. P. 153: "Qu'y a-t-il que vous n'avez pas encore vu à Paris?" Very dubious; likewise: "Donnez-moi un verbe en *-ter* qui est une exception à la règle" (p. 118). P. 204: "J'y irai, à moins qu'il n'y aille," etc. From these examples I pass to another kind:

Page 159: "The Parisians are always in search of pleasure [think of them now], while the people of New York think of nothing but their business." Why avail oneself of *grammatical* license, if I may so alter the usual phrase, to perpetuate this hackneyed misobservation, never true and so conspicuously, so sadly untrue at the present time? In "an exceedingly brief, but useful résumé of French literature" (pp. 190–201, passim) Mr. O. twice calls the *Roman de Renart,* "qui date du XIIIe siècle," "le *Roman du Renart,*" and translates in a footnote "Romance of the Fox." (See also p. 191.) We are told, furthermore, that "les mystères, les moralités, les farces, [Fr. usage forbids this comma] et les soties [datent] du XVe siècle"—also largely an error—and in a footnote the masterpiece of the farces is referred to as "*La Farce de l'avocat Pathelin.*" *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* is the oldest known, therefore, presumably, the correct title; what Mr. O. gives can refer properly only to the so-called comedy by Brueys and Palaprat (1706). *Me judice,* this summary not only requires correction, but would require more length and more depth to make it really "useful."

As to general method. Let us be glad that Mr. O. presents principles systematically, for the so-called "natural method" does not correspond to nature and, if used exclusively in our ordinary class-rooms, remains a chaos and produces chaotic results. To set over each lesson a formal Vocabulary, a practice generally followed, seems to me a mistake; for this process isolates words that might easily be given (or others just as useful) in a continuous passage, and with some assured meaning. In either case translation is required, and continuity not only gives each word a natural existence but allows its sound to be more accurately transcribed. The passages for translation (already mentioned) are for the most part interesting and will enable competent teachers to develop a great many points that Mr. O. has probably felt obliged to pass rapidly or in silence. The material for translation into French seems to me particularly good, and let me mention as one of the most felicitous the exercise bearing on reflexive constructions, pp. 105–106.

Phonetics

Mr. O.'s prefatory claim is correct, so far as I am aware, but several features demand atten-

tion. P. 4: "The phonetic symbols employed in this grammar are those of the International Phonetic Association." Throughout his book, Mr. O. uses *g* to symbolize the voiced explosive of words such as *gant* (instead of the modified form of the letter *g* which constitutes the regular phonetic symbol), and he appears to let *r* represent a uvular *r* [ʀ]. His transcriptions, with the exception of those on pp. 241–244, seldom represent anything but isolated words, including the infinitives of extremely variable verbs. And why, upon arriving at "Orthographical Changes" (p. 117), does Mr. O. return to the old chaos?—"Verbs in *-cer,* to preserve the soft *c* of the infinitive throughout their conjugation, add a cedilla whenever *c* precedes *a* or *o*." And "Verbs in *-ger,* to preserve the soft *g* of the infinitive, insert an *e* after *g* before *a* or *o*."

What Mr. O. calls a "soft c" (i. e., a voiceless *s*) is regarded by most musicians as a very *hard* and disagreeable noise, and is not described as a "soft *c*" by any recognized phonetician. On p. 118 the student is asked: "Que fait-on pour conserver au *c* et au *g* le son doux qu'ils ont dans *placer, manger?*" Let our author consult the *Dictionnaire Général,* under *Cédille,* and he will find: "Petit signe . . . qui, placé sous un *c* suivi des voyelles *a, o,* ou *u,* indique qu'il doit être prononcé avec le son de l'*s* forte." Add to this that [s] is popularly known in France as "l'*s* dure."

Morphology, Syntax, and the Rules Bearing Thereon

Many of the "essentials" of French morphology and syntax can be stated with brevity, simplicity, *and* accuracy. Most of Mr. O.'s tables, lists, rules, etc., prove this; but when Mr. O. avers that "Enough grammar is given to enable the student to understand *thoroughly* [italics mine], upon the completion of the book, ordinary French construction" (Preface, p. iii) he is either very much in error or "ordinary" does not mean to him what it means to me, for example. There are hundreds of constructions in everyday use, both in normal speech and in normal books, many of them quite as "ordinary" as what Mr. O. has happened to deal with, some of them still more "ordinary," which Mr. O. has not even mentioned, and his "thoroughly" is something to make one pensive. I venture to say that it is perhaps a greater mistake to imbue students with the notion that "French is an easy subject," something of which the essentials can be learned "thoroughly" in forty or fifty lessons, no matter how good, than to dwell too often on its innumerable difficulties, demonstrated to exist by almost every batch of examination papers turned in by almost any high-school or undergraduate class. The unavoidable necessity of being brief prevents me from dealing, save as I do, with what Mr. O. has left out; I *can* touch upon some of the things he has put in.

P. 42: "*des petits pains*" and "*des jeunes gens*" are classed with "*Je bois du bon vin,*" with the statement that "This usage is not considered incorrect." Thus "*du bon vin*" is made to figure as "a sort of compound noun." P. 53: "*Il m'a déchiré le gilet.*" See Clédat, *Gram. rais.,* p. 141, note 1. Pp. 54 ff.: Throughout, Mr. O. uses the conventional names Present, Imperfect, Past Definite, Past Anterior, etc., and in so doing he agrees with almost all grammarians. In my opinion, most of these names are so frequently misnomers that it is a pity to use any of them, except when they apply accurately to a given case. If a given group of verb forms (say, *je parle,* etc.) can have two or more tense-values, obviously *no* supposedly defining name for such a group can be universally correct. That it is possible to avoid this confusing of forms and functions I shall show elsewhere (in my own glass house!, if such it is to be); let me say now that it seems to me obviously infelicitous to state that "The Past Indefinite or Perfect [see report of Committee on Nomenclature] . . . is the regular *tense* [italics mine] used in conversation to express definite past action" (§ 94). To call the "*j'ai vu*" of "*J'ai vu votre frère ce matin*" (§ 140) "the past indefinite" is like speaking of wooden tombstones and of glass corks. Again (§ 140), "The past definite, or preterit, is used to express a definite past action (*not a state or condition*) [italics mine] of long or short duration, provided the idea of action and

not of duration is emphasized." Need I quote?

> Quand il mourut d'un eczéma,
> Il exigea qu'on le crémât,
> Et sur son urne un symboliste
> Ecrivit ces mots: "Il fut triste!"
> (Maurice Donnay, *Adolphe ou le jeune homme triste.*)

Exceptional, this? Not in the least, in *literature;* and it is worth noting that Mr. O. disobeys his own rule, quite properly! See, e. g., pp. 169, 174.

§ 133 (on the "imperfect indicative," also "descriptive past tense") falls far short of defining the simpler or most usual functions of the forms in *-ais*, which often refer to the present or the future, occasionally express a past conditional, and often express instantaneous action, etc.

§ 164. Note 2: "Most adjectives (other than proper adjectives or past participial adjectives) may *at times* [italics mine] be brought before the noun for the sake of emphasis, especially when following the definite article." Is this usable information? § 184: "The use of the imperfect subjunctive [frequently a misnomer], especially of the forms in *-asse*, is decreasing. [In literature, or in normal speech? Here, and generally elsewhere, Mr. O. does not distinguish between archaic and living French.] A past tense in the principal clause regularly requires it [by no means!], but the present subjunctive is generally used in all other cases." (Here a reference to § 342.) The fact, painful though it may be, is that *all* forms of the "past subjunctive" are dead in conversational usage, though in Zola and other equally close observers of nature very simple untutored folk often indulge in an *-asse*, an *-usse*, or an *-isse* (splendid documentary evidence for philologists!). § 340: "While the Indicative expresses certainty or fact, the Subjunctive expresses doubt, desirability, requirement, emotion, purpose, concession, etc." Si c'était vrai! and is it wise, anyhow, to put so many different things under one heading? If *I* were to be one of the many students who will use this book, and my teacher asked me: "Lequel des deux modes, l'indicatif ou le subjonctif, exprime le doute?" (p. 189), my answer, *dussé-je être obligé* (cf. p. 207, bottom) *de subir la peine de mort*, would be: "Tous les deux"; and if he had taught me to say, e. g., "Je suis heureux que vous fussiez là" (§ 342), and if some day I should innocently spring this on some unoffending Frenchman, and he looked "edified," or disturbed, I should wish—what should I wish?

Conclusion

The rather large number of points on which it has been necessary to disagree with Mr. Olmsted does not include all that unquestionably call for correction. (See "Additional Details.") On the other hand, I think the verdict of many examiners of Mr. Olmsted's book may be that it is the best book of its scope available, well proportioned, orderly, simple, and interesting; and perhaps many persons will agree with me in my belief that this edition can be greatly improved when numerous teachers, including its author, have had a chance to see how it *works*. Above all things, let the study of French be treated as something that cannot be done well *par-dessous la jambe.*

Additional Details

Everywhere "À." What authority?—P. 41: "The United States are . . ."—P. 43: "There were nothing but . . ."—P. 92: For "waiting" read "awaiting."—P. 96 and passim: "la synopsis" (?).—P. 105: "In the plural, such verbs [as *se flatter*] often have a reciprocal force." It is the pronoun, not the verb, that has this force, or it is the group. Again, p. 117, it is not *être* and *avoir* that are impersonal, but the *il* that goes with them. There are almost no impersonal verbs in M. F. (Ex. *Soit!* or *Faut voir.*)—§ 234 is really an inadequate *note*.—§ 244 (f. n.). What is "this case"?—§ 245. Read "negative is used."—§ 252. Add *vas-y*.—§§ 256–257. Mr. O. forgets, e. g., *ceux-là même qui*.—§ 259. "*Ceci* and *cela* may be used in all constructions, usually without reference to a definite antecedent." Then *Cela est mon ami*, and worse, would be correct.—§ 260. *Ça parle trop* is not well translated.—P. 133 (bottom). "This is the number, isn't it?" How to be translated?—§ 264. Rule is incorrect: Note 1 has no utility; Note 3 makes a mere trifle of what is an important "ordinary" fact.—P. 137: "*Chaise à bascule.*"

The expression is even rarer than the thing, usually called *un rocking*.—P. 143: "Quelle sorte d'après-midi avez-vous eu . . .?" (?). —Also: "Quelle avenue vous a-t-il fallu suivre . . .?" (?).—P. 147 (Note): "The conditional *saurais*, etc., is often used to translate the English 'can' (*in the sense of* 'would know how')." Better 'should' (cf. comments on §§ 350 and 360), and anyhow, rather: 'I really couldn't . . .' (Always *ne saurais*.) Cf. (p. 149): "In fact, I cannot (*trans.* 'would not know how to')." Again, "would" for 'should.' —P. 149. "(*merveilles, m. pl.*)."—§ 288. Inadequate.—§ 291. No fem. for several forms.—§§ 291–299. Important subject, very inadequate treatment.—§ 311. Pronunciation of various cardinal numerals inadequately represented, and "[vɪt dø]" is incorrect.—§ 312. For "words" read 'nouns,' and insert *cent hommes* to exemplify that *t* "is silent also in *cent*" (!).—§ 315. "The form *mil* is often used in dates." Then, as an example: "*en mil huit cent quatorze*"—not living French. On *l'an mille*, see Clédat, *G. r.*, § 261.—§ 321. Note 2, on *deuxième* and *second*, not justified by usage.—§ 323. *leçon un* would have been more instructive than Mr. O.'s "*leçon trois*." —§ 331: "'To' before an infinitive is often omitted in French. It is sometimes expressed by *de*, *à*, or *pour*." Is this either felicitous or useful?—§ 334. *aimer* requires comment.— § 336. "purpose" is inadequate; see § 335.—§ 337: "All prepositions govern the infinitive, except *en*, which requires the present participle." Read 'gerund'; but when do *après*, *avant*, *avec*, *contre*, *derrière*, *devant*, *entre*, *par*, etc., etc., govern an infinitive? Further: "*Après* governs the perfect infinitive." Insert 'only'; but note (?) *après boire*—§ 343, *craindre*, perhaps rightly, figures as an "irregular verb." Then why not *vendre*? (§ 116). —P. 191, line "11": "were they miracle-plays or mysteries," . . . Is this English? or merely intended to call for a Fr. subjunctive? —P. 195, line "17." Omit "*en*."—P. 198. Why "*quant (à)*"?—§ 350. Read 'I should like a dog, to guard the house.'—§ 351: "*C'est la première chose qu'elle a dite.*" Not a clear example.—§ 352 (Note 1). Add 'when there is no adverbial complement and when the infinitive is not stressed.'—P. 201, lines 10–11. Not the more natural construction, and *tiennent* is a concealed subjunctive. Concealed subjunctives should be avoided in exemplifying the subjunctive. In line 14 "Quelque scientifique que soit . . ." exemplifies purely literary usage. Let *living* French be learned first! In line 24 Zola figures as a "réaliste." Did Zola not call himself a "naturaliste."?—P. 205. "Speak louder, that I may hear you." Not living English.—P. 205 (f. n.): "*Se mettre* = 'to put on'" (Cf. my comment on P. 208, top). Why and when?—P. 207 (Conversation). An extremely unlikely achievement, unless the whole class attempts to learn the passage from Molière by heart.—P. 207 (near bottom). Is the student expected to say "*Dussé-je être obligé de* . . ."?—P. 208 (top). Is the student expected to say *Je me suis mis des pantoufles* or the like? See comment on p. 205, f. n.—§ 359. Hasty.—§ 360. Of course, but *avoir besoin de* is not a "verb." For "will" read 'shall.'—§ 363. For "Some" read 'Hundreds'; then read 'take prepositions different from . . .'—P. 211 (top). For "example" read 'exemple.' Sentence 9. Apparently, the student is expected to translate "Depend upon me" with a *Dépendez de moi*. The Vocab. indicates *dépendre de* for this.—P. 211, line "10." For "á" read 'à.'—§ 366: "A collective noun regularly takes a singular verb." How about *la foule*, *le nombre*, *la plupart*, etc.?—§ 368. For "[rezudr]" read '[rezu:dr].' As usual, no pronunciation is indicated except for the infinitive.—P. 219 (Part II): "The *t* of this ending [*rend*] is missing, . . ." What has become of it?—§ 400. *j'ai ouï dire* corresponds to 'I've heard say (tell)' rather than to "I have heard said."

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The Old Norse Element in Swedish Romanticism. By ADOLPH BURNETT BENSON. (Columbia University Germanic Studies.) New York, Columbia University Press, 1914. 8vo., xii + 192 pp., $1.

Of recent contributions to the history of Swedish literature, by far the most important is this admirably clear and lucid exposition of the so-called Gothic elements in Swedish Romanticism. The work is, on the whole, remarkably clear, succinct and interest-holding. The thesis involved is well developed, the argument advances step by step with increasing convic-

tion, so that one is impressed by the fact that Dr. Benson not only has driven home his point but has done it in a delightful way.

The chief merit of the work consists in the exposition of the Gothic tendencies of the Fosforists themselves. The close connection of the Fosforists with the German Romantic School has led to the misconceived notion that there was, upon their part, no independent activity (as was the case with the Goths) in connection with their ideals of Scandinavian antiquity, and that this element did not constitute any important phase of their literary propaganda. Dr. Benson clearly shows that, in spite of the hostile attitude of these two Schools toward each other, this distinction is chiefly traditional and without intrinsic value. In fact, the Fosforists' interest in Gothic material has been heretofore either ignored, treated superficially, or actually misrepresented.

The author prepares the way for his argument by reviewing the beginnings of interest in Old Norse subjects during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Sweden. This introduction is based upon the most recent and thorough investigation of the Gothic movement in the North which we possess: Anton Blanck, *Den nordiska Renässansen i Sjuttonhundratalets Litteratur,* Stockholm, 1911. The following chapters, in which Dr. Benson develops the Gothic tendencies upon the part of the Fosforists and traces the interest in Old Norse themes through every phase of the Romantic Movement in Sweden, constitute a worthy supplement to Blanck's scholarly work.

The author's exposition of the attitude towards Scandinavian antiquity upon the part of the celebrated Fosforists, Atterbom, Hammarskjöld and Livijn is very convincing, and the exceptionally clear analysis of their principal works lends much to his argument. The interest of the Fosforists in Gothic material cannot be denied. For instance, the activity and erudition of Atterbom in Old Norse subjects was truly amazing; in fact, he knew more about the sagas than most Goths. Yet the foundation of all this was laid while he was still a militant Fosforist. Dr. Benson proves here the falsity of the unqualified statement that the historical "revival in Swedish culture was given by the *Gothic Förbund*" (Vedel, *Svensk Romantik,* p. 251). Not only this, but the contribution of the Fosforists to Swedish literature in general is of much higher merit than critics have been wont to concede. So Atterbom was a poet of really high rank and, though he was not a creative artist, hardly any Goth surpassed him in the appreciation and interpretation of Old Norse subjects.

Even outside of strictly Romantic circles the spirit of the age was pro-Gothic. The Swedish Academy itself was not opposed to literary creations with Old Norse content, provided they measured up to the traditional standards of form and style. Granberg's *Jorund* and Charlotta d'Albedyhll's *Gefion* (especially the latter) illustrate exceedingly well how deeply the Gothic tendency had become rooted outside Gothic circles; in fact *Gefion* was probably written before the Gothic Society was founded. The authoress' conception of the viking age is typically Gothic in that she implies that the modern era is corrupt by stating that the mythological age was incorrupt, which is the same Rousseauish spirit that permeated the minds of all the Goths.

The question, agitated by the Swedish Romanticists, as to the introduction of Northern mythology into art is the subject of one of the most interesting chapters in Dr. Benson's work. He shows clearly that in art, as well as in literature, the difference between Goth and Fosforist was merely relative. Even the Goths (cf. especially Geijer) recognized the tendency towards exaggeration in the representation of Old Norse divinities in the plastic arts and expressed apprehension concerning it. But the satires leveled against the Goths in this regard included the Fosforists as well, and were often in reality satires on the whole Romantic group. In fact, the Academician chief, Leopold, attacked this tendency in a poem and the anti-Fosforistic Malmström admits that it was common to both Fosforist and Goth. Furthermore, Dr. Benson shows that the exaggeration and crudity, of which the Gothic Ling, for instance, was accused (cf. Geijer, *Iduna,* 1817), were much overdrawn. Ling's views upon art

agreed essentially with those of Tegnér, who certainly offered the best solution of the problem.

The position of the young poet Stagnelius with reference to the Romantic Movement is attractively presented in the next chapter. In Stagnelius the Gothic element is beautifully blended with the grace of Hellenic culture. The myths of Odin, the *Bragaræður*, etc., form a background that is harmoniously blended with the poet's modern reflections and feelings. Yet Stagnelius was not formally allied with any literary school. It is to be regretted that the author has not laid more emphasis upon Tegnér's poetic activity in Gothic themes, for it is worthy of note that these two poets, one in dramatic, the other in lyrical productions, showed a marked similarity to each other, both in their general attitude towards Gothic themes and in the peculiar temper of their poetic genius. Both were steeped in the spirit of Hellenic culture, both were distinctly individual and independent, both were by nature hypochondriacal and given to 'Weltschmerz,' and both infused into their creations the largest significance of art and life. The deeper meaning of myth and religion, the constant strife between spirit and matter, sensuous coloring, and love of the beautiful were marked characteristics of Tegnér as well as of Stagnelius. The divinity of man was a theme which the priest Tegnér (Stagnelius' father was also a priest) constantly emphasized (cf. *Försoningen* in the *Frithiofssaga, Fridsröster, Nattvardsbarnen,* etc.), and it is particularly this theme which elevates the Old Norse myth in Stagnelius' *Gunlög* to a universal significance, for beneath its external crudeness it is the divine ownership of poetry which constitutes the inner meaning of the work; a theme which was especially suited to the Romantic temperament. Tegnér, too, held the idealized conception of poetry; that poetry was the highest type of religion and synonymous with life itself. "I really lived only when I sang," he said in his touching poem *Afsked till min lyra.* It is exactly this exalted concept which Stagnelius infused into the primitive myth of Suttung's mead. Furthermore, in Stagnelius' fragment *Svegder* we have really nothing but Christian ideals in the garb of Norse mythology, the personification of which is the Christ-Odin himself, much as was the priest of Balder in Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga.*

The transition from Norse heathendom to Christianity is the theme of the concluding chapter. Oehlenschläger's influence is, of course, predominant, but the author shows that Fouqué, too, may have influenced the Gothic background. Nicander's *Runesvärdet,* for instance, shows a marked similarity with Oehlenschläger's viking dramas. The saga element is the most successful feature of the play, in which the author's sympathy (as was the case with Oehlenschläger) is evidently on the side of the pagan viking. Though dramatic in form, the work is essentially poetical and lyrical, which points towards the neo-Romantic relationship.

Dr. Benson's work concludes with an admirable summary of his thesis and with a very useful Appendix, containing biographical and critical notes.

The work will be welcomed by all students of Scandinavian literature as a most enlightening exposition of the Gothic elements in Swedish Romanticism, a subject which heretofore had received neither full nor sound treatment.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Adam's Motive

The verse of *Genesis* upon which Milton based his account of the "first disobedience" is this: "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, *and gave also to her husband; and he did eat.*" Here the motive for Adam's eating the forbidden fruit is not clear, unless we suppose that he did it unthinkingly, for Adam replied to God's question merely, "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat,"—the same question to

which Eve replied, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." The reasons why Eve transgressed seem clear enough: the attractiveness of the fruit, feminine curiosity to find out what "the knowledge of good and evil" was, and perhaps a little feminine wilfulness and perversity to do what she had been told not to. We may suppose, and indeed the reader usually does suppose, that Adam's motive was no more than the same sort of curiosity and wilfulness, to which we may add the winning manner in which the beautiful woman probably begged him to partake. At any rate, Adam laid the blame upon Eve, and she in turn laid it upon the serpent, with no hint of any romance in the whole transaction.

Now, as a matter of fact, Milton followed his Old Testament rather closely, but he added to the story a background and framework of ethical, spiritual, philosophical, and human significance which made it impossible for him to handle the transgression in any such simple and noncommittal way as it is handled in the third chapter of Genesis. He had to dramatize, rationalize, humanize. In order to make his characters more full, more individual, and more interesting he had to imagine motives where there were none, expanding into twelve books a simple narrative of a few hundred words. Thus even the casual reader sees that he must expect to find in *Paradise Lost* many things lacking in the Bible story; yet I think he fails to appreciate the fact that Milton gave the tale a wholly romantic turn, in making Adam's motive in yielding that of—love. Four passages, serving as prelude, note, and comment of the action itself, prove that Milton intended that love should be taken as the spring of Adam's act. Many other lines might be cited, but these are particularly significant:

(1) . . . some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die;
(*P. L.*, ix, 904.)

(2) I with thee have fixt my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom; if death
Consort with thee, death is to me as life;
So forcible within my breast I feel
The bond of nature draw me to my own,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our state cannot be sever'd; we are one,
One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself;
(*P. L.*, ix, 952.)

(3) . . . he scrupled not to eat
Against his better knowledge, not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome by female charm;
(*P. L.*, ix, 997.)

(4) I, who might have liv'd and joy'd immortal bliss,
Yet willingly chose rather death with thee.
(*P. L.*, ix, 1165.)

From these passages it becomes evident that it was no mere temptation of curiosity idly yielded to, but the deliberate and significant decision of a thinking man. That the third passage means only this, and not that Adam was superficially seduced by Eve's charms, we learn from the second passage quoted, as well as from other parts of the poem. Professor Dowden, in *Puritan and Anglican,* examines the subject at length, yet lays too little stress on the definiteness of Milton's ideas about the transgression itself; for close study of the text of *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes,* and the *Christian Doctrine* reveals Milton's clear and coherent philosophy, a part of which he incorporated in the story of the Garden; so that these remarks are not critical conjecture, but citation of Milton himself.

There has always been something heroic in the nobility of a sacrifice for love, whether the love be always worthy or not, yet in this case Milton would have us believe that Adam's affection was admirable and sincere, so far as it went. The man's mistake, according to Milton (compare, for example, the third passage above), was in letting his feelings overmaster him to the point of making him do that sin which God had expressly forbidden. Since the Tree of Knowledge was the sole symbol and pledge of human obedience to God, the eating of the fruit meant more than mere disobedience, in all that disobedience *to God* implied (cf. *P. L.* i, 33; iii, 204–211; *P. R.* iii, 137; *Ch. D.* in Bohn ed. IV, 254; Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican,* 186), and humanity has suffered for it ever since, Milton believed. The magnitude of the evil, however, has nothing to do with the act itself, and Adam knew what his sacri-

fice meant, having been adequately warned. He knew, says Milton, that Eve was lost by her sin, so that with noble chivalry and devotion he decided to die with her. Milton's point, many times emphasized in his works, was that a man may well love a beautiful woman, but that he should not let his passion obscure his judgment, and should follow his conscience and his intelligence in spite of the lovely but capricious sex, lest "wommen shal him bringen to mischaunce." The statement, however, remains true and worthy of note, that Milton gave his epic the romantic motive of love.

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Chaucer and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin

Professor F. Tupper[1] has recently demonstrated beyond doubt that Chaucer, in composing the *Invocatio ad Mariam* which stands in the Prologue of the *Lyf of St. Cecile,* made direct use of the Hours of the B. V. M. A year and a half ago, while turning the pages of an English text of the *Mateyns of Oure Lady* in the Bodleian Library (ms. Ashmole 1288), I was so forcibly impressed by the similarity to Chaucer's phrases that I transcribed from it the passage which follows. It supplies, as will be seen, a somewhat closer parallel than the extract which Tupper reprints from Littlehales:

[fol. 49b] Antym of oure lady: Salue regina m*ate*r.

Heil qweene modir of merci. heil lijf swetnesse & oure hope: to þee we crien outlawid sones of eue. to þee we siȝen weymentynge and wepi*n*ge in þis valey of teeris: hiȝe þou þ*er*fore oure aduocat turne to us þou [fol. 50] þi merciful iȝen. and schewe þou to us ih*es*u þe blessid fruyt of þi wombe aftir þis exilyng.

Versus. virgyne modir of þe chirche. Euerlasti*n*ge ȝate of glorie. ȝeue þou to us refuyt Anentis þe fadir & þe[2] sone.

Responsio. O merciful.

Versus: Virgyne m*er*ciful. virgyne piteuous. O marie swete virgyne. Heere þe preiers of meke men: to þee piteuously criynge.

Responsio: O piteuous.

Versus. ȝete out preiers to þi sone ficchid to þe cros ful of wou*n*dis: and for us al forscourgid *with* þornes prickid ȝoue*n* galle to drynke.

Responsio. O swete.

Versus. Glorious modir of god Of who*m* þe sone was fadir. Preie for us all þat of þee maken mynde.

Responsio. O meke.

Versus. Do awey blamys of wrecchidnesse Clense þe filþe of sy*n*ners: ȝeue [fol. 50b] to us þoru þi preiers lijf of blessid me*n*.

Responsio. O sely.

Versus. Reisid aboue heuenes And crowned of þi child. In þis wrecchid valey To gilti be lady of forȝeuenesse.

Responsio. O holy.

Versus. Þat he lose us fro sy*n*nes for þe loue of his modir & to þe kyngdom of clernesse lede us þe kyng of pitee.

Responsio. O m*er*ciful. O piteuous. O holy O meke O sely O swete marie heil.

Versus. Heil ful of grace þe lord is wiþ þee.

Responsio. Blessid be þou among alle wo*m*men and blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe. Preie we, &c.

Professor Tupper's further observation—it can hardly be termed a discovery—that saints' lives and Miracles of the Virgin (and, one may add, even romances) are frequently prefaced by Invocations, somewhat diminishes the force of his previous suggestion, that in the present instance Chaucer intended his Invocation as a "protest against Sloth in its phase of Undevotion."[3] At least it may be doubted whether the "fine fitness" which he perceives here, in his attempt to arrange certain of the Canterbury Tales according to a scheme of the Seven Deadly Sins, was sufficiently obvious to be perceptible to a reader not already in the secret.

"The time-honored function of such a prelude as Chaucer's 'Invocacio ad Mariam,'" Professor Tupper concludes, "constitutes good ground for believing that it was composed at the same time as the Life of Saint Cecilia." But in one important respect Chaucer's Hymn to Mary differs from all the Invocations cited by Professor Tupper, and from all others with which I am acquainted. It does not stand at the beginning of the piece—as an Invocation should—but is introduced in the midst of the prologue, in such fashion that it can be re-

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Jan., 1915.

[2] Ms. þe *repeated.*

[3] *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXIX, 107.

moved, not only without detriment, but with positive improvement, to the context. There is no need to repeat the considerations which I have elsewhere presented on this point,[4] but the real problem is not affected by the fact that religious poems are frequently introduced by Invocations.

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[4] *Mod. Philol.* IX, 1–16.

THOMAS EDWARDS'S SONNETS

In *Modern Language Notes* for April, 1905, Prof. E. P. Morton includes in a list of fifty sonnets written between 1658 and 1750 only the two sonnets of Thomas Edwards, 1746 and 1747, "discovered by Prof. Phelps." Neither Prof. Morton nor Prof. Phelps has indicated which of Edwards's sonnets these two were. However, at least thirteen of Edwards's sonnets were published before 1750 and two others in that year. The thirteen sonnets referred to were published in *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands,* edited by and printed for R. Dodsley, second edition, London, 1748, 8°, volume II, p. 323 ff. The thirteenth is inscribed, "To the Rt. Hon. Mr. ———, with the foregoing Sonnets." These sonnets do not appear in the duodecimo edition of Dodsley's Collection in the same year; they do appear in the later editions, 1755 and 1758, and in the seventh edition of the *Canons of Criticism,* 1765. The other two were printed in the fourth edition of Edwards's *Canons of Criticism,* 1750, and both are in ridicule of Warburton. The sonnet beginning "Tongue-doughty Pedant" is on page (14), and the one beginning "Rest, rest perturbed Spirit" is in the Appendix, p. 176.

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BRIEF MENTION

Five years after the death of Adolf Tobler, and more than forty since he announced the work as forthcoming, the first *lieferung* of his *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* has now appeared (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 25 lieferungen). The editor, Erhard Lommatsch, did not have a light task, for the cards on which the entries had been made were by no means in order for printing. The initial *lieferung* is largely given over to introductory matter, so that the dictionary text occupies only twenty-four out of the ninety-four pages. These bring us as far as the word *abevrer,* half of the forty-eight closely printed columns being devoted to the preposition *à*. In contrast with Godefroy, Tobler did not draw on unpublished documents, but hardly a printed text of the Old French literature escaped his analysis, as may be seen from an examination of the twenty-seven page list of works from which citations have been made. A test count of words in the two dictionaries indicates that in spite of the more compact typography of the Tobler the amount of material per column is approximately the same. About 4800 columns are promised for the Tobler as against some 24000 in the Godefroy. Yet Tobler's exceptionally full treatment of the preposition *à* is half as long again as Godefroy's, and the whole section so far covered in Tobler occupies nearly sixty per cent. of the corresponding words in Godefroy (even including the *complément*), so that it is difficult to see how the indicated limit can be maintained. In the descriptive and explanatory introduction, the editor has illustrated some of the manifold ways in which this mine of lexicographical material can be utilized to enrich our knowledge of French linguistics. It is a tragic coincidence that the publication of this work, the longest and most eagerly awaited of all that have been promised in Romance philology, begins at a time when few of the younger generation of those who watched for its coming will so much as learn of its appearance.

The *Modern Language Notes* is scarcely the appropriate place for an extended review of *Die Erste Deutsche Bibel* (Stuttgarter Literarischer Verein, 1904–15), nor, if it were, would it be an easy task to find the competent reviewer. With the appearance of the tenth and final volume, it seems fitting, however, to call at least passing attention to the completion of so monumental a work on the part of the American scholar, William Kurrelmeyer. The ten stately volumes now before us embody the results of twelve years of unwearied labor. Critical acumen, broad and sound learning, perseverance in the face of enormous obstacles, all these were needed to bring such a task to a successful conclusion.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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VOWEL ALLITERATION IN MODERN POETRY

Modern vowel alliteration seems as yet not to have received the attention it deserves. Some prosodists take so narrow a view of it as virtually to exclude the most effective examples; others look upon it askance as of doubtful prosodic value; and still others deny its very existence. I shall cite a few opinions. E. S. Dallas, in a much-quoted article on alliteration contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (reprinted unrevised, uncorrected, and inconsiderably augmented in the eleventh edition), asserts that "alliteration is never effective unless it runs upon consonants." Schipper (*History of English Versification,* p. 14) says that the "harmony or consonance of the unlike vowels is hardly perceptible in modern English and does not count as an alliteration." Classen, in his recent work, *Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages* (p. 41), says that "in modern English, vowel alliteration appears to have reached the stage of alliteration for the eye, as in such a phrase as 'Apt alliteration's artful aid.'" I add to these opinions a characteristic passage from Professor Saintsbury's *History of English Prosody* (pp. 396–397):

"Alliteration, to be genuine and effective, must, as it seems to me, rest upon consonants, just as rhyme must (again as it seems to me) rest upon vowels. The old vowel alliteration was an obvious 'easement' when the thing *had* to be done at any cost, and it may have had attractions in Anglo-Saxon which we do not appreciate now. But the rapid desertion of it in Middle English, and its almost total failure to appear in Modern, would seem to show that it has no real reason of being now. Before writing this, and in order not to trust too much to a general memory, I have looked over many pages of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, and Tennyson, the four poets most likely to have used the effect consciously or unconsciously, if it exists. I find few traces of it at all, and none that seem to have any particular lesson for us. Even so strong an instance of identical vowel alliteration (and it need not, as most people know, be identical) as

Of old Olympus (P. L., vii, 7),

does not, to my ear at least, produce any special effect, good or bad: one neither welcomes it nor wishes it away. In the great line of Oenone—

Idalian Aphrodite beautiful—

there may seem, at first hearing, to be something gained by the vowel alliteration; but a very little reflection will, I think, show that the harmony in contrast of the two initial syllables is quite independent of their having no consonant before them, that it is, in fact, a case of 'Vowel Music' (as I call it below), not of alliteration at all."

I have quoted Professor Saintsbury at this length not only because he illustrates in one way the comment I have made upon students of prosody, but also because the passage furnishes me by opposition the theses of my paper. I wish, that is, to show (1) that alliteration may be as genuine and effective when it rests upon vowels as when it rests upon consonants; (2) that it is a phenomenon distinct from vowel music, or vowel melody, though like consonant alliteration always conjoined with it; (3) that it is fairly common in modern poetry, particularly in Milton and Tennyson. And incidentally I wish to ascertain what it is in modern vowel alliteration that constitutes the alliterating element.

I shall begin with some simple instances. It may first be noted that many familiar phrases derive their idiomatic force from what seems to be vowel alliteration; thus, "ins and outs," "upward and onward," "odds and ends," "odd and even," "andy over," "off and on," "up and at 'em," "ifs and ans," "give an inch and take an ell," "from Alfred to Omaha" (a popular perversion of "from Alpha to Omega"). The title of Poe's story "The Angel of the Odd" derives a part of its oddity from the alliteration of the vowels. Allen Upward seems as alliterative as Simple Simon. Nine persons out of ten, asked abruptly for an instance of alliteration of any kind, will respond by quot-

ing Churchill's line, "Apt alliteration's artful aid," and perhaps the tenth will recall "An Austrian army awfully arrayed." In all of these cases the curious and significant thing is that the words with initial vowels seem (at any rate to my ear) actually to alliterate. When I say to myself, "Apt alliteration's artful aid," I am sensible not only of changes in the quality of the vowels, but also of the repetition of an initial effect quite as characteristic as that of the initial consonants in "Boldly by battery besieged Belgrade," or "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers." The alliteration, in other words, even in this rather cheap form, seems to be both genuine and effective.[1]

Nor when we pass to higher forms of expression does vowel alliteration seem to lose its value. Of the four poets mentioned by Professor Saintsbury I have examined for the purposes of this paper only Milton and Tennyson. These poets, whose fondness for consonantal alliteration is at all times marked and frequently is excessive, seem to me to be equally, or proportionately, fond of alliteration by vowels. Of the 10,565 lines of *Paradise Lost,* 670, or 6.2%, contain each two or more accented alliterating vowels. Of lines which show vowel alliteration, but in which one of the initial vowels is unaccented, there are in the whole poem 517. The total number of internally alliterating lines is, therefore, 1187, or 11.2% of the whole. The following are examples, the alliterating vowels in a single line varying from two to five:

(*2 vowels*) Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield. (i, 565.)

(*3 vowels*) *A*uthor and *e*nd of *a*ll things, and from work. (vii, 591.)

Me, me only, just object of his *i*re. (x, 936.)

(*4 vowels*) Where *e*ntrance *u*p from *E*den *e*asiest climbs. (xi, 119.)

I *a*lso *e*rred in overmuch admiring. (ix, 1078.)

(*5 vowels*) *O* *E*ve, in *e*vil hour thou did'st give *e*ar. (ix, 1067.)

The *a*ngel *e*nded, *a*nd in *A*dam's *e*ar. (viii, 1.)

Cases in which the alliterating words are in successive lines instead of in the same line are naturally much more numerous. Thus in Book I, the number of lines that contain an effective initial vowel that alliterates with an effective vowel in a preceding or following line, is 223 in a total of 798 lines. I quote a few examples at random:

Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose *o*rb
Through optic glass the Tuscan *a*rtist views
At *e*vening. (i, 287-8.)

And gentle *a*irs due at this hour
To fan the *e*arth, now waked, and *u*sher in
The *e*vening cool.

Will he so wise let loose at once his *i*re,
Belike through *i*mpotence or *u*naware,
To give his *e*nemies their wish, and end
Them in his *a*nger whom his *a*nger saves
To punish *e*ndless. (ii, 156.)

The following table shows the number of lines in *Paradise Lost* that have vowel alliteration within the line. Under A is given the number of lines that have two or more accented alliterations, under B the number of lines that have one accented alliteration and one or more unaccented.[2]

Book	Number of Lines	A	B	Percent. A	Percent. B
I	798	52	38	6.5	4.7
II	1055	58	55	5.4	5.2
III	742	42	43	5.6	5.7
IV	1015	72	38	7.0	3.7
V	907	55	46	6.0	4.9
VI	912	50	55	5.4	6.0
VII	640	34	32	5.3	5.0
VIII	653	47	32	7.1	4.9
IX	1189	95	58	7.9	4.8
X	1104	65	54	5.8	4.9
XI	901	65	38	7.2	4.2
XII	649	35	28	5.4	4.3
	10565	670	517	6.2	4.8

[1] It is, of course, impossible to compel any one, except by process of torture, and not always then, to say that he recognizes a mooted prosodic force or element if he wishes to withhold his assent. All that can be done in any case is to set forth one's own reactions and see to what extent they agree with the experiences of others.

[2] Of consonantal alliterations, the number in Book I, reckoned in the same way, is as follows: A, 161; B, 22; percentage of A-alliterations, 20; percentage of B-alliterations, 2.7.

Tennyson, although he employs vowel alliteration more conservatively than Milton, has still an evident fondness for it. An examination of certain of Tennyson's poems gives the following results: *In Memoriam*—Number of stanzas, 750; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 80; percentage, 10.6. *Locksley Hall*—Number of couplets, 97; couplets showing vowel alliteration, 13; percentage, 13.4. *Palace of Art*—Number of stanzas, 74; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 15; percentage, 20.2. *The Two Voices*—Number of stanzas, 154; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 27; percentage, 17.5. In the *Battle of Brunanburh,* where Tennyson aims to reproduce the alliterative effect of the original, there are 15 vowel-alliterating lines out of a total of 125. The longer poems, as the *Princess* and the *Idyls of the King,* as far as I have examined them, show a smaller percentage.

Many of Tennyson's most characteristic effects are secured by means of this kind of alliteration, as

> The warrior *E*arl of *A*llendale
> He loved the Lady *A*nne.
> (*The Foresters,* Act I.)
> I never *a*te with *a*ngrier *a*ppetite.
> (*Geraint and Enid.*)
> To dying *e*ars when unto dying *e*yes,
> (*The Princess.*)
> And *a*ll the phantom, Nature, stands—
> With *a*ll the music in her tone,
> A hollow *e*cho of my *o*wn,—
> A hollow form with *e*mpty hands.
>
> That *a*ll, as in some piece of *a*rt
> Is toil co-operant to an end.
> (*In Memoriam.*)

That these collocations of initial vowel sounds are the result not of chance but of design is apparent from the instances in which they are artfully conjoined in the same line or group of lines with alliterating consonants. Consider Tennyson's line, "*I* the *h*eir of *a*ll the *a*ges in the *f*oremost *f*iles of time" (*Locksley Hall*), or "*A*uthor, *e*ssayist, *a*theist, novelist, *r*ealist, *r*hymester, *p*lay your *p*art" (*Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*), or "Is there *e*vil but on *e*arth? or *p*ain in every *p*eopled sphere?" (*Ibid.*), or "*R*ound as the *r*ed *e*ye of an *e*agle-*o*wl" (*Gareth and Lynette*). It seems clear that in each of these cases the vowel alliteration in one half of the line is intended to balance the consonant alliteration in the other half.[3] Nor are there lacking examples of crossed alliteration, as in

> *A*ncient *f*ounts of *i*nspiration well through *a*ll my *f*ancy yet. (*Locksley Hall.*)

From these instances we may fairly conclude that the poet has treated alliterating vowels precisely as he has treated alliterating consonants.

There is the possibility, however, that those who think these lines are genuinely and effectively alliterative deceive themselves, and that the effects are really due to what Professor Saintsbury calls vowel music. We must therefore examine the latter term for a moment and distinguish it from vowel alliteration.

Vowel music (or, better, vowel melody) is a quasi-tune resulting from an artful sequence of vowel sounds. It is composed of several factors, of which may be mentioned (1) the natural difference of pitch of the vowels, which enables one to arrange them in a sort of scale; (2) the differences in vowel quality due to overtones; (3) the association of certain vowel sounds and sequences of vowel sounds with corresponding emotional states; (4) the kinesthetic effect due to the muscular action involved in shifting from one position of the vocal organs to another.

The presence of these factors gives a distinctly melodic effect that is often pleasing to the ear. Moreover, this melody usually corresponds in a delicate and subtle fashion to the sequence of moods and images that the poem is intended to arouse. Thus, to take a simple instance, the sequence ee-aw frequently has a suggestion of humor, as in "see-saw," "fee-

[3] Compare Browning's

> *A*rmies of *a*ngels that soar, *l*egions of demons that *l*urk. (*Abt Vogler.*)

The same device on a larger scale is seen in Milton's lines (*Paradise Lost,* i, 371-373):

> *O*ft to the *i*mage of a brute, *a*dorned
> With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
> And *d*evils to *a*dore for *d*eities.

faw-fum," "Jimmie McGee McGaw," and the like. Here the effect may be traced to the sudden shifting from the high-front-unrounded to the low-back-rounded position, together with the lowering in pitch; though association with the "hee-haw" of the ass's horrible bray doubtless plays a part. At all events, through the operation of such factors as these the poet, by deftly arranging the vowel sequences, may consciously or unconsciously compose an elaborate vowel melody. To the examples cited by Professor Saintsbury may be added Tennyson's "I alone awake," with its lovely minor cadence, and Milton's

> Death
> Grinned horrible a ghastly smile,

where the vowels seem to execute a kind of *danse macabre* as an accompaniment to the hideous imagery.

None of these factors, however, resemble, except remotely, the factors of alliteration, consonantal or vocalic. While vowel melody is in general a series of disparates, alliteration, like rhyme, is essentially repetitive. Its characteristic and indispensable feature appears to be the repetition of an identical sound at the beginning of a word or syllable.

But if all alliteration is a repetition of an initial sound, what can it be in such a phrase as "Apt alliteration's artful aid" that actually alliterates? Clearly, it is not the quality of the vowel, for that shifts with each word in the sequence. What common element then is left? To answer this question we may bring forward two alternative theories: (1) that the recurrent element is simply the sonority of the initial vowel; (2) that the recurrent element is a sound that is not represented in the spelling of the word, but is nevertheless always present at the beginning of it, namely, the glottal catch.[4]

The sonority theory assumes that, in spite of the great difference in the position of the vocal organs in pronouncing the different vowel sounds, there is a common element in these sounds which so powerfully impresses the ear that any vowel or diphthong appears to be a repetition of any other vowel or diphthong. When we ask what this element is, some difficulty is found in framing a satisfactory reply. Sonority, as Classen has pointed out, is only a phonetic abstraction. It is present in consonants as well as vowels, and, unfortunately for the theory, sonorous consonants do not alliterate with vowel sounds in the slightest degree. The embarrassing question may also be asked, Why, if all vowels alliterate with one another because of their vocality, should not all consonants alliterate with one another by virtue of their consonantality?—and to this question there is as yet no answer.

The second theory, that of the glottal catch, though it has not before been applied, so far as I am aware, to modern poetry, seems a happy solution of the difficulty. The glottal catch is simply the pressing together or overlapping of the vocal cords in such a way as to effect a complete stoppage of the breath. It is heard in an extreme form in coughing or clearing the throat or in pronouncing that expletive which we spell awkwardly *ahem,* but in its simplest form it is the starting point of every initial vowel that is uttered with emphasis. In order to secure what the singer calls "attack," that is, the launching of the vowel with full force, it is necessary, in all highly emotional expression, to pen up the breath behind the glottis and then force the glottis open with a kind of explosion. As Jespersen says (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik,* p. 78), the glottal catch is "the way in which everybody naturally begins a vowel when he speaks with a certain effort, as, for example, when he takes especial pains to imitate the vowel sounds of a foreign language." In some languages the glottal catch is an essential element of speech. Among the North Germans all accented initial (and many accented internal) vowels are normally preceded by it.

In England the initial glottal catch is said by Jespersen to be wholly unknown, and Sweet

[4] The theory of Axel Kock, that all vowel alliteration in old English poetry was originally a repetition of the same vowel, need not concern us here, for identical vowel alliteration in modern English poetry is so rare as to be almost negligible. In the 10,565 lines of *Paradise Lost* there are but 10 cases of identical alliteration within the line, barring repetitions of the same word.

regards it as a significant mark of difference between English as spoken in England and the German of North Germany. Although I hesitate to set my poor observations against those of two so eminent phoneticians, I shall venture the assertion that a quite unmistakable glottal catch may be heard in the speech of almost every Englishman when he speaks with energy or abruptness.[5] There is a well-known story which I may use to illustrate the contention. An American and an Englishman are traveling in a third-class carriage in England together with a woman and her child. It is lunch time, and the boy says to his mother, "Maw, give me some 'am." "'Am," replies the mother, scornfully, "you mustn't say 'am, you must say 'am." When they get out at the next station, the Englishman, who has been holding himself in with difficulty, bursts into a guffaw. "She thought she was a-sayin' 'am and she was only a-sayin' 'am." I have heard several Englishmen tell that story and in each case, if my ears did not deceive me, the supposedly more refined pronunciation was distinguished by a glottal catch.

Throughout America the glottal catch is fairly common in ordinary speech. It is used by every American when he is tired, and in the Middle West it is an almost invariable accompaniment of stressed initial vowels. In my classes in the University this year there is no student who does not use it freely and noticeably in forcible or excited speech. One student from Detroit, with no foreign influence in the family life, uses it at the beginning of every initial vowel, and of many internal vowels, precisely as does a North German.

If we grant the presence of the glottal catch in sufficient measure to gratify the ear of poet and hearer, and its use consciously or unconsciously as prosodic material, the problem of vowel alliteration is greatly simplified. Vowel alliteration in the strict sense of the term simply disappears and in its place there is a sort of consonant alliteration. However the vowel may be varied, the glottal catch remains virtually the same and supplies the common element essential to all alliterative repetition.

My conclusions are then: (1) that vowel alliteration in the sense of the significant repetition of the same initial vowel sound occurs so rarely in modern English poetry that it may for our present purpose be disregarded; (2) that sonority is too vague and abstract to serve as alliterative material, though it may act as a reinforcement; (3) that vowel melody, although it is an important prosodic phenomenon, is wholly distinct in its means and effects from alliteration; and, finally (4) that the alliterative effect of initial vowels may be due to the repetition of the glottal catch, which, either as a sound or as an innervation of the muscles contracting the glottis, is probably present in some degree before all vowels that are pronounced with feeling or energy.

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[5] Cf. L. P. H. Eijkman's "Notes on English Pronunciation" in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, xvii, 443, and Daniel Jones's comment, *Ibid.*, p. 571. Eijkman and Jones agree that the glottal catch is not uncommon in normal English speech, and the former quotes the letter written by Lloyd to Viëtor in 1894 (Viëtor, *Elemente d. Phonetik*, § 30, Anm. 5): "I have not noticed any specific substitution of 'glottal catch' for a dropt *h*; but I do notice that 'clear beginning,' sometimes forcible enough to be called 'glottal catch,' exists largely in England in certain positions, e. g. (a) when another vowel, especially a very similar vowel, precedes—(b) when a strong emphasis is intended. A speaker laboring under suppressed passion uses unconsciously the 'clear beginning.'"

NOTES ON MÉRÉ

Seldom has the identity of a writer been so difficult to establish as has that of Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré. Confused even during his own lifetime with a contemporary, the marquis de Méré, chevalier de Saint-Michel, the writer Méré was in the eighteenth century adorned with the latter's patronymic appellation and enshrined as George(s) Brossin in historical and bibliographical dictionaries, cyclopedias, general biographies, and histories of

literature. As such he often persists even to-day. Georges Brossin had distinguished himself by his brilliant conduct at the battle of Gigeri, in Barbary, and had had his name in the *Gazette extraordinaire* (August 28, 1664). So the chevalier de Méré is represented as fighting pirates in the East.[1] He has also been confused sometimes with one of his own brothers, Plassac. The story of the efforts made by Laîné, Paulin Paris, and Philippe Tamizey de Larroque to enlighten the literary public, as well as of the mistakes regarding Méré's identity committed by Sainte-Beuve, François Collet, etc., is told by Ch. Revillout in his work *Antoine Gombault, chevalier de Méré, sa famille, son frère et ses amis illustres,* published in 1877.[2] Ten years before this time Méré's full identity had begun to be a rich subject for conjecture and investigation among the scholars of southwestern France. Those interested represented different classes of society, some of them being the marquis de Rochâve, Beauchet-Filleau, author of the *Dictionnaire du Poitou,* Théophile de Brémond d'Ars, of Saintonge (using the pseudonym "Maltouche"), and Dr. C. Sauzé, of Poitou. Articles by these men were published in the *Revue de l'Aunis, de la Saintonge et du Poitou*—the dates being respectively December 25, 1867; March 25 and July 25, 1868; and January 25, 1869—and were gathered together into one collection by the comte Anatole de Brémond d'Ars. It is interesting to note that a reprint of Sauzé's article, sent by the author to Sainte-Beuve, is in the Boston Public Library: *Le nom du chevalier de Méré,* etc., in-8, 14 pp.

With the first number of the *Bulletin de la Société des archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis,* in 1879, the discussion regarding the chevalier de Méré's family was resumed. M. Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique* for the seventeenth century names as a source of information regarding Méré the above-mentioned *Bulletin* for 1883–1884. To that reference should be added the same *Bulletin* for 1876–1879 (Vol. I), 1880 (Vol. II), 1894 (Vol. XIV), and 1895 (Vol. XV). Various scholars contributed from time to time during several years questions or information and all emphasized the fact that the writer Méré was Antoine Gombaud. Notwithstanding this, much ignorance concerning his true identity persisted among students of seventeenth-century literature. In 1882 Nourrisson confused him with Georges Brossin, as we may see from *Le Correspondant* for April–June, 1882, "Pascal et le chevalier de Méré." This mistake on the part of so prominent a person as a professor at the Collège de France and a member of the Institute, quite wounded the feelings of the scholars of southwestern France.[3] Fabre also was one to sin (*Les Ennemis de Chapelain,* 1888, p. 329), and again the writer Méré's real name was announced.[4] A groan was uttered by our zealous genealogists in 1895,[5] when it was seen that Gabriel Compayré, rector of the Academy of Poitiers, in his work *Galerie française* [6] had consecrated an article to "Méré, Georges Brossin"!

After so much discussion of the chevalier de Méré's identity, it was a little surprising to find a modern scholar like M. Faguet confusing him with Georges Brossin (see *Revue hebdomadaire des cours et conférences,* March 26, 1896, "Le chevalier de Méré"). His information was evidently taken from Sainte-Beuve.

M. Fortunat Strowski in his comparatively recent work *Pascal et son temps* repeats the old mistake about Méré's going to Barbary, being wounded there, and having his name in the Gazette.[7] M. Strowski states also that Méré visited America.[8] This cannot be proved. The letter of Méré's brother Plassac written in 1626

[1] *La Grande Encyclopédie* says: "en 1664, on le trouve faisant partie de l'expédition navale du duc de Beaufort contre les pirates de Gigeri;" Larousse: ". . . il accompagna le duc de Beaufort dans son expédition contre les pirates de Gigeri; puis il quitta le service vers 1645 et vint à Paris," etc.

[2] In-4, 56 pp.

[3] See *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis,* 1880–1882 (Vol. III), p. 360. Having been set right, Nourrisson replied thanking his critics [*ibid.,* janvier 1883–avril 1884 (Vol. IV), pp. 57–58].

[4] *Ibid.,* 1888 (Vol. VIII), p. 355.

[5] *Ibid.,* 1895, p. 12.

[6] Vienne–Paris, 1894.

[7] See 2e Partie, 3e éd., 1910, p. 253.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 252.

to a chevalier de Malte who had gone on a trip to the antipodes [9] might be written to a brother, and this brother might be the chevalier, as M. Revillout suggests.[10] It seems, however, more probable that it is written to a friend, for whom the protestations of friendship are most exaggerated. And it is probably a fictitious friend. For in another letter,[11] published in the same collection in which this one appears, M. de Plassac says to the editor of the *Recueil,* regarding the letters which "a friend" of his has sent this editor: "Quoy qu'il en soit, il peut bien se consoler d'avoir fait de mauvais songes, puis que le jour ne les a jamais veus, et que vous estes le seul tesmoin devant lequel il ait encor failli." M. Morillot states that Méré had seen Françoise d'Aubigné in America.[12] But this assertion is based upon the assumption that Méré was the author of the *note anonyme,*[13] when this was probably Cabart de Villermont.[14] False hypotheses lead M. Strowski to the conclusion [15] that Méré's life was "une vie de tempête," and that Pascal in declaring the life "la plus agréable aux grands esprits" to be "la vie tumultuaire" was faithful perhaps to the spirit of his "master" (Méré).

Saintonge, Poitou, and Angoumois have all claimed the honor of giving birth to Antoine Gombaud. In his fine study of this writer published in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire,*[16] entitled *Pascal et Méré à propos d'un manuscrit inédit,* M. Ch.-H. Boudhors infers from the fact that Méré was baptized in the Bouex (Angoumois) church that he was probably born at his father's old home, the castle of Méré in Bouex.[17] But the oldest of the Gombaud children, the sister Françoise, was married in this same church seven years later (December 17, 1621).[18] So by the same method of reasoning we must conclude that the Gombauds did not live in Poitou at Baussay before the father's death, March 29, 1620. Might we not as reasonably infer that it was the family custom to return to the old castle of Méré for such events as christenings and marriages, and would not the fact that Antoine was christened at the rather advanced age of seven years and seven months go to show that the family lived at a distance?

His godmother, Gabrielle-Jehanne d'Agès, wife of "messire" Charles de Courbon, was a family connection.[19] There was probably some tie of relationship, too, between Méré and his godfather, Antoine de La Rochefoucauld, bishop of Angoulême. M. Boudhors is impressed with the fact that the MS. in the Bibliothèque Mazarine represents Méré as enjoying the patronage of the La Rochefoucaulds.[20] And Tallemant would lead us to believe that Méré's mother, owning an estate in Poitou, could hardly escape being related by some tie of kinship to the La Rochefoucauld clan. "Au siége de la Rochelle," says this chronicler, "M. de la Rochefoucault, alors gouverneur de Poitou, eut ordre d'assembler la noblesse de son gouvernement. En quatre jours, il assemble quinze cents gentilshommes, et dit au Roy: 'Sire, il n'y en a pas un qui ne soit mon parent.'" [21] Let us feel sure that there will be found some day an *acte, procuration, inventaire* or other *pièce* which will prove that Méré belonged to this army of the La Rochefoucauld connections.

A propos of family relationships, Mme de la Bazinière, the clever wife of the *trésorier de l'Epargne,* was connected to Méré, distantly but surely. When Méré's parents were married, in 1597, his mother's father, Paul de Maillé de La Tour-Landry, was dead, and the widow, Françoise de Constance, was married to a Fran-

[9] See *Recueil de lettres nouvelles* par Faret, Paris, 1634, p. 442.

[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 13.

[11] *Lettre* IV.

[12] See *Scarron et le genre burlesque,* 1888, p. 71.

[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 403 ff.

[14] See *Revue des questions historiques,* 28e année, T. X, 1893, pp. 124 ff., article by A. de Boislisle.

[15] *Op. cit.,* pp. 276–277.

[16] 20e année, 1913, pp. 24–50 and 379–405.

[17] P. 35, note 2.

[18] See *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis,* XIV, p. 36.

[19] Cf. *ibid.,* XIV, p. 349; XV, p. 4; the genealogy given by Rochâve in Coll. Brémond d'Ars, p. 22; and C. Sauzé, *ibid.,* p. 37.

[20] *Revue* cited, note 2, pp. 40–41.

[21] *Les Historiettes,* 3e éd., par Monmerqué et Paulin Paris, II, p. 20.

çois de Barbezières, seigneur de Chemerauld.[22] And Mme de la Bazinière was, as we know, Françoise de Barbezière, "demoiselle de Chemerault," her father being Geoffroy de Barbezière, "sieur de la Roche-Chemerault," a younger son. The picture of this "demoiselle de Chemerault" painted for us by contemporaries is not altogether pleasing; but the Barbezières were a good old family of Poitou, this young woman was maid-in-waiting to the queen, and it may have been through the Chemerault connection that Méré obtained his early introduction to court society.[23] Françoise de Barbezière was married in 1645. M. Boudhors does not seem to notice the family connection, and he makes of Mme de la Bazinière Méré's mistress.[24] He does not tell us his authority for this, but I can find in Méré's words to this lady in his *Lettre* 145—"l'honneur de vous être quelque chose me semble précieux"—only an allusion to the family relationship. With Mme de la Bazinière's husband Méré was "sans réserve," [25] and he divided his homage between the two daughters, Mme de Mesme(s) (Marguerite Bertrand; married in 1660 to Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux) and her younger sister, the Mlle de la Bazinière to whom Mme de Sévigné alludes October 28, 1671, as a "jeune nymphe de quinze ans, . . . façonnière et coquette en perfection." Méré counsels the young girl regarding her manners and morals, and wishes to cultivate her older sister, that the somewhat too natural lady may become through his science "la Dame la plus parfaite, et l'enchanteresse la plus agreable que le monde ait jamais veuë." In short, he is the family friend. Five of his letters we know to have been written to Mme de Mesme(s), while but three are addressed to the mother.

Speaking of Méré's relations to women M. Boudhors says: "Il est bien certain, défaut ou qualité, qu'il y a chez lui un observateur délié, curieux, attendri, de l'esprit et du coeur féminins." [26] The reason for this is that in women Méré found a delicacy of mind which did not seem to him so common among men; and women too, he thought, show more grace in what they do and have a finer understanding of the art of doing things well than men.[27] They were, therefore, more amenable to the principles of *honnêteté* and proved readier pupils in acquiring the art or science of which he was master, that of the *bienséances.* Once in writing about women he remarks: ". . . je n'en ay jamais pratiqué une seule qui ne soit devenuë plus honneste et plus agreable qu' elle n'estoit avant que je l'eusse vûë." [28] Notwithstanding this by no means modest assertion, his views about women are liberal and his reasoning in regard to the attitude of his day towards the "woman question" is interesting. "On ne veut pas que les femmes soient habiles, dit le Chevalier, et je ne sçai pourquoi; si ce n'est peut-estre à cause qu'on les louë assez d'ailleurs, et qu'elles sont belles." [29]

This idea that the world is sparing of its praise and that superiority in many respects will not be accorded to the same person, is a favorite one of Méré. He continues the above remark by saying: "Car le monde se plaist à retrancher d'un costé ce qu'il ne peut refuser de l'autre, et s'il est contraint d'avouër qu'un homme est fort brave, il ne sera pas d'accord que ce soit un fort honneste homme, quand il seroit encore plus honneste que brave." Compare also the Preface of the *Conversations,* etc., where he says: "J'éleve mon sujet d'un costé aprés l'avoir abaissé d'un autre, etc."; *De l'Esprit,* p. 6: "Je remarque aussi que le monde est un grand mesnager de loüanges, et cela vient de ce qu'on ne s'arreste guere à regarder qu'une seule chose en un sujet, et que d'ailleurs on ne veut pas qu'une mesme personne se puisse vanter d'avoir tous les avantages;" *ibid.,* p. 7: "Cesar estoit plus eloquent que Ciceron, . . .

[22] See the *procuration* quoted in the *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis,* XIV, p. 36.

[23] "J'ay esté à la cour dès mon enfance," he is represented as saying in the MS. (4556, 3e liasse, Bibl. Maz.), p. 57.

[24] *Revue* cited, p. 405.

[25] See his *Lettre* 7, *A Mademoiselle de la Bazinière.*

[26] *Revue* cited, p. 405, note 1.

[27] See the *Conversations D.M.D.C.E.D.C.D.M., Premiere Conversation.*

[28] *Lettre* 146, *A Madame* xxx.

[29] *Conversations,* etc., *loc. cit.*

Mais parce qu'il excelloit dans la guerre, peu de gens s'entretiennent de son eloquence, et l'on admire celle de Ciceron, à cause qu'il n'avoit rien que cela de fort recommandable;" and elsewhere in his writings. La Rochefoucauld reasons in a manner somewhat similar: "Nous élevons la gloire des uns pour abaisser celle des autres, et quelquefois on loueroit moins Monsieur le Prince et M. de Turenne, si on ne les vouloit point blâmer tous deux." [30]

Regarding Méré's works, the third edition of the *Conversations*, etc. (mentioned by M. Strowski as the first),[31] "augmentée d'un Discours de la Justesse," is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in two forms, both numbered Z, 20138. These two volumes are identical, except that one has 291 pp. numbered, of which the *Conversations*, etc., occupy 187, and the other 345 pp., the *Conversations*, etc., occupying 289. The 1689 edition of the *Lettres* was not the first,[32] these letters having been published in 1682; but the second edition is an exact copy of the first.

A little work which I have seen but once attributed to Méré is *Les Avantures de Renaud et d'Armide*.[33] There is no name in the *privilège*, but we may be sure the volume is from Méré's pen for the following reasons: he alludes to Renaud and Armide in *Lettres* 14 (*A Monsieur de* xxxx) and 110 (*A Monsieur*, where he relates his adventure with Armide); to Renaud, in *Lettre* 24 (*A Monsieur de* xxx) and to Armide in *Lettre* 90 (*A Madame de Mesmes*). In the *Au lecteur* of this book, too, the writer states that in composing a small volume of these adventures, taken from Tasso's *G. l.*, he has translated little but has followed exactly Tasso's plan. This is the same sentiment regarding translation which we find in Méré's *Lettre* 34, where he sends to the duchesse de Lesdiguières an adventure taken from Petronius (*Lettre*: "non pas toujours comme il est dans l'original;" here, "sans traduire que fort peu de chose"). In the *Lettre*, too, he says: "si celui qui traduit a plus d'esprit et de goût, et plus d'adresse à s'expliquer que l'Autheur qu'il a pris à traduire, je ne voy pas que rien puisse empécher que la traduction ne l'emporte;" here, we read: "il faudroit leur disputer tout l'avantage de bien écrire, et tâcher d'aller du pair avec eux, et mesme de les preceder."

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[30] See *Œuvres*, T. I, 1868 (Les Grands Écrivains de la France), p. 109, and note 5.

[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 248–249.

[32] See again M. Strowski, *loc. cit.*

[33] *Par M. L. C. D. M.* A Paris, chez Claude Barbin, 1687, in-12°. (Bib. Nat., Y, 75041). The book has 205 pp. The *privilège* was given August 12, 1677, and the *achevé d'imprimer* bears the date October 4, 1677.

ZU MINNESANGS FRÜHLING

7, 1. Sievers Herstellung *vil lieben friunt verliesen* ist wohl der Vorzug zu geben, einmal weil diese dem *friunt* der Hs. näher steht und dann weil *verliesen* am besten zu passen scheint, da es hier doch hauptsächlich auf die Antithese ankommt: *verliesen—schedelîch, behalten—lobelîch*, ähnlich wie Erek 5071 f.:

> jâ ist ein friunt bezzer vlorn
> bescheidenlîchen unde wol
> dan behalten anders danne er sol.

Vgl. W. Weise, *Die Sentenz bei Hartmann von Aue*, Marburg, 1910, S. 69.

12, 2. "Swer werden wîben dienen sol, der sol semelîchen varn." So liest Vogt nach der Hs. B, obwohl er den Ausdruck *semelîchen varn* als 'ziemlich hölzern' charakterisiert. Mit dem *seliclichen* der Hs. C ist gar nichts anzufangen, auch befriedigt weder Pfeiffers *schemelichen* noch Pauls *senelichen*. Das von E. Schröder ZfdA. 33, 100 vorgeschlagene *seinelîchen* hat dieser mit Recht nachträglich zurückgenommen, trotzdem hat es bei Bartsch-Golther, *Liederdichter*[4] Aufnahme gefunden; vgl. AfdA. 27, 227. Als eine sich fast von selbst ergebende Besserung, schlage ich vor *gemellîchen* zu lesen: '. . . der sol guter Laune sein.' Dieser Satz wird durch die sich anschliessenden Zeilen dieser spruchartigen

Strophe folgendermassen begründet: er muss "senelîche swære tragen verholne in dem herzen; er sol ez niemanne sagen," d. h. wer den Frauen gefallen will, darf kein saures Gesicht machen, sondern muss sich ihnen gegenüber stets munter zeigen, mag er auch mitunter schweres Leid zu tragen haben; er soll nichts davon verspüren lassen. In einem Reinmar zugeschriebenen Lied (MF. 199, 25) wird gerade die Heiterkeit des Geliebten gepriesen:

man sô guoten,
baz gemuoten,
hân ich selten mê gesehen,
im gelîchen,
noch sô gemellîchen,
bî dem für die swære
bezzer fröide wære.

18, 28. Hauptsächlich weil sie 'eine sonst nicht belegbare auffällige Wendung' voraussetzt, hat Vogt Haupts Besserung dieser Stelle verworfen und aus dem *vñ anherschat* von B *des andern schaden* in den Text gesetzt. Was das eigentlich heissen soll, weiss ich nicht. Unter Streichung des *vñ* wäre man versucht zu lesen ". . . wære, an der man schaden nie erkôs," aber hiegegen sprechen solche Verse wie z. B. Moriz von Craon 295 f. "swer stæteclîchen minnet, wie vil der gewinnet beide schaden und arebeit." Vogts Bedenken gegen Haupts *harnschar* kann ich nicht teilen, denn, wie mir scheint, passt gerade hier der stärkere Ausdruck. Wiewohl man von der Minne nicht prädizieren konnte, dass sie *schaden nie erkôs,* geht dies in Bezug auf *harnschar* doch sehr wohl an: Minne bringt Leid (Schaden), aber nie Entehrung. Zudem lässt sich der Ausdruck *harnschar erkiesen* wenigstens einmal belegen, nämlich in Ulrichs *Lanzelet* 1012 f.: "torst ich an iuch erbalden, daz ich iuwern vater nicht verlür, ein harnschar ich dar umbe erkür, daz ich gevangen wær ein jâr." Also ist die alte Haupt'sche Lesung wieder herzustellen.—18, 25 braucht man nicht mit Schönbach, *Die älteren Minnesänger,* Wien, 1899, S. 9 *mære* = *Predigt* zu fassen, sondern es kann sich, wie Scherer, DSt. II, S. 36 annimmt, um Anlehnung an die Epik handeln; vgl. MF. 14, 26: "Ich hân vernomen ein mære."

127, 34 f. "Ez ist site der nahtegal, swan si ir liet volendet, sô geswîget sie." So lautet in den älteren Ausgaben im Anschluss an die Hss. CC[a] die bekannte Stelle bei Heinrich von Morungen. Dass hier die Überlieferung nicht in Ordnung sein kann, wurde von verschiedener Seite erkannt und so ist die Stelle bereits vielfach Gegenstand der Erörterung gewesen. Ein Dichter wie der Morunger wird sich kaum einer so sinnlosen Tautologie schuldig gemacht haben.

Einem Lese- oder Druckfehler von Bodmer folgend, setzte Bartsch, *Liederdichter, leit* statt *liet* ein. Ein andrer Heilungsversuch ist der von E. Schröder, der ZfdA, 33, 105 *zît* zu lesen vorschlug, was einen erträglichen Sinn ergibt, aber sich anderseits doch zu weit von der Überlieferung entfernt. Dass die Korruptel nicht im Nomen, sondern im Verbum stecke, suchte Schönbach S. 123 f. zu beweisen. Hierbei stützt er seine Ausführungen auf den volkstümlichen Glauben, dass die Nachtigall sich zu Tode singe, wofür er Belege aus Plinius *Hist. nat.* sowie Konrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* anführt, und schlägt demnach vor *geswînet* statt *geswîget* zu lesen; so auch Golther in den neuen Auflagen von Bartsch. Gegen diese Besserung hat man den berechtigten Einwand gemacht, dass das Wort *liet* niemals vom Gesang der Vögel gebraucht wurde (ausser vielleicht bei dem späten Wildonie, wo aber das Lied des Dichters, wie Schröder bemerkt, dem Vogel in den Schnabel gesteckt wird; vgl. Lexer I, 1914), sondern vorwiegend ein strophisches, oder auch episches Gedicht bezeichnete.

Das Richtige hat ohne Zweifel schon Hildebrand ZfdPh. 2, 257 getroffen, da er für das *liet* der Hss. *liep* einsetzte, eine Emendation, die Burdach, *Reinmar und Walther* S. 50 billigte, und welche auch von Vogt mit Recht aufgenommen worden ist. Hier ist *liep* mit 'Minnefreude, Liebeslust' zu übersetzen, wie aus den von Vogt beigebrachten Parallelen klar hervorgeht, und die Stelle steht in schönstem Einklang mit der weitverbreiteten Ansicht, dass nach der Brutzeit der Gesang der Nachtigall verstumme; vgl. die Stelle aus Vincentius Bellovacensis bei Schönbach S. 124 sowie Vogts Anmerkung.

Zur weiteren Bestätigung der Richtigkeit dieser Lesart, möchte ich auf eine etwas abseits vom Wege liegende Parallele, nämlich eine Stelle des frühmittelenglischen Streitgedichts *The Owl and the Nightingale* (ed. Wells, Boston, 1907), verweisen. Unter den Unarten, welche die Eule der Nachtigall vorwirft, heisst es nach der älteren Hs. V. 507 f.

> wane þi lust is a-go,
> þonne is þi song a-go also.
> A sumere chorles a-wedeþ
> & uor-crempeþ & uor-bredeþ:
> his nis for luue noþeles,
> ac is þe chorles wode res;
> vor wane he haueþ i-do his dede,
> i-fallen is al his bold-hede,
> habbe he is tunge under gore,
> ne last his luue no leng more.
> Al so his is on þine mode:
> so sone so þu sittest abrode,
> þu for-lost al þine wise.
> al so þu farest on þine rise:
> wane þu hauest i-do þi gome,
> þi steune goþ anon to shome.

Bemerkenswert ist dabei auch die Übereinstimmung von me. *lust* = mhd. *liep* in der hier angenommenen Bedeutung.

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DEPUIS WITH THE COMPOUND TENSES

In grammars intended for English-speaking students it is rightly considered necessary to devote special attention to the use of the simple tenses with *depuis*. A typical statement of the case for the present tense is the following: "In referring to an action beginning in the past and still unfinished in the present, the present tense is used in French after *depuis, il y a, etc.*" (Thieme and Effinger, Macmillan, 1908.) There is no serious objection to the use of such a rule in the class room, provided the teacher is not led astray by this simplified generalization. A warning must be sounded, however, against the wording found in a recent textbook: "Since the compound tenses all express *completed* action, action *continuing* at the time in mind must be expressed by a simple tense" (Snow, *Fundamentals of French Grammar*, Holt, 1912, p. 72, § 103). This remark leads to a misunderstanding of the real tense values, and a short discussion of the usage may not be out of place.

The French language has never confined itself to a simple tense in expressing an action which continues from the past into the present of the speaker. The following examples, from different periods, will illustrate the point. Ci ai estet grant e lunc tens, *etc.* *Brandan* (Michel), 1540 (He is still there).—Entre vous tous qui estes la Et aves actendu pieç'a, *etc.* Deguileville, *Pélerinage de l'âme* (Stürzinger) 22828.—J' oubliais . . . que j' ai goûté dès l'enfance . . . L'enchantement du ciel de France. Sully-Prudhomme, *Repentir* (from Henning, *French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 292).

As regards the *depuis* construction, the past indefinite is not infrequently found where the present might be expected. The following are illustrative examples: Les rois d'Angleterre, qui ont régné depuis tant de siècles, *etc.* Bossuet (Warren, *French Prose of the Seventeenth Century*, Heath, p. 135, 1-2).—Vers l'église, Dont depuis deux cents ans à tous ces pieds humains Le baptême et la mort ont frayé les chemins. Lamartine, *Jocelyn* (Oxford Press), p. 134, l. 393.—Savez-vous qui j'ai attendu toute la semaine? Lahorie . . . Je l'ai attendu tous les jours depuis notre conversation. Allons, dites-lui donc . . . que je l'attends. *V. Hugo raconté*, I, pp. 70-71.—Nous voudrions que les abonnés . . . reçussent . . . un petit souvenir de tous ceux . . . qui, depuis si longtemps, les ont instruits ou charmés. *Annales pol. et lit.*, No. 1584, p. 390.

It seems clear, therefore, that the French can neglect present continuance, if they so desire, and stress the pastness of the action. This is what Clédat refers to in *RPhF.*, XVII, p. 28: "Notez qu'avec un verbe exprimant un état ou

une action de durée indéfinie, *depuis* marque le commencement et non la fin de l'action parfaite: Il a dormi depuis ce matin."

There is the same relation between the pluperfect and the imperfect, as is shown in the few examples below given: La hâte de réaliser ce qui avait été son désir unique depuis quatre ans, *etc.* *Oeuvres de Pascal,* I. p. xiv (Grands Ecrivains ed.).—D'autre part les principes offensifs qui avaient toujours été en honneur chez nous depuis 1870 devaient nous faire rechercher l'initiative de l'attaque sur les Allemands. *L'Illustration,* No. 3749 (January 9, 1915), col. 27.—Et il me conta son histoire: il avait vécu depuis soixante-cinq ans, toujours malheureux, toujours battu, . . . assommé par les Turcs qui le défendaient contre les chrétiens. *Ibid.,* No. 3767 (May 15, 1915), in "Le Vieux Turc," last page, inside cover.

This usage of the pluperfect is especially interesting as it throws light upon a moot question, namely, whether the relation between the pluperfect and past anterior is identical with that between the imperfect and past definite. This is not the place for a discussion of the subject at length, nor historically. Miss C. J. Cipriani, in *Modern Philology,* X, p. 495, holds such a view to be "certainly erroneous." In the present usage, at any rate, the pluperfect is strikingly parallel to the imperfect. They both give the past action without any indication *per se* of the subsequent continuance. Depuis la décadence de la famille de Charlemagne, la France avait langui plus ou moins, *etc.* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV,* p. 6 (Hachette). Voltaire does not necessarily think of this decline as ended at the time under discussion. Cf. Ils venaient tous les jours. There is nothing to show that the action ceased. Neither the past definite nor the past anterior leave the question of completion open in this way, and the use of the pluperfect with *depuis* seems to be dependent upon this very quality in the tense as distinct from the past anterior.

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GREENE AS A COLLABORATOR

Robert Greene has been proposed as part author of so many plays that it may be of interest and value to discover just what his method of procedure was in the one play which we know to have been written by him in collaboration with a fellow dramatist. In his introductory note to *A Looking-Glass for London and England* by Greene and Lodge, Mr. Thomas H. Dickinson says, "The assignment of authorship of different portions of the play is difficult and not entirely profitable." [1] In and of itself the task is certainly not particularly profitable, but I do not see how anyone can consider it difficult, for with a little consideration one will find the play falling of its own weight into its component parts. It is true that Fleay assigns "most and best" of it to Lodge, whereas the "most and best" of it is Greene's; but the main line of cleavage was noted by the late Churton Collins,[2] and Professor Gayley had already indicated Lodge's scenes in detail.[3] On a recent reading I noted what I thought must be the share of each of the authors, and upon finding myself in accord with Professor Gayley except with regard to the two scenes which I think are of particular significance for determining Greene's method of work, I determined to see if I could not arrive at some definite conclusions regarding them.

The play was Greene's at the start. To him may confidently be assigned the opening scene, in which Rasni, King of Nineveh, takes his sister to wife, abetted in his crime by Radagon, whom he thereupon advances.[4] To Greene likewise belongs the second scene, wherein the prophet Oseas is "let down over the stage in a throne," and Adam, a smith's man, goes to

[1] Mermaid Greene, p. 78.

[2] In his edition of Greene, Vol. I, pp. 140, 141.

[3] *Rep. Eng. Com.*, Vol. I, p. 405, foot-note.

[4] The verse is for all the world in the staccato manner of *Alphonsus, King of Arragon,* and distinctly less free than that of *Orlando Furioso* and the plays following. Lodge's verse is not of an essentially different type from Greene's, but on the whole is less crisp and more flowing.

drink with two ruffians. This is the first of Greene's series of prose comedy scenes in which this character appears. The scene ends with the moralizing heroic couplets of Oseas.

In act III Lodge's hand appears for the first time. Alcon and Thrasybulus are being oppressed by a usurer; and Lodge's liking for this unpleasant topic is no clearer sign of his authorship than is the obvious dissimilarity which the scene shows to those before it. Oseas concludes the act with some irregular couplets later capped with half a dozen of Greene's.

Not to go into too great detail, Greene tells how Rasni's sister-wife is "strucken black with thunder," as we see when the curtains are drawn; how Rasni thereupon, at Radagon's instigation, takes to wife Alvida, who compliantly poisons her husband; how he visits the priests of the sun [5] and is threatened by a burning sword; and how at last he and all the others are driven to repentance by the prophet Jonas. In the prose sub-plot, Adam kills one of the ruffians; seduces the smith's wife and beats her husband for interfering; encounters and beats a devil; [6] receives plentiful drink for amusing Alvida; and finally is caught eating and drinking during the penitential fast.

Lodge follows his own lead with his usurer in another scene; and then, because of Greene's sudden confiscation of this material, which is my main point of interest in this drama, he develops through a series of poetic scenes the arrival of Jonas, whom Greene is now prepared to use for his repentance *motif* with which the play ends.

Throughout all this, the work of the two authors is kept wholly distinct, and the only collaboration consisted in the agreement that Lodge was to prepare Jonas for Greene's consumption (who seems to have swallowed him whole, without digesting, as the whale had done before him) and the mere fitting of the scenes into their places. But now I come to the crucial matter,—the one point of genuine difficulty and of peculiar interest.

In act III, scene ii, we have Lodge's Alcon and Thrasybulus together with Greene's Rasni and Radagon; and Professor Gayley accordingly divides the scene, saying that the first part of it "shows signs of Lodge principally, but some of the lines are Greene's." In Lodge's previous scenes, Alcon has appeared as a simple-minded, boorish, vulgar, and pitiful old man, who dreaded going home to his wife after he had lost his cow to the usurer; but he says he has a son at court (Greene's Radagon) to whom he will appeal for aid. In the present scene we find Alcon at his home with his wife and younger son. Radagon enters and utterly spurns his parents; but "a flame of fire appears from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed." We are sure this trap-door business is Greene's doing; and on closer examination we may note that a distinct change has come over Lodge's characters. Alcon continues to speak prose, because he has been created such a character that he *must,* but all the rest speak in verse. In short, the scene soon yields itself up as wholly Greene's.[7]

The reason for the existence of this scene is most interesting. Greene's Radagon has given no sign of humble extraction, but Lodge fathered him with the boorish peasant Alcon. Greene forthwith brings his Radagon home and has him utterly deny and disclaim his origin. He gives him a mother and brother who speak in verse, and to Alcon himself Greene gives a certain dignity and reserve wholly different from anything he had shown in Lodge's scenes. He does not appeal to his son, as Lodge's Alcon was to have done; but when Radagon says he cannot stay, this new Alcon responds, "Tut, son, I'll help you of that disease quickly, for

[5] In his "Address to the Gentlemen Readers" prefixed to his *Peremides the Blacksmith* (1588), Greene says he cannot "blaspheme with the mad priest of the sun." In default of other priests of the sun, it has been supposed that he referred to Lodge's work in this scene. But these priests do not blaspheme and are not mad. It is possible that an extension of this scene was written in for the stage production by another hand.

[6] In a scene strongly reminding us of the ending of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.*

[7] That the scene is Greene's is made more probable by the fact that Alcon and Thrasybulus now for the first time receive names. In the scenes by Lodge they appear in the quartos merely as a poor Man and a young Gentleman.

I can hold thee." He is even capable of saying to Rasni, "Hence, proud king!" and of a slight indulgence in the Latin. And to make a complete finish of his villain-hero, Greene has him swallowed up in flames. There shall be no more Radagon in this play now! In the opening scenes he had given promise of a longer life.

Yet the essentially imitative genius of Greene shows in this that having become acquainted with Lodge's Alcon one must look sharply to see the difference. Having once discovered the difference, however, we should have little hesitation in assigning to Greene act IV, scene v, where these characters of Lodge's creation appear once more, though Professor Gayley divides the scene and gives the first part of it to Lodge. Here Alcon, having become a light-hearted pickpocket and drinker, borrows again glibly of the usurer, and upon the call of Jonas repents with the rest in a line of blank verse. He is no longer simple-minded, nor vulgar,[8] nor pitiful, nor boorish.

It would appear, therefore, that so far as this one play is concerned, Greene was disposed to take the lead, to make full use of his friend's invention, but even in his intentional imitation to introduce elements of character of a new and contradictory sort.

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[8] Not that Greene *wouldn't*, but that he *didn't* make him so, as Lodge had done.

NOTES ON EARLY ENGLISH PROSE FICTION

Mr. Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740,* reviewed in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* Feb., 1914, stands up under more extended investigation as one of the most thorough and valuable contributions of recent years to the history of English prose fiction. Still, as practically a pioneer in its field, it is of course subject to a continually increasing number of additions and corrections, which will in time necessitate a new and revised edition.

Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, in an unprinted communication put at my disposal, adds to Mr. Esdaile's list an interesting group of titles from a collection of books in this field presented to the Library in 1913 by Mr. Frederic Ives Carpenter. Entirely unrecorded by Mr. Esdaile are: *Marianus, or Love's Heroick Champion,* B. Alsop and T. Fawcet for James Becket, 1641; Mathieu, P., *Unhappy Prosperitie,* Translated into English by Sir Thomas Hawkins, I. Haviland for G. Emondson, 1632; [Pix, Mary], *The Inhumane Cardinal,* For J. Harding and R. Wilkins, 1696. Other works, noted by Mr. Esdaile, appear in other editions: Forde, E., *Montelyon,* T. Haly for W. Thackeray and T. Passenger, 1680; Costes, *Cassandra,* For H. Moseley, 1661; Reynolds, *The Flower of Fidelity,* T. Mabb for G. Badger, 1655; and *Lisarda, or the Travels of Love and Jealousy,* For Jos. Knight, 1690.

It is possible also to add various bits of information to the data supplied by Mr. Esdaile. From copies in the Newberry Library Mr. Shearer notes the following: the 1724 edition of Forde's *Parismus* is indicated as the seventh edition, with T. Norris as publisher (Esdaile, p. 54); the 1682 edition of *Fortunatus* has in the title the correct wording *Tragical,* not *Trachical* (Esdaile, p. 55); the second part of the 1681 edition of Brémond's *The Pilgrim* is bound with the first part of the edition of 1684, thus disposing of the question of one or two volumes in the later edition (Esdaile, p. 169).

To this material I wish to add certain details that have come under my personal observation. In his list of novels written by Mrs. Penelope Aubin, Mr. Esdaile does not include *The Life of Charlotta Du Pont, an English Lady.* Yet this seems to have appeared originally with the dedication—to Mrs. Rowe—and the preface both signed "Penelope Aubin," and was republished with these in that author's collected works in 1739.

Of *The Inconstant Lover: An Excellent Romance* (1671) Mr. Esdaile says: "Perhaps a translation of Chavigny's L'Amant parjure, ou

la fidélité à l'épreuve." But an inspection of the "romance" shows it to have been nothing but a reissue of the first three of the four books of *The Famous Chinois: or the Loves of Several of the French Nobility, under borrowed names,* published in 1669 as the English rendering of *Le fameux Chinois* by M. Du Bail. The ingenious publisher, Thomas Dring, whose name is attached to both English productions, seems merely to have remarketed his first—and apparently unsuccessful—venture by substituting eight fresh pages at the beginning and as many more at the end of Book III, the former containing a new title-page and preface, and the latter a more abrupt conclusion. Other pages tally in every particular.

For *The Amours of the Count de Dunois* in 1675 (French original in 1671) Mr. Esdaile follows the *British Museum Catalogue* in suggesting Henriette Julie, Comtesse de Murat, as the possible author; but he makes no mention of her in connection with the so-called *Memoirs of the Countess of Dunois, written by herself,* 1699, which he lists only as a part of the Countess D'Aulnoy's *Diverting Works,* published in English in 1707. In fact this truly diverting work is neither the biography of the Countess D'Aulnoy nor the product of her pen; and the British Museum cataloguer was on much safer ground in identifying the Countess de Murat as the author of this, than of *Le Comte de Dunois,* an account written when Henriette Julie was approximately one year old (cf. *Nouv. Biographie Générale*).

At any rate it is interesting to see how the confusion arose. In 1696 appeared Saint-Évremond's *Mémoires du Comte de ****,* promptly rendered into English as *Female Falsehood, or the Unfortunate Beau.* This English title suggests the part played by the book in both countries—a vigorous satirizing of feminine weakness and duplicity, and thus a contribution to the sex-war then in progress. In France there was an immediate rejoinder, probably by the Countess de Murat, modelled closely on the form of Saint-Évremond's book and bearing the title *Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse D ****.* By this time various specimens of romantic memoirs by the Countess D'Aulnoy were well known in England, some of them signed with this same asterisk device. Naturally enough the English translator, J. H., apparently in the best of faith, entitled his version "*Memoirs of the Countess of Dunois, written by herself* . . . by way of answer to Monsieur St. Evremont." The English public accepted this theory of authorship, and the editor of the *Diverting Works,* nearly ten years later, perpetuated it by including the *Memoirs* in his collection.

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L'Abbé Lucien Falconnet, *Un Essai de Rénovation théâtrale: "Die Makkabäer" d'Otto Ludwig.* Paris: Champion, 1913. 8vo., 121 pp.

Recent years have witnessed a more careful study and a more just appreciation of the great German poets of the nineteenth century. Nor has this interest been confined to Germany. The best Life and Works of Grillparzer that we possess is by Professor Ehrhard of the University of Lyon, and the present detailed study of Ludwig's *Makkabäer* is, as the title indicates, by a French abbé.

After Otto Ludwig's premature death in 1865, following as it did years of suffering, during which he had been practically cut off from the world, he soon became a mere name to all but a few understanding and admiring friends. Even Freytag's fine essay,[1] published first in the *Grenzboten* in 1866, with its appreciative analysis of Ludwig's chief works, seems to have attracted little attention. It was not until the appearance, in 1891, of the epoch-making edition of Ludwig's complete works by Adolf Stern and Erich Schmidt, with the excellent biography by Adolf Stern, that the study of the poet was put upon a firm basis.

[1] Gustav Freytag, *Gesammelte Aufsätze, II. Bd., Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst,* Leipzig, 1888.

Since then, several complete editions have appeared, as well as special treatises on particular works.

Both Sauer and Stern have pronounced *Die Makkabäer* the poet's most abiding masterpiece, and Robert Petsch [2] has given us a very sympathetic study of this great tragedy. What makes Falconnet's essay especially valuable, is its lucid arrangement and a completeness of detail not found in any other treatment of this play. The title "un essai de rénovation théâtrale" leads one to expect that Ludwig's part in reforming the German stage would occupy a large part of the treatment. Such is, however, not the case. The theme is merely mentioned in the Introduction and is scarcely referred to again until the very end of the work.

Falconnet's study comprises seven chapters: Histoire de la Composition de la Pièce; Le Sujet; Sources autres que la Bible; L'Esprit du Drame; Eléments personnels; L'Exécution; Accueil fait aux 'Makkabäer.'

The first chapter describes the three stages of the play: *Die Makkabäerin, Die Mutter der Makkabäer,* and the final version, and shows how each version was evolved out of the preceding one. In the second chapter the reasons are enumerated which led Ludwig to choose this biblical theme, just after his *Erbförster* had scored such a marked success. Chief among these are: the critical interest in the Bible at this time, Ludwig's own pious devotion to the Bible, and his eagerness to surpass the author of *Herodes und Mariamne* in his own special field. Then follows a brief résumé of the salient events in the two apocryphal books of the Maccabees, Ludwig's method of employing them, together with a detailed synopsis of the final version of the tragedy.

In the third chapter, Sources other than the Bible, Falconnet shows the most originality and also the greatest daring. The chapter begins with a discussion of the sort of imitation we may expect in the case of Ludwig, who, as reformer, did not hesitate to take already existing themes, to which to apply what he regarded as a more perfect method of treatment, following the adage "non nova, sed nove." Falconnet then proceeds to prove, with some measure of success, that, apart from the Bible, Ludwig was influenced most by Zacharias Werner's *Mutter der Makkabäer,* written in 1820. He has no evidence that Ludwig was acquainted with the work of Werner but bases his claims on the internal grounds, some of which seem valid, others specious.

That the *Makkabäerin,* the first draft of Ludwig's tragedy, is not an original work, is, he asserts, shown by the fact that the two contrasted female figures are not portrayed in as masterly fashion as those in the earlier Novelle *Maria,*—certainly a wholly specious argument. He then advances two arguments to show the influence of Werner's tragedy on the *Makkabäerin:*

1. "La 'Makkabäerin,' comme le drame de Werner, nous parle d'une grotte où étaient cachés tous les petits Macchabées, et qui fut découverte par suite d'une trahison. Ce motif ne se trouve pas dans la Bible." To be sure, the Apocrypha do not state that the seven were thus concealed, but it is evident from I Maccabees 1, 56, that the Israelites commonly hid in this manner.

2. "La paix est due non aux exploits de Judas, mais à une femme. . . . Les deux femmes indiquent en même temps ce qu'il reste à faire: il faut aller à Jérusalem, purifier le Temple et le consacrer à nouveau."

Falconnet finds that Ludwig's second draft, *Die Mutter der Makkabäer,* besides bearing the same name as Werner's drama, betrays its influence in the following particulars. In each play the heroine is represented as being, at the outset, a widow. At the beginning of each play garlands are being prepared for a festival. When Ludwig's Lea enters the tent of Antiochus, she seems wholly cured of human ambition, a too sudden conversion, due to the influence of Werner's Salome. The sudden and unnatural cruelty of Antiochus seems also to reflect Werner's influence.

In the final version of Ludwig's tragedy the French critic finds the points of contact with

[2] Robert Petsch, *Otto Ludwig's Makkabäer.* Leipzig und Berlin, 1902.

Werner's work even more numerous. I shall take these up in order.

1. "Le personnage de Léa . . . n'est pas tiré de la Bible. Dans les Livres Saints il est parlé d'une femme juive qui encourage ses sept enfants à mourir pour la religion juive, mais on n'indique pas son nom et il ne nous est pas dit qu'elle appartînt à la famille des Macchabées comme l'ont voulu et Werner et Ludwig." [3] A quotation from Schweizer's edition of Ludwig's Works would seem to dispose of this argument: "Auch das Heldentum der Mutter und der Opfertod ihrer sieben Kinder hat ursprünglich nichts mit den Makkabäern zu tun, sondern ist eine Geschichte für sich, die im zweiten Buch der Makkabäer, Kapitel 7 erzählt wird. Aber schon in sehr früher Zeit wurden die Makkabäer mit den Märtyrern identifiziert, und seit dem vierten Jahrhundert feierte man ein Makkabäerfest zum Andenken an jene Mutter mit ihren sieben Söhnen." [4]

2. "Les enfants, en subissant le martyre, maudissent bien le tyran, d'après la Bible, mais ils n'entonnent pas un psaume, comme le veulent et Werner et Ludwig." [5] This is quite true, but it is also true that their curses abound in biblical phraseology taken from the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. What more natural, therefore, than that Ludwig, even though he had never seen Werner's drama, should, in order to heighten the poetic effect, have the martyrs sing Psalms?

3. "Dans les deux drames nous trouvons deux caractères féminins opposés l'un à l'autre. Salomé contraste par son caractère viril avec la délicate Cidli sa belle-fille contre laquelle elle a des préjugés; avant d'avoir pu l'apprécier elle la trouve indigne d'être l'épouse de Judas. . . . Cette opposition entre deux femmes se retrouve, quoique moins justifiée, chez Ludwig. Quels sentiments entretient Léa à l'égard de Naémi, nous le voyons surabondamment. . . . Ce caractère d'orgueil viril dans une femme est peint avec une telle intensité chez nos deux poètes, que si on peut lui trouver en Cidli et Naémi des contrastes qui le fassent mieux ressortir encore, il n'est dans les deux pièces aucun personnage qui puisse lui faire contrepoids. . . . En outre les deux femmes se ressemblent tellement que toutes deux, en voyant mourir leurs enfants, insultent encore le tyran." [6] Even this argument is not entirely convincing. The employment of marked contrasts is a favorite device with great poets. Ludwig had already made use of these in his charming Novelle *Maria,* where the sweet gentle virtuous Marie is contrasted with the warm-blooded, passionate Julie. Moreover, we know that Ludwig, when he chose this biblical theme, intended to lay the chief emphasis upon the double marriage of Judas by pitting two exactly opposite types of women against each other. Upon the advice of Devrient he abandoned this plan, but the contrast between two women, although somewhat unmotivated, was nevertheless retained in the final version.

That in both dramas the mother should insult the tyrant and admonish her sons to fortitude in the face of death, and that Antiochus should try to save the life of her youngest son, is not surprising; for both elements are contained in the biblical account as found in II Maccabees 7. The surprising thing is that the abbé should have overlooked it.

Falconnet also finds it remarkable that both poets should have imbued their dramas with the same Old Testament ideas of omnipotence, the vengeance of God, the solidarity of the people. On the contrary, it would be remarkable, if Ludwig, or any other genuine poet, could have written a tragedy on the Maccabees with proper local color, without incorporating these ideas, that lie at the very heart of the Jewish religion and the Jewish people.

It will be seen, therefore, that no single reason advanced by Falconnet to show that Ludwig was influenced by Werner is convincing. It is rather the cumulative effect of all these arguments which inclines us to the belief that Ludwig was acquainted with Werner's *Mutter der Makkabäer.* The Stern-Schmidt edition makes, to be sure, no mention of this work, and

[3] P. 53.

[4] Viktor Schweizer, *Ludwig's Werke* (Leipzig, 1898), I, 259.

[5] P. 53.

[6] Pp. 54 and 55.

Schweizer in his prefatory remarks to Ludwig's *Makkabäer* most emphatically denies any such influence.

Assuming that Ludwig, as a conscious rival of Hebbel, wished to compete with him on a theme already tried by his adversary, Falconnet is of the opinion that Ludwig was influenced in his choice and treatment of the Maccabee-theme by Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne.* He gets his cue for this assertion from the fact that in Ludwig's first draft Judas is loved by two wives, Lea and Thirza, wholly different in character, just as Herodes stands between his jealous sister Salome and his wife Mariamne; and from the further fact that when Hebbel's play and Ludwig's final version are compared, we see that "Alexandra est comme Léa fière de ses ancêtres, orgueilleuse et ambitieuse; et elle espère aussi qu'un de ses fils, le jeune Aristobule, rendra à la race des Macchabées son ancienne splendeur. Elle le pousse à diriger tous ses efforts vers ce but suprême: exercer la royauté sur Israël. Elle le voit déjà au sommet de la hiérarchie sacerdotale, comme Léa le rêve pour son Eléazar. Elle espère aussi que sa fille Mariamne fera un mariage digne de sa famille et accroîtra par là la puissance de sa maison." [7]

The first reason assigned is very flimsy, for one man between two women is one of the most common of motifs. The second argument is considerably stronger. The reading of Hebbel's play may well have inspired Ludwig to write a rival tragedy glorifying the Maccabee family. Lea may also have some traits from Alexandra, but the unprejudiced reader will probably find few points of resemblance between the two plays.

Especially unfortunate and unwarranted are the author's assumptions, when he attempts to establish points of resemblance between Ludwig's *Makkabäer* and certain tragedies of Schiller. For instance, when Lea, learning of the apostasy of her son Eleazar, cries to heaven "Ich hab' noch Kinder," we are supposed to be reminded of Isabella's defiance of heaven in *Die Braut von Messina,* when she beholds her murdered son Don Manuel. Judah is styled the Hebrew Tell and Eleazar the Hebrew Rudenz. Especially fantastic are the author's parallels Lea : Armgard and Lea : Gertrud. The whole treatment of Schiller's influence upon Ludwig's *Makkabäer* is, in fact, more ingenious than convincing. There is no likelihood of conscious imitation. What resemblances there are may be unconscious 'Anklänge.'

The remaining chapters of the study offer very little occasion for criticism. In the fourth chapter, The Spirit of the Drama, the question is raised whether there is any moral idea in the *Makkabäer.* After discussing Ludwig's strong aversion to all 'Tendenzliteratur,' his opposition to the embodiment of any philosophic idea in the drama, his passion to portray nature and to attain the objectivity of Shakespeare, Falconnet expresses the opinion that there is a tendency in the *Makkabäer;* that even the realistic poet cannot escape all tendency, for he represents men in action, and such men have goals and are guided by certain principles. In the *Erbförster* the moral question involved was the "conflict between the rights of the individual and the established order"; in the *Makkabäer* it is the "right of society to defend its beliefs"; so that in a way the two plays supplement each other in the treatment of the problem of liberty. The chapter closes with a discussion of certain psychological and theological problems of the play.

In Chapter V we are made acquainted with the personal elements in the play. Without maintaining that Ludwig incorporated directly experiences of his youth, Falconnet shows with considerable skill how reminiscences of childhood days have left an unmistakable impress.

In the chapter entitled "L'Exécution," Falconnet agrees with Bulthaupt, Myer, and other critics that Ludwig did not succeed in attaining perfect unity of action. In fact, he sees several heroes and threads of action and suggests the following very adequate reasons why Ludwig failed to attain this unity. In the first place, the temperament of the poet was such that he saw individual scenes in cinematographic fashion without closely connecting links. A second cause was the peculiar character of the Oriental literature from which Ludwig drew his theme.

[7] P. 60.

"L'Orient a compris tout autrement l'écrivain et son œuvre. Il ne lui a demandé ni l'unité de plan, ni l'unité de composition, ni l'unité d'effet. . . ." A third cause was his model, Shakespeare, who is also lax in this regard. Finally, there was the desire to make Lea a star rôle for Frau Stich-Crelinger, the character of Lea thus assuming undue proportions. Notwithstanding this lack of unity, Falconnet finds the tragedy interesting on account of the wealth of detail and the powerful individual scenes.

The most serious objection to Ludwig's treatment of the theme the French critic finds in the fact that he has put under our eyes modern Jews and not those of the time of the Maccabees. They have the passive virtues of suffering and martyrdom, but not the heroic grandeur of Jews in the most glorious period of their history. The chapter closes with a detailed account of Ludwig's style, showing how it was influenced by biblical imagery and parallelism.

The final chapter offers an interesting and instructive array of material. After mentioning the difficulties which beset the staging of the *Makkabäer,* especially the Third Act, Falconnet gives brief accounts of theatrical performances of the play on leading German stages, duly noticing also the preference of leading actresses for the rôle of Lea. In conclusion, he cites the estimates of the literary value of the *Makkabäer* of several German literary critics, adding his own verdict in the following terms: "Nous estimons que Ludwig n'a pas atteint ce qu'il cherchait en écrivant son drame. Il voulait 'combattre l'opéra avec ses propres armes' (ce qui était vraiment s'exposer à un échec), et son œuvre renferme des scènes théâtrales et mélodramatiques d'un goût douteux; il combattit Schiller et ne sut pas éviter les défauts qu'il lui reprochait; il voulut faire mieux que Shakespeare et poussa trop loin le culte du détail; il rechercha la simplicité sans pouvoir renoncer à l'effet; il visait à l'unité et il ne put la réaliser malgré ses prétentions. . . . Quelle est l'importance historique des 'Makkabäer?' Pouvaient-ils aiguiller la littérature allemande, comme l'avait fait l' 'Erbförster' vers le naturalisme? Non; mais d'autre part l'œuvre n'a pas un caractère très net, elle n'appartient pas au classicisme, le romantisme ne s'y fait remarquer que ça et là; ce qu'elle fait entrevoir le mieux c'est le réalisme, mais elle n'est elle-même qu'un produit mitigé du réalisme, elle est dans son ensemble une manifestation du réalisme poétique. En définitive, elle n'est qu'une œuvre de transition." [8]

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Nouveau Cours Français, by André C. Fontaine. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1914. ix + 272 pp.

Very noticeable at present is the increased emphasis placed upon the feature of illustrations by the authors of certain types of grammars for the study of modern languages. Pictorial material is provided in such generous quantities that the authors find it advisable in some cases to insert at the beginning of the book complete lists of their pictures with references to the pages which they face. One very recent *First Book in French* offers nineteen illustrations, with a map of France as a frontispiece. Another new book (*Le Premier livre*), "a grammar and reader combined, intended to cover all the work of the first half year" for students of French, is furnished with some twenty-seven views of various sorts, sizes, and degrees of attractiveness, plus the usual map of France. And *A Spanish Grammar for Beginners,* just before the public as these lines are being written, is adorned with twenty-three really artistic illustrations, starting with the famous Court of the Lions at the Alhambra (with a second view of the same later in the book) and coming on through Spain, South America, and Mexico City, until Morro Castle at Havana is ultimately reached. The volume under special consideration has likewise its quota of illustrative material, that is to say, eleven full-page pictures, with maps of France

[8] P. 120.

and Paris. If one dares to question the utility of so much of this sort of material, the reply is ready that such pictorial features are of very practical interest and are in most cases immediately illustrative of the foreign text on the pages which they face or to which they refer. If this is true, then they should certainly be so well done as reproductions and so appropriate as to be sure to stimulate the interest of the learner. In the judgment of the reviewer most of the illustrations in the present volume are either inappropriate in themselves, or as art are crude and pale, or else are inadequately illustrative. One view of a street scene in Paris presents prominently the old out-of-date three-horse omnibus instead of the autobus of more recent days. Another illustration, which is the surprise of the collection, is given over to Père Grandet installed in his armchair at the period of his approaching death. This dismal picture is evidently introduced to give pertinence to a passage from Balzac's novel inserted in a lesson on the past descriptive tense. Both picture and passage seem entirely out of place in the twenty-second lesson of a French grammar intended for beginners. The author's views of Versailles and the Chambre des Députés are also especially unsatisfactory.

A second peculiarity which is very marked in some of the newest grammars is the effort of the authors to combine the salient features of the "grammatical" and the "direct" methods of instruction. The result is that too much material, too many things, too many new facts, are often crowded into a given space. The present book is less open to this criticism than others which might be mentioned. Some of the lessons appear overcrowded, but of course they can be divided. One set of material is, however, brought in which seems wholly unjustified. In the lessons of the second half of the volume considerable space is devoted to explanations of the source and modern application of such quotations as: "Revenons à nos moutons!" "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" "Rodrigue, as-tu du cœur?" "Qu'allait-il faire dans cette galère?" and many others (some twenty-five in all) of still more doubtful utility, even should the college student spend a year or a year and a half on the Course as the author suggests in his preface. This feature is certainly a novel one; it may help to justify the author's title *Nouveau Cours.* But it does seem very inadvisable in an elementary grammar to use half a page in explaining, for example, just why and how Racine happened to insert in *les Plaideurs* such a *réplique* as: "Avocat, ah! passons au déluge." Quotations of this character should be reserved for more advanced study.

The author states in his preface that the volume "aims merely to be a live, practical book for a practical purpose, and its purpose is to give a working knowledge of the French language." This may possibly account for the fact that some of the elucidation is unscientific and characterized by looseness or inaccuracy of statement. The treatment of pronunciation is popular and incomplete. Phonetic symbols are ignored and exceptions are not to any extent recognized (for example, *eu* in the verb *avoir*). Probably few teachers of French will agree with the author that the sound of *o* in French *mode, robe* is the same as that of *u* in English "mud," or that the *è* in *mère* is the same as the *a* in English "mare." There are said to be three definite articles, after which the form *l'* is explained, which might well then be classed as a fourth. We are also told that there are three indefinite articles, *des* being classed as the third. The author's desire to use French, when feasible, rather than English in his grammatical elucidation leads often to a queer mingling of the two languages in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence. The traditional French names for the tenses are retained. The author has not seen fit to give any recognition in this matter to the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, nor has he been influenced by the "Rapport" of the French Commission on the same subject. Such statements as the following need revision: "In French all prepositions except *en* and *après* govern the infinitive" (p. 83); and "Le Futur est formé par l'addition des terminaisons du présent du verbe *avoir* à l'infinitif du verbe. Ces terminaisons sont: *ai, as, a, ons, ez, ont*"

(p. 151). Under the discussion of adjectives (p. 14) we find: "Note that in the body of a sentence adjectives are never written with capitals. Ex. *Le garçon français est agréable.*" According to this the student would presumably use a capital in a sentence like: *J'ai un livre français,* especially as nothing has been offered in the way of specific treatment of the use of capitals in French. The author's adherence to the old classification of verbs into four conjugations will impress many teachers unfavorably. The uses of *vingt* and *cent,* with or without plural mark, are discussed twice (pp. 30 and 79). On page 45, "ma mère joue le piano, ma sœur joue le violon" needs correction; same remark for "je vais jouer le piano" (p. 46). On page 53, the author implies that the *w* in French *tramway* has the same sound as in French *wagon.* The general vocabularies make no claim to be complete, and the author attempts to justify their incompleteness. It is to be feared, however, that they will frequently be found inadequate to the needs of the average student.

Excellent characteristics of the book are: the arrangement of the lesson vocabularies and their position at the beginning of the lesson (though some teachers will doubtless think them too long); sets of review questions and exercises; and a series of very interesting reading selections on the climate, aspect, government, history, and other features of France. These latter are especially well chosen and simply phrased. There appears also a quite sufficient amount of material about getting to Paris and doing and seeing things at Paris, but the author's restraint in this direction is apparent, and is refreshing when one thinks of the excessive quantity of matter of this kind found in some grammars and composition books. The statements concerning the uses of the French past participle are particularly lucid. And it is a pleasure to add that the volume is splendidly printed and gives evidence of careful proof-reading.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING MONTESQUIEU

Montesquieu, par J. Dedieu. (*Les Grands Philosophes.*) Paris, Alcan, 1913. viii + 358 pp.

Correspondance de Montesquieu, edited by F. Gebelin and A. Morize. (*Collection bordelaise.*) 2 vols. Paris, Champion, 1914.

Lettres persanes by Montesquieu, edited by R. L. Cru. New York, Oxford Press, 1914. xxvii + 312 pp.

Our knowledge of Montesquieu has nearly doubled in the last generation. Since the biography of Vian (1878) and the excellent general criticism of Sorel (1887), there has been gathered a mass of material that renders necessary, in each direction, a freshly munitioned attack. The biography is still lacking, but M. Dedieu has furnished the new criticism, and both fields are now greatly illumined by the publication of the long-desired full Correspondence.

Before these, the Montesquiviana made available since 1891 included first of all the *Collection bordelaise.* This valuable store of *inédits* comprises several of Montesquieu's minor works, as well as his *Voyages* and his *Pensées et fragments.* Also, M. Barckhausen had drawn from the archives of La Brède material for a volume illustrating anew Montesquieu's main ideas and his masterpieces. Critical editions of the latter, excluding the *Esprit des lois,* had been published with full apparatus obtained from the archives. Furthermore, a quantity of monographs, dissertations, articles, attest the interest of our age in the philosopher whose light had rather waned since the epoch of the Restoration.

I

The way was surely open for a synthetic study which would press into service both the monuments themselves and the labors of the later devotees. This study M. Dedieu has attempted, so far as regards the chief divisions of Montesquieu's thought. That, indeed, is the chief object and value of his volume: to

make a progressive analysis of Montesquieu's mind, as it developed amid contemporary opinion.

The chapters treat: the formation of Montesquieu's intelligence; the origins of his sociological method; his political and moral ideas; his social, his economic, and finally his religious ideas. There are added a conclusion, appendices, a chronological table of the works, and the best bibliography since Vian.

The analysis is progressive—and this is a distinct feature—in that a constant effort is made to mark the stages of Montesquieu's *pensée évolutive,* not only through the chief works and here and there in the pages of the *Collection bordelaise,* but also, for example, in additions made to the *Lettres persanes* or in a later book of the *Esprit des lois* as offsetting an earlier. The *disjecta membra* of Montesquieu's body politic are articulated and, as far as possible, dated. This frequently needs delicate construction and interpretation. Fortunately, the way has been partially cleared by previous researches.

Previous researches, again, largely M. Dedieu's own, have prepared for the second feature of this *enquête*—to wit, Montesquieu is not viewed as a solitary star, but is set firmly in his proper galaxy. He is seen as adopting the interests of his time, as approving, or more often reacting against the theories and solutions then favored; in either case, this great relativist always relates, this strong believer in *rapports* is usually *en rapport* himself.

The advantages of such a sociological approach, with emphasis on vogue as the soil of thought, are coming to be more and more appreciated. They are conspicuous in the treatment of M. Dedieu, who in his previous work on a similar subject [1] had drawn largely from the French and English political speculations of the time. These now reappear—Melon, Mandeville, Locke, Warburton—as the probable sources of much in the *Esprit des lois.* Aside from that, the writer uses names and documents less well-known, contemporary discussions and events, a nexus capably controlled and displayed on the threshold of each serious topic, as providing the "mental hinterland" of Montesquieu. The main objection here is simply in the matter of arrangement; repetitions of certain passages and of undoubted influences such as those of Aristotle and Locke, might well have been avoided by a more compact array.

Finally, as regards the general features, M. Dedieu, in reviewing Montesquieu's religious development, finds a growing conservatism and a respect for faith—a truth slightly tinged by the apparent orthodoxy of the critic.

Among the individual points which M. Dedieu emphasizes, the following are of especial interest. Montesquieu's taste for positive realities was strikingly encouraged by his scientific studies, which combined with his travels to modify what was too *livresque* or ideal in his first conceptions of government. England, though bringing the final light, left nevertheless the French parliamentarian and aristocrat to construct an amalgamated constitutional monarchy: "le chef-d'œuvre de législation qui demeure la suprême pensée politique de Montesquieu." Further, it appears that in the *Esprit des lois* we have for ten books relics of the absolutist, holding by "eternal justice" and equity, and of the Cartesian, who exhausts by abstract definition and analysis. The method of these books is then mainly anterior to the visit to England, and the persistence of such systematizing is seen throughout in the forcible relating of many phenomena to the kinds of government and their principles. Still, in the subsequent books, we are nearer the scientific spirit which takes facts as it finds them and forswears all but true causal relationships. When Montesquieu found a new *rapport* he added a new book, and towards the end of the monument illustrative books are appended without much regard for inner necessity.

M. Dedieu practically admits then the piecemeal character which remains, *pace* M. Barckhausen, the artistic fault as it is, perhaps, the jurisprudential merit of the *Esprit des lois.* Its lack of unity does not prevent its taking

[1] *Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France. Les sources anglaises de l'Esprit des lois.* Paris, Lecoffre, 1909.

rank as mainly a series of truths, elaborated at different times, under different inspirations.

Montesquieu's "sociological method" consists in his inauguration of the comparative study of nations and laws, exoticism and ethnography; the endeavor to establish facts first (though here he sometimes failed), and then to derive their moral and physical causes. The latter yield to the former, it is the plausible view of M. Dedieu, in spite of the importance given to climate and *terrain.* This overthrows the conventional pigeonholing of Montesquieu, and yet it seems supported, not only by the supereminent rôle given to *mœurs* (which are placed even above laws), but by various passages in the Correspondence. Physical causes predominate in the first part of the *Lois,* moral in the last, whether or not this is a conscious division of Montesquieu's. The conclusion is that here, as in religion, we have a growing idealism and conservatism in the author's standards.

That this marked traditionalism turned Montesquieu's face away from the idea of progress, making him rather a partisan of stability in most things, is a favorite thesis of M. Dedieu's, to which we shall return. The philosopher's social ideas, at any rate, in matters concerning slavery, war, and penal laws, are of the humanitarian and forward-looking cast. The valuable part of his political economy is the theory of cosmopolitan interchange and *concurrence* as tending towards general happiness. One of his most notable moral ideas, indeed, is that individual satisfaction can rarely be purchased at the expense of "l'esprit général."

This is an imperfect telescoping of M. Dedieu's analysis, and similar *lacunae* must occur in an attempt to point out what seem his more debatable propositions.

P. 3.—The statement that Montesquieu touched only with precaution on dangerous problems in government scarcely applies to the *Lettres persanes;* their *frondeur* tone is amply admitted by M. Dedieu himself (pp. 14 f.).

Pp. 5, 10, 22, 26, 74, etc.—The opposition between "scientific" and "bookish" notions, while sound in the main, seems, when elaborately applied, a forced extension of latter-day academic antinomies. Without denying the importance of Montesquieu's travels, I think his "contact with realities" *via* Holland is overdone. Certain such contacts can also be found in his early experiences at home (see pp. 21–23).

P. 16.—The (psychological) "puissance d'observation" and the "regard de moraliste" credited to the *Lettres persanes* may be too highly praised.

P. 21.—The objection to viewing Montesquieu as a constant spirit and the insistence on his evolution are good points. But need they overthrow the *vérité acquise* that the germs of the political thought of the *Esprit des lois* are discernible in the *Lettres persanes?*

P. 42.—It is a far cry from the passage in the *Republic* on the stability of games to Montesquieu's cautions regarding the spirit of the French nation.

P. 52.—The suggestion that the Italian political thinkers do not figure among Montesquieu's masters is negatived—to say nothing of Vico—by the influences of Machiavelli, Doria, and Gravina, whom M. Dedieu had just analyzed.

Pp. 94, 196, 285, 321–22.—The most serious objection should be made to M. Dedieu's excessive statement: "L'idée d'évolution, de progrès, est totalement absente de la pensée de Montesquieu." In a conscious modern sense, this is almost true. But there are various passages which indicate that the struggling concept of progress, that prince of eighteenth-century ideas, informs the farther reaches of Montesquieu's thought. *E. g.,* No. 106 of the *Lettres persanes,* concerning the advance in 'arts' and inventions.[2] The critic partially restores this concept to Montesquieu near the end of his discussion.

P. 120.—How, historically, did Montesquieu's political idealism "inaugurate the spiritualistic reaction"?

P. 180.—The notion of censorship applies only to republics, but it is quoted in connection with the monarchical scheme. (Smaller

[2] See also *E. L.,* Bk. X, iii; XII, ii; X and XV, *passim; Corresp.,* II, 356, etc.

contradictions are found on pp. 206 f., 245 f., 309 and 315, etc.)

P. 251.—The President's insistence on international commerce was probably stimulated by the sale of his wine in England.

P. 284.—Overstatement: "Ce farouche ennemi de l'idée religieuse est néanmoins le plus ardent apologiste de l'idée de progrès." Both clauses seem too emphatic, even though applying to the author of the *Lettres persanes,* and the use of *néanmoins* is decidedly curious. Throughout the eighteenth century enemies of Catholicism were *also* defenders of tolerance. *Il y avait de quoi.*

P. 285.—"Rien aujourd'hui ne demeure des objections que ce philosophe dressait contre la foi." The objections, which are of the same character as those of Voltaire, have of course just as much or as little validity as the reader's mind and temperament are inclined to accord them.

P. 311.—The letter to the parliamentarian [3] is hardly as favorable to the clerical cause as here suggested.

P. 331.—French Anglomania had slackened before 1750; and it revived again, in certain directions, during the two decades preceding the Revolution.

P. 331.—Did Montesquieu's authority lose *all* value in 1789? There is a general impression that the milder Revolutionaries were still under his influence, which waned with the advent of the Terror.

P. 342.—The *Essai sur le goût* must have been written at least by 1753, since the *Correspondance* [4] then mentions it.

The bibliography, which does not aim at fulness, is selected with discrimination, and contains, as regards French works, most of the titles that one would expect. The chief omissions concern Montesquieu's travels, his *relations,* and the *Grandeur et décadence des Romains.* Since M. Dedieu regrets the lack of material on these matters, one may add certain titles of that nature, together with a few others, out of a large store, which seem to deserve inclusion. The following list contains little or nothing already found in Vian's or in Lanson's bibliography.

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II

M. Dedieu did not have the good fortune to write after the publication of the *Correspondance.* This enterprise, begun by M. Raymond Céleste, has been carried through by M. François Gebelin, with the collaboration of M. André Morize. The value of the undertaking is apparent: the last (Laboulaye's) collection of Montesquieu's letters contained about 150 by his own hand, while here we have three times that number. Over 200 more are added from friends to Montesquieu, making a total of 679 letters, illuminating the man and his period far more satisfactorily than anything hitherto. A thorough index helps greatly in referring to these volumes.

The editors have used principally the archives of La Brède. Many of Montesquieu's letters are there preserved in his manuscript copies, and the letters of his correspondents are likewise found plentifully. Others have been added from various quarters; their respectable quantity implies much industry on the part

[3] *Corresp.,* II, 472–78.

[4] *Ibid.,* II, 492; also in Laboulaye, VII, 422.

of the editors, who have also republished correspondence heretofore scattered in various volumes.

Towards the end of Vol. II those letters thicken which have already appeared in Laboulaye, and indeed half of the whole Correspondence belongs to the last five years of Montesquieu's life. There are many short notes, showing the President's *sécheresse;* his leaning to maxims and epigrams is also illustrated. There is a good deal of waste matter, especially in the letters of others. Montesquieu himself is generally interesting, save when dealing with technical affairs and barring the natural repetition of sentiments and phrases.

The editorial work has been done discreetly, with sensible reconstructing and altering when necessary. Otherwise, the editors scarcely appear, save in the brief Introduction, where a history of the Correspondence is given. Here, by the way, the Abbé Guasco is let off rather easily, since his marauding hand is surely visible more than once in Montesquieu's epistles. The President's *brouillons* are carefully described; it is pointed out how his numerous corrections and erasures (conspicuous, we may say, in love-letters) reveal his "conscience d'écrivain"; cautions are given concerning annotations and datings by another hand; finally, the wide range and interest of the Correspondence are emphasized.

This is certainly the first point that impresses one in the letters. Restricted, of course, as compared to the circle of Voltaire, Montesquieu's better selected correspondents yet represent rather completely the more intellectual phases of eighteenth-century society. The world of the *philosophes* and of the *salon* women is thoroughly displayed. Not so representative is the time-distribution of the letters, which leaves several periods almost voiceless, among them the period of Montesquieu's siege of the Academy, as well as his sojourn in England. Between 1734 and 1742, again, the Correspondence covers only forty pages.

What we newly learn, or the matters concerning which our knowledge is much re-enforced, may fall under these headings:[5] Montesquieu's character, his business, his domestic relations, his love-affairs, his friendships, his Anglomania, his interest in the Academies and the physical sciences, and his own works. One may add to these certain information about the period.

In character, Montesquieu stands out much as he has hitherto been known. His stoicism is manifested in connection with various troubles, particularly the partial loss of his eyesight. He gives some expression of this doctrine, while defending his admiration for Marcus Antoninus.[6] He appears as tranquil even when some of his feminine friends think he ought to be moved. He relishes the studious quiet of the country, frequently opposing it to the hollowness of Paris.

The word *modération* occurs often in his later letters and is associated with that tolerant spirit which his friends appreciated. The flatterer Castel praises Montesquieu's adaptability. His contempt for war is conspicuous; his *bienfaisance* is exhibited in his dealings with his laborers, his succoring of La Beaumelle, Piron, etc.

His aristocratic leanings are evident. He is bitter against the *traitants* and financiers, he distrusts authorship and whatever smacks of specialism, while his personal pride is manifest. He has a poor opinion of princes and of *petits-maîtres,* and a rather better opinion of himself. He likes etiquette and dignity. His qualities of leadership are evidenced in connection with the Bordeaux Academy and with the affairs of his family.

He is absent-minded, and is occasionally rallied on that account by fair correspondents. He forgets engagements, arrives late, and needs directing. He seems a little *sauvage* and rustic after a long stay in the country.

In business matters, he shows interest in his farms and tenants. He is not keen concerning legal details and does not bother about trifling impositions. His island, his trees and garden, and especially his wine, are often mentioned. He is occupied with removing the tax on the *vin du pays,* he receives and fills orders, exports to England, and generally takes pride in his

[5] I do not dwell on material already in Laboulaye.

[6] II, 304–05.

vineyard, which must have been quite a lucrative enterprise.

He sells his *charge* as President of the Bordeaux Parlement, cleverly arranging to keep the reversion for his son. In putting through the marriage of his daughter, he declares, in reasonable self-appraisal: *"Je suis un bon homme d'affaires."* [7]

This marriage offers a good illustration of his rôle as the head of a family. He masterfully arranges a match between his daughter and a cousin, for the purpose of keeping up the family estates. He shows generosity as regards the dower, dispenses with the *corbeille,* and lets the bridegroom know his pleasure as to the place and style of the wedding. After their marriage, he looks out for the business interests of the young people. This daughter, Denise, was his favorite, and his letters to her evince much affection, together always with a masterful superiority. The same quality shines in dealings with and for his rather helpless brother, as well as with his son, his son-in-law, etc. As for Montesquieu's wife, she scarcely appears. We have no letter bearing that address, though she once writes to her husband in a somewhat pathetic, cajoling manner.[8] Montesquieu repeatedly states his view that marriage ruins love.

That he sought elsewhere. To affairs of the heart he gives usually a conventionally gallant expression, compact of sensuality, sighs, and compliments. He has no great opinion of women in general; he uses a blunt tone with several and brusquely breaks off with several more. "Il y a un sexe entier sur lequel on ne peut pas compter." [9] However, he attains to a more passionate tone in writing to the *innominata* of Letter 57 and to the Princesse Trivulce in Italy.

His general *relations,* especially with friends and the ladies of the *salons,* show a warmer heart. To the former he is all helpfulness and affection. He holds that *les honnêtes gens* think first of other people,[10] and he thinks of his friends very often. These would include Hénault, Fontenelle, Maupertuis, as well as the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and Mme. de Mirepoix.

He was on good terms with the four chief leaders of the *salons.* He showers compliments on all and writes admiringly to each of her special reception-days—the *mardis* of Mme. de Lambert, the *mercredis* of Mme. du Deffand. The former's services are required in securing Morville as protector of the Bordeaux Academy; her psychological keenness is instanced by her analysis of Montesquieu's restlessness abroad.[11] Mme. de Tencin, more intimate with the President than any of the others, scolds him for his *distractions,* calls him "mon petit Romain," and gives a capable criticism of the *Esprit des lois.* Mme. de Geoffrin also adopts a rallying tone, though her friendship with Montesquieu was of later and perhaps of shallower growth.[12] Mme. du Deffand likewise knows the President late, but is none the less familiar. All of them *raffolent* concerning the *Esprit des lois,* and generally they write in a tone of sprightliness, with occasional penetration. Their letters to Montesquieu are more revealing than his to them.

He is associated with English people at two epochs of his life: just after his return from that country and after the publication of the *Esprit des lois.* It was a relationship of mutual esteem. We find him communicating with Bulkeley, Martin Ffolkes, Domville, exchanging a literary correspondence with Hume and Warburton, and polite attentions with several others. His Anglomania is conceived in a spirit of true cosmopolitanism; he insists on the advantages of exchanging *lumières,* of mutually translating works and abolishing prejudices.[13] He is preoccupied, from 1730 on, with the English character and mind, and makes frequent allusions to their ways of doing things. For him, England is the "great tribunal of Europe" in matters of the intellect,

[7] I, 409.

[8] I, 386–87.

[9] I, 74.

[10] II, 200.

[11] I, 263.

[12] On the question of Guasco, and Montesquieu's possible rupture with Mme. de Geoffrin, see the Introduction.

[13] II, 356.

as she will be the last defender of Europe in matters of liberty.[14]

The attention given to provincial academies supports Brunetière's belief as to their general importance in the century. Montesquieu takes much more interest in the Academy of Bordeaux than in that of Paris. He is concerned with seeking for it successive protectors, with its buildings, its library, its scientific apparatus and productiveness—especially as encouraging the natural sciences. He is also pleased to belong to the Academy of Nancy and to the English Royal Society.

His taste for physics and mathematics appears in this connection and in his correspondence with Castel and Barbot. Particularly entertaining is the series of long, naïf, self-centered letters of the former cleric, who having doubtless afforded Montesquieu much amusement in this world, was selected by fate to convoy him comfortably out of it. Montesquieu often writes about mathematics and astronomy, microscopes and apparatus for experimentation. His zeal in this respect declined in his later years, but he evidently took no small share in its first vogue.

As regards the works, Hénault furnishes a good criticism of the *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*,[15] and Montesquieu categorically denies the authorship of the *Temple de Gnide*.[16] We learn the exact date of the composition of *Sylla et Eucrate*, concerning which the editors have an interesting note.[17] There is a great deal about the *Esprit des lois*. Montesquieu's statement that he discovered his principles *c.* 1730 corresponds with M. Dedieu's reasoning, as does the repeated antithesis between moral and physical causes. There are many details as to the composition of the *Lois*, the author's stake in it, his troubles about publication and with the Index. Much of this is parallel to what Voltaire experienced with the *Lettres philosophiques*. Montesquieu evinces an apparent willingness to change expressions and the divisions of the work. Its general reception, the chorus of praise, its cosmopolitan influence, are all well marked in the letters. There are penetrating bits of criticism, insistence, for example, on the author's *bienveillance* and "laconic eloquence," and occasionally the dissentient voice of a more advanced *philosophe*—Helvétius, Voltaire, Hume—is heard.

[14] II, 140, 208.

[15] II, 49.

[16] I, 87.

[17] I, 55.

The interesting picture of the times here presented scarcely falls within the scope of this paper. The chief topics discussed are such events as changes of ministry and the king's illness; gossip about court affairs, which frequently resembles Cyrano's budget, in that it is always a question of the news of the day; financial stress, famine and plague, are seen as dimming the splendor of the old régime; notably, there is a growing emphasis on *la philosophie*—the word and the idea become generally more popular as the Correspondence advances. There is less about *littérateurs* proper than one might expect; few are conspicuously mentioned besides Lamotte and Voltaire, with regard to whom there are some excellent side-lights.

The tone of the Correspondence is that of gentility. Occasional bluntness scarcely mars the effect of choice style, particularly in the letters of the women. There are elaborate compliments, not necessarily insincere. There are bits of preciosity and the atmosphere of the *salon*, but little that is too free and nothing that is common.

III

The school-edition of the *Lettres persanes*, prepared by Mr. R. L. Cru for the Oxford French Series, is a capable piece of work, provided with a good full introduction and notes. The text used is that of Barckhausen, which does not differ essentially from the text hitherto received. In his annotations, Dr. Cru shows much dependence, generally justified, on those of Barckhausen and Laboulaye. For school purposes, of course, the harem portion of the *Lettres persanes* has to go, and the loss is regrettable only in that the monument thus purified loses a part of its Oriental *cadre* which is characteristic of the century. A few omissions that might have remained will be noted

in the last paragraph of this paper, with which exceptions the editor has shown judgment in his choice of letters. Other features of the edition are several interesting illustrations, occasional slips in English, a good account of the sources, especially of the borrowings from Chardin, an emphasis on the importance of the book as a document, the wise retention of the regular numerotation of the letters, a well-proportioned, adequate view of Montesquieu in the Introduction, and notes that for once are really satisfactory and full—whether for Persian references, affairs of the Regency, or matters bearing on the author.

Some errors of detail and some debatable differences of opinion may be listed in view of a possible second edition.

A. Introduction.—P. vii. It would be better to emphasize rather the *noblesse de robe* side of Montesquieu's family, since this counted most on his mind and character.—P. viii. The general vogue and cause of the contemporary scientific interest might well be stated.—P. x. The "high hopes of the Regency" seems too idealistic a phrase—witness the *Lettres persanes* themselves.—P. xii. Mme. du Deffand's *salon* was not organized in the early 'twenties.—P. xiii. Was Montesquieu excitable?—P. xvi. In a text-book for American students, more should be made of his influence on our constitution and early statesmen.—P. xviii. The *esprit philosophique,* under whatever name, had hardly been so notable in France "for half a century" before 1721. Also it is doubtful if Montesquieu had La Bruyère's power of observation, if this is meant psychologically.—P. xx. The "artfulness" of the mixture in the *Lettres* may be questioned. Dr. Cru himself speaks of Montesquieu's desultoriness, and the word "jumbled" seems a more appropriate characterization.

B. Notes.—P. 252. Voltaire is not constant as to the natural virtue of man.—P. 257. The origin of the modern "sick man of Europe" phrase, anticipated by Montesquieu, might well have been assigned to the Czar Nicholas I.—P. 258. The device of making a foreigner fall from the skies is also employed by Voltaire (*Traité de Métaphysique*).—P. 263. Locating the "Marais" in terms of the Arrondissements would not be helpful to the American students.—P. 273. The family relationship of the religions finds a parallel and a possible source in Swift's *Tale of a Tub.* The connection between Swift and Montesquieu will, when carefully worked out, probably reveal several curious similarities.—P. 276. Fontenelle's *Eloges* are concerned rather with members of the Academy of Sciences.—P. 283. Here, the word *vertu* has not altogether the narrower sense of civic virtue characteristic of the *Esprit des lois*—see the letters on the Troglodytes. An allusion to Montesquieu's own court-disappointment and temporary retirement would seem appropriate.—P. 287. Also an allusion to *Turcaret* in connection with the *traitants.*—P. 296. Since the Maréchal de Berwick is mentioned, why not recall his friendship with Montesquieu?—P. 303. Are there any other explanations of the *C. de G.?*—P. 304. The Appendix (ranked as *Lettre* 145 previous to Barckhausen) speaks for Montesquieu not only impersonally in the last part, but fictitiously (through Usbek) in the first part.

C. Omitted Letters.—The majority of the following passages should, in my opinion, have been retained. The questionable sentences could have been deleted, and much that is significant would have been thus preserved.

Letter 6 (to give the milder harem background and some self-analysis).—Letter 55: the portions referring to European marriages and the situation of women in the eighteenth century.—Letter 67: the first few paragraphs, containing much of Montesquieu's character and outlook—his cosmopolitanism and old Roman spirit.—Letter 107 (the greater part of this concerns monarchy and the rule of women).—Letters 112–116: the more characteristic portions.

The edition is nevertheless satisfactory in the main. It should render distinct service in any presentation of eighteenth-century ideas to the class-room.

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SHAFTESBURY UND WIELAND

Wieland and Shaftesbury, by CHARLES ELSON. New York, Columbia University Press, 1913. 8vo., xii + 144 pp.

Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Chr. M. Wieland. Mit einer Einleitung über den Einfluss Shaftesburys auf die deutsche Literatur bis 1760, von H. GRUDZINSKI. Stuttgart, Metzler, 1913. 8vo., vii + 104 S.

Diese beiden Arbeiten sind fast gleichzeitig erschienen. Sie ergänzen sich, eben weil beide einseitig geraten sind. Elson ist viel gründlicher als Grudzinski, aber er arbeitet den wirklichen "Einfluss" Shaftesburys auf Wieland nicht genügend klar heraus, und zwar hauptsächlich deshalb, weil er seinen Stoff nicht chronologisch wie Grudzinski einteilt. Die Einteilung nach philosophischen Problemen ist sicher tiefer und schwerer als das Rechnen von Werk zu Werk, aber sie muss Daten zur Anschauungshilfe gebrauchen, sonst verwirrt sie. Und an einer gewissen Verschwommenheit der Darstellung leidet Elson im Gegensatz zu Grudzinski, der dafür freilich oberflächlicher über die eigentlichen Probleme hingeht. Beide haben leider ihre Einzeluntersuchung nicht genug in das Licht einer Gesamtbetrachtung Wielands gerückt. Deshalb kommen wir zu keiner wirklichen Anschauung der grossen Linien seines Wesens und Wirkens.

Elson ist auf der rechten Spur, wenn er (S. 80 u. a.) an Goethes tiefe Worte über Wieland erinnert: in der Gedenkrede von 1813 und im Maskenzug von 1818. Goethe sagt in der Rede ausdrücklich: "An einem solchen Mann wie Shaftesbury fand nun unser Wieland nicht einen Vorgänger, dem er folgen, nicht einen Genossen, mit dem er arbeiten sollte, sondern einen wahrhaften älteren Zwillingsbruder im Geiste, dem er vollkommen glich, ohne nach ihm gebildet zu sein." Und das trifft den Kernpunkt des Verhältnisses der beiden Geister.

Wielands Bildungsideal, das eine Verschmelzung mannigfacher Zeitströmungen zeigt, wie Emil Hamann (*Wielands Bildungsideal,* Chemnitz 1907) nachweist, erwächst auf dem Boden der Aufklärung, aber seine Wurzeln reichen tiefer zurück: in den deutschen Pietismus. Innerste Selbstachtung und Selbstbetrachtung, "das Herz" und die "schöne Seele," der Sinn für das eigne Seelenleben und also auch die Einsamkeit und demgegenüber der Sinn für innige Gemeinsamkeit, der sich notwendig aus dem überfliessenden Subjektivismus ergibt, alles das verdankt das 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland dem bodenständigen Pietismus, dem schliesslich auch der deutsche Humanitätsgedanke entwachsen ist. Geselligkeitstriebe und Freundschaftskult brauchten die Deutschen des 18. Jahrhunderts deshalb nicht erst aus Shaftesbury zu lernen. Der englische Schöngeist hat hier meist nur verstärkend und gar nicht wirklich erneuernd gewirkt. Und was so für die Gesamthaltung der ganzen Zeit zu sagen ist, gilt auch für Wieland. Man denke z.B. nur an seinen Optimismus. Ganz natürlich war das hochgespannte Gefühl des Pietisten hell, optimistisch getönt. Und zu diesem gefühlsmässigen hat Wieland sehr früh in seinem Leben den gedanklichen Optimismus eines Leibniz kennen gelernt, der sich ja bekanntlich gänzlich unabhängig von Shaftesbury entwikkelte. Das haben Elson (S. 45; 115 ff.) und Grudzinski (S. 16; 73 ff.) nicht gehörig erkannt. Und wenn unseres Dichters sanguinische Natur schon vom Pietismus und von Leibniz her tief beeinflusst wurde, dann bleibt für Shaftesbury oder später Rousseau keine wirkliche "Umgestaltung" mehr übrig.

Und ähnlich verhält es sich mit der ästhetischen Beeinflussung Wielands durch Shaftesbury. Auch hier dürfen blosse Parallelen in der Auffassung des Schönen usw. nicht zu ursächlicher Verbindung verleiten. Die deutsche Aesthetik ist durch Baumgarten, einen bewussten Leibnizianer, und mit ihm von Georg Friedrich Meier begründet worden, und Meier z.B. lässt Shaftesbury gänzlich gleichgültig (vergl. Ernst Bergmann, *Die Begründung der deutschen Aesthetik,* Leipzig 1911, besonders S. 144 f.). Grudzinski erwähnt das S. 101, Anm. 50, ohne sich der Folgerungen für seine Schrift bewusst zu werden. Dagegen ist beispielsweise Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Kants Aesthetik und die Sulzers und Mendelssohns nicht zu leugnen,

obschon gerade Kant und Mendelssohn schnell über Shaftesbury hinausgegangen sind.—Wieland nun hat frühe Beziehungen zu Meier (vergl. Emil Ermatinger, *Die Weltanschauung des jungen Wieland,* Frauenfeld 1907), und Meier zu den Schweizern, und da die kritischen Hauptwerke der Schweizer keinerlei Spuren Shaftesburyschen Einflusses aufweisen, wie Grudzinski richtig betont, so kann auch Bodmer nicht gut unserm Wieland tiefe Anregungen aus Shaftesbury übermittelt haben, wie Grudzinski (S. 48) meint, Elson jedoch nicht. Doch das ist nebensächlich gegenüber der Hauptfrage.

Shaftesbury (1671–1713) vertritt die englische Moralphilosophie, die nach Deutschland (Herder, Schiller!) als "Popularphilosophie" hinüberwirkt. Es ist eine auf gesunden Menschenverstand und Geschmack aufgebaute "Hausphilosophie," die manchmal nur einen bequemen ästhetischen Pragmatismus für feine Leute darstellt, den Deutschen des 18. Jahrhunderts aber durchweg als "Lebenskunst" erschien. Und so hat Shaftesburys Gedanke, dass Philosophie eine Kunst zu leben sei, auf jene Deutschen und auch auf Wieland wirklich einen Eindruck gemacht. Shaftesburys ästhetische Lebensanschauung, die Deutschen wie Kant und Lessing, Schiller und Schleiermacher auf die Dauer nicht genügte, hat zum Ziel den "fine gentleman and man of sense," den *virtuoso.* Damit hängt der ästhetische Begriff der Harmonie zusammen, der Harmonie als Naturprinzip und Lebensideal. Erreichte Harmonie ist Glück, und Glück ist Anfang und Ende menschlichen Strebens. Philosophie ist demnach "das Studium der Glückseligkeit."

Der Begriff der Harmonie enthält und bedingt den der Schönheit, und wie schon seit der Renaissance *schön* auch für *natürlich* und also *erlaubt* und deshalb *sittlich* galt, so ist auch bei Shaftesbury *schön* gleich *gut.*

Neu war alles das nicht, aber es wurde von Shaftesbury mit dem Ernst und dem Optimismus und vor allem dem praktischen Sinn des englischen Aufklärers vorgetragen, und noch dazu im Stil eines echten Künstlers der Prosa. Wo er als Künstler zu Künstlern spricht, wie im *"Advice to an Author,"* da liegen mir seine tiefsten Wirkungen auf die deutschen Klassiker und Männer wie Mendelssohn und Justus Möser u.a. (vergl. Grudzinski, S. 76 f., und Elson, S. 119 ff.).

Unter den verschiedenen Schriften, die Shaftesburys *Characteristics* (1711) enthalten, haben einmal die Briefe über den Enthusiasmus und über die Freiheit von Witz und Humor und sodann die philosophische Rhapsodie "Die Moralisten" auf die deutschen Poeten, Aesthetiker und Aestheten am meisten gewirkt.

Um Shaftesburys Ansichten über den Enthusiasmus zu verstehen, muss man sie im Rahmen der englischen Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts betrachten, was weder Elson noch Grudzinski getan hat (vergl. u.a. J. E. V. Crofts' Aufsatz über *Enthusiasm* in *Eighteenth Century Literature.* An Oxford Miscellany, 1909, S. 127–150). Shaftesbury als echter Aufklärer lehnt allen Enthusiasmus im technischen Sinn ab als religiöse Schwärmerei, Fanatismus, Aberglauben und auch allgemeinen Überschwang. Und zwar empfiehlt er zur Abwehr alldessen *good humour* (*test of ridicule*), etwa wie später George Meredith *comic spirit* im "Essay on Comedy" in ein ganzes System bringt. Shaftesbury meint mit *good humour* manchmal unbeschränkte Vernunft, Witz, selbst Spott à la Bernard Shaw und besten Falls—seelisches Gleichmass. Wichmann (1768) übersetzt es mit "gute Laune," während Goethe in jener Gedenkrede die Worte *Frohsinn* und *Heiterkeit* (!) gebraucht. An den blossen Worten sieht man, wie der Deutsche die englischen Begriffe umformt: eindeutscht.

In Shaftesburys "Moralisten" u.a. hat dann *enthusiasm,* wofür auch *inspiration* usw. steht, ungefähr die Bedeutung des deutschen *Enthusiasmus.* Ungefähr nur, denn sowie deutsche Überschwenglichkeit im Wort ist, hat es schon mit der "vernünftigen Ekstase" Shaftesburys nichts mehr zu tun. Schliesslich haben die Deutschen auch in Shaftesburys "Enthusiasmus" ihren eigensten Sinn hineingelegt, wie sie auch das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury entlehnt, aber mit ihrem Geist gefüllt haben (vergl. Oskar Walzels Schrift *Das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe,* Leipzig und Berlin 1910).

Das eigentliche "Erlebnis des Enthusiasmus." das für das ganze deutsche 18. Jahrhundert eine grosse Rolle spielt, ist durchaus

deutsch und aus der deutschen Mystik, dem Pietismus und dem Pathos der deutschen Aufklärung genügend zu erklären. Mehr als hier und da eine ästhetische Begründung der Zeitstimmung hat Shaftesbury nicht gegeben. Übrigens hat auch England Shaftesbury schnell überwunden. Dort hat Berkeley dem echten Enthusiasmus in der Philosophie und Poesie zum Sieg verholfen—und zwar gegen den sogenannten *common sense,* für den gerade Shaftesbury stets eintrat.

Für Wieland ist es nun höchst kennzeichnend, dass er von Shaftesbury hauptsächlich zum Kampf gegen jenen falschen Enthusiasmus angeregt wurde (Elson, S. 41; 107 f.; Grudzinski, S. 78; 87). Selbst der *Oberon* dient diesem Kampf. Das Undeutsche in Shaftesburys Gedanken hat Wieland nicht gespürt. Das bringt ein fremdes Element in sein Geistesbild—zu seiner sonstigen "französischen Behandlungsweise" (Naturphilosophie, politische Anschauungen, Witz, Stil u.a.m.).

Durch und durch Aufklärer wie Shaftesbury ist nun auch Wieland. Über die Tugend ist sein Denken nicht hinausgekommen. Das Problem der faustischen Natur (vergl. Oskar Walzel, *Vom Geistesleben des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts,* Leipzig 1911, S. 134 ff.) bedeutet ihm nichts, weil er kein Prometheus, d.h. im innersten Wesen doch nicht enthusiastisch war.

Wie hat er nun das Gedankengut Shaftesburys aufgenommen und verarbeitet? Er hat grosses Gefallen am Virtuosenideal gefunden und damit zugleich ein näheres Verhältnis zu Xenophon und Horaz gewonnen. Aber kennen gelernt hat er beide nicht erst durch den englischen Schöngeist (Elson, S. 13 f.; Grudzinski, S. 71). Es wäre nun noch nötig festzustellen, worin sich Wieland und Shaftesbury in ihren Auffassungen der antiken Denker unterscheiden. Sah Wieland z.B. in Horaz wie Shaftesbury den Virtuoso? (Grudzinski, S. 79; 90 ff.). Und wieweit eignete er sich überhaupt jenes Virtuosenideal an? Schon Ermatinger (S. 138 ff.) hat diese Frage aufgeworfen, und Elson (S. 94 ff.) hat sie wohl verstanden, aber nicht recht beantwortet.

So ist nur zu sagen, dass Shaftesbury einen gewissen Einfluss auf Wielands "Gesundung" um 1760 gehabt hat, wie das besonders Elson (S. 14; 17) hervorhebt. Gemeint ist nämlich die Abkehr vom einseitigen Pietistentum und von einer nebligen Mystik der ersten Periode. Und Grudzinski betont mit Recht die Lebensphilosophie Shaftesburys vor der Schönheitsphilosophie, deren Wirkung er z.T. ungünstig nennt (S. 58 f.; 62). Das führt zur letzten Frage nach der Bedeutung der Shaftesburyschen ästhetischen Lebensanschauung für Wielands Leben. Elson gibt dazu nur einige verstreute Bemerkungen (S. 80; 97; 114). Und so bleibt auch die Frage nach dem Erlebnis in Wielands Dichtung noch ungelöst.

Da der Einfluss der Volksart auf die Lebensanschauung feststeht (vgl. Rudolf Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker,* 9. Auflage, Leipzig 1911), so sei auch hier zum Schluss obigen Bemerkungen noch hinzugefügt, dass schon Goethe auf Wielands Grundkonflikt hingewiesen hat, nämlich die "Klemme zwischen dem Denkbaren und dem Wirklichen," und eben dieses scheidet Wieland grundsätzlich von Shaftesbury. Denn Shaftesburys lächelnd selbstgewisse, weltmännische Kultur kennt Kompromisse, die gelegentlich an Bolingbrokes Gewissenlosigkeit erinnern, was einen allein schon davon abhalten sollte, kühn eine Linie von Shaftesbury zum deutschen Humanismus der Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Humboldt zu ziehen.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Lessing and Wackenroder as Anticipators of William James

All advanced students of psychology are familiar with the late Professor William James's hypothesis according to which "we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble," and do not "cry, strike, or tremble, because we are sorry, angry, or fearful." There are at least two instances in German literature where James was anticipated in this theory. Lessing says in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie,* third piece, that if the actor, who has to play the rôle of an angry character, goes through the motions of being

angry, he will in course of time become angry because he acted this way: "Wenn er nur diese Dinge, die sich nachmachen lassen, sobald man will, gut nachmacht, so wird dadurch unfehlbar seine Seele ein dunkles Gefühl von Zorn befallen, welches wiederum in den Körper zurückwirkt." And in Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst* we find this statement: "Der Mensch ist ursprünglich ein gar unschuldiges Wesen. Wenn wir noch in der Wiege liegen, wird unser kleines Gemüt von hundert unsichtbaren kleinen Geistern genährt und erzogen und in allen artigen Künsten geübt. So lernen wir durchs Lächeln nach und nach fröhlich sein, durchs Weinen lernen wir traurig sein, durchs Angaffen mit grossen Augen lernen wir, was erhaben ist, anbeten," and so on. Neither Lessing nor Wackenroder had in mind precisely what is connoted by the James-Lange theory of emotions. And yet, since James applies his hypothesis, in his discussion of the "coarser" emotions, to actors, Lessing's statement sounds peculiarly like that of James, while Wackenroder's fits in equally well in James's discussion of the "subtler" emotions.

For the entire matter, see *The Principles of Psychology* by William James, New York, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 442–485; Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie,* first edition, Vol. I, pp. 17–24; and Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst,* edition of Heinrich Spiess, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 164–165. Neither Lessing nor Wackenroder was especially interested in psychology, and hence the elaboration of the theory in question did not concern them; but a careful study of the whole text in which the passages are found shows that they had, on the whole, the same idea that Professor James later worked out in detail. That he did not know Lessing and Wackenroder in this connection is proved by the fact that he states (*ibid.*, p. 450) that his hypothesis will doubtless be attacked, though unsuccessfully, and that he does not mention either Lessing or Wackenroder.

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BRIEF MENTION

Palmer's edition of *Wilhelm Tell* (Holt and Company, 1915) has just received a new dress, one that is in every way a marked improvement upon the old. Although a set of *Fragen* by Professor Purin has been added, the bulk of the volume has, through a recasting of the Vocabulary and various excisions—among which that of the Bibliography is perhaps alone to be regretted,—actually been reduced by some ten pages. One feels willing to sacrifice some of the ballast of learning for such an inspiring passage as that from Bryant facing the facsimile of the original title-page. Nor has the Vocabulary lost through a reduction to a minimum of the references to lines, which in the older form were a veritable *pons asinorum.* Some old errors in both Notes and Vocabulary have, to be sure, stuck. The following may perhaps deserve correction:

(NOTES). It is not correct (p. 178) to say, in general, that a new *Szene* implies a change of place and stage-setting.—l. 505: *hätten* is, of course, dependent upon *tät es not.*—l. 1127: *dreie* is anything but a *rare* form.—l. 1343: not *zurückhält* but *hält . . . zurück.*—l. 2152: *dass (es) gebetet werde* is impossible German.—l. 2242: *wenn du dir's getrautest* is not 'if you were confident' but 'if you would undertake, would venture.'—l. 2433: *Stadt* is distinctly *not* understood.—l. 2780: The note confuses *soll* and *sollte.*

(VOCABULARY). Flug: *im Flug* not *im Fluge* (l. 1949).—gerade: The form *grade* is so common in the play that it should have received recognition in the Vocabulary.—Gersau is hardly a 'hamlet.'—*Kriegs'drommète,* not *Kriegsdrommète.*—Runs: That Schiller's form is *der Runs* is shown by the passage printed in *Euphorion,* xix, 589.—*Simons und Judä* not *Simon u. J.*—Plural form of *Wohnstätte.*

ERRATUM

On p. 225, col. 1, l. 4 of Professor Holbrook's review of Olmsted's grammar, the printer's error should be corrected so that the passage will read: "Mr. O. uses g to symbolize the voiced explosive of words such as *gant* (instead of *g*), and he," etc.

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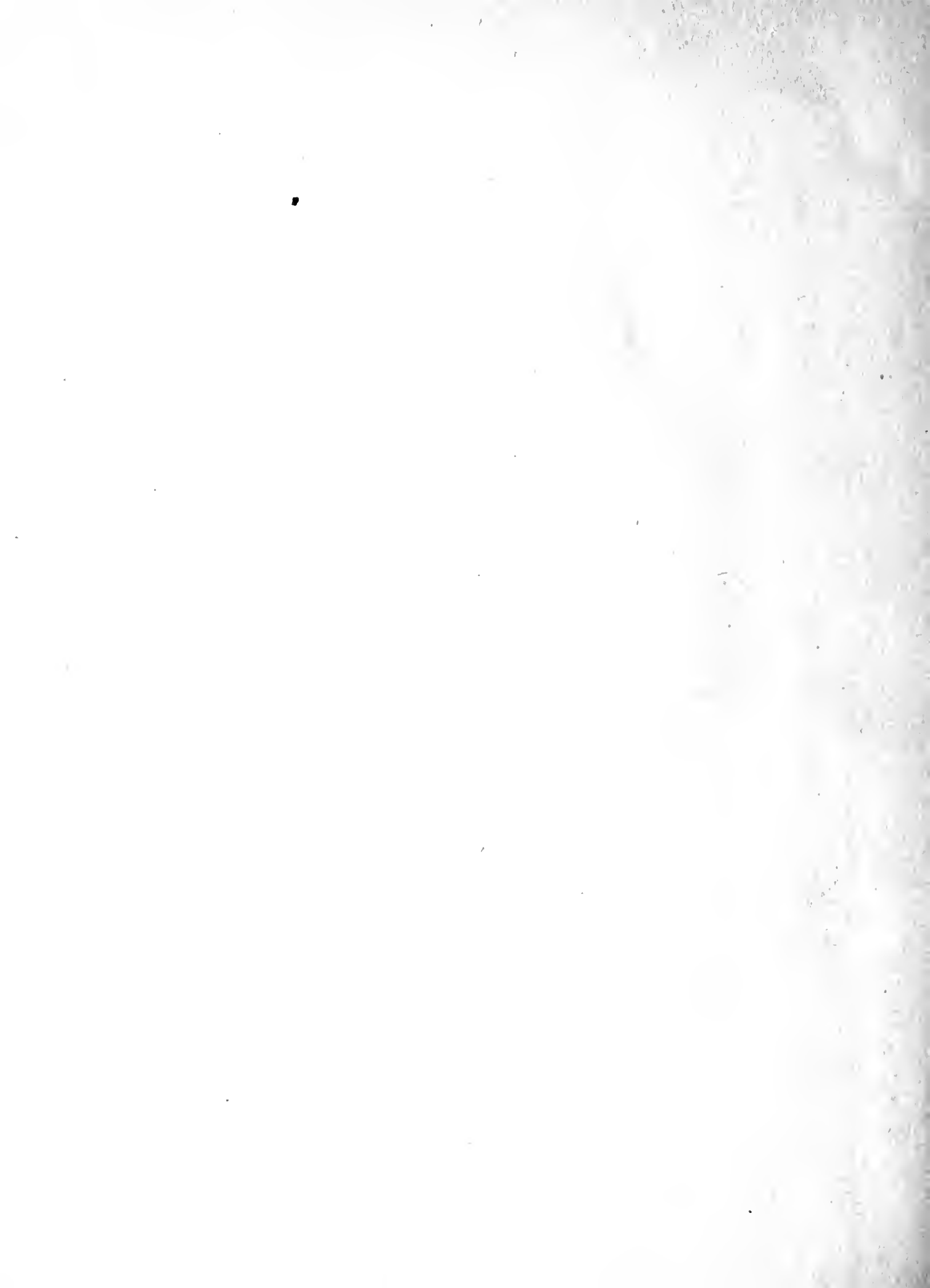

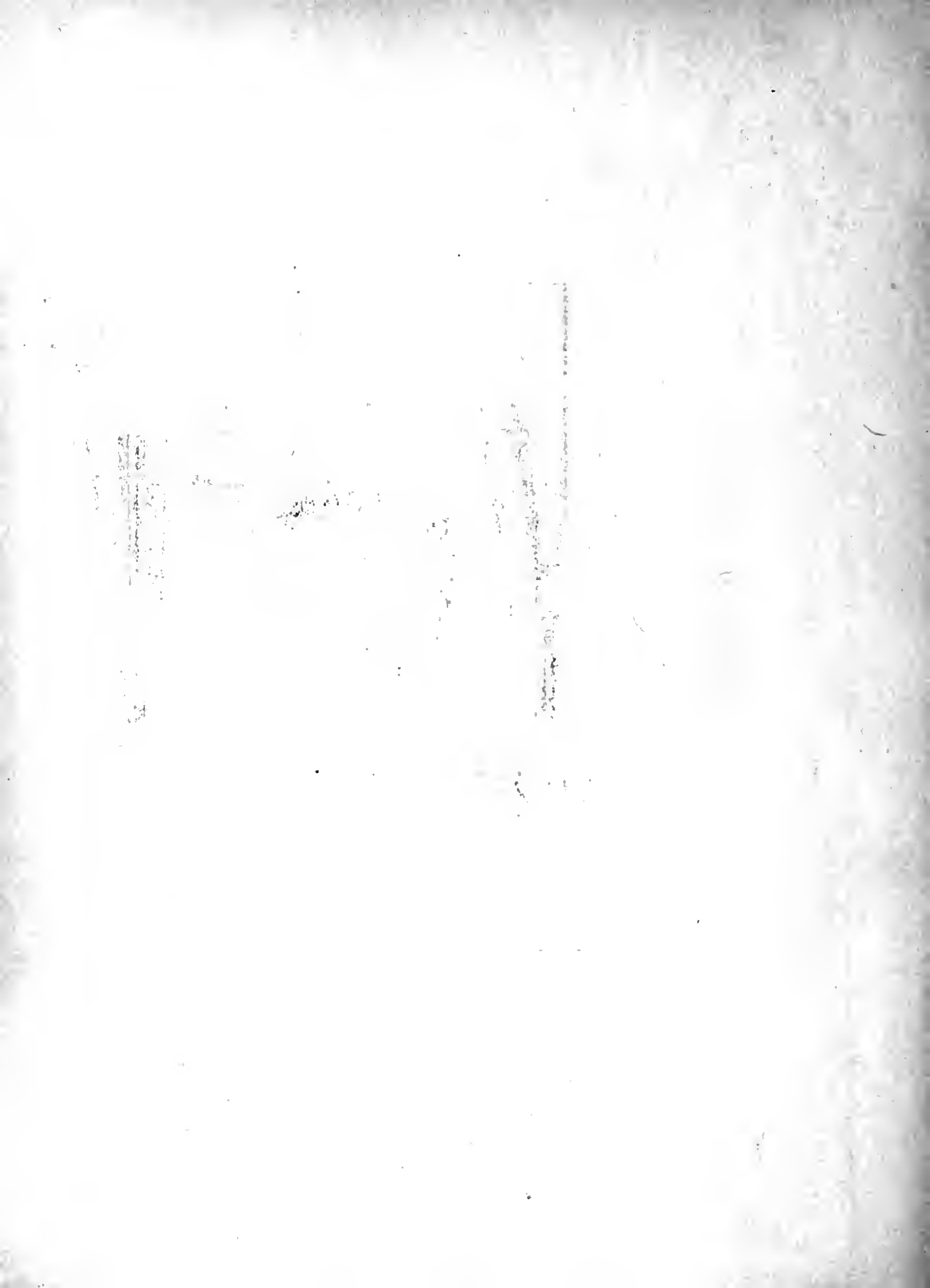

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